

CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Sociological Studies (ISS)

Department of Public and Social Policy

Master thesis

2024

Kim Roskam

CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Sociological Studies (ISS)

Department of Public and Social Policy

**Political Parties in Contemporary Policy
Process Frameworks: A Unitary Collective
Actor or a Dynamic Organisation?**

Master's thesis

Author of the Thesis: Kim Roskam

Study Programme: Public and Social Policy

Supervisor: PhDr. Vilém Novotný, Ph.D.

Year of the defence: 2024

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on 03/01/2024

Kim Roskam

Bibliographic note

Roskam, K. (2024). *Political Parties in Contemporary Policy Process Frameworks: A Unitary Collective Actor or a Dynamic Organisation?*. Master thesis. Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Sociological Studies, Supervision PhDr. Vilém Novotný, Ph.D.

Length of the Thesis: 167.167 characters with spaces excluding abstract and reference list.

Abstract

This thesis argues that the rise of anti-establishment parties calls for a review of the literature on the policy process and the importance of political parties therein. As a starting point, this thesis aims to find out how six contemporary policy process frameworks (ACF, IADF, MSF, NPF, PET and PFT) present the role of political parties through a comparative small-n study that works with two distinctive conceptualisations of political parties, namely political parties as a unitary collective actor which is argued to be most prevalent in the (American) literature, and the conceptualisation of political parties as dynamic organisations as embodied in Katz & Mair's (1993; 1995) conceptualisation of the 'three party faces' which is considered to be more representative of political parties active on the European continent. The findings demonstrate that the MSF is the only framework that presents parties as dynamic organisations, whereas the analysis on the ACF and the IADF presents too few findings to reach a conclusion. Regardless of the exact findings, this thesis demonstrates that a broader understanding of political parties that takes into account the different party-related actors and elements may increase our understanding of their role in the policy process.

Keywords

Public Policy Frameworks; Political Parties; Three Party Faces; Parliamentary Democracy; Advocacy Coalition Framework, Institutional Analysis and Development Framework, Multiple Streams Framework, Narrative Policy Framework, Policy Feedback Theory, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory.

Table of Content

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. Introduction..... | 7 |
| 2. Literature Review | 10 |
| 2.1. The definition, characteristics and goals of political parties..... | 10 |
| 2.2. The American-bias..... | 12 |
| 2.3. Unitary collective actors vs. dynamic organisation | 15 |
| 3. Conceptual framework..... | 17 |
| 3.1. The evolution of party organisation..... | 18 |
| 3.2. The three party faces | 19 |
| 3.3. The intra-party dynamics | 22 |
| 3.4 Unitary vs. organisational perspective | 24 |
| 4. Methodology | 25 |
| 4.1. The research design..... | 25 |
| 4.2. Sample selection | 28 |
| 4.3 Method of analysis..... | 32 |
| 5. Findings..... | 34 |
| 5.1. Comparative findings..... | 35 |
| 5.2 The Multiple Streams Framework | 38 |
| 5.3 The Policy Feedback Theory | 45 |
| 5.4 The Punctuated Equilibrium Theory..... | 50 |
| 5.5 The Narrative Policy Framework..... | 55 |
| 5.6 The Advocacy Coalition Framework..... | 59 |
| 5.7 The Institutional Analysis and Development Framework | 63 |
| 6. Discussion..... | 65 |
| 7. Conclusion | 74 |
| 8. Reference list (APA 7th edition) | 76 |

1. Introduction

An article published in the Guardian in September 2023 (Henley, 2023) confirmed suspicions on an important trend in the world of European politics - populist parties are on the rise and set to leave their footprints. At least, that is the conclusion that one could draw from the study of the University of Amsterdam that took centre stage in this article. The study was conducted by over one hundred political scientists active in 31 different European countries which concluded that in the year 2022, almost one-third (32 per cent) of all votes were cast for what are identified as anti-establishment parties - as opposed to merely 20 per cent in the early 2000s and 12 per cent in the early 1990s (Henley, 2023). The research was published slightly before the recent national elections that took place in the second half of 2023 in Slovakia, Poland and the Netherlands - which all witnessed an anti-establishment or populist party attain the largest share of votes. And although fluctuations in the prevalent political colour should always be taken into account, the underlying trend holds that anti-establishment parties are gaining on the European stage and confirm statements that the post-2016 world is one characterised by the rise of populism, nationalism and even authoritarianism (M.D. Jones. et al, 2023, p. 161).

Not surprisingly, recent years have seen a surge of interest in the rise of anti-establishment parties and their influence on wider political dynamics among political scientists (such as Filgueiras et al, 2023; Inglehart & Norris, 2017; Norris, 2019). This thesis, however, is more interested in the impact this phenomenon may have on the larger policymaking process, as a trend in the rise of anti-establishment parties may remind scholars and practitioners of the importance of political parties (and ideologies) in the policymaking process - as opposed to the focus on policy experts and evidence-based policy that characterise recent dynamics of depoliticization (Filgueiras et al, 2023, p 3). In other words, this thesis argues that this trend requires both scholars and practitioners to rethink these dynamics as the rise of anti-establishment parties indicates that mainstream political parties are increasingly challenged. Similarly, it can be interpreted as society's attempt to push politics more to the forefront and allow their voices to be heard. Arguably, these two assumptions are not distinct from one another as they both demand a detailed analysis on how political parties fulfil their policy ambitions.

Hence, this thesis takes on the challenge of scrutinising political parties and their role in the policymaking process. Naturally, this requires a review of two distinctive fields of academic study - namely that of the policy process and political parties (or party politics).

Whereas the study on political parties is arguably more easily defined as it focuses on a single actor, the policymaking process constitutes a fairly complex phenomenon as it not only includes a multitude of policy- and political- actors but similarly occurs in different environments all building upon a unique set of existing jurisdictions. To acquire a better understanding of this complex, plural and fragmented process of public policy-making, scholars fall back upon the extensive field of policy process research which originated from the field of policy sciences with the work of Lasswell (1970) and many other American policy scholars (Brewer, 1974; DeLeon, 1999). In its essence, the field builds upon the ‘knowledge of the policy process’ and the ‘knowledge in the policy process’. However, given that the operationalisation of ‘the policy process’ is rather contested as several scholars have questioned its depiction as a causal model and addressed several descriptive inaccuracies (Nakamura, 1987; Sabatier, 1988), little reference is still made to the policy sciences (Weible, 2023, p. 7-8). Instead, most scholars (including this thesis) refer to a sub-field therein, namely the policy process research.

Despite numerous developments within the policy process research in recent decades, some authors (Brewer & DeLeon, 1983; Novotný et al, 2016) have argued that the American heritage of the policy sciences remains present in much of the work done on the policy process. Novotný et al (2016), for example, argue that the tendency of American scholars to conceptualise political parties as ‘unitary collective actors’ who are primarily guided by the behaviour of party leaders, has stagnated (further) research on the role of political parties in the policy process literature (p. 217). Although one could argue that this may not present an immediate cause for concern - given that frameworks, theories and models are explicitly created to explain a rather diverse range of outcomes often regardless of their contextual details - this thesis holds that such inherent differences in the nature of an important actor in the policy process calls for an overview of the status quo with regards to the depiction of political parties in the policy process research. In other words, this thesis focuses on the question of *How political parties are presented in contemporary policy process frameworks*. In answering this main research question, this thesis not only aims to merely describe the various roles political parties may take on within the realms of policymaking but at the same time aims to understand whether a more detailed conceptualisation of political parties (that better reflects the organisation of political parties on the European continent) strengthens our understanding of their role in the policy process.

To answer these questions, this thesis starts with a review of the party literature to lay out a foundational understanding of the definition(s), characteristics and goals of political

parties. Building thereon, this thesis demonstrates the differences between American and European political parties and outlines the academic debate on whether and how this influences the understanding of political parties in the policymaking process as to acquire more information on earlier statements (Hazan & Itzkovitch-Malka, 2020; Novotný et al, 2016) about an American bias in the literature. Since this thesis found inherent differences in the nature of political parties, it continues with a review of the literature on party organisation in an attempt to uncover a more dynamic conceptualisation of political parties and therein discusses the analytical tool presented by Katz & Mair (1993; 1995; 2002; 2012) - namely that of 'the three party faces'. This thesis argues that this conceptualisation presents a relevant alternative to the depiction of political parties as a unitary collective actor as it distinguishes between three separate yet interconnected sub-groups within the larger organisation of political parties and thereby allows for a more dynamic depiction of political parties that is expected to strengthen our understanding of their role in the policy process.

Nonetheless, before such a conclusion may be reached, this thesis needs to understand which conceptualisation is most prevalent within the policy process research. Consequently, it selected six contemporary policy process frameworks that serve as a proxy for wider developments in the field, in alphabetical order these are: The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IADF), the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF), the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) and the Policy Feedback Theory (PFT). Given the limitations of this research, this thesis selected its samples from the two most recent editions of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume (Weible & Sabatier, 2018; Weible, 2023) that served as a proxy for consideration on the status quo of the policy process frameworks.

Throughout the research, this thesis makes a distinction between the 'unitary perspectives on political parties' which depicts political parties as a unitary collective actor and the 'organisational perspectives on political parties' which depicts them as dynamic organisations. Correspondingly, the methodology of this thesis is built around this differentiation, resulting in a comparative small-n study that both quantitatively and qualitatively analyses how each framework depicts political parties in their explanation of the policy process. In reality, this means that this paper analyses every framework based on the understanding of political parties as unitary collective actors *and* based on the understanding of political parties as dynamic organisations - after which it compares the results from both perspectives to understand the added value of the organisational perspective. However, this thesis is not only interested in the policy-politics dynamics within each framework

(independently). It also aims to present its findings across the different policy process frameworks, and to make this process easier chose to increase its scope of analysis by similarly scrutinising the changes implemented since the fourth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume as well as its selection of references to earlier publications. This way, this thesis aims to provide a more comprehensive answer to the question of how contemporary policy process frameworks present the role of political parties in the policymaking process.

2. Literature Review

As indicated in the introduction of this thesis, this chapter aims to start with a review of the literature on political parties - one of the most advanced sub-fields in the political sciences (Carter et al, 2023, p. 2). It will gradually unravel what we understand to be political parties: their definition(s), characteristics and goals. Once this foundation is set, this chapter moves on to a more detailed analysis of American and European political parties, to understand previous statements about an American bias in the policy process research (Novotný et al, 2016) and the assumption that this has led to an underestimation of the role of political parties in the policy process. Finally, this chapter zooms into the ongoing academic debate on whether political parties are to be depicted as unitary collective actors, or dynamic organisations.

2.1. The definition, characteristics and goals of political parties

Not surprisingly, this thesis has found not one universally agreed-on definition of political parties. Although they may differ in length and wording, the most common definitions appear to largely agree on several core components. Perhaps the most simplified definition was introduced by Johnson (2006), who defined political parties as “political organisations that connect citizens to government by coordinating citizens for electoral purposes” (p. 2). Hereby, Johnson touches upon the importance of parties as (political) linkages between citizens and their elected representatives (Budge et al, 2012; Moore, 2023). It is this linkage that constitutes an important element within liberal democracies (Katz, 2020a) - the institutional practice most prevalent in Western countries (Rohrschneider & Thomassen, 2020, p. 1) - as it trusts upon political parties the role of promoting public deliberation through debate, persuasion and justification (Moore, 2023, p. 22). It is, therefore, no surprise

that scholars such as Schattschneider (1942) and Carter et al (2023) have praised this democracy-enhancing role of political parties.

Additionally, there exist definitions that tend to emphasise the office-seeking nature of political parties (along the traditional focus of political scientists) underlining the role that power plays in the existence of political parties. Carami (2020), for example, portrays political parties as “coalitions of individuals seeking to control institutions and act to gain office” (p. 245). In other words, political parties are understood as an opportunity to combine forces (such as through knowledge, network and other resources) by means of joining (or initiating) a collective that allows individuals to reach certain positions within governmental institutions and thereby exerts some form of influence over the decision-making process of a country, state, region or municipality. Of course, this can only be achieved when the collective takes the essential (political) steps which are dependent upon existing electoral- and/or party rules. Again other definitions highlight the power- (and policy-) seeking element of political parties, such as Poggi (2020) who thinks of political parties as

“organisations which compete in order to determine directly who at any given time has the decisive say in legislative and executive organs, and indirectly in the content of their activities” (p. 73).

Finally, it is important to outline the dynamic nature of political parties. Mair (1997), for example, noted that parties are almost always in a state of ‘permanent change’ (p.50) and Carter et al (2023) more recently recognised parties to be “organisations in constant flux” due to the constant need to respond to political, socio-demographic and technological developments (p.1). This indicates that assumptions within the literature about, for example, the nature and strategies of political parties can only go so far as they are rarely permanent.

Crucially, this does not indicate that party scholars have abstained from researching these “primary protagonists in the political debate” (Katz, 2020a, p. 218). On the contrary, the study of political parties is one of the most advanced sub-fields within political science (Carter et al, 2023, p. 2). Already the fact that different scholars (Caramani, 2020; Johnson, 2006; Poggi, 2020) have emphasised different elements within their definitions, reveals that political parties may pursue (semi-) distinctive goals and/or possess different characteristics. A review of the literature introduced this thesis to the classical work of Strom (1990) who identified three (interdependent) roles, namely 1) a policy-seeking role, 2) a vote-seeking role, and 3) a office-seeking role (p.566-568). Although there exist different

conceptualisations on the role of political parties (such as Harmel & Janda, 1994 who next to a fourth category also argued that all political parties tend to have one primary goal which may be different across parties), this thesis chose to stay with the classical work of Strom (1990) and use her categorisation as a means of structuring our review of the literature in a comprehensible way.

Firstly, the policy-seeking role of political parties centres on the translation of the party's ideology or belief system to public policies as it seeks to maximise its influence and effect on public policy (Strom, 1990, p. 567). Importantly in this role, political parties do not only push for policy proposals that are (historically) relevant to their party. They are similarly responsible for encompassing "any matter of general interest which 'the public ought to discuss' [in the policymaking process]" (Mansbridge, 2020, p. 18). Subsequently, political parties are not only found to compete in the electoral to secure the translation of their preferred policies but also serve as "agents of the people" (Katz, 2020a, p. 218) and are therefore effectively "transmission belts between the public and the state" (Katz, 2020b, p. 259). In other words, it is their role to represent citizens who do not (always) have the time, training, knowledge, or willingness to represent their interests within the political realm. This representative role not only legitimises their existence (Goodin, 2008) but makes them a crucial actor within the democratic process (Carter et al, 2023). Secondly, they are found to have a vote-seeking role, emerging from the fact that before they can even get close to the implementation of their preferred policies, they need the confirmation (through positive election results) that a significant proportion of the population believes that the party can represent their interests best. Hence, this role centres on the understanding that political parties do not merely "compete for electoral support" (De Vries, 2021) but aim to 'maximise votes' to control government (Strom, 1990). And finally, the last role discussed in this thesis is their office-seeking role in which parties seek to maximise not their votes, but their control over political life (Strom, 1990). This is not only thought to bring a general sense of prestige for the party at hand but simultaneously brings along a collection of personal rewards (for senior party members), such as a seat at the governing table or the allocation of top ministerial positions.

2.2. The American-bias

However, when reviewing the literature on political parties, this thesis stumbled upon the importance of what can be understood as the influence of the broader contextual settings in

which these political parties operate. As pointed out in the previous sub-section, political parties are dynamic and in a constant flux of change (Carter et al, 2023, p. 1) which opens the door to the assumption that, over time, political parties adjust to their environments and therefore may possess different characteristics depending on the system or geographical location in which they operate. This observation appears to be at the core of an observation made by Novotný et al (2016) with regard to the ‘American bias’ in the policy process literature that was addressed in the introduction of this thesis - which appears to be in line with the work of other scholars (Hazan & Itzkovitch-Malka, 2020; Husted et al, 2022) who have outlined how this can limit our understanding of political parties.

Correspondingly, this section aims to provide the reader with a more detailed understanding of the differences between American and European parties, as it argues that this will contribute to a better understanding of the causes and consequences of this bias and better outline the relevance of this research. Although this thesis could have chosen for a comparison of American parties with those active in any other geographical region, this thesis argues that European political parties presented the most promising comparison due to its large presence of parliamentary democracies and corresponding rich party history. Additionally, it was found that - compared to other geographical regions - Europe is relatively well-developed within the policy process literature (such as Ackrill et al, 2013; Herweg et al, 2018; Kreienkamp et al, 2022). However, it should be noted that in an attempt to keep a certain level of generalisation, this thesis chose to focus on Europe as a continent and not emphasise particular nation-states. Even though it is outside the scope of this thesis to include references to other geographical regions when examining the role of political parties in the policymaking process, it is worth mentioning that the policy process research community has provided some insightful research on the policy process in other geographical areas (such as Costie & Olofsson, 2022; Osai-Kojo et al, 2022) - even reaching as far as to apply public policy frameworks to non-democratic settings (Dool & Li, 2023; Li & Weible, 2021; Schlauffer et al, 2021).

Admittedly, American political parties are operating in a presidential system of democracy and can be characterised by their rather weak form of central organisation and informal party members (Katz, 2020a). This is because they have no control over who is to become associated with their party as any citizen is allowed to express their ‘party affiliation’ by becoming a ‘registrant’ of that party and running for office (Poguntke & Scarrow, 2020). They may be done with or without the support of the party’s central organisation. Whereas the lack of a formal membership organisation makes it difficult to identify these registrants as

party members ‘in its purest form’, Katz (2014) argues that it does tend to result in a ‘hyper-democratic’ means of candidate selection (p. 187) as anyone can become a candidate and run for office through primary elections that are organised by the state (and are thus not subject to interference from the party organisation) (Katz, 2014; Poguntke & Scarrow, 2020). As a result, most candidates run “without strong organisational ties to ‘their’ party” (Katz, 2014, p. 187) and instead are considered to be more “sensitive to the demand of ‘intense policy demanders’ who control the money” that enable them to lay out a campaign (Katz, 2020a, p. 223). Hence, rather than candidates being dependent upon the intra-party dynamics, it is the party in itself that (at times) needs to adjust to the selected candidate(s). It is this lack of influence from the party (organisation) that explains why American voters tend to focus on individual candidates, rather than political parties when casting the ballot.

Not surprisingly, when we take political parties outside the contextual setting of the United States and analyse their counterparts operating on the European continent, the literature depicts a different story. Generally speaking, European political parties are found to compete with one another in parliamentary democracies or semi-presidential systems (Duverger, 1951; Elgie, 2011) and are characterised as formal membership organisations. This indicates that to become a party member, a person is required to accept the basic principles of the party, pay an annual membership fee and (at least in theory) expected to attend regular local branch meetings (Gallagher et al, 2005, p. 309-310). In return, members (usually) enjoy the fruits of internal party democracy as they are allowed to participate in (part of) the decision-making process primarily during political congresses or general assemblies (Gallagher et al, 2005; Husted et al, 2022) that allows members to decide on issues, such as the party’s organisational structure and political development. However, some scholars (Poguntke & Scarrow, 2020; Scarrow, 2015) have pointed out that this internal democracy has gradually evolved into what they describe as a ‘subscriber democracy’ in which “dues-paying members constitute the party’s organisational polity” while their representatives are the ones making the majority of decisions (Poguntke & Scarrow, 2020, p. 329).

Another characteristic that is different from their American counterparts is their candidate selection process. Rather than being directed by public law and allowing the candidates to be dependent upon third-party actors, candidate selection within European political parties follows the guidance of internal party rules. Apart from the fact that this (arguably) gives members more influence in the construction of this process, it primarily dictates a greater role for the (central) party organisation as this group is given the duty to

review whether the candidate is ‘fit for the job’ and often prioritise their candidates accordingly. It is plausible that this form of candidate selection stems from the strong tradition of mass parties that can be linked back to many (Western) European democracies. Hence, in contrast to what is witnessed in the United States, political mandates within European democracies are linked to the party as opposed to individual candidates (Van Vonno et al, 2014) which may also explain the (often high) selection criteria with which these European candidates have to comply. For example, to ensure unity within the party, candidates often need to have spent several years as a party member as a proven ability of their understanding of ‘party discipline’ (Gallagher et al, 2005, p. 321-323). Although this is merely one example, it strongly confirms the assumption that European parties have much more control over who is to run for office and potentially acquire an electoral mandate to fulfil.

