

# Learning at Home and Abroad: How Competition Conditions the Diffusion of Party Strategies

## Supplementary Materials

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### Overview

This document contains additional information on the sample and all the supplementary analyses and robustness tests referred to in the article. More specifically, the sections below provide the following