2.3. Unitary collective actors vs. dynamic organisation

Now that this thesis has outlined some of the core differences between American political parties and their European counterparts, it is necessary to address whether these differences have an impact on our understanding of the role of political parties in the policymaking process, and to what extent these differences are already addressed in the policy process research. Although this section can not answer these questions in full without a systematic review of the literature on the six selected policy process frameworks (which are presented later in this thesis), it aims to provide the reader with a more contextual background of its academic development over the years. For the purpose of simplicity, this thesis has decided to structure this ongoing academic debate along two heuristics, namely: political parties as a unitary collective actor, and political parties as a dynamic organisation. It argues that this dichotomy represents the distinctive differences between American parties that tend to centre more around their political candidate(s) over which the party organisation has little influence, and the European parties that are depicted more holistically as actors whose actions (and thereby the execution of their political mandate) are determined by the organisation’s internal dynamics, and thereby continues our argument.

In essence, the argument that the policy process research overlooks the role of political parties can be traced back to the different historical trajectories of these political actors and their various conceptualisations. The unitary approach to political parties was omnipresent among the Anglo-American scholars who primarily contributed to the ‘birth of

public policy research' (Brewer & DeLeon, 1983; DeLeon, 1999). Any indications of a need for a more contextualised approach to political parties (that takes into account the variation in socio-cultural and political environments) only became apparent later as electoral democracies started to spread over the world (Mazzoleni & Heinisch, 2023, p. 10). In other words, it was the unitary approach to political parties that served as the inspiration for the majority of public policy research (Hazan & Itzkovitch-Malka 2020; Novotný et al, 2016) and any findings thereafter had to compete with the prevalent conceptualisation. Even though several scholars such as Daalder (1983) and Laver & Schofield (1990) warned against the primary focus on political parties as a unitary actor early on, later research (Hazan & Itzkovitch-Malka, 2020; Katz & Mair, 1993; Novotný et al, 2016) indicates that - generally speaking - little has changed over the years with regards to their depiction in the literature. This may be explained by the complexities that surround elements of party organisation as scholars (Borz & Janda, 2020; Mazzoleni & Heinisch, 2023) argue that the internal dynamics of political parties continue to pose the greatest challenge to researchers. This way, it appears that internal party dynamics continue to constitute the "secret garden of politics" (Gallagher et al, 1987) that proves to be notoriously difficult to study. To strengthen their argument, Mazzoleni & Heinisch (2023) pointed out that when it comes to the study of the "interaction among members, activists, staff, leaders, candidates, members of parliament and government officials" we simply lack the robust data on these relationships (p. 20).

Despite these challenges, there have been attempts (Duverger, 1951; Gauja, 2017; Harmel & Janda, 1994; Janda, 1990; Katz & Mair, 1993; 1995; Kirchheimer, 1966) to move away from the unitary approach to political parties and analyse them as more dynamic organisations (White & Ypi, 2016). Particularly the efforts of R.S. Katz and P. Mair and their conceptualisation of the 'three party faces' (1993; 1995; 2002; 2009; 2012) in their work on the cartel thesis theory stands out in this regard. Although their extensive research on the evolution of party organisation stands on itself, this thesis holds that their model of the three party faces provides this thesis with more detailed information on potential intra-party dynamics and therefore is discussed separately in the following chapter. This thesis thereby follows the argument of Hazan (2003) who stated already two decades ago that "examining voting behaviour is not enough ... [and that instead] we must look inside parties as well, at what takes place before voting decisions are made" (p. 8).

3. Conceptual framework

Building on the literature review which demonstrated the importance of the contextual environments in which political parties operate and the consequences this can have on the understanding of their role in the policy-making process, this chapter aims to dive deeper into the conceptualisation presented in the later part of the literature review. As stated before, this thesis argues that the conceptualisation of the three party faces (Katz & Mair, 1993; 1995) proves a relevant alternative to the conceptualisation of political parties as unitary collective actors as it allows analysts a more detailed understanding of a party's intra-party dynamics. In other words, the conceptualisation of the three party faces allows analysts to identify the different party-related actors (and elements) that operate within a political party and thereby may influence its overall course. However, before this thesis can present a more detailed picture of the potential behaviours of these party-related actors and how this impacts the relationships between them and the overall course of the party, this thesis argues that it is necessary to direct attention to the development of the party organisation literature. This is a field of literature that consists of various model-oriented approaches (such as the cadre party, the mass party, the catch-all party, and the cartel party) which aim to understand the development and dynamics of party adaptability. Correspondingly, Chapter 3.1 discusses the evolutionary change of party organisation according to a selection of the most renowned models of party organisation. In essence, the chapter is found to underline the thesis's argument of the importance of the contextual environments in which political parties operate as it highlights how this may both "condition and constrain its ability to adapt" (Mazzoleni & Heinisch, 2023, p. 11). Following the discussion on the most important developments in the field of party organisation, this thesis continues with a more detailed outline of what Katz & Mair (1993; 1995) introduced as the 'three party faces' (which can be found in Chapter 3.2). Once the main party-related actors (and their resources, aspirations and constraints) of these three sub-groups have been identified, Chapter 3.3. progresses towards a discussion of its potential intra-party power dynamics and the influence this may have on the wider policy-making process. Finally, Chapter 3.4 aims to summarise the work done so far, as it brings together the two conceptualisations of political parties and thereby lays the foundation for their operationalisation that follows in the methodological chapter of this thesis.

3.1. The evolution of party organisation

Since the conceptualisation of the ‘three party faces’ of R.S. Katz and P. Mair stems from their work on the ‘cartel party thesis’ (1993; 1995; 2002; 2009; 2012), this sub-chapter aims to outline the historical development of this renowned model of party organisation. The ‘cartel party thesis’ builds primarily on the previous work of Duverger (1951) and Kirchheimer (1966). It was Duverger (1951) who first discovered a change in the nature of political parties as he witnessed a transformation of what he called ‘the cadre or elitist party’ to what he labelled as ‘mass parties’. Cadre parties are identified as the earliest model of (modern) party organisation (Katz, 2020a, p. 219) and are characterised by the central position of the member(s) of parliament. This form of party organisation was primarily present in the age of (highly) restricted suffrage. It primarily depended upon the members of parliament to secure their public mandate through the mobilisation of their personal clientele (*idem*) and, hence, required no form of organised party membership or bureaucracy.

However, the gradual expansion of universal suffrage in the second half of the twentieth century required political parties to adapt and consequently called for a new model of party organisation - one which Duverger (1951) labelled as ‘mass parties’. In response to their changing environment, political parties started to centre more around the interests of particular socio-economic groups. To ensure the support of their ‘member base’ and thereby secure their position in parliament, political parties increasingly opted for a strategy of ‘encapsulation’ (Katz, 2020a, p. 219). This entails that they started offering party members “a range of ancillary organisations and services” intended to structure their social lives with the ultimate aim of making the party membership an essential part of their identity while simultaneously isolating them from any countervailing influences (*idem*). This not only altered the role of political parties within society but similarly demanded a significant shift in party organisation and resources.

Building on these two models of party organisation, Kirchheimer (1966) soon argued for another evolution of party organisation as he witnessed how societal changes had made the strategy of encapsulation less effective. As Katz (2022) points out, the expansion of universal suffrage and the intertwined rise of the mass party required political parties to develop into what Kirchheimer first labelled as catch-all parties (p. 268). Katz (2020a) later argues that it was around this time that intra-party dynamics started to alter in the favour of the party’s elected- and appointed officials. While these party-related actors were given more power and responsibility, they failed to develop more advanced internal democratic structures

and gradually lost touch with the *classe gardée* of the mass party (p. 221). This not only reduced the role of party members relative to ‘professionals’ but similarly impacted the ideological trajectory of many parties as elected officials aimed to secure their place in the political realm by getting rid of the ‘ideological baggage’ to attract voters beyond their socio-economic group (idem).

A later iteration of the catch-all party is what Katz & Mair (1993; 1995) labelled as the ‘cartel party’. Their research regarding the developmental trends of party organisation in various Western European countries in the 1980s suggested that both party loyalty and membership had started to erode and that, as a result, many parties had moved in the direction of what they identified as ‘cartel-like’ behaviour. They argued that parties had moved further away from a membership-based focus and primarily intended to “limit political competition as to ensure their own electoral success” (Katz & Mair, 2009, p. 753). Although the organisational model of the cartel party is being challenged from a variety of perspectives (for example by Kitschelt, 2000; Koole, 1996) and new forms of party organisation continue to emerge (such as anti-parties or business-firm parties) as political parties continue to adapt to their changing environments, the cartel party model adequately explains how political parties have ceased to “operate as true brokers between civil society and the state” (De Vries et al, 2021, p. 151) and instead became to act as mere ‘agents of the state’ in their attempts to professionalise the organisation and ensure its continuation. To support their argument on the cartel party thesis, Katz & Mair (1993; 1995) made use of a conceptualisation that focused on the different party-related actors and their relationships to one another - the three party faces.

3.2. The three party faces

However, it is not the cartel party thesis in itself that is of most relevance to this research. Instead, it is its way of disaggregating political parties into separated yet interconnected sub-groups that allow for the depiction of a more dynamic political actor and thereby acknowledges the organisational structure of political parties. Before the introduction of the ‘three party faces’, scholars (such as Resnick, 1973) tended to fall back on a mere dichotomy between party leadership and their members or followers, or between what was labelled as parliamentary and extra-parliamentary (Katz & Mair, 1993). In other words, any actor that was to be linked to a political party was part of either one of two sub-groups. It was Katz & Mair (1993) who observed a problem in the un-dimensionality of this dichotomy and argued that instead, it was “more productive to consider parties as being composed of a number of

different elements - or faces - each of which potentially interacts with all of the others ... in understandably patterned ways" (p. 350). Whereas these distinctive faces or subgroups may be far less concrete in reality - as each party organisation generally tends to have its unique hierarchical structure - the thesis holds that it still presents a powerful tool of analysis. If not merely because the conceptualisation has proven to be widely applicable to a variety of contextual settings and systems (see examples in Crulli, 2022; Roewer, 2020).

In essence, the three party faces makes a distinction between the party in public office, the party in central office and the party on the ground. The following paragraphs will discuss these party faces in more detail. The 'party in public office' primarily consists of the party's elected [and appointed] officials active on the supra-national, national or subnational level. In other words, this face is dominated by those who have been successful in elections and whose duty it is to advocate for the interests of their voters. Sufficient resources that allow for the execution of one's political mandate - for example, a compatible salary, the legal authority to make decisions, access to the party's network and so on - are provided to all members of this face, albeit in most cases to a varying degree as Katz & Mair (1993) recognise that there might be distinctive needs in terms of role and prestige (such as between the party leader and elected officials operating on the sub-national level) (p. 351-352). Naturally, it is assumed that not all elected- and appointed officials have pure policy-oriented motives. The amount of resources that are at their disposal once elected may pave the way for individuals driven by status, power or material gains (p. 351). However, despite their privileged status within the party, members of the party in public office are also considered to stumble upon some constraints that come along with their role. Firstly, elected- and appointed officials are expected to only enjoy their resources and corresponding professional prestige as long as their mandate. It is for this reason that Katz & Mair (1993) emphasised their electoral insecurity which is expected to make them rather dependent upon those who control the resources for their reelection (or reappointment) and arguably makes them more compliant with the party norms (p. 352). Secondly, the prospect of governing is expected to pull elected officials farther away from some of their ideological standpoints as they might find themselves in a position to make compromises with coalition partners. On top of this, a seat at the governing table makes elected officials suddenly accountable for the general welfare of their constituents. This then demands greater cooperation with the (higher) civil service who tend to possess less partisan and short-term visions (*idem*) with whom they similarly need to seek compromises. Not surprisingly, Katz & Mair (1993; 1995) find that particularly in times of electoral success (which brings along the opportunity or duty to govern) the relationship

between the party in public office and the other party-related actors comes under significant pressure.

The second 'face' described by Katz & Mair (1993; 1995) is referred to as the 'party in central office' and is similarly known as the national headquarters of the party. This face consists of two - often overlapping - actors. First, there is the national executive (committee) which is to be elected by the party members during party congresses or general assemblies which hands them the duty to supervise the party in public office and the electoral accountability to represent the membership in between congresses. The second actor operating in this party face is the central party staff or secretariat who take on the administrative and organisational role within the party and often consists of paid professionals. Katz & Mair (2002) hold that, if united, the national executive is in a rather powerful position vis-a-vis the party as a whole (p. 99) leaving a more submissive role to the party bureaucracy. However, this dynamic is not a given. Disunity among national party executives, power dynamics with regional or local branches of the party, and the increasing resources of state bureaucracy all have the potential to change this dynamic and thereby push the national party executives towards a primarily ceremonial role (Katz & Mair, 1993, p. 354). Regardless of which of the two actors is considered the most influential, the party in central office represents the party's technical, policy and political centre of expertise (Katz & Mair, 2002, p. 99) which is deemed crucial for the further development of the two other party faces. At the same time, however, they are only able to lead "so far as ... the other two faces of the party are prepared to follow" (idem, p. 100). Hence, it can be argued that this dependency (particularly concerning the party in public office) presents the biggest constraint for the party in central office.

Finally, the third 'face' in this conceptualisation is the broad collection of party members in what is referred to as the 'party on the ground'. Although party members - and particularly those that are referred to as party activists - arguably hold the greatest influence, the label is not strictly devoted to formally enrolled members. In their conceptualisation, Katz & Mair (1993) argue that the party on the ground similarly holds a place for financial contributors and loyal voters (p. 353). Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged that only those who can call themselves official members of the party are the ones who (in exchange for their obligations) enjoy a collection of rights (such as voting rights) within the party. Most party members belong to a local sub-group - or branch - that is based in the geographical area in which they reside. Ideally, the party aims to be active in as many geographical areas as possible (Gallagher et al, 2005, p. 309). Although the party in central office plays a role in the

coordination and financing of all the different branches, the party on the ground primarily relies upon their own labour, permanence and local knowledge (Katz & Mair, 1993, p. 353). Through their work which primarily focuses on serving as the link between the party and the society, they hope to contribute to their party's electoral successes. Although their activities are primarily focused on their geographical region, the members of the different branches have the opportunity to come together (a few times a year) during so-called national party congresses during which they are able to vote upon predetermined issues (such as the party's finances, their policies or the selection of electoral candidates) and occasionally elect an executive committee that receives the mandate to represent their interest in between congresses. However, it should be noted that some scholars (for example Cross & Katz, 2013; Poguntke & Scarrow, 2020), have pointed out the practical limitations of such internal democratic structures and have argued correspondingly that other party-related actors continue to possess the most autonomy in this regard - especially when the party is in government. Hence, although the occurrence of party congresses allows members to share their opinions, its intermittent existence continues to serve as the main constraint for the party on the ground (Katz & Mair, 2002, p. 98). Another constraint of the party on the ground is linked to their inability to serve as a 'social compass' for their elected- and appointed officials since it is argued that over the years, the party on the ground has become less representative of the wider society (Gallagher et al, 2005, p. 314). Finally, the literature holds that their lack of (personal) responsibility and limited influence in the policymaking process (Katz & Mair, 1993, p. 353) often result in an 'easy way out' for party members, which in turn affects the resources they have to offer towards the other faces and impacts their position within the party organisation.

3.3. The intra-party dynamics

Whereas the individual outline of each of these three faces already revealed some indications of the broader power dynamics within political parties, this sub-chapter aims to dive further into the implications of Katz & Mair's (1993; 1995) conceptualisation and particularly focuses on the understanding of intra-party relationships and behaviour. Similar to Gallagher et al's (2005) understanding of the internal party dynamics - which they characterised as a continuous process of accommodation and mutual adjustment (p. 318) - the three party faces assume that intra-party dynamics are to be considered a constant process of 'give and take' between the different faces. In other words, it is precisely because there exists a certain

balance between the three faces, that the party continues to ensure its existence. However, that does not mean that the balance between the faces is set in stone. Rather, it appears to be in a mode of continuous development as Katz & Mair (1993) argue that the balance between the three party faces depends on what they identify as the ‘three dimensions of power’. Given their potential influence on intra-party dynamics within party organisations, this thesis aims to briefly present these ‘three dimensions of power’ to understand what additional information this may bring to the understanding of political parties as dynamic organisations.

The first power dimension identified by Katz & Mair (1993) centres around the number and disposition of professional party staff. This power dynamic arises when a party is primarily funded through state subsidies, with the party in central office lacking resources to, for example, hire (independent) staff (p. 606). Consequently, Katz & Mair (1993) witnessed a trend in which party professionals were increasingly employed by the party in public office. When these professionals are officially employed by one party face, but work for the other, this can indicate skewed lines of accountability. Hence, it should be taken into account that although this appointment of party personnel by the party in public office “may not be visible in pure party terms” (idem), it does indicate an important power dynamic and thereby represents an area for (future) conflict

The second dimension of intra-party power dynamics concerns the composition and priorities of the party in central office and the extent to which this is regarded as a ‘battleground’ for party influence. Apart from the need for unity within this face (Katz & Mair, 1993) - to strengthen their overall strength and position within the party - their bias towards either the party on the ground or the party in public office has a significant influence on the wider intra-party dynamics and hence the party’s (ideological) direction. And although scholars have witnessed a democratisation of internal party life (Borz & Katz, 2020; Cross & Katz, 2013; Katz, 2014) which arguably strengthened the position of the party on the ground, Katz & Mair (2002) plead that - at least in the long run - the party in public office is considered to gain the upper hand in this battle. Their influence and resources allow them to gradually ‘depoliticise’ the party organisation due to their ability to replace general party bureaucrats with professional specialists (in a similar line to what is discussed in the previous paragraph).

The final dimension of intra-party dynamics centres around the party’s decision-making structures which can be analysed by reviewing the resources, constraints and patterns of motivation of each of the three party faces. Here, Katz & Mair (1993) concluded that when it comes to these three critical areas, the party in public office is increasingly claiming a

dominant position within the intra-party dynamics. These findings were confirmed by later studies (for example by Bardi, Calossi & Pizzimenti, 2017; Crulli, 2022).

However, Katz & Mair (1993) similarly hold that this dominance of the party in public office does not wave away (future) intra-party conflicts as they argue that internal disputes will continue to exist, especially concerning the willingness to make (ideological) compromises. As pointed out earlier, the party in public office operates in an arena that requires one to make compromises every now and then, particularly once they have the privilege (or duty) to sit at the governing table. Although seeking compromises with coalition partners is an inherent component of the democratic process in many contemporary democracies, the literature (Katz & Mair, 1993; 2002) suggests that the two other party faces - and in particular the members of the party on the ground - often appear less willing to deviate from their ideological principles. Correspondingly, they may decide to call in the help of the party in central office, who not only possess greater resources (if united) but are there to keep the party in public office in check on behalf of the party on the ground - resulting in ever-dynamic intra-party conflicts.

3.4 Unitary vs. organisational perspective

Before this thesis continues with an outline of its methodology, it aims to bring the two conceptualisations of political parties together in this sub-chapter to lay down a foundation for its operationalisation. On the one hand, this thesis stumbled upon the perspective of political actors as a ‘unitary collective actor’ - which this thesis labels the unitary perspective. It has found several scholars (Hazan & Itzkovitch-Malka, 2020; Novotný et al, 2016) who have argued this to be the result of a prevalent influence of American scholars (on the development of the policy process literature). It constitutes a conceptualisation that neglects the role of party-related actors and elements and fails to address how these link to one another through intra-party dynamics. Hence, Novotný et al (2016) have argued that the prevalence of such a conceptualisation of political parties leads to the underestimation of their role in the policy process (research) and consequently has the potential to challenge “traditional normative assumptions regarding their position and ability to represent the people” (p. 221).

On the other hand, this thesis stumbled upon party scholars like Johnson (2006) who defined political parties as organisations which (together with the work of Hazan & Itzkovitch-Malka (2020) and Novotný et al (2016)) introduced this thesis the notion that more emphasis should be placed the intra-party dynamics that exist within political parties. In other

words, what was needed was a conceptualisation that depicts political parties as dynamic organisations - which this thesis found in the conceptualisation of the three party faces (Katz & Mair, 1993) and has labelled the organisational perspective. In essence, this perspective allows for more details on how different party-related actors and elements operate together within the wider party organisation. In what is referred to as the party in public office, this thesis has primarily found references to the party's elected- and appointed officials which may include politicians (including (prime)ministers, presidents and members of parliament). The party-related actors that can be linked to the party in central office are actors whose role it is to serve as a link between the party in public office and the party on the ground, such as the national executive (committee) (including the party leader or chair) or (professional) party staff. Here, it should be noted that this thesis expects that the terms 'political leader' or 'party leader' may be used interchangeably and hence, should be more carefully examined in the outline of the methodology. Finally, the party on the ground consists of [political party] members, activists, financial contributors and (loyal) voters.

4. Methodology

This chapter intends to present a means to synthesise the previous findings on the two distinctive conceptualisations of political parties and make them more tangible to acquire a more detailed understanding of the role of political parties in contemporary policy process research, and more specifically the selected policy process frameworks. First, it addresses the research design of this thesis which continues to build on the distinctive conceptualisation of 'parties as a unitary collective actor' and 'parties as a dynamic organisation'. In the next sub-chapter, the thesis presents the rationale for the selection of policy process frameworks and elaborates on the sample selection process in further detail. Finally, this chapter outlines the method of analysis that was used to answer the research question(s).

4.1. The research design

To better understand the relationship between policy and politics, it is necessary to bring these distinctive fields of research together. Although this can be achieved through a variety of different angles, this thesis has chosen to focus on the depiction of political parties in contemporary policy process frameworks. It thereby not only aims to understand the role of political parties in the policy process through a variety of theoretical lenses but more importantly explores whether this understanding corresponds to the conceptualisation of

political parties as dynamic organisational actors - a conceptualisation that is more accepted in the field of political science - and what additional knowledge this conceptualisation can bring to policy process research. Consequently, it seeks to advance our understanding of the relationship between policy and politics and expose areas of learning between the two academic fields. Finally, throughout this process, this thesis not only focuses on the (potential) differences between the use of the different conceptualisations but also seeks to gain insights into the recent developments with regard to the depiction of political parties in the selected policy process frameworks as it is of the opinion that this may allow for a more comprehensive answer to the question of how contemporary policy process frameworks present the role of political parties in the policymaking process.

To comply with the aims set out in this thesis and answer the questions that were raised, this thesis chose to conduct a small-n study on six contemporary policy process frameworks. Although it chose to incorporate some quantitative elements to strengthen the comparative angle of this research to allow for a more comprehensive answer to the main research question, the research is primarily characterised by a qualitative analysis of a small number of case studies. The inherently comparative nature of the research design which focuses on the “intense analysis of a few cases with limited energy expenditure, financial resources and time”(Johns, 2013, p. 2), allows this thesis to be selective in the number of frameworks analysed while it prevents ‘superficiality’ and the risk of ‘overstretching concepts’ (idem. Nonetheless, this selection of a relatively small number of cases also represents one of the major pitfalls of small-n studies as “the selection of cases in the absence of any rules of inquiry can lead to insecure inferences, limited findings, and, in some cases, simply incorrect conclusions about a particular topic” (Landman, 2008, p. 27-28) and may consequently threaten the validity of this research, if not addressed properly. Hence, this thesis has devoted an entire section to its case- and sample selection, which can be found in Chapter 4.2.

However, a simple small-n study on six contemporary policy process frameworks and their depiction of political parties does not yet fully answer all the questions addressed in this research. Albeit secondary to the findings on the potential added value of the organisational perspective in policy process research, this thesis is also interested in the recent advancements in the depiction of political parties within the field. Hence, an additional comparative element was added to the small-n study to accommodate the depiction of (the role of) political parties in the selection policy process frameworks over time. Though not to the extent of a longitudinal study that may provide insights with regard to the entire academic

developments of the selected frameworks, this research chose to incorporate the two most recent editions of the primary source of this research: *The Theories of the Policy Process*. The fourth edition of this volume (that is analysed in this research) was edited by C.M. Weible and P.A. Sabatier in 2018, and the fifth edition of the volume was published in 2023 by C.M. Weible. Although P.A. Sabatier passed away in 2013, he remains to be included in the referencing of the volume until the 4th edition as a form of tribute to his contribution to early editions of the volume. A complete overview of the scholars who contributed to the two volumes discussed (including their nationality) can be found in Table I. In practice, this addition to the research design introduces a (second) two-step element to this research in that all steps within this study are not only systematically applied to the different policy process

Table I: Overview of authors who contributed to the 4th and 5th edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume

| Framework* | Authors 4th edition (2018) | Authors 5th edition (2023) |
|------------|--|---|
| ACF | Jenkins-Smith, H.C. (US) Nohrstedt, D. (SE) Weible, C.M. (US) Ingold, K. (CH) | Nohrstedt, D. (SE) Ingold, K. (CH) Weible, C.M. (US) Koebele, E.A. (US) Olofsson, K.L. (US) Satoh, K. (JP) Jenkins-Smith, H.C. (US) |
| IADF | Schlager, E. (US) Cox, M. (US) | Schlager, E. (US) Villamayor-Tomas, S. (ES) |
| MSF | Herweg, N. (DE) Zahariadis, N. (US) Zohlenhöfer, R. (DE) | Herweg, N. (DE) Zahariadis, N. (US) Zohlenhöfer, R. (DE) |
| NPF | Shanahan, E.A. (US) Jones, M.D. (US) McBeth, M.K. (US) Radaelli, C.M. (UK) | Jones, M.D. (US) Smith-Walter, A. (US) McBeth, M.K. (US) Shanahan, E.A. (US) |
| PET | Baumgartner, F.R. (US) Jones, B.D. (US) Mortensen, P.B. (DK) | Baumgartner, F.R. (US) Jones, B.D. (US) Mortensen, P.B. (DK) |
| PFT | Mettler, S. (US) Sorelle, M.E. (US) | Mettler, S. (US) Sorelle, M.E. (US) |

*Frameworks and theories

Weible & Sabatier (2018) & Weible (2023)

frameworks, but also across the two editions. By adding this additional research element, this thesis aims to find out whether the increased interest in the policy process frameworks resulted in a more detailed understanding of the role of political parties, or that research on this matter is still lacking.

4.2. Sample selection

Before elaborating on the details of the selected method of analysis and the corresponding steps that were taken, it is necessary to get a clear understanding of the frameworks and samples that were selected for this research. First of all, why did this thesis focus on the analysis of six contemporary policy process frameworks? And how does it represent the policy process research? These are important questions to answer as the selection of unrepresentative units of analysis may severely hamper the validity of this research. Hence, this thesis argues it necessary to take a few steps back and start its rationale for the selected policy process frameworks from the beginning.

Following the developments in other academic fields, the policy process research relies on a wide variety of frameworks, theories and models that intend to describe, explain and predict elements that are important in the wider academic field, and in this case address elements that explain (part of) the policy process. However, as pointed out by Ostrom (2009), the terms [frameworks, theories and models] are “used interchangeably by many scholars” (p. 414). To avoid confusion in selecting the relevant analytical tools for this research, this thesis relies on an explanation which utilises the different levels of analysis that can be linked to the various analytical tools. Starting with the most holistic analytical tool (that is used for macro-level studies), a framework is intended to contain “the most general set of variables” which provides scholars with “a metatheoretical language ... to discuss any particular theory” (idem). A theory, on the other hand, is an analytical tool for meso-level analysis which provides a researcher with more information on the specific “working parts of a framework [that] are considered useful [for the explanation of] diverse outcomes” (idem). It also demonstrates how these different ‘working parts’ may relate to one another. Finally, models are the analytical tools for micro-level studies in that they “make precise assumptions about a limited number of variables in a theory” (idem). As this thesis is primarily interested in the macro-level explanations of the policy process, the research chose to focus on policy process frameworks.

However, since frameworks place emphasis on a certain selection of concepts and relationships, the analysis of one single framework will not suffice in answering the research question(s). Instead, this thesis has chosen to explore a multitude of contemporary policy process frameworks. The frameworks were selected based on Weible's (2023) *Theories of the Policy Process* volume which this thesis considers a proxy for the latest advancements within the policy process field. In this latest volume, Weible (2023) discussed "the most established [frameworks] in the world with the most active research programs" (p. 12). His collaborations with renowned policy process scholars (for example, P.A. Sabatier, H.C. Jenkins-Smith, D. Nohrstedt, P. Cairney, T. Heikkila and many more), his overall contributions to the field (Sabatier & Weible, 2007; Weible et al, 2009; Weible et al, 2020), and the fact that it was published less than a year ago, arguably classify this volume as a reliable source of knowledge depicting state-of-the-art research on a range of policy process frameworks.

Importantly, where the volume discusses a total of eight distinctive policy process frameworks, this thesis opted for a stricter selection procedure to accommodate the time constraints under which this research was conducted, as well as to maintain the characteristics of the small-n research design. After a preliminary review of the volume and policy process literature, this thesis made the assumption that the frameworks discussed in the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume are sorted based on their overall relevance to the field and extent of applications and correspondingly chose to analyse the first six frameworks that were addressed in the volume. In alphabetical order, this means that this thesis will analyse the following six policy process frameworks: the Advocacy Coalition (ACF), the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IADF), the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF), the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET), and the Policy Feedback Theory (PFT). It also means that the Policy Diffusion and Innovation Framework and the Ecology of Games Framework are not discussed in this research.

As discussed previously, this research similarly chose to incorporate a comparative element to the small-n study presented in this research which means that the same analysis is conducted on the relevant chapters of both the fourth- and fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume. Both editions were accessed electronically albeit through different means. The fourth edition was accessed through a pdf file provided by Charles University. The fifth edition, however, was not available electronically for students of Charles University (as it constitutes a rather recent publication) but access was provided through the electronic platform VitalSource. This small difference in the accessibility of sources is not expected to

influence the outcome of this research as it did not impact the ability to access all chapters, conduct a search for key terms and make references to the relevant page numbers.

Once access to both editions of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume was secured and the selection of frameworks was made, this thesis continued with a sample selection based on the dichotomy addressed throughout this paper, namely the conceptualisation of political parties as a unitary collective actor (referred to as the unitary perspective) and the conceptualisation of political parties as dynamic organisations (referred to as the organisational perspective). To shed light on the additional information that the organisational perspective can bring to the understanding of the role of political parties in the policymaking process, this thesis approached the sample selection from a deductive angle that led to a two-step selection process of key paragraphs which either explicitly or implicitly discuss the role of political parties in the policymaking process. To ensure the reliability of this selection process, this thesis chose to select (entire) paragraphs as it not only makes it easier to replicate the selection process (which was done through a test-retest method in November and December 2023) but similarly allows for the interpretation of the context in which the various key terms were discussed.

Following this logic, the thesis first selected all paragraphs within the two editions of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume (that discussed one of the six selected policy process frameworks) which contained the terms ‘[political] party’ and ‘[political] parties’ which serve as a proxy to represent the conceptualisation of political parties as a unitary collective actor. Hence, the first step focuses on the explicit mentioning of political parties which represents the information that people usually look for when they want to learn more about the role of political parties. To ensure that the sample selection is representative of the unitary perspective, any references that do not explicitly refer to political parties (such as third-party actors) or any party-related elements were excluded from the first step in this selection process.

Once the samples representing the unitary depiction of political parties were selected, this thesis repeated the process albeit with different key terms. To represent the organisational perspective on political parties that takes into account the intra-dynamics of the different party-related actors, a clear and explicit operationalisation of the conceptualisation of the three party faces is required. As identified in Chapter 3.4, the party-related actors linked to the party in public office (PPO) are the party’s elected- and appointed officials (including political leaders), the various actors active in the ‘party office’ (such as the national executive committee (members), secretariat or party staff, and other party-related professionals)

represent the party in central office (PCO), and the party on the ground (POG) was found to represent (party-) members and activists, financial contributors and (loyal) voters. Similarly addressed in Chapter 3.4, this thesis aims to address the potential overlap in definitions applied to a party's leader by a closer scrutiny of the context in which it is addressed.

Finally, this thesis adds to the selection of key terms several party-related elements (more specifically that of party ideology, (re)election and the party system) as it argues that such elements allow this thesis to acquire additional insights into the intra-party power dynamics that may occur within these political organisations. Whereas the terms connected to election(s) are expected to provide this thesis with additional knowledge on the party in public office, the party system is expected to reveal more information about the role of the party and central office. Lastly, the terms connected to (party) ideologies are a bit more difficult to link to only one party face, as the discussion of intra-party power dynamics in Chapter 3.3 demonstrated that it may constitute an area of conflict between different party faces. As it is therefore expected to provide this thesis with more detailed information on intra-party dynamics, it constitutes the last term to be included in the organisational perspective of political parties.

However, some adjustments were made to these key terms to improve the reliability of the sample selection process and correspondingly secure the validity of this research. Concretely, this means that some decision rules on the selection of key terms have broadened their applicability (for example in the case of elected and appointed officials) to better fit the metatheoretical language used in the frameworks, whereas in other cases the applicability has been narrowed down as to exclude references to other policy actors and/or policy-related elements (such as in the case with party leaders, experts and members) that would interfere with this research. To provide transparency on the selected key terms and similarly improve the reliability of this research, the exact selection of key terms is made visible in Table II which is to be found on the next page.

Table II: Outline of decision rules for the organisational perspective on political parties

| Party face | Party actor (or element) | Key-term |
|----------------|----------------------------------|---|
| PPO | Elected- and appointed officials | ‘Elected official(s)’ ‘Member(s) of parliament’ ‘Politician(s)’ ‘Minister(s)’ ‘Political leader’ ‘Prime minister’ ‘President’ |
| | Election | ‘(re)election(s)’ |
| PCO | Central office (staff) | ‘(national) executive (committee)’ ‘Party leader’ ‘[party] secretariat’ ‘[party] staff’ ‘[party] (policy) expert(s)’ |
| | Party system | ‘[party] system(s)’ ‘[party] model(s)’ |
| POG | Party members | ‘[political party] member(s)’ ‘Political activist(s)’ |
| | Other influencers | ‘Financial contributor(s)’ ‘Voters’ |
| PPO, PCO & POG | Ideology | ‘[party] ideology’ or ‘[party] ideologies’ ‘[party] manifesto(s)’ |

Source: Author

4.3 Method of analysis

Once this thesis finalised the two-step sample selection procedure across both editions of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume, it initially continued with a quantitative analysis which focused on the frequencies of paragraphs and key terms to provide this thesis with some indications before the qualitative analysis. First, it registered how many paragraphs contained the terms ‘[political] party’ and ‘[political] parties’, and how many additional paragraphs were added to the sample selection based on the key terms that could be linked to the conceptualisation of political parties as dynamic organisations. Second, the frequencies of all the relevant key terms (as outlined in Table II) were collected and presented in the form of a frequency table that is to be connected to one of the six policy process frameworks. Moreover, this thesis holds that additional information may be derived from the collection of

references that were used in the selected paragraphs. It may not only indicate whether the understanding of the role of political parties in the policymaking process stems from more recent or older publications but may also assist this research in determining the background of the scholars which may or may not have influenced their work. Hence, next to the frequencies of key terms, this thesis also collected any references that were made to earlier academic work. From these samples, this thesis documented their year of publication and conducted preliminary research on the background of the first scholar. Once this data was collected, the findings were transformed into graphs (which provide insights into the timeframe in which a scholarly work was published) and a pie chart (which makes a distinction between publications with (first) scholars affiliated with Europe, the United Kingdom, the United States and other geographical regions).

Following this quantitative analysis, this thesis continued with a two-step qualitative analysis which reviewed the samples of each policy process framework in more detail. First, all samples which demonstrated similarities across editions were linked together to ensure the comparative element of this research was equally addressed. Next, this thesis conducted a preliminary analysis which assessed whether the key terms present in each sample revealed something about a structural element of the framework, whether it was used as part of an example, or whether it was mentioned in a call for future research. Although all samples were subject to a more detailed analysis that followed later, this distinction was made to structure the samples according to their (potential) relevance for our analysis, and similarly allowed the researcher to label samples together in different groups according to what they revealed about the role of political parties in the policymaking process.

Following the order of relevance based on the quantitative analysis conducted earlier, each framework is first analysed based on the conceptualisation of political parties as a unitary collective actor, after which the additional samples were analysed to understand the added value of the conceptualisation of political parties as dynamic organisations. Finally, this thesis examines the differences in samples (and their content) across editions and evaluates which new information was introduced since the fourth edition, and potentially which information was left out in the fifth edition. Once these findings have been presented (Chapter 5.2 - 5.7), Chapter 6 will continue discussing any surprising findings and trends with regard to the depiction of political parties that can be witnessed, as well as transfer these findings back to the wider context of policy process frameworks.

5. Findings

This chapter outlines the quantitative and qualitative findings of the small-n study on six contemporary policy process frameworks that aim to explore how political parties are presented in the policy process research and whether an organisational conceptualisation of political parties broadens the understanding of their role in the policy process. Hence, it provides the reader with a status quo on the literature on the Advocacy Coalition Framework, The Institutional Analysis and Development Framework, the Multiple Streams Framework, the Narrative Policy Framework, the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory and the Policy Feedback Theory – particularly with regards to the depiction (and role) of political parties in the policymaking process. This chapter will start with a presentation of the quantitative findings (Chapter 5.1), as it was intended to serve as a foundation for the qualitative analysis that follows in the remaining sub-sections of this chapter. As addressed earlier, this thesis is especially interested in the frequencies (both in terms of the number of paragraphs as well as the exact usage of the terms) that result from the two-step approach based on the distinctive conceptualisations. Hence, it starts with the discussion of Graph I which solely demonstrates the findings of the unitary perspective on political parties. Additionally, this chapter will discuss the findings in Graph II which demonstrates the additional number of paragraphs that were selected as a result of the organisational perspective on political parties.

Building thereon, Chapters 5.2-5.7 discuss the findings on each of the policy process frameworks independently by order of relevance to this research (based on the results from the quantitative analysis). To ensure that all readers have a baseline understanding of the frameworks that are covered in this research, all sub-chapters start with a brief discussion of the core assumptions and structural elements of each framework. As this discussion will be limited to the core components, it also includes a reference to other sources for further understanding of the framework(s). Next, it presents the findings on the analysis that was conducted based on the samples that correspond with the unitary perspective on political parties, followed by a display of the ‘additional’ information that was found on political parties and/or their role in the policymaking process stemming from the sample selection that was based on the organisational perspective. This thesis finishes the presentation of each framework’s findings with an outline of the characteristics - the year of publication and geographical background of the first scholar - of the publications that were used as references in the collected paragraphs. It should be noted, however, that this chapter primarily intends to

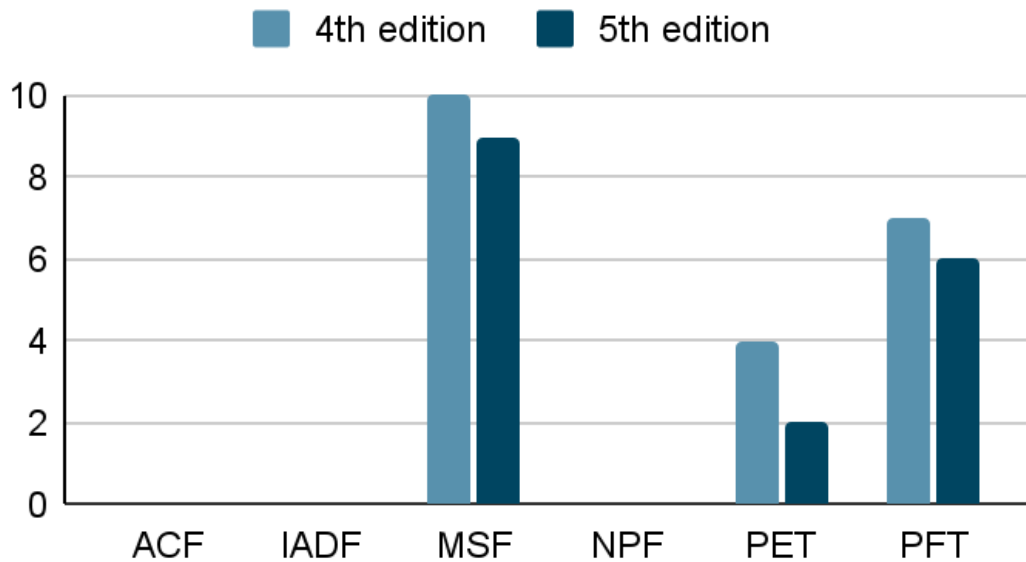
present the findings and, hence, refrains from making interpretations on the rationale behind these findings - as this will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.1. Comparative findings

Firstly, this thesis registered how many paragraphs contained the terms ‘[political] party’ and/or ‘[political] parties’. In this first step of the sample collection the terms must refer to the entity that is a political party, and not refer to party-related elements (such as party systems, models or competition) as well as party-related actors (such as party members, or party leaders). This thesis holds that these party-related elements and/or actors indicate the implicit mentioning of political parties in the policy process frameworks and are therefore included in the second step of the sample collection.

The findings of this first step in the research process are summarised in Graph I (to be found on the next page) which demonstrates that three out of the six contemporary policy process frameworks do not mention the term ‘[political] party’ or ‘[political] parties’. This is an important finding as it confirms earlier statements (Novotný et al, 2016) found in the literature with regard to the negligence of the role of political parties in policy process research. Moreover, it appears that the Multiple Streams Framework is most developed in its depiction of political parties with the identification of nine samples in the most recent edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume. This is followed by the Policy Feedback Theory which resulted in six samples and the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory which demonstrated two samples. Other than the fact that the Advocacy Coalition Framework, the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework and the Narrative Policy Framework do not (explicitly) mention political parties once in their discussion of the framework, the (negative) changes between the fourth and fifth edition stand out. Whereas no conclusions can (yet) be drawn from this observation, it does highlight the relevance of including an additional comparative element to this research in analysing the differences between the fourth and fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume.

Graph I: Number of paragraphs based on unitary perspective



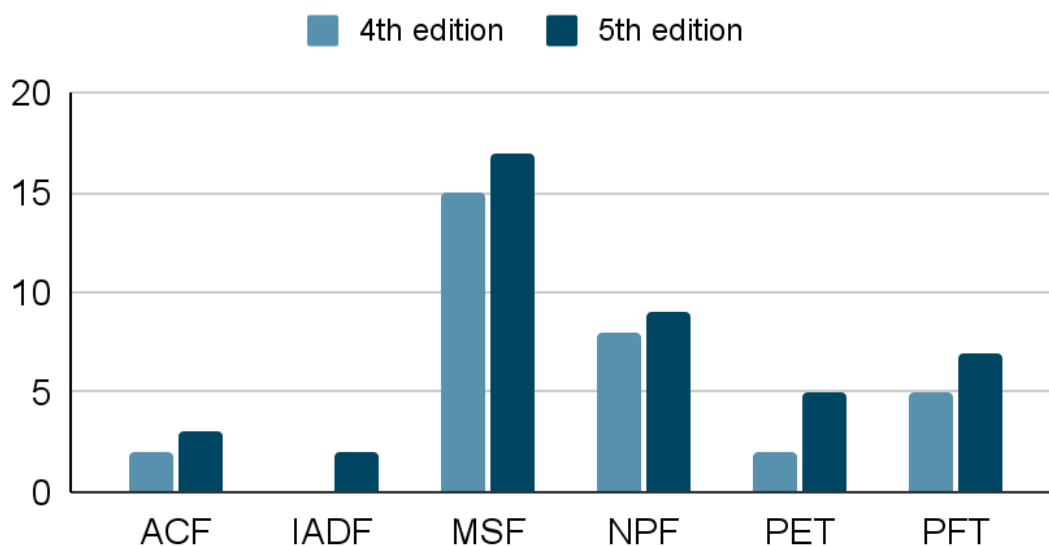
Source: author

In an attempt to expand our understanding of the role of political parties in the policymaking process, this thesis adopted a broader conceptualisation of political parties based on Katz & Mair’s (1993; 1995) ‘three party faces’ – which this thesis refers to as the organisational perspective. Besides the paragraphs that were selected in the first step of this research (Graph I), the sample selection process was repeated with additional key terms that represent party-related actors (based on the three distinctive party faces) or party-related elements (an overview of key terms can be found in Table II on page 32). This thesis holds that the search for both party-related actors and party-related elements can be used as a proxy for the collection of paragraphs that implicitly refer to the role of political parties in the selected policy process frameworks, and simultaneously may provide this thesis with more insights into the relevant intra-party dynamics. The results of this additional sample selection can be found in Graph II (on the next page). This graph solely demonstrates the number of additional paragraphs that were collected as a result of this organisational perspective. A more detailed overview of the frequencies of each key term are presented in Chapter 5.2-5.7 as a means to bundle the quantitative and qualitative elements of this research together.

Nonetheless, there are already several elements that stand out when reviewing the data presented by Graph II. First of all, the selection process of the organisational perspective resulted similarly in the highest number of collected samples stemming from the Multiple Streams Framework which supports the assumption that this is the most developed

framework with regards to the depiction of political parties. Secondly, although the Narrative Policy Framework made no explicit references to political parties in either edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume, it does appear to make use of implicit referencing which may reveal information about their role in the policy process. Although similar statements can be made about the Advocacy Coalition Framework and the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework, their sample selection remains small (below five) which can indicate no structural role for political parties in these frameworks. Finally, what stands out is the fact that across all six frameworks, the 5th edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume resulted in more samples - an opposite trend from what was found in the unitary perspective.

Graph II: Number of (additional) paragraphs based on organisational perspective



Source: Author

5.2 The Multiple Streams Framework

The Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) analyses agenda change and policy choice under conditions of ambiguity indicating that a wide range of solutions exists for one single (policy)problem (Herweg et al, 2023, p. 30). However, taking into account the fluid participation and unclear policy preferences of policymakers as well as the time constraints under which they operate (p. 30-31), the framework introduces a heuristic of three

interdependent 'streams' that come together during so-called 'windows of opportunity' to explain how policy change may come about.

The first of these three streams is the 'problem stream' which centres on the identification of a policy problem. For a problem - understood as a deviation from an ideal scenario - to be classified as a 'policy problem', policymakers must take agency over the problem which the MSF assumes can happen as a result of focusing events, a change in indicators, or other forms of policy feedback (p. 32). The second stream is identified as the 'policy stream' which centres on the selection of policy alternatives - a process characterised by consensus building and persuasion between the different actors within the policy community. The third stream is labelled as the 'political stream' which centres on the process of acquiring enough political support for a policy proposal.

An important role within these three streams (and hence in the explanations of policy change) is laid out for the policy entrepreneur. Albeit not based on official titles present in contemporary democracies, this term describes the role of a policy actor who responds to alterations occurring in one of the three streams (identified as a so-called 'window of opportunity' or 'policy window') and actively aims to couple this to the other two streams resulting in a viable solution to a policy problem that is expected to acquire a political majority and thereby cause policy change (p. 32-33). However, the policy entrepreneur often does not stand on its own as they often call in the support of a political entrepreneur who takes on the responsibility to seek the political majority that is needed. For a more detailed understanding of the MSF, this thesis recommends a review of the foundational literature on MSF (Herweg et al, 2015; Mintrom & Norman, 2009; Zahariadis, 2003) and some of the most recent publications (Bolukbasi & Yildirim, 2022; DeLeo & Duarte, 2021; Herweg & Zohlhöfer, 2022), or the Chapter 1 of the Theories in the Policy Process volume.

Table III: Frequency table Multiple Streams Framework

| Key-words group | MSF (2018) | MSF (2023) |
|----------------------------------|------------|------------|
| [political] party & parties | 21 | 20 |
| Elected- and appointed officials | 13 | 13 |
| Elections | 10 | 9 |
| Central office staff | 2 | 2 |
| Party system | 1 | 1 |
| Party members | 0 | 0 |
| Other influences (POG) | 2 | 1 |
| Ideology | 7 | 8 |

Source: Author

The role of political parties from a unitary perspective

Based on the findings presented in Chapter 5.1 (and the corresponding frequency table presented above), this thesis assumes that the MSF presents the most developed policy process framework when it comes to the role of political parties in the policymaking process. Not surprisingly, political parties are often mentioned explicitly when discussing the dynamics of the political stream. Resulting from their public mandate based on the most recent elections, a selected group of party members is given the privilege to vote upon policy proposals in parliament. Hence, the MSF foresees any changes in the electoral composition of parliament (or other political venues) as an important element within the political stream. More specifically, such electoral (and corresponding governmental) changes are the result of the (long- and short-term) behaviour of political parties and are often identified as a ‘predictable cause’ of the opening of a window of opportunity in the political stream (Herweg et al, 2023, p. 36). When a political party manages to maximise votes and thereby acquire a seat at the governing table, it is likely to propose policy alternatives according to its manifesto as it will argue that it was elected to do exactly that. However, the findings also demonstrate that although the MSF acknowledges an important role for political parties in the opening of the political agenda, it is not the sole actor to play a part in this process (idem).

Another way through which political parties were found to influence the political stream is through part-related actors that take on the role of a political entrepreneur. However, it should be noted that although this can be a member of a political party, this is

not necessarily the case (p. 36). Nonetheless, it is the party members in parliament that the political entrepreneur seeks to influence as successful policy adoption requires the support of the majority in parliament. To the advantage of the political entrepreneur, this is often simplified through dynamics of party discipline and/or coalition forming which means that most attention is devoted towards the political leadership (p. 47). Although the term 'party leadership' may refer to party leaders in both the realm of the party in public office and the party in central office, the contextual setting of the political stream indicates that in this case, the MSF refers to the party leader in public office - which may be a 'regular' political leader, or the head of government (prime minister or president depending on the political system in which the political entrepreneur operates).

Moreover, the MSF holds that political entrepreneurs often aim to manipulate policymakers to reach a majority for their policy proposals. Although the use of the term 'policymakers' indicates that these actors are not necessarily linked to a political party, the context in which this statement has been made tells otherwise as policymakers are often manipulated by presenting the problem as a threat to their reelection (p. 43) - indicating that the term refers to elected officials operating in the political realm. Similar results can also be achieved by centralising the policymaking process for a specific issue (idem) - a political move that can not be used too often and can only be achieved by someone with (significant) political power. Finally, the MSF makes several assumptions about the (necessary) background of the political entrepreneur, and how this may influence the chances of policy adoption. When the political entrepreneur is a member of a governing party this is often seen as an advantage (p. 47) - especially if the party is not constrained by other veto actors (p. 44). Nonetheless, if the political entrepreneur is a member of the opposition, the MSF holds that their success rate can be expected to be rather slim (p. 47).

However, the unitary perspective on political parties revealed that parties are relevant in another stream - the policy stream - albeit due to the distinctive analytical roles of different party-related actors. In this stream, it is not the party as a unitary collective actor, or the party leadership that takes on an important role, but the party's policy experts who are considered to be members of the policy community that determine which policy proposals present viable policy alternatives to the policy problems at hand. Consequently, these party-related policy experts create an important reciprocal link between the policy communities and political parties. On the one hand, the party-related policy experts take with them their party ideology (whether directly through orders from the party in central office or indirectly through the composition of their belief system) through which they may influence the policy stream. The

MSF assumes that these policy actors are “more likely to support proposals that can be attached to the basic ideology [of the party], or that address already well-known positions” (p. 47). On the other hand, this relationship between the (members of the) policy community and political parties also works in its reverse, as policy experts may bring back viable policy alternatives to their parties (idem) - whether they intend to introduce their party to new alternatives or (slightly) alter their existing beliefs.

Finally, the unitary perspective on political parties stumbled upon a call for future research on the role of political parties in the policymaking process. Crucial for this research, the MSF recognises the distinctive roles of political parties such as their policy-seeking, vote-seeking and democracy-seeking roles, and argues that as a result of these distinctive roles, political parties are active in more than one stream - albeit through different party-related actors (idem). Hence, Herweg et al (2023) argue that this important role of political parties should be better reflected in future developments of the MSF, particularly when it concerns the application of the framework towards parliamentary democracies (idem). It outlines that this should be feasible, as the core assumptions of the MSF (such as the conditions of ambiguity and the presence of unclear policy preferences) were found to hold in parliamentary systems as well.

The role of political parties from an organisational perspective

Although the unitary perspective on political parties already provided several ways in which both political parties collectively and party-related actors individually can influence the policymaking process, the organisational perspective not only expanded our previous findings but also resulted in some additional information on their role in the policy process. The additional samples that were included in this research due to the conceptualisation of political parties as dynamic organisations resulted - for example - in a more elaborated explanation of why the frameworks’ assumptions are expected to hold in parliamentary systems in (Western) European countries (Herweg et al, 2023, p. 29). It, moreover, resulted in additional explanations on the occurrence of elections as a predictable agenda window and the role of political parties therein (p. 37) and on the impact of political parties in the political stream through their role as (the receivers of) political entrepreneurs (p. 36).

Particularly the information on the latter phenomenon was expanded as the organisational perspective allowed for a more detailed elaboration of the prevalence of the political stream in the decision-making stage - as opposed to the agenda-setting stage. Whereas the agenda-setting stage only requires the intention of a key policymaker (this can

be a relevant minister or an influential member of the legislature) to take on a more prominent role in the future, by actively supporting the policy proposal (p. 36), the decision-making stage focuses on the actual process of majority acquisition. It, moreover, outlines that the political entrepreneur is dependent upon the institutional settings in which it operates as it determines the level of support that is needed for a successful policy adoption (p. 42). Nonetheless, the MSF similarly sums up several assumptions and/or hypotheses that lay out factors that may constrain or support the political entrepreneur in their work. For example, it presumes the coupling at the decision-making stage is harder in systems of coalition governments as this brings along the greater risk of veto actors that could hinder a successful policy adoption (*idem*). Along these lines, the framework also presumes an important role for party ideology as it holds that proposals in line with the general ideology of government have a better chance of gaining agenda status (p. 40).

Importantly, the organisational perspective has not only expanded previous knowledge on the role of political parties in the MSF, it similarly introduced this thesis to novel information that would have otherwise remained unnoticed had the research been solely conducted from a unitary perspective. First of all, the organisational perspective has introduced this thesis to an additional hypothesis of the framework that is (albeit indirectly) linked to the problem stream. The MSF holds that the more a condition puts a policymaker's reelection at risk, the higher the chance that it opens a policy window in the problem stream (*idem*). This indicates that when something is considered electorally relevant – understood as a policy problem being salient among voters - it has the potential to spill over to become politically relevant and open a policy window as it directs the attention of policymakers to the specific issue.

Moreover, the organisational perspective sheds light on the possibility of a party member becoming a policy entrepreneur as it presumes that any policymakers (such as a member of parliament) in the position to push policy proposals further on the agenda, can execute the role of policy entrepreneur (p. 53). Besides the requirement of patience and persistence, policy entrepreneurs must be skilled at coupling the different streams together - indicating that they must be able to present viable policy alternatives that solve policy problems to politicians. This then reveals that the greater the relationship with (other) politicians, the more successful a policy entrepreneur is expected to be (p. 39). In other words, politicians are expected to be rather successful in coupling the three streams together (due to their connections and knowledge) and consequently may contribute to policy change.

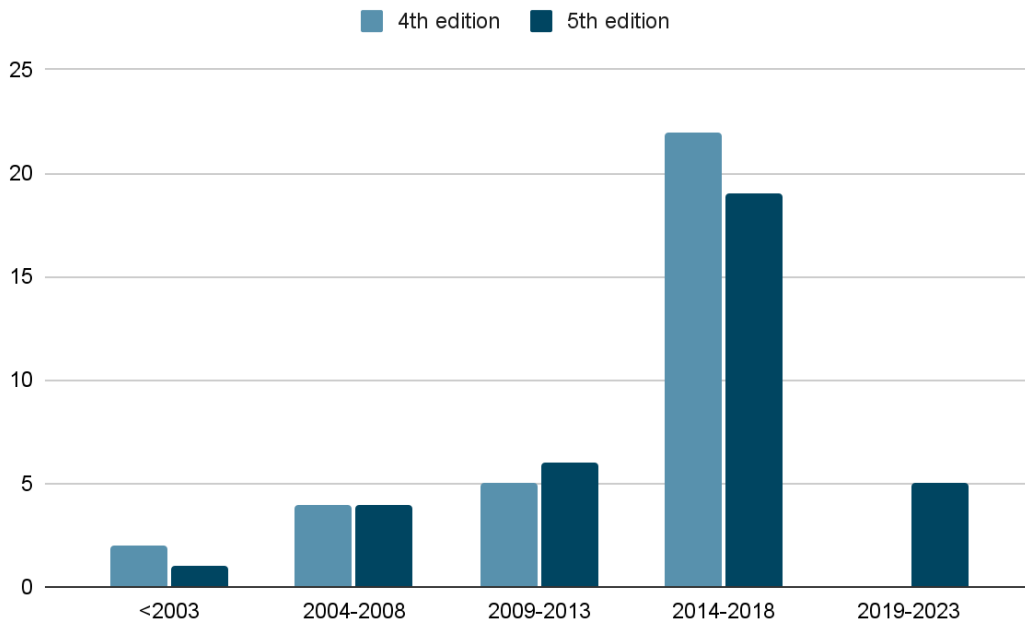
Lastly, the organisational perspective brings attention to a second element (besides electoral changes) which signals the opening of a policy window in the political stream, namely changes in the national mood (p. 40). Although the organisational perspective does not provide much additional information here, it does indicate that changes in national mood are less predictable policy windows than electoral changes (p. 37) and that the electoral relevance of the issue at hand plays an important role in determining its overall impact (p. 33) as it presumes that politicians are responsive to a political issue that may form a threat to their chances to get reelected.

Recent advancements in the field

The comparative analysis brought little additional information on the role of political parties in the MSF as many of the selected samples of the fifth edition corresponded to the selected samples from the fourth edition. There were, however, some differences in the selection of examples and references. Additionally, the fifth edition introduced this thesis to some novel research on the application of the framework in non-democratic settings. Although relevant for the overall development of the framework, this is considered irrelevant to the outcome of this research.

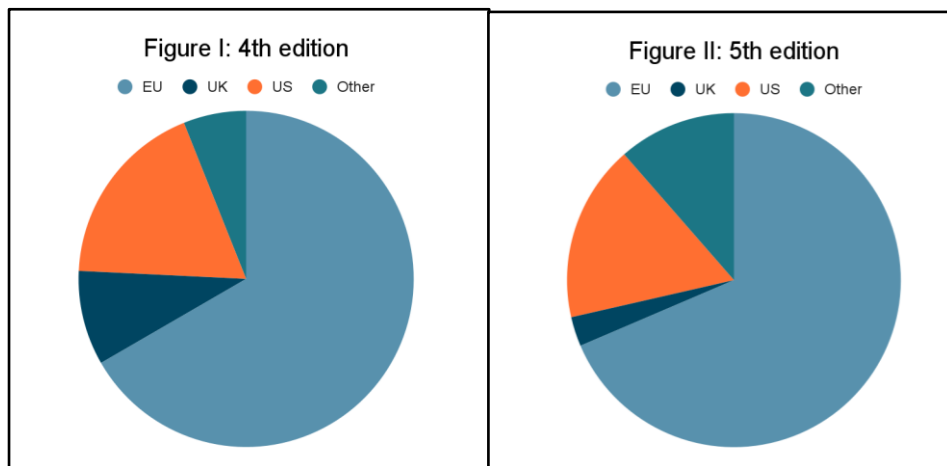
As highlighted in the introduction of this chapter, this thesis was also interested in the use of references within the selected samples, particularly in the year of publication and the research background (affiliated country) of the scholar. The results of this additional quantitative research on the MSF can be found in Graph III and Figures I and II (which are to be found on the next page). Graph III demonstrates that the selected samples from the MSF refer to relatively recent publications as the majority of references were made to research published between 2014 to 2018. Moreover, the fifth edition has been updated with five references from after 2018. Finally, Figures I and II provide this thesis with insights on the background of the (first) scholar and reveal that the majority of publications are from scholars that are affiliated with the European continent.

Graph III: Referenced work within samples MSF (year of publication)



Source: Author

Figures I & II: Referenced work within samples MSF (geographical region affiliated with first scholar)



Source: Author

5.3 The Policy Feedback Theory

The Policy Feedback Theory (PFT) offers an analytical tool for interpreting new policy issues and policy alternatives according to the notion that “policies shape politics” (Mettler & SoRelle, 2023, p. 101) and subsequently the policymaking processes (Skocpol, 1992, p. 58). The theory thereby builds on the work of historical institutionalists which suggests that commitments made in the past produce increasing returns (Pierson, 1993). When this is applied to the policy process, it means that the adoption of a policy proposal is not only influenced by past decisions and hence subject to feedback effects but similarly will influence decisions that are to be made in the future. Whereas the knowledge of feedback effects helps analysts to better understand the dynamics of policy formulation and change while similarly enabling processes of policy learning, the framework also prevails that this knowledge can be used for more immediate (and perhaps malicious) political goals (Hackett, 2020; Schneider & Ingram, 2019).

Regardless of intentions, the framework identifies four means through which policies (and thereby policy actors) can influence the policymaking process. First of all, policies are considered to influence what is defined as a policy problem and which problems are expected to make it onto the political agenda (Mettler & SoRelle, 2023, p. 104-105). Secondly, policies are assumed to affect resource commitments and constraints which impact governance capabilities and processes of policy learning (p. 105). Thirdly, policies impact the behaviour of political elites and the public, thereby influencing the power of groups and the composition of coalitions (p. 105-108). Finally, policies have the potential to shape political behaviour as they not only influence the extent to which individuals decide to take part in the political process but also shape the meaning of citizenship (p. 108-111). For a more detailed understanding of the PFT, this thesis recommends a review of the foundational literature on PFT (Campbell, 2003; Schneider & Ingram, 1993; Skocpol, 1992), some of the most recent publications (Hackett, 2020; Mettler et al, 2023; Rosenthal, 2021), or the Chapter 3 of the *Theories in the Policy Process* volume.

Table IV: Frequency table Policy Feedback Theory

| Key-words group | PFT (2018) | PFT (2023) |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| [political] party & parties | 14 | 12 |
| Elected- and appointed officials | 5 | 5 |
| Elections | 2 | 2 |
| Central office staff | 0 | 0 |
| Party system | 0 | 0 |
| Party members | 1 | 1 |
| Others influences (POG) | 4 | 6 |
| Ideology | 1 | 1 |

*Source: Author***The role of political parties from a unitary perspective**

Based on the findings presented in Chapter 5.1 (and the corresponding frequency table found above), this thesis assumes that the PFT is relatively developed in its depiction of the role of political parties in the policymaking process. Not surprisingly, the PFT often mentions political parties explicitly when discussing the various ways through which political parties can influence society. For example, the selected samples were found to describe how political parties may (whether directly or indirectly) influence the formation of cleavages (or societal sub-groups) within a society (Mettler & SoRelle, 2023a, p. 105). Although not solely determined by political party behaviour (idem), political parties often contribute to processes of decision-making which may result in (future) conflicts over which individuals or collectives may decide to mobilise politically. Although often strengthened by the occurrence of conflict, incentives for political mobilisation may also stem from dynamics of issue attention - in which the party decides to focus its resources and attention on one issue which might come at the expense of another policy issue. Regardless of the means, political parties are found to not only contribute to the formation of cleavages (or coalitions) at some point in their political existence but also are considered to have an (indirect) influence on the extent to which these groups become involved in the political process (p. 100).

However, this process is not merely applicable to collective and individuals previously outside of the political arena, as decisions of political parties may also influence the extent of political mobilisation of one's party members or that of party members affiliated with other parties. The difference with the mobilisation of citizens is that more often than not, the process of party member mobilisation is the result of strategic decisions (from the central party organisation) - often when demand for political resources is high such as when elections are on the horizon (p. 115). All in all, the framework assumes that this process of (internal) political mobilisation is found easier for (governing) parties operating in more centralised policy processes (p. 111) - as can be witnessed in various European parliamentary democracies - as opposed to more decentralised political systems.

Lastly, the unitary perspective on political parties revealed an area of research within the PFT that particularly focuses on the effects of redistributive aid (or social benefits) on the political behaviour of recipients. The framework assumes that societal groups that are found to benefit from redistributive aid are more likely to join an interest group or political party that is associated with the protection of these public policy programs (p. 100). In this line of research, Chen (2013), furthermore, concluded that political decision to expand (or at least maintain) redistributive programs, had a positive effect on voter turnout for the party in power (Mettler & SoRelle, 2023a, p. 114). Whereas benefit recipients that could be linked to the governing party, collectively increased voter turnout in the upcoming election, benefit recipients linked to the opposition party showed effects of reduced turnout. Overall, this indicates that the governmental party is rewarded for providing distributive benefits to their citizens (idem).

The role of political parties from an organisational perspective

The samples collected through the organisational perspective on political parties were found primarily to give additional insights into the various interpretative effects through which policies can shape the policymaking process - and the role of political parties therein. Firstly, political parties were found to influence the formulation of the political agenda through past and future decisions (Mettler & SoRelle, 2023, p. 103) which not only impacts wider governmental and societal processes but also influences the behaviour of their party-related actors. The composition of the political agenda determines how their elected officials understand policy problems (p. 104; p. 106) and consequently which policy problem(s) they devote the most attention to. In other words, elected (and appointed) officials are not merely subject to processes of policy- and political- learning which may or may not be influenced by

their political party (idem, p. 105), but also their perception of (policy)problems is subject to the influence of political parties.

Finally, the findings on the organisational perspective also outline how policies - and thereby the past decisions of political parties - have the ability to influence the power and creation of (interest- and political) groups (p. 103; p. 109) and shape the meaning of citizenship (p. 103). This is primarily achieved through a collection of examples which elaborate on the various means through which political parties may shape the political behaviour of their members (p. 107; p. 114) or citizens (p. 106; 118). Other examples were found on how political decisions can influence the relationship between citizens and the political world (p. 115) or how this determines citizens' sense of political efficacy (p. 118).

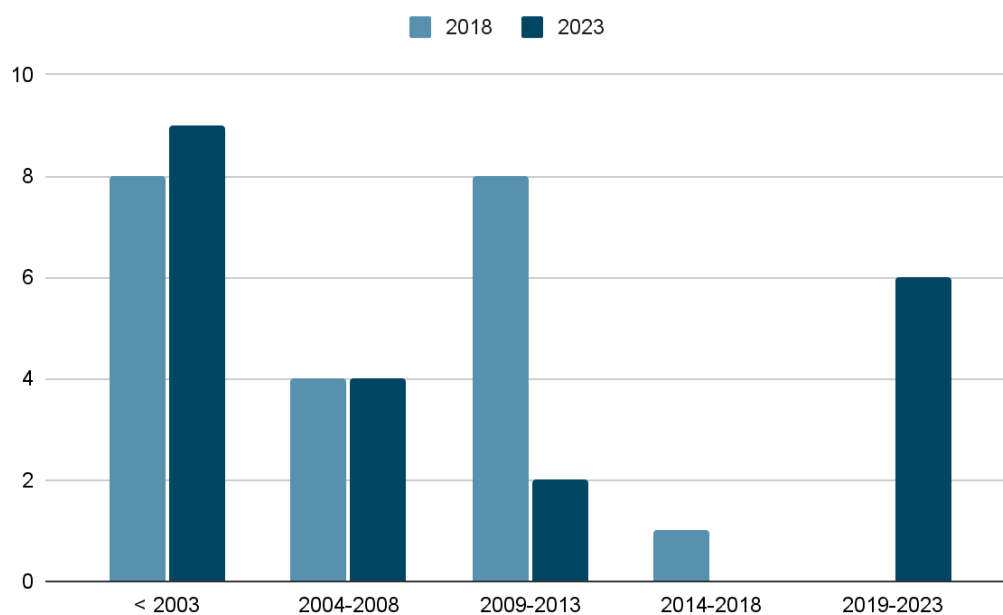
Recent advancements in the field

The comparative analysis brought to the surface minor differences between the fourth and fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume. Besides differences in the use and extent of examples and references, the fifth edition offers additional insights into the behaviour of political parties in times of increasing polarisation in which more emphasis is placed on political mobilisation. Consequently, Mettler et al (2023) argue that in times of heightened partisanship, “policy threats may spur salience” resulting in a greater appreciation among citizens for certain policies (as cited in Mettler & SoRelle, 2023, p. 120) - resulting in a type of influence that was not explicitly mentioned in the sample selection of the fourth edition. Moreover, the comparative analysis found some additional information on the influence of contextual differences in the fourth edition, which did not show up in the sample selection of the fifth edition. Whereas in a number of examples (such as found in Mettler & SoRelle, 2018, p. 124), the contextual settings in which the research was conducted were emphasised more explicitly in the fourth edition, it also included a sample that asked the question on whether elected officials operating in different political systems “face different incentives when it comes to designing policies that are more favourable to their own constituents” (p. 128-129). It hereby laid out a potential area for further research, a call which is either assumed to have remained unanswered or decreased in relevance.

As highlighted in the introduction of this chapter, this thesis was also interested in the use of references within the selected samples, particularly in the year of publication and the research background (affiliated country) of the scholar. The results of this additional quantitative research on the PFT can be found in Graph IV and Figures III and IV (which are to be found on the next page(s)). Graph IV demonstrates that although the fourth edition

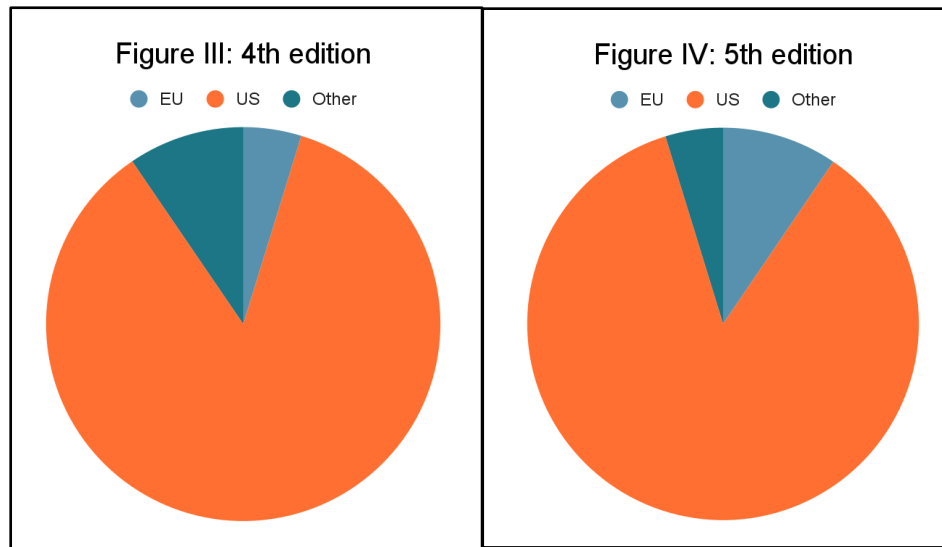
relied on relatively old publications, the fifth edition has been updated with a collection of more recent publications. Nevertheless, both editions primarily refer to publications of the early 2000s and prior. Finally, Figures III and IV provide this thesis with insights into the background of the (first) scholar and reveal that the majority of scholars referenced in this work on the PFT are affiliated with the United States and that although the differences between the two editions can be considered minor, the percentage of American scholars within this research on the PFT appears to have increased which only confirms the dominance of American scholarship within the research stream of the Policy Feedback Theory.

Graph IV: Referenced work within samples PFT (year of publication)



Source: Author

Figures III & IV: Referenced work within samples PFT (geographical region affiliated with first scholar)



Source: Author

5.4 The Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

The Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) seeks to understand the dynamics of policy change (and stability) over time by focusing on how and when attention is allocated to a specific policy issue. The framework explains how complex policymaking systems (generally characterised by stability and incrementalism) occasionally “produce large-scale departures from the past” (Baumgartner et al, 2023, p. 65). Starting from the assumption that humans are boundedly rational and can only process information serially (p. 74), the framework identifies two primary venues for policy discussion: the arena of subsystem politics and the macro-political arena. To enable the parallel discussion of policy issues, most of the decision-making takes place in the confines of subsystem politics. This political arena is characterised by the policy monopoly of policy experts and symbolises “stability, power and policy continuity” (Cairney & Heikkila, 2023, p. 307). However, this also means that policy subsystems are designed to preserve stability and naturally resist efforts of change often ignoring or even eliminating inertial forces of change for as long as possible (Baumgartner et al, 2023, p. 66-67).

Although most subsystems are able to continue to work alongside these rigid institutions for several decades (Cairney & Heikkila, 2023, p. 307), the pressure for policy change is bound to build up at some point (for example due to friction or changes in

supporting policy images due to either exogenous or endogenous forces). Eventually, this may require the intervention of the macro-political arena that takes action to overcome this friction and/or adjust the established policy image to the status quo and thereby create a new (policy) equilibrium. Such interventions signal periods of punctuation and can significantly destabilise subsystem affairs (idem). Although the extent of the bursts of activity in the system is dependent upon how a government adjusts to flows of information (Baumgartner et al, 2023, p. 75) policy change is rarely expected to be moderate (p. 66). This then results in a system of “institutionally reinforced stability [that is occasionally] interrupted by bursts of change” (p. 67). For a more detailed understanding of the PET, this thesis recommends a review of the foundational literature on PET (Baumgartner & B.D. Jones, 1993; B.D. Jones & Baumgartner, 2005; B.D. Jones & Baumgartner, 2012), some of the most recent publications (Green-Pedersen, 2019; Grossman & Guinaudeau, 2021; Mortensen et al, 2022), or the Chapter 2 of the Theories in the Policy Process volume.

Table V: Frequency table Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

| Key-words group | PET (2018) | PET (2023) |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| [political] party & parties | 10 | 7 |
| Elected- and appointed officials | 2 | 2 |
| Elections | 5 | 5 |
| Central office staff | 0 | 0 |
| Party system | 2 | 2 |
| Party members | 0 | 1 |
| Others influences (POG) | 0 | 0 |
| Ideology | 1 | 1 |

Source: Author

The role of political parties from a unitary perspective

Based on the findings presented in Chapter 5.1 (and the corresponding frequency table), this thesis assumes that the PET is moderately developed in the depiction of the role of political parties. Although the unitary perspective on political parties only resulted in the collection of two samples, the frequency table (Table V) indicates that some relevant information may be extracted from this small collection. Regardless of these findings, the samples from the

organisational perspective as well as the comparative analysis are expected to provide this thesis with more extensive information on the role of political parties in the PET.

Perhaps the most important finding based on the unitary perspective is the acknowledgement of the scholars (Baumgartner et al, 2023) that the PET has an inherently American focus due to “its notion of venue shopping and weak political parties” (p. 87). While the scholars presume the framework to be universally applicable as previous research has demonstrated that the main assumptions of the framework (such as the occasional lurches of macro-political attention or the serial processing of information) hold in other political systems, they do outline the need for minor adaptations, particularly if the framework is to be applied to more centralised political systems. Such systems are often characterised by a more prominent role for political parties, which needs to be reflected in the PET’s development.

On top of this statement, the unitary perspective displays a role for political parties in trying to set the political agenda. Within this research area, the PET primarily seems to focus on the issue of party competition. Importantly, the framework presumes that parties do not simply talk past each other on certain policy issues, but that instead, they respond to one another, often resulting in discussions concerning the same set of policy issues (p. 89). Within this dynamic, the PET expects different levels of influence (when it comes to setting the political agenda) for different political parties (idem) - primarily making a distinction between governmental parties and opposition parties. In this line of research, Green-Pedersen (2019) for example, outlines how opposition parties may influence the political agenda by focusing “attention in those areas that the government might prefer to avoid” (Baumgartner et al, 2023, p. 89).

The role of political parties from an organisational perspective

When conducting research on the role of political parties within the PET based on the organisational perspective, this thesis primarily found a small number of party-related actors that were used in examples which served as a means of extending knowledge of the PET’s assumptions and dynamics. These party-related actors were mentioned in examples that further explain the dynamics of macro-political attention (Baumgartner et al, 2023, p. 84), or more specifically how the ‘overreaction’ of politicians may influence these dynamics (p. 72). However, the organisational perspective on political parties also revealed a handful of additional information. First of all, it outlined how citizens, political activists and policymakers all have the opportunity to contribute to the development of policy images (idem). Once their contribution results in significant changes in the policy image, these

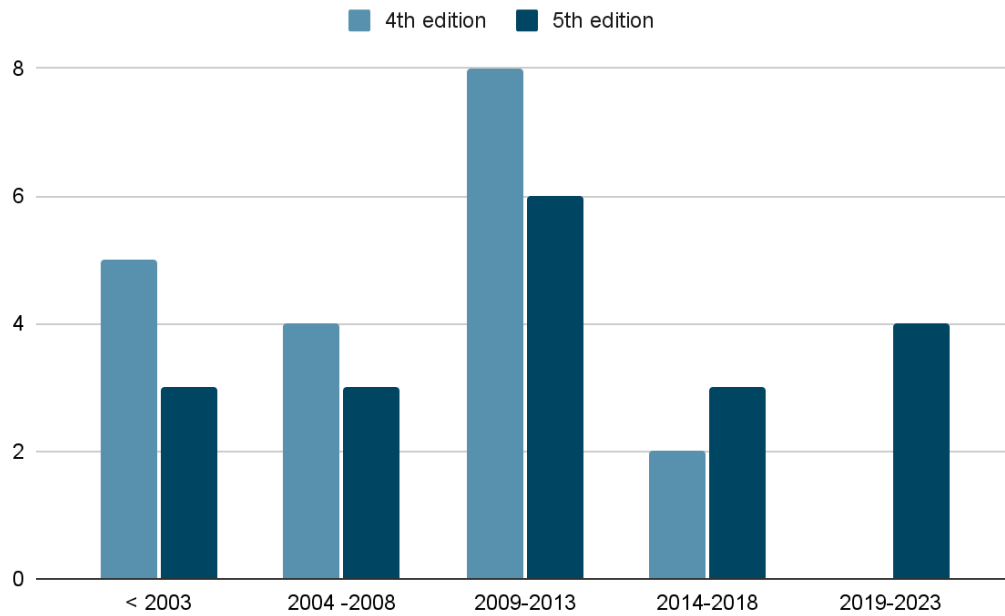
(party-related) actors are considered to play an important part in the dynamics of policy change. Second, the organisational perspective offers insights into the role electoral changes play within the framework as it outlines various studies (for example in Mortensen et al, 2011; Grossmann & Guinaudeau, 2021) that found no systematic evidence of a relation between election results and the dynamics of stability and punctuations in government agendas (Baumgartner et al, 2023, p. 88).

Recent advancements in the field

Apart from the expected differences in the use of references and examples, the comparative analysis of the samples derived from the PET revealed a more detailed understanding of the unequal agenda-setting powers of different political parties and introduced new research on the role of various party-related actors in the development of policy images in the fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume. Nonetheless, when compared to the fourth edition, the fifth edition lacks a more extensive explanation of the role of endogenous (changes in policy subsystems) and exogenous forces (such as changes in the level of public attention, striking and compelling new information and elections) on political decision-making.

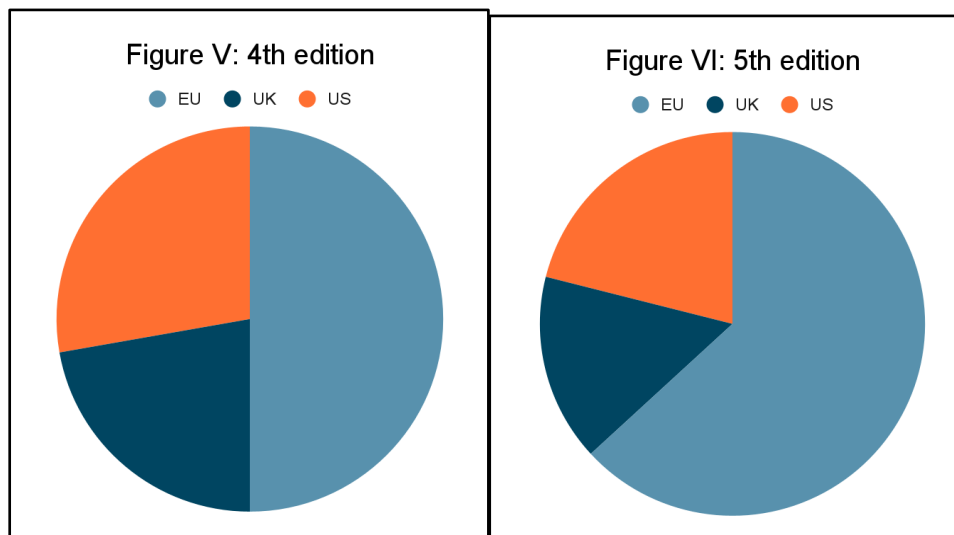
As highlighted in the introduction of this chapter, this thesis was also interested in the use of references within the selected samples, particularly in the year of publication and the research background (affiliated country) of the scholar. The results of this additional quantitative research on the PET can be found in Graph V and Figures V and VI (which are to be found on the next page). Graph V demonstrates that no major trend can be witnessed in the use of references concerning their year of publication. Although both editions make the most references to research published in the late 2000s and early 2010s, the overall distribution between the timeframes that were selected in this thesis is relatively equal - particularly when compared to Graph III (MSF) and IV (PFT). Moreover, Figures V and VI highlight that most references were made to research affiliated with European scholars, with the fifth edition further increasing their share at the expense of research affiliated with scholars from the United Kingdom. Finally, it should be noted that in the sample selections of the PET, no reference was made to scholars who were affiliated with countries outside the United States and Western Europe.

Graph V: Referenced work within samples PET (year of publication)



Source: Author

Figures V & VI: Referenced work within samples PET (geographical region affiliated with first scholar)



Source: Author

5.5 The Narrative Policy Framework

The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) analyses the power of storytelling within the public policy process as it seeks to explain the influence of narratives on public opinion, policy dialogue and ultimately policy change. The framework centres around the ‘homo narrans model’ depicting individuals as boundedly rational, albeit primarily guided by heuristics and cognitive biases (M.D. Jones et al, 2023, p. 169). This paves the way for a strategic depiction of policy narratives by which policy actors can attempt to influence policy change - confirming the statement that narratives are “the lifeblood of politics” (Shanahan et al, 2018, p. 173).

Although the framework aims to “take into account other concepts and behaviours that influence policy actor behaviour” (p. 190), it is the policy narratives that constitute the framework’s primary unit(s) of analysis – systematically analysed through the identification of the narrative- form and content. Whereas the narrative content is more easily identified (bound by beliefs, ideologies or norms), the narrative form demands more elaboration. Narratives can take on a great variety of different forms and are thus analysed according to four elements: 1) the setting, 2) the characters, 3) the plot, and 4) the moral of the story. However, it should be noted that not all elements need to be present to constitute a policy narrative – it should only feature a minimum of one character and contain some public policy referent (Shanahan et al, 2013, p. 457).

Moreover, policy narratives are assumed to interact and operate simultaneously at three levels – the micro-level that represents the role of narratives at an individual level, the meso-level that represents narratives on an organisational level and analyses how they are used in coalition(s) (strategies), and the macro-level that analyse how narrative strategies affect public opinion and policy outcomes (M.D. Jones et al, 2023, p. 169 - 179). The framework emphasises various means or strategies for influencing this process. This can be achieved through 1) containment or expansion of the scope of the conflict, 2) an emphasis on one’s ability to solve the problem, 3) an emphasis on the malicious motives of opponents, and 4) by strategically assigning mechanisms of responsibility and/or blame for a policy problem (p. 166). Overall, the NPF holds that policy change is either likely a result of narrative persuasion and/or manipulation, or narrative attention. For a more detailed understanding of the NPF, this thesis recommends a review of the foundational literature on NPF (M.D. Jones & McBeth, 2010; McBeth & Lybecker, 2018; Shanahan et al, 2013), some of the most recent

publications (Colville & Merry, 2022; Lybecker et al, 2022; Winett et al, 2021), or the Chapter 5 of the Theories in the Policy Process volume.

Table VI: Frequency table Narrative Policy Framework

| Key-words group | NPF (2018) | NPF (2023) |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| [political] party & parties | 0 | 0 |
| Elected- and appointed officials | 8 | 5 |
| Elections | 0 | 1 |
| Central office staff | 0 | 0 |
| Party system | 0 | 0 |
| Party members | 0 | 0 |
| Others influences (POG) | 0 | 0 |
| Ideology | 2 | 4 |

Source: Author

The role of political parties from a unitary perspective

As demonstrated in Chapter 5.1, this thesis found no positive results in the sample selection process concerning the unitary perspective on political parties within the discussion of the Narrative Policy Framework in both the fourth and fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume.

The role of political parties from an organisational perspective

Whereas the NPF does not explicitly mention the role of political parties, Chapter 5.1 (and the corresponding frequency table) also demonstrated that when the organisational perspective is applied, this increases the available samples that allow this research to (ultimately) draw some conclusions with regard to the role of political parties in the NPS’s explanation of the policy process as it implicitly indicates a role for political parties through various party-related actors and elements. First of all, several party-related actors (such as elected officials, members of parliament and politicians) are mentioned as actors constructing policy narratives (M.D. Jones et al, 2023, p. 163) and are therefore considered important actors in the policy process.

Generally, the framework recognises a great variety of different policy actors that are potentially part of the policy process as they might intend to take control over the trajectory of one or more policy issues. This is particularly highlighted in the NPF's meso-level analyses (p. 174) where both individuals and organisations are presumed to develop policy narratives based on their policy preferences to cause policy change through processes of manipulation, persuasion and calls for attention (p. 163). Nevertheless, the authors of the chapter on the NPF in the fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume argue that although the framework recognises the importance of actors (being both narrators and audiences) within the production and creation of policy narratives, their role remains rather 'under-developed' despite emerging literature on the topic (McBeth et al, 2014; Lybecker et al, 2013; Petridou & Mintrom, 2021).

Whereas the role of actors within the NPF is argued to be rather underdeveloped (M.D. Jones et al, 2023, p. 167), the organisational perspective does reveal some additional information on how these actors increase their chances of success. To attract a large enough audience to their narrative, the NPF holds that policy actors (deliberately) keep their narratives relatively simple (p. 163), as this increases the chance that the narrative is understood by a large (enough) section of society. In reality, this entails that policy narratives are often built upon existing belief systems (such as political ideologies) that (already) help citizens give meaning to the world around them. However, it should be noted that these belief systems may greatly differ from one another. This then leads to a world in which the distinctive social constructions of both policy-related objects and processes result in the creation of (inherently) different policy realities (p. 162) in which it becomes more and more difficult to convince a majority of one policy narrative.

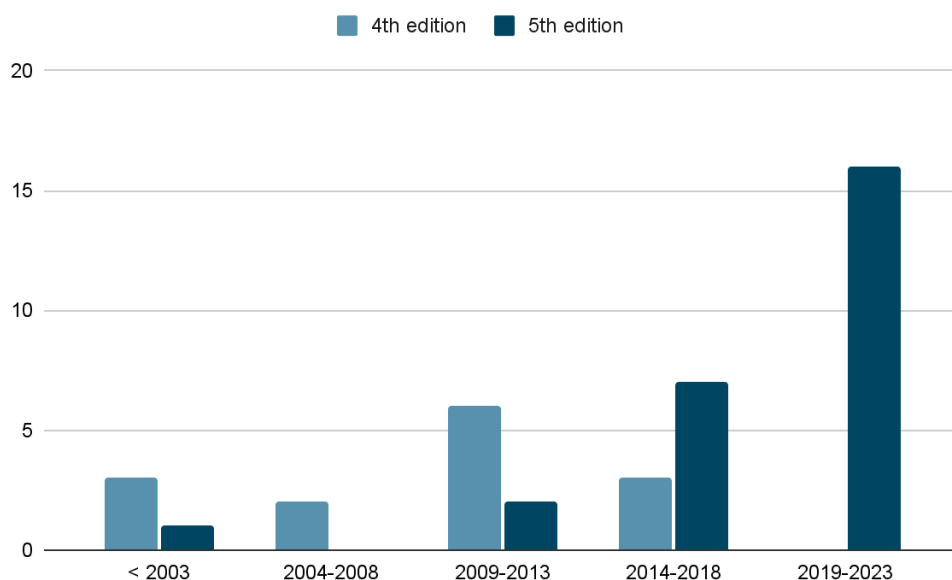
Recent advancements in the field

The comparative analysis brought to the surface many differences concerning the sample selection - particularly when compared to the comparative analysis that was conducted on frameworks such as the MSF and PFT. Apart from minor changes that were found in the use of examples and references, the fifth edition was found to have a completely different introduction to the chapter arguing that the centrality of narratives to public policy has become more apparent since the previous edition as well as outlining various definitional parameters that help understand what are considered policy narratives and what are not (M.D. Jones et al, 2023, p. 161). Moreover, the fifth edition appears less explicit in its inclusion of party-related actors - for example changing "member of the British parliament" (Shanahan et

al, 2018, p. 181) in the fourth edition to a “member of parliament” (M.D. Jones et al, 2023, p. 174) in the fifth edition - thereby allowing for a more universal application of the NPF. Moreover, the fifth edition was found to better outline the link between policy narratives and belief systems (as addressed in the previous paragraph) and outlines more recent developments on macro-level narratives.

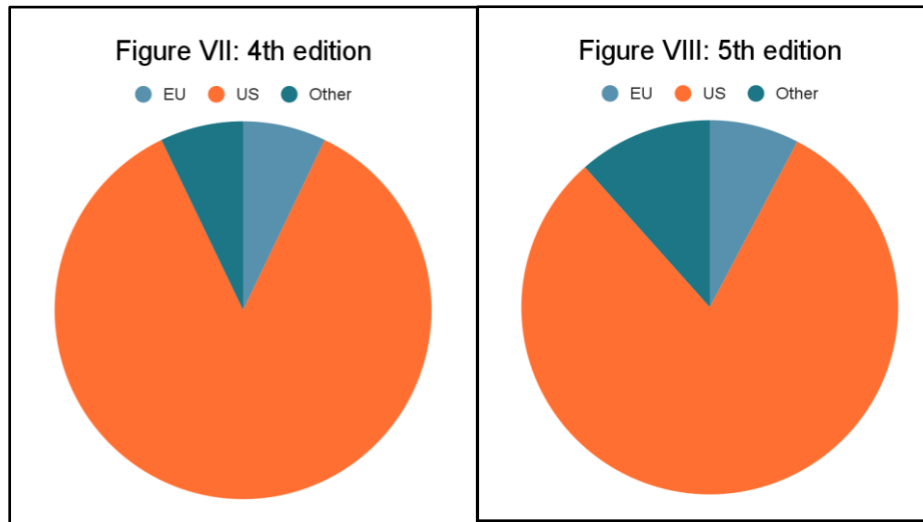
As highlighted in the introduction of this chapter, this thesis was also interested in the use of references within the selected samples, particularly in the year of publication and the research background (affiliated country) of the scholar. The results of this additional quantitative research on the NPF can be found in Graph VI and Figures VII and VIII. Graph VI demonstrates that the references used in the fourth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume were relatively equally distributed with regard to their year of publication. However, the references collected in the samples of the fifth edition depict another story, as the collected samples primarily made references to research published in the last decade - with a majority of references made to publications after 2018. This corresponds with earlier findings that suggest that the chapter has witnessed some important updates. Moreover, Figures VII and VIII (which are found on the next page) demonstrate that regardless of these updates, a great majority of references are made to scholars affiliated with the United States in both editions of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume - indicating a prevalent American focus of the NPF.

Graph VI: Referenced work within samples NPF (year of publication)



Source: Author

Figures VII & VIII: Referenced work within samples NPF (geographical region affiliated with first scholar)



Source: Author

5.6 The Advocacy Coalition Framework

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) analyses advocacy coalition integration - that is how policy actors (whether individuals or organisations) organise themselves strategically in competing coalitions based on similar belief (systems) - and how changes in these beliefs and rationales impact policy learning and affect politics and policy changes over time (Baumgartner & B.D. Jones, 1993; Nohrstedt et al, 2023). The framework's main focus is the policy subsystem - a key venue for coalition interaction that focuses on "actors beyond government and interest groups" (Cairney & Heikkila, 2023, p. 309) and how they coordinate their actions to translate their beliefs into policy (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983, Nohrstedt et al, 2023). By applying a long-term perspective on (the interactions within) policy subsystems and highlighting the constraints under which policy actors (continuously) operate, the ACF aims to explain both policy- stability and change.

One of the main pillars of the ACF is the importance of belief systems which serve as the foundation from which "policy actors engage in argumentation, persuasion, narration and framing through analytical debates" (Nohrstedt et al, 2023, p. 133). The prominence of belief systems within the ACF can be explained by its assumption that policy actors are boundedly rational and (primarily) motivated by their belief system which shapes their empirical world

(Jenkins-Smith et al, 2018, p. 142). Whereas beliefs can come in many shapes and sizes, the ACF categorises between different levels of beliefs: 1) deep core beliefs, 2) policy core beliefs and 3) secondary beliefs and it presumes the differences and similarities across these three levels to dictate how policy actors organise themselves in different advocacy coalitions who together “coordinate their political activities to translate their beliefs into public policies and block their opponents’ efforts to do the same” (Nohrstedt et al, 2023, p. 133).

Nevertheless, the ACF assumes the policy process to generally be rather stable and only expects policy change in the event of a disruption within the stable parameters (the basic social, cultural, economic, physical and institutional structures) that shape the long-term opportunity structures of coalitions. As long as these parameters remain stable, policy change is unlikely to occur. However, the ACF points out different conceptual pathways in which policy change is likely to occur: due to the occurrence of an external- or internal event, as a result of a negotiated agreement, or because of policy learning. For a more detailed understanding of the ACF, this thesis recommends a review of the foundational literature on ACF (Baumgartner & B.D. Jones, 1993; Sabatier, 1988; Sabatier & Weible, 2007) some of the most recent publications (Koebele & Crow, 2023; Sommerville et al, 2022; Weible et al, 2022), or the Chapter 4 of the Theories in the Policy Process volume.

Table VII: Frequency table Advocacy Coalition Framework

| Key-words group | ACF (2018) | ACF (2023) |
|----------------------------------|------------|------------|
| [political] party & parties | 0 | 0 |
| Elected- and appointed officials | 1 | 1 |
| Elections | 1 | 3 |
| Central office staff | 0 | 0 |
| Party system | 0 | 0 |
| Party members | 0 | 0 |
| Others influences (POG) | 0 | 0 |
| Ideology | 0 | 0 |

Source: Author

The role of political parties from a unitary perspective

As demonstrated in Chapter 5.1, this thesis found no positive results in the sample selection process concerning the unitary perspective on political parties within the discussion of the Advocacy Coalition Framework in both the fourth and fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume.

The role of political parties from an organisational perspective

Whereas the quantitative findings do not indicate that much additional information is to be expected from the organisational perspective, the research has found some results on the implicit mentioning of political parties as actors active in the policymaking process. Not only does their policy-seeking character classify them as “any person (or organisation) that regularly seeks to influence, directly or indirectly, subsystem affairs” (Nohrstedt et al, 2023, p. 132), but the framework explicitly portrays “officials from any level of government” (idem) as potential policy actors. Being a policy actor, political parties and their party-related actors are not only understood to affect changes in policy subsystems but their beliefs and behaviour are also assumed to be subject to policy learning and adaptations to the broader environment and/or coalition dynamics (p. 130). However, this concludes the explanation of the (implicit) role of political parties, as remaining samples reveal that the ACF primarily focuses on the world of politics that takes part beyond elections and social movements - indicating a rather limited role for political parties and party-related actors. Instead, the framework focuses on the role and behaviour of coalitions of which political parties are merely one of many potential actors.

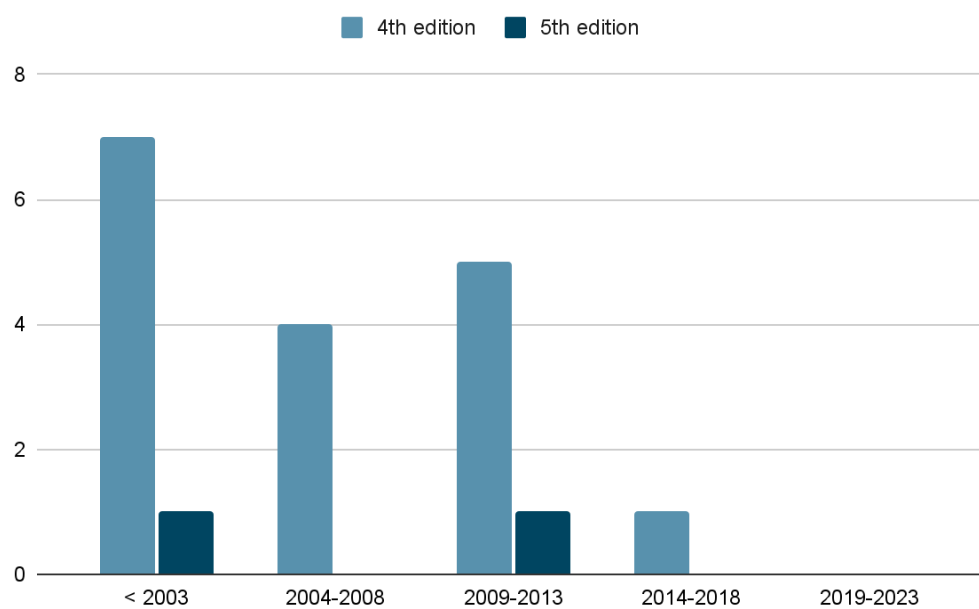
Recent advancements in the field

In line with earlier findings, the comparative analysis of the samples derived from our research on the ACF brought limited results. Although the research on the fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume resulted in one additional sample, this paragraph was found to only highlight in more detail why the framework focuses on the policy process that takes place beyond elections and social movements.

As highlighted in the introduction of this chapter, this thesis was also interested in the use of references within the selected samples, particularly in the year of publication and the research background (affiliated country) of the scholar. The results of this additional quantitative research on the ACF can be found in Graph VII and Figure IX (on the next page). Since the fifth edition included less than ten references to previous publications, no

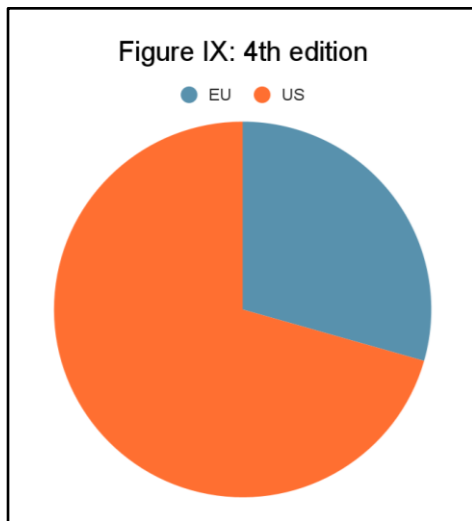
figure was included here as the findings would not have been representative. Graph VII demonstrates earlier findings that the samples derived from the fifth edition make significantly fewer references to earlier publications. Moreover, the analysis demonstrates that it makes no references to publications after 2013. In contrast, the fourth edition of the volume was found to make use of many references, particularly referring to publications from the 2000s and prior. Moreover, Figure IX demonstrates that the majority of references in the fourth edition were made to scholars that are affiliated with the United States.

Graph VII: Referenced work within samples ACF (year of publication)



Source: Author

**Figure IX: Referenced work within samples
ACF (geographical region affiliated with
first scholar)**



Source: Author

5.7 The Institutional Analysis and Development Framework

The Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IADF) systematically explores and explains how institutional arrangements (such as policy-making processes, outputs and outcomes) address a variety of collective action dilemmas (Schlager & Villamayor-Tomas, 2023, p. 196). Starting from a collective action situation, the framework presumes that “individual interest and collective interest often diverge” (p. 197) depending on the incentives produced by the wider context. This then influences the rules (in use) that people generate to regulate behaviour and solve collective problems. The framework was developed by Elinor Ostrom (1990; 2005; 2009) and provides scholars with the tools to systematically explore “how different sets of actors and institutions produce different outcomes” (Cairney & Heikkila, 2023, p. 310). Importantly, Cairney & Heikkila (2023) also outline that the IADF substantially differs from other frameworks and/or theories of the policymaking process as it is “explicitly more generic” as it aims to inquire how institutions (including public policy) shape human interactions (p. 298)

Starting with a collective action problem or dilemma, the framework looks at the different contextual factors that shape the behaviour of different actors. These include the

physical and material conditions, the community characteristics and the rules (in use). Particularly this latter element plays a significant role in the analysis of the collective action problem as the framework introduced a rule typology to systematically analyse institutional arrangements. These seven distinctive rules help determine - among others - who take part in the process, how extensive their involvement can be, and how to punish defectors. It is important to note here that these rules are not exclusively set by public authorities, but that they emphasise the prevalence of rules in use - informal rules within a community that are based on shared preferences or norms. Hence, the IADF does not take for granted that the government acts at the centre of policy-making and instead assumes that “policies are bundles of both formal and informal institutions” (Schlager & Villamayor-Tomas, 2023, p. 218). For a more detailed understanding of the IADF, this thesis recommends a review of the foundational literature on IADF (Crawford & Ostrom, 1995; Ostrom, 2005; Schlager & Ostrom, 1992), some of the most recent publications (Rouillard et al, 2021; Vitale et al, 2021; Witkowski et al, 2021) or Chapter 6 of the Theories in the Policy Process volume.

Table VIII: Frequency table Institutional Analysis and Development Framework

| Key-words group | IADF (2018) | IADF (2023) |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| [political] party & parties | 0 | 0 |
| Elected- and appointed officials | 0 | 2 |
| Elections | 0 | 0 |
| Central office staff | 0 | 0 |
| Party system | 0 | 0 |
| Party members | 0 | 0 |
| Others influences (POG) | 0 | 0 |
| Ideology | 0 | 0 |

Source: Author

The role of political parties from a unitary perspective

As demonstrated in Chapter 5.1, this thesis found no positive results in the sample selection process concerning the unitary perspective on political parties within the discussion of the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework in both the fourth and fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume.

The role of political parties from an organisational perspective

Based on the quantitative findings presented in Chapter 5.1, this subsection solely focuses on the findings that stem from the organisational perspective on political parties as the ACF does not explicitly mention their role in the policymaking process. Although the frequency table presented above does not indicate that much additional information is to be expected from the organisational perspective, the research has found that the relatively small number of references that were made to party-related actors do not present this thesis with much information - besides the mentioning of politicians as one of the many potential actors that may operate in action situations (Schlager & Villamayor-Tomas, 2023, p. 198). The other sample was found to solely make references to party-related actors in the outline of an example on property rights typology (p. 210) which was not found to provide this thesis with additional information on the role of political parties in the policymaking process.

Recent advancements in the field

Finally, since our analysis of the fourth edition did not result in any samples, this thesis was not in a position to conduct a comparative analysis of the IADF. Similarly, the samples derived from the fifth edition resulted in too few references to earlier publications, making any quantitative analysis on the use of references irrelevant.

6. Discussion

Following the extensive presentation of the various findings of this small-n study, this chapter continues with a discussion on the role of political parties within the selected policy process frameworks that aims to place the findings on both the unitary- and organisational perspectives into context. It will do so by addressing each framework individually, after which the findings and assumptions across all frameworks are brought together to answer the research question(s) of this thesis. Before this can be done, the final discussion on each framework will focus on the differences between the findings from both perspectives and aims to explain the origins of these findings (bringing together previous knowledge from the ‘three party faces’, the summaries on each framework and the various quantitative and qualitative findings). Afterwards, all findings are discussed through a comparative lens which aims to understand whether and to what extent similar developments and trends can be witnessed across the frameworks - which helps to answer the main research question of this

thesis which aims to find out *How political parties are presented in contemporary policy process frameworks?*

The Multiple Streams Framework

First of all, this discussion starts with the most developed framework of the six when it comes to the role of political parties, namely the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF). The unitary perspective applied in this research was found to primarily highlight a role for political parties in the political stream - which centres around the process of acquiring enough political support for a policy proposal to succeed. Within this stream, political parties - and their members in public office - may take on a more passive role (solely focusing on the judgement of policy proposals and relying on party discipline) or they may take on a more active role by becoming a political entrepreneur. The unitary conceptualisation also provided some hints in the direction of political party participation in the policy stream, which was confirmed by later research that conceptualised political parties from an organisational point of view. It appears that parties (albeit mostly indirectly) are in the position to influence the selection of policy alternatives that take place in the policy community. This can be achieved through policy experts employed by political parties, or through party-related actors that take on the role of policy entrepreneur - an important (policy) actor who actively aims to couple the three streams to cause policy change. Lastly, the organisational perspective on political parties also presented a (albeit) limited role for political parties in the problem stream as elected- and appointed officials are considered to play a role in the selection of policy problems through the assumption that they are boundedly rational and may only devote attention to a limited number of policy problems. This is, however, a rather passive role as elected- and appointed officials are responsive to manipulation and threats.

Within the MSF's depiction of the role of political parties, a few elements stand out. First of all, different party-related actors were found to play different roles within the various interrelated streams. This not only resulted in a greater emphasis on the role of political parties within the MSF but similarly supports further research on their role in the policymaking process. This was confirmed by the identification of the MSF's collection of future research areas (and the role political parties play therein). Moreover, the emphasis on the party in public office is something that caught the attention of this thesis. Although this thesis has found references to the other actors that are linked to the other two party faces, the dominance of the party in public office stands out and is therefore found to confirm earlier findings of Katz & Mair (1993; 2002) on contemporary trends of intra-party dynamics.

Additionally, this thesis identified a prominent role for various party-related elements (such as ideology and (re)election) within the discussion of the MSF which either provided insights into an important area of (potential) conflict (as in the case of party ideologies) or further underlined the dominance of the party in public office in the MSF's depiction on the role of political parties in the policymaking process. Finally, it concludes that the MSF has seen no major revisions since the fourth edition as the identified alterations merely reflected updated references to previous publications and a different presentation of supporting examples.

Based on this depiction of the role of political parties in the MSF, this thesis argues that the MSF presents political parties as dynamic organisations - emphasising how different party-related actors and elements (through different roles) within different streams contribute to the importance of political parties in the policymaking process. Whereas the unitary conceptualisation of political parties did bring the largest number of samples for the MSF, a more detailed discussion of the findings demonstrates that many samples discuss parties from an organisational point of view as it includes references to many party-related actors and elements and occasionally outlined their intra-party relationships. The findings presented by this research may be explained by the frameworks' focus on the agenda-setting (and decision-making) stages of the policy process - stages that are often associated with political parties. It can be argued that this focus is what contributed to the explicit political layer of the MSF and hence resulted in a rather developed depiction of the role of political parties in the policymaking process. Finally, the primarily European background of the scholars (such as Herweg, Zohlnhöfer and to some extent Zahariadis) that have contributed to the development of the MSF and those who were explicitly mentioned in the sample collection of this thesis, may also explain the MSF's explicit emphasis on political parties in discussing the policy process.

The Policy Feedback Theory

Second, the Policy Feedback Theory (PFT) was found to depict political parties as relatively similar to other policy- and political actors in their understanding of the policy process, in that they are able to influence future decisions through various policy feedback effects but are themselves also subject to decisions made in the past (whether by themselves or other actors). In short, the decisions political parties (and other actors) make every day have the ability to influence the power and creation of groups and their level of political mobilisation, influence the relationship between citizens and the state, shape the meaning of citizenship and determine citizens' sense of political efficacy. Although all of these policy feedback effects

may occur unconsciously, political parties are also found to utilise this knowledge deliberately, as is occasionally the case with political mobilisation. Finally, the organisational perspective on political parties reveals some information on the intra-party dynamics as political parties (and more concretely the party in central office) were found to occasionally influence the behaviour of elected- and appointed officials through their influence on the formulation of the political agenda (as a unitary collective actor).

Within the PFT's depiction of the role of political parties, a few elements stand out. First of all, this thesis has found that - similar to what was witnessed in the analysis of the MSF - the party-related actors and elements that can be linked to the party in public office were most prevalent in the framework. However, it must be noted that although mentioned in a few instances, their role was portrayed as rather passive as they were often depicted as being receptive to wider political party influence. Another party-related actor that stands out in this analysis are (loyal) voters who can be linked to the party on the ground, while relatively little emphasis is placed on party-related elements. Moreover, this thesis reported that a significant portion of references found in the selected samples stemming from the fourth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume were made to relatively old publications that are affiliated with American scholars. Although the fifth edition appeared to have been updated with the inclusion of more recent work (which unfortunately did not result in more information on the role of political parties), the inherent American focus on the PFT seems to prevail - something which was additionally confirmed by the absence of calls for future research on the role of political parties in the policymaking process in the fifth edition of the volume.

Based on this depiction of the role of political parties in the PFT, this thesis argues that the PFT presents political parties primarily as a unitary actor. Although it has to be acknowledged that the framework makes some references to the role of elected- and appointed officials, they are often portrayed as being receptive to wider party influences and reveal little about future intra-party dynamics. The findings presented by this research may be explained by the frameworks' focus on historical institutionalism and the assumption that because of this, policies (and the decisions that political parties make) shape politics (and the role of political parties, citizens and other relevant actors therein). This not only classifies political parties as one of the relevant actors that can influence policy- and political dynamics but also results in an emphasis on the political realm within public policymaking.

The Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

Thirdly, the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) was found to primarily foresee a role for political parties in the formulation of the political agenda. Although this includes a prominent role for the dynamics of party competition, the organisational conceptualisation of political parties similarly depicts a role for other party-related actors such as political activists who (together with citizens and policymakers) contribute to the development of policy images. When their contribution to the development of policy images results in significant changes (causing friction and disproportionate attention) these actors are able to set off dynamics of macro-political attention and contribute to policy change.

Within the PET's depiction of the role of political parties, a few elements stand out. First of all, little references were made to party-related actors. Instead, the sample selection primarily retrieved its information from paragraphs that included references to political parties (as a unitary collective actor) and party-related elements (such as (re)elections and party systems). Particularly the latter can be explained by the fact that the PET assumes electoral changes to have little to no effect on dynamics of policy change. Moreover, this thesis notes that although more samples were collected in the fourth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume than from the fifth edition, the most recent publication did result in a more concrete and detailed understanding of the role of political parties in the policymaking process from the understandings of the PET - resulting in the description found in the previous paragraph. Finally, this thesis stumbled upon another paradox. Although the authors of the chapter on the PET acknowledged the inherent American focus of the framework (as part of an argument for future research on the role of political parties), our research demonstrates that such a conclusion can not be made based on some of the quantitative findings of this thesis (with more references made to publications affiliated with European scholars than American scholars). Nonetheless, it should be noted that the awareness among the authors of the chapter on the inherent American nature of the framework may have also influenced their selection of which contributions to include in their discussion of the PET.

Based on this depiction of the role of political parties in the PET, this thesis argues that the PET presents political parties primarily as a unitary collective actor with a rather limited role in the policymaking process. The findings presented by this research may be explained by the frameworks' focus on subsystem politics which is characterised by the participation of experts and other bureaucraties who - often behind closed doors - discuss the majority of policy issues. Only when attention to the policy issue at hand is too high and

creates a disproportionate amount of friction, does the policy issue move to the macro-political arena which (albeit often indirectly) portrays a role for political parties.

The Narrative Policy Framework

Fourth, this thesis found that the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) did not make any explicit references to the role of political parties in their outline of the policy process and explanation of policy change. Instead, it found numerous implicit references to political parties through various party-related actors and elements as the framework primarily foresees a role for elected- and appointed officials (representing the party in public office) in the construction of policy narratives. It is through such social constructions that political actors are found to influence citizens and other policy-related actors (albeit through manipulation, persuasion or attention seeking) and thereby influence the policymaking process and contribute to the dynamics of policy change.

Within the NPF's depiction of the role of political parties, a few elements stand out. First of all, this thesis notes that not a single (available) sample included any explicit references to political parties, but that instead the framework primarily referred to elected- and appointed officials and (political) ideology. While the former confirms previous research on the dominance of the party in office, the latter can be explained by the impact of social constructivism and the Advocacy Coalition Framework on the development of the NPF, and the corresponding role of belief systems (and hence ideologies) within the framework. Moreover, the fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume was found to include many references to more recent publications which indicates a recent revision of the chapter. Nevertheless, despite recent advancements stemming from the relatively active research community of the NPF, the authors of the chapter continue to argue that the role of actors (and thereby the role of political parties and their relevant party-related actors) is still underdeveloped.

Based on this depiction of the role of political parties in the NPF, this thesis argues that the NPF presents political parties primarily as a unitary collective actor as references are primarily made to the role of elected- and appointed officials with little reference to other party-related actors or their intra-party relationships with one another. This thesis argues that the party as a unitary collective actor is merely replaced by the party in public office which can be explained by the fact that the NPF represents a relatively young framework that is primarily guided by research from scholars affiliated with the United States. Moreover, the implicit inclusion of the political realm within the wider policy process through the notion of

policy narratives can be explained by the inclusion of meso-level analyses as well as the assumption that ‘narratives present the lifeblood of politics’. Nonetheless, it is the policy narrative which forms the frameworks’ primary unit of analysis, not necessarily the actors behind them.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework

Fifth, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) was similarly found not to make any explicit references to political parties in their understanding of the policy process. In line with earlier research on the NPF, the organisational orientation of the second part of the research revealed some implicit explanations of their role, albeit to a more limited extent. Although the research stumbled upon the assumption that ‘officials from any level of government’ can be considered a policy actor (and thereby have a role in the wider policy process), the statement was found to contain too little evidence on its own as it could similarly indicate a mere reference to public and/or governmental officials which are not linked to political parties per se. However, as the same sample included a broader definition of policy actors which indicates that - among many others - political parties and their party-related actors can be considered as policy actors, this thesis recognises a role for political parties in the ACF’s understanding of the policy process. Unfortunately, no further information on the role of political parties in the ACF was retrieved in this research.

Within the ACF’s depiction of the role of political parties, a few elements stand out. As already indicated in the previous paragraph, this thesis was not able to reach any concrete conclusions with regard to the role of party-related actors in the policy process despite their occurrence in the selected samples. Additionally, this thesis has found no significant changes between the two latest editions of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volumes, and no indication of a need to expand the knowledge on the role of political parties within the framework. Lastly, this thesis found that although this research resulted in more samples from the fifth edition of the volume, the samples contained too few references to previous publications to allow for any conclusions on their influence. The fourth edition of the volume, however, indicates that the framework is expected to have an American focus which may explain the relatively small role of political parties in the ACF’s understanding of the policy process.

Based on this depiction of the role of political parties in the ACF, this thesis argues that the research on the ACF resulted in too little information on the role of political parties in the policy process to make any assumptions about their nature. Instead, the research reveals

that political parties are not considered an important actor in the ACF's understanding of the policy process and their explanations of policy change. The findings presented by this research may be explained by the frameworks' intentional focus on policymaking beyond elections and social movements as it intends to focus more on ordinary behind-the-scenes processes of policy-making in the form of policy subsystems and advocacy coalitions that have the possibility to include a rather large range of different policy actors (focusing on actors beyond government and interest groups). Finally, this thesis notes that the ACF's aim to apply a long-term perspective to policymaking often contradicts the more dynamic nature of political parties.

The Institutional Analysis and Development Framework

Lastly, the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IADF) was found to make little to no references with regard to the role of political parties. Although the organisational orientation of the second part of this research identified a small selection of samples, a later qualitative analysis revealed that the few party-related actors that were mentioned in the fourth and fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume were merely found to be part of supporting examples that revealed no specific information about their role in the policy process.

Based on the limited results, this thesis argues that political parties are not considered an important actor in the IADF's understanding of the policy process and their explanations of policy change. The findings presented in this research may be explained by the frameworks' intentional generic depiction of the policy process that aims to emphasise elements in the decision-making beyond government (and hence political parties or any of their party-related actors or elements) and assumes policies are merely bundles of both formal and informal institutions. Correspondingly, it does not matter who contributes to the development of institutions. Hence, any actor active in the policy process is referred to as (merely) a policy actor which makes it impossible to differentiate between political parties and the wide range of other potentially relevant actors

The depiction of political parties in contemporary policy process frameworks

Bringing these findings together through a comparative lens, this thesis is able to answer its main research question which asks *How political parties are presented in contemporary policy process frameworks?* Although no framework has a similar understanding of the policy process and the role of political parties therein, this thesis has found some trends in

their depiction of political parties. To support this comparative analysis, this thesis combined the frequency tables used in Chapter 5.2-5.7 together in Table IX (found below) as it presents an important visualisation for the final discussion of our findings. It should be noted here that the Table only presents the frequencies detected in the fifth edition of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volume as this edition presents the most up-to-date understanding of the role of political parties in contemporary policy process frameworks.

First of all, this thesis argues that if this research was solely based on a unitary conceptualisation of political parties, the understanding of the role of political parties within contemporary policy process frameworks would have been rather limited. Not only do three out of the six selected frameworks not even mention political parties in their outline of the policy process and explanations on policy change, but the information that this perspective brings on the MSF, PFT and PET remains limited compared to the additional information that was retrieved from the organisational perspective.

Paradoxically, the qualitative analysis of the six frameworks revealed that only the MSF is found to present political parties as dynamic organisations, whereas the PFT, PET and NPF portray political parties primarily as unitary collective actors. The MSF was the only framework to include party-related actors and elements that could be linked back to all of the three party faces as outlined by Katz & Mair(1993; 1995). Whereas more emphasis was placed on the role of elected- and appointed officials (and thereby the party in public

Table IX: Comparative Frequency table MSF, PFT, PET, NPF, ACF & IADF

| | MSF | PFT | PET | NPF | ACF | IADF | Total |
|---|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| [political] party & parties | 20 | 12 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 39 |
| Elected- and appointed officials | 13 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 28 |
| Elections | 9 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 20 |
| Central office staff | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Party system | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Party members | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Others influences (POG) | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Ideology | 8 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 14 |

Source: Author

office), this thesis found that the variety in party-related actors and elements allowed for a relatively detailed understanding of intra-party dynamics. Nonetheless, the research of this thesis confirmed earlier statements concerning the dominance of the party in public office and to some extent the decline of the party on the ground. While conclusions can be drawn more easily from the findings on the MSF (as it included the full spectrum of three party faces), similar indications are to be found in the analysis on the PFT, PET and NPF.

Finally, this thesis demonstrates that although political parties are considered to play a prominent role in the policy process - especially in the various political systems that can be found on the European continent - what is decisive is its inherently complex nature which allows for a great variety of possible explanations. Whereas many of these explanations contain a political component (as was found in the PFT, PET and NPF) or layer (as was found in the MSF), there also exist explanations on the policy process that are intentionally generic (such as the ACF and IADF). It is in these cases that the geographical influence of the origins (or later development) of the framework does not matter, as regardless of their understanding of political parties, they do not play an important role in the policy process.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis was interested in the dynamics between policy and politics as it argues that the rise of anti-establishment parties in Europe (and other areas of the world) requires both scholars and practitioners to rethink the importance of political parties (and ideology) in the policymaking process. Hence, this thesis focused on the question of *How political parties are presented in contemporary policy process frameworks* and chose to answer this question through a small-n study on six policy process framework by making a distinction between a unitary perspective on political parties (which corresponds to the explicit mentioning of political parties in the frameworks), and an organisational perspective (which corresponds to various party-related actors and elements and therefore constitutes the implicit mentioning of political parties in the framework).

Briefly speaking, the findings demonstrated that the Multiple Streams Framework presents the most developed framework when it comes to the depiction on the role of political parties in the policymaking process. In its analysis, this thesis identified distinctive roles for a variety of party-related actors and correspondingly argues that the framework presents political parties as dynamic organisations. However, it also found that although enough information was collected on the role of political parties in the PFT (which presents political

parties in a similar line to other policy actors - understood as being able to influence various components of the policy process through policy feedback effects), the PET (which primarily foresees a role for political parties in the formulation of the political agenda) and the NPF (which holds that party-related actors are one of the many actors who contribute to the policy process through their construction of policy narratives), the three frameworks primarily depict political parties as a unitary collective actor. Whether this is the primary result of the background of contributing authors remains subject to further research as the findings of this thesis did not show a consistent relation across all frameworks (although the PET was classified as presenting political parties as unitary collective actors it was not found to primarily rely on research affiliated with American scholars). Finally, this thesis also found that regardless of the perspective applied, some frameworks (such as the ACF and the IADF) demonstrated little to no information on the role of political parties in the policy process. This underlined that although political parties are considered to play a prominent role in the policy process - particularly in political systems on the European continent - some frameworks were found to remain intentionally generic and correspondingly included little to no political components in their explanation of the policy process.

Finally, it is important to underline the limitations of this research as it informs scholars and practitioners of the various factors that influenced this research and thereby its findings but similarly because it identifies areas for further research. Not surprisingly, this thesis was primarily constrained by elements of time which impacted its research design and primarily the selection of frameworks and sources. Whereas this thesis analysed a range of policy process frameworks, the findings of this study only present an indication of the developments found in the wider field of the policy process. Similarly, the decision to use the chapters of the *Theories of the Policy Process* volumes as a proxy for the status quo of the various frameworks has arguably impacted the findings of this research to some extent. Although this thesis does not question whether the volume presents an adequate depiction of the most important structural elements of the frameworks and their recent developments, it does acknowledge that the results of this research were influenced by the many (small) decisions that the authors of the chapter have had to make when putting together the chapter(s). Taking into account these limitations, this thesis suggests that future research on the relation between political parties (politics) and the policymaking process (policy) may expand the scope of analysis. Either to find out how other policy process frameworks present the role of political parties in their explanation of the policy process, or by means of diving deeper into one single framework through a more extensive review of the literature.

8. Reference list (APA 7th edition)

- Ackrill, R., Kay, A. & Zahariadis, N. (2013). Ambiguity, Multiple Streams and EU Policy, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20(6), 871-887.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2013.781824>
- Bardi, L., Calossi, E. & Pizzimenti, E. (2017). Which Face Comes First? The Ascendancy of the Party in Public Office. In S. E. Scarrow, P.D. Webb & T. Poguntke (Eds.), *Organizing Political Parties: Representation, Participation, and Power*, Oxford University Press, pp. 62-83.
- Baumgartner, F.R. & Jones, B.D. (1993). *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*, University of Chicago Press.
- Baumgartner, F.R., Jones, B.D. & Mortensen P.B. (2023). Punctuated Equilibrium Theory: Explaining Stability and Change in Public Policymaking. In C.M. Weible (Ed.) *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge, pp. 65-99.
- Bolukbasi, H.T. & Yildirim, D. (2022). Institutions in the Politics of Policy Change: Who Can Play, How They Play in Multiple Streams, *Journal of Public Policy*, 42(3), 509-528.
- Borz, G. & Janda, K. (2020). Contemporary Trends in Party Organization: Revisiting Intra-Party Democracy, *Party Politics*, 26(1), 3-8.
- Brewer, G.D. (1974). The Policy Sciences Emerge: To Nurture and Structure a Discipline, *Policy Sciences*, 5, 239-244.
- Brewer, G.D. & DeLeon, P. (1983). *The Foundations of Policy Analysis*. Homewood (III), The Dorsey Press.
- Budge, A., McDonald, M., Pennings, P. & Keman, H. (2012). *Organizing Democratic Choice: Party Representation Over Time*, Oxford University Press.
- Cairney, P. & Heikkila, T. (2023). How Should We Compare Theories of the Policy Process? In C.M. Weible (Ed.) *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge, pp. 291-321
- Campbell, A.L. (2003). *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*, Princeton University Press.
- Caramani, D. (2020). Party Systems. In D. Caramani (Ed.), *Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, pp. 231-251.
- Carter, N., Keith, D., Sindre, G.M. & Vasilopoulou, S. (2023). *The Routledge Handbook of Political Parties*, Routledge.
- Chen, J. (2013). Voter Partisanship and the Effect of Distributive Spending on Political

- Participation, *American Journal of Political Science*. 57(1), 200-217.
- Colville, K. & Merry, M.K. (2022). Speaking from Experience: Medicaid Consumers as Policy Storytellers. In M.D. Jones, M.K. McBeth & E.A. Shanahan (Eds.) *Narrative and the Policy Process: Applications of the Narrative Policy Framework*, Montana State University Library, pp. 135-162.
- Costie, D., & Olofsson, K. (2022). Narrators and Narratives: A Study of Climate and Air Issues in Delhi, India. *International review of public policy*, 4(2), 171-190.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/irpp.2698>
- Crawford, S.E.S. & Ostrom, E. (1995). A Grammar of Institutions, *The American Political Science Review*, 89(3), 582-600.
- Cross, W.P. & Katz, R.S. (2013). *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford University Press.
- Crulli, M. (2022). The Three Faces of a Populist Party: Insights into the Organizational Evolution of the Five-Star Movement, *Contemporary Italian Politics*, 15(4), 413-431. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.cuni.cz/10.1080/23248823.2022.2099239>
- Daalder, H. (1983). The Comparative Study of Parties and Party Systems: An Overview. In H. Daalder & P. Mair (Eds.), *Western European Party Systems*, Sage, pp. 1-28
- DeLeo, R.A. & Duarte, A. (2021). Does Data Drive Policymaking? A Multiple Streams Perspective on the Relationship between Indicators and Agenda-Setting, *Policy Studies Journal*, 50(3), 701-724.
- DeLeon, P. (1999). The Stages Approach to the Policy Process: What Has it Done? Where is it Going? In P.A. Sabatier (Ed.), *Theories of the Policy Process: Theoretical Lenses on Public Policy*, Westview Press, pp. 19-32.
- De Vries, C.E., Hobolt, S.B., Proksch, S. & Slapin, J.B. (2021). *Foundations of European Politics: A Comparative Approach*, Oxford university press.
- Dool, A., & Li, J. (2023). What do we Know About the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory in China? A Systematic Review and Research Priorities. *Policy Studies Journal*, 51(2), 283-305. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12502>
- Duverger, M. (1951). *Les Partis Politiques*, Colin.
- Elgie, R. (2011). *Semi-Presidentialism: Sub-Types and Democratic Performance*, Oxford University Press.
- Filgueiras, F., Palotti, P. & Testa, G.G. (2023). Complexing Governance Styles: Connecting Politics and Policy in Governance Theories, *SAGE Open*, 13(1), 1-19.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440231158521>

- Gallagher, M & Marsh, M. (1987). *Candidate Selection in Comparative Perspective: The Secret Garden of Politics*, Sage.
- Gallagher, M., Laver, M. & Mair, P. (2005). Politics Outside Parliament. In M. Gallagher, M. Laver & P. Mair, *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, McGraw Hill, pp. 441-461.
- Gauja, A. (2017). *Party Reform: The Causes, Challenges, and Consequences of Organizational Change*, Oxford University Press.
- Goodin, R.E. (2008). *Innovating Democracy: Democratic Theory and Practice After the Deliberative Turn*, Oxford University Press.
- Green-Pedersen, C. (2019). *The Reshaping of West European Party Politics*, Oxford University Press.
- Green-Pedersen, C. & Mortensen, P. (2010). Who Sets the Agenda and Who Responds to it in the Danish Parliament? A New Model of Issue Competition and Agenda-Setting, *European Journal of Political Research*, 49(2), 257-281.
- Grossman, E. & Guinaudeau, I. (2021). *Do Elections (Still) Matter? Mandates, Institutions, and Policies in Western Europe*, Oxford University Press.
- Hackett, U. (2020). *America's Voucher Politics: How Elites Learned to Hide the State*, Cambridge University Press.
- Harmel, R. & Janda, K. (1994). An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 6(3), 259-287.
- Hazan, R.Y. (2003). Introduction: Does Cohesion Equal Discipline? Towards a Conceptual Delineation, *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 9(4), 1-11.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1357233042000306227>
- Hazan, R.Y. & Itzkovitch-Malka, R. (2020). Parliamentarians and Party Groups: The Role of Intra-Party Unity. In R. Rohrschneider & J. Thomassen (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*, Oxford University Press, pp. 305-322.
- Henley, J. (2023, September 21). Revealed: one in three Europeans now vote anti-establishment, *The Guardian*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/sep/21/revealed-one-in-three-europeans-now-votes-anti-establishment>
- Herweg, N., Huß, C. & Zohlnhöfer, R. (2015). Straightening the Three Streams: Theorizing Extensions of the Multiple Streams Framework, *European Journal of Political Research*, 54(3), 435-449.

- Herweg, N., Zahariadis, N. & Zohlnhöfer, R. (2018). The Multiple Streams Framework: Foundations, Refinements, and Empirical Applications. In C.M. Weible & P.A. Sabatier (Eds.), *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge.
- Herweg, N., Zahariadis, N. & Zohlnhöfer, R. (2023). The Multiple Streams Framework: Foundations, Refinements, and Empirical Applications. In C.M Weible (Ed.) *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge, pp. 29-64.
- Herweg, N. & Zohlnhöfer, R. (2022). Analyzing EU Policy Processes Applying the Multiple Streams Framework. In P.R. Graziano & J. Tosun (Eds.) *Elgar Encyclopedia of European Union Public Policy*, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Husted, E., Moufahim, M. & Frederiksson, M. (2022). Political Parties and Organization Studies: The Party as a Critical Case of Organizing, *Organization Studies*, 43(8), 1327-1341. DOI: 10.1177/01708406211010979
- Inglehart, R. & Norris, P. (2017). Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse, *Perspectives on Politics*, 15(2), 443-454.
doi.org/10.1017/ s1537592717000111
- Janda, K. (1990). Toward a Performance Theory of Change in Political Parties, prepared for delivery at the 12th World Congress of International Sociological Association, Madrid, July 9-13.
- Jenkins-Smith, H.C., Nohrstedt, D., Weible, C.M. & Ingold, K. (2018). The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Overview of the Research Program. In C.M. Weible & P.A. Sabatier (Eds.). *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge, pp. 135-172.
- Johns, L. (2013). Evaluating Research Methods of Comparative Politics, *E-International Relations*, 1-8. <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/37209>
- Johnson, J. (2006). Political Parties and Deliberative Democracy?. In R. Katz & W. Crotty (Eds.), *The Handbook of Party Politics*. Sage, pp. 47-50.
- Jones, B.D. & Baumgartner, F.R. (2005). *The Politics of Attention*, University of Chicago Press.
- Jones, B.D. & Baumgartner, F.R. (2012). From There to Here: Punctuated Equilibrium to the General Punctuation Thesis to a Theory of Government Information Processing, *Policy Studies Journal*, 40(1), 1-19.
- Jones, M.D. & McBeth, M.K. (2010). A Narrative Policy Framework: Clear Enough to be Wrong? *Policy Studies Journal*, 38(2), 329-353.
doi:10.1111/j.1541-0072.2010.00364.x
- Jones, M.D., Smith-Walter, A., McBeth, M.K. & Shanahan, E.A. (2023). The Narrative

- Policy Framework. In C.M. Weible (Ed.) *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge, pp. 161-195.
- Katz, R.S. (2014). No Man Can Serve Two Masters: Party Politicians, Party Members, Citizens and Principal-Agent Models of Democracy, *Party Politics*, 20(2), 183-193. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.cuni.cz/10.1177/1354068813519967>
- Katz, R.S. (2020a). Political Parties. In D. Caramani (Ed.), *Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, pp. 211-230.
- Katz, R.S. (2020b). The Model of Party Government. In R. Rohrschneider & J. Thomassen (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*, Oxford University Press, pp. 249-267.
- Katz, R.S. & Mair, P. (1993). The Evolution of Party Organizations in Europe: The Three Faces of Party Organization, In W. Crotty (Ed.), *Political Parties in a Changing Age*, *American Review of Politics*, 14, pp. 593-617.
- Katz, R.S. & Mair, P. (1995). Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party, *Party Politics*, 1(1), 5-27.
- Katz, R.S. & Mair, P. (2002). The Ascendancy of the Party in Public Office: Party Organizational Change in Twentieth-century Democracies. In R. Gunther, J. Montero & J. Linz (Eds.), *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*, Oxford University Press, pp. 113-135.
- Katz, R.S. & Mair, P. (2009). The Cartel Party Thesis: A Restatement, *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(4), 753-766.
- Katz, R.S. & Mair, P. (2012). Parties, Interest Groups and Cartels: A Comment, *Party Politics*, 18(1), 107-111.
- Kirchheimer, O. (1966). The Transformation of Western European Party Systems. In J. LaPalombara & M. Weiner (Eds.), *Political Parties and Political Development*, Princeton University Press, pp. 177-200.
- Kitschelt, H. (2000). Citizens, Politicians, and Party Cartelization: Political Representation and State Failure in Post-Industrial Democracies, *European Journal of Political Research*, 37(2), 149-179.
- Koebele, E.A. & Crow, D.A. (2023). Mitigating Conflict with Collaboration: Reaching Negotiated Agreement amidst Belief Divergence in Environmental Governance, *Policy Studies Journal*, 51(2), 439-458.
- Koole, R. (1996). Cadre, Catch-all or Cartel: A Comment on the Notion of Cartel Party, *Party Politics*, 2(4), 507-523.

- Kreienkamp, J., Pegram, T & Coen, D. (2022). Explaining Transformative Change in EU Climate Policy: Multilevel Problems, Policies and Politics, *Journal of European Integration*, 44(5), 731-748. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2022.2072838>
- Landman, T. (2008). *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction*, Routledge
- Lasswell, H.D. (1971). *A Pre-View of the Policy Sciences*, American Elsevier Publishing.
- Laver, M. & Schofield, N. (1990). *Multiparty Governments: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*, Oxford University Press.
- Li, W., & Weible, C. M. (2021). China's Policy Processes and the Advocacy Coalition Framework. *Policy studies journal*, 49(3), 703-730. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12369>
- Lybecker, D.L., McBeth, M.K. & Kusko, E. (2013). Trash or Treasure: Recycling Narratives and Reducing Political Polarization, *Environmental Politics*, 22(2), 312-332.
- Lybecker, D.L., McBeth, M.K. & Sargent, J.M. (2022). Agreement and Trust: In Narratives or Narrators? In M.D. Jones, E.A. Shanahan & M.K. McBeth (Eds.), *Narratives and the Policy Process: Applications of the Narrative Policy Framework*, Montana State University Library, pp. 13-38.
- Mair, P. (1997). *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*, Oxford University Press.
- Mansbridge, J. (2020). The Evolution of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies: Concepts and Practices. In R. Rohrschneider & J. Thomassen (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*, Oxford University Press, pp. 17-54.
- Mazmanian, D. & Sabatier, P. (1983). *Implementation and Public Policy*, University Press of America.
- Mazzoleni, O. & Heinisch, R. (2023). Party Change Beyond the 'Classical Models?' The Role of Agency, Context and Democracy. In N. Carter, D. Keith, G.M. Sindre & S. Vasilopoulou (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Political Parties*, Routledge, pp. 9-19
- McBeth, M.K., Jones, M.D. & Shanahan, E.A. (2014). The Narrative Policy Framework. In P.A. Sabatier & C.M. Weible (Eds.), *Theories of the Policy Process*, Westview Press, pp. 225-266.
- McBeth, M.K. & Lybecker, D.L. (2018). The Narrative Policy Framework, Agendas, and Sanctuary Cities: The Construction of a Public Problem, *Policy Studies Journal*, 46(4), 868-893.

- Mettler, S., Jacobs, L.R. & Zhu, L. (2023). Policy Threat, Partisanship, and the Case of the Affordable Care Act, *American Political Science Review*, 117(1), 296-310.
- Mettler, S. & SoRelle, M. (2018). Policy Feedback Theory. In C.M. Weible & P.A. Sabatier (Eds.), *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge, pp. 103-134.
- Mettler, S. & SoRelle, M.E. (2023). Policy Feedback Theory. In C.M. Weible (Ed.) *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge, pp. 100-129.
- Mintrom, M. & Norman, P. (2009). Policy Entrepreneurship and Policy Change, *Policy Studies Journal*, 37(4), 649-667.
- Moore, A. (2023). Parties and Partisanship in Political Theory. In N. Carter, D. Keith, G.M. Sindre & S. Vasilopoulou (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Political Parties*, Routledge, pp. 20-29
- Mortensen, P.B., Green-Pedersen, C., Breeman, G., Jennings, W., John, P., Timmermans, A., Chaqués, L. & Palau, A. (2011). Comparing Government Agendas: Executive Speeches in the Netherlands, United Kingdom and Denmark, *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(8), 973-1000.
- Mortensen, P.B., Loftis, M.W. & Seeberg, H.B. (2022). *Explaining Local Policy Agendas: Institutions, Problems, Elections and Actors*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nakamura, R.T. (1987). The Textbook Policy Process and Implementation Research, *Policy Studies Review*, 7(1), 143-154.
- Nohrstedt, D., Ingold, K., Weible, C.M., Koebele, E.A., Olofsson, K.L., Satoh, K. & Jenkins-Smith, H.C. (2023). The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Progress and Emerging Areas. In C.M. Weible (Ed.) *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge, pp. 130-160
- Norris, P. (2019). Varieties of Populist Parties, *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 45(9-10), doi.org/10.1177/0191453719872279
- Novotný, V., Polásek, M. & Perottino, M. (2016). Political Parties and the Policy Agenda. In E. Zahariadis (Ed.), *Handbook of Public Policy Agenda Setting*, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 217-235.
- Osei-kojo, A., Ingold, K., & Weible, C. M. (2022). The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Lessons from Applications in African Countries. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 63(2), 181-201. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11615-022-00399-2>
- Ostrom, E. (2005). *Understanding Institutional Diversity*, Princeton University Press.
- Ostrom, E. (2009). Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems, *Prize Lecture (December 8th 2009)*, 408- 444.

- Petridou, E & Mintrom, M. (2021). A Research Agenda for the Study of Policy Entrepreneurs, *Policy Studies Journal*, 49(4), 943-967.
- Pierson, P. (1993). When Effect Becomes Cause: Policy Feedback and Political Change, *World Politics*, 45(4), 595-628.
- Poggi, G. (2020). The Nation-state. In D. Caramani (Ed.), *Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, pp. 69-85
- Poguntke, T. & Scarrow, S.E. (2020). Intra-Party Democracy and Representation: Necessity, Complement, or Challenge? In R. Rohrschneider & J. Thomassen (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*, Oxford University Press, pp. 323-339.
- Resnick, P. (1973). The Political Theory of Extra-Parliamentarism, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 6(1), 65-88.
- Roewer, R. (2020). Three Faces of Party Organisation in the National League for Democracy, *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 38(3), 286-306.
- Rohrschneider, R. & Thomassen, J. (2020). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*, Oxford University Press.
- Rosenthal, A. (2021). Submerged for Some? Government Visibility, Race, and American Political Trust, *Perspectives on Politics*, 19(4), 1098-1114.
- Rouillard, J., Babbitt, C.m Pulido-Velazquez, M & Rinaudo, J.D. (2021). Transitioning out of Open Access: A Closer Look at Institutions for Management of Groundwater Rights in France, California, and Spain, *Water Resources Research*, 57(4), 1-20
- Sabatier, P.A. (1988). An Advocacy Coalition Model of Policy Change and the Role of Policy-Oriented Learning Therein, *Policy Sciences*, 21(Fall), 129-168.
- Sabatier, P.A. & Weible, C.M. (2007). The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Innovations and Clarifications. In P.A. Sabatier (Ed.) *Theories of the Policy Process*, Westview Press, pp. 189-222.
- Scarrow, S. (2015). *Beyond Party Members: Changing Approaches to Partisan Mobilization*, Oxford University Press.
- Schattschneider, E.E. (1942). *Party Government*, Rinehart and Winston.
- Schlager, E. & Ostrom, E. (1992). Property Rights Regimes and Natural Resources: A Conceptual Analysis, *Land Economics*, 68(3), 249-262.
- Schlager, E. & Villamayor-Tomas, S. (2023). The IAD Framework and its Tools for Policy and Institutional Analysis. In C.M. Weible (Ed.) *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge, pp. 196-229.

- Schlauffer, C., Gafurova, D., Zhiryakova, E., Shikhove, M. & Belyaeva, N. (2021). Narrative Strategies in a Nondemocratic Setting: Moscow's Urban Policy Debates, *Policy Studies Journal*, 51(1), 79-100. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12445>
- Schneider, A. & Ingram, H. (1993). Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy, *American Political Science Review*, 87(2), 334-347.
- Schneider, A. & Ingram, H. (2019). Social Constructions, Anticipatory Feedback Strategies, and Deceptive Public Policy, *Policy Studies Journal*, 47(2), 206-236.
- Shanahan, E.A., Jones, M.D., McBeth, M.K. & Lane, R.R. (2013). An Angel on the Wind: How Heroic Policy Narratives Shape Policy Realities, *Policy Studies Journal*, 41(3), 453-483.
- Shanahan, E.A., Jones, M.D., McBeth, M.K. & Radaelli, C.M. (2018). The Narrative Policy Framework. In C.M. Weible & P.A. Sabatier (Eds.), *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge, pp. 173-214.
- Skocpol, T. (1992). *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*, Belknap Press of Harvard University.
- Sommerville, K., Ritter, A. & Stephenson, N. (2022). Pill Testing Policy: A Comparative Analysis Using the Advocacy Coalition Framework, *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 41(1), 275-284.
- Strom, K. (1990). A Behavioural Theory of Competitive Political Parties, *American Journal of Political Science*, 34(2), 565-598.
- Van Vonna, C., Itzkovitch-Malka, R.; Depauw, S., Andeweg, R.B. & Hazan, R.Y. (2014). Agreement, Loyalty and Discipline: A Sequential Approach to Party Unity. In K. Deschouwer & S. Depauw (Eds.), *Representing the People: A survey Among Members of Statewide and Sub-State Parliaments*, Oxford University Press, pp. 110-136.
- Vitale, C., Meijerink, S. & Moccia, F.D. (2021). Urban Flood Resilience, a Multi-Level Institutional Analysis of Planning Practices in the Metropolitan City of Naples, *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 66(4), 1-23.
- Weible, C.M. (2023). *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge.
- Weible, C.M., Nohrstedt, D., Cairney, P., Carter, D.P., Crow, D.A., Durnová, A.P., Heikkilä, T., Ingold, K., McConnell, A. & Stone, D. (2020). COVID-19 and the Policy Sciences: Initial Reactions and Perspectives, *Policy Sciences*, 53, 225-241.
- Weible, C.M., Olofsson, K.L. & Heikkilä, T. (2022). Advocacy Coalitions, Beliefs, and Learning: An Analysis of Stability, Change and Reinforcement, *Policy Studies*

Journal, 51(2), 209-229.

Weible, C.M. & Sabatier, P.A. (2018). *Theories of the Policy Process*, Routledge.

Weible, C.M., Sabatier, P.A. & McQueen, K. (2009). Themes and Variations: Taking Stock of the Advocacy Coalition Framework, *The Policy Studies Journal*, 37(1), 121-140.

Winett, L.B., Niederdeppe, J., Xu, Y., Gollust, S.E. & Fowler, E.F. (2021). When “Tried and True” Advocacy Strategies Backfire, *Journal of Public Interest Communications*, 5(1), 45-77.

Witkowski, K., Yeo, J., Belligoni, S.m Ganapati, N.E., Corbin, T. & Rivera, F. (2021). Florida as a COVID-19 Epicenter: Exploring the Role of Institutions in the State’s Response, *Institutional Journal of Public Administration*, 46(7), 484-498.

White, J. & Ypi, L. (2016). *The Meaning of Partisanship*, Oxford University Press.

Zahariadis, N. (2003). *Ambiguity and Choice in Public Policy: Political Manipulation in Democratic Societies*, Georgetown University Press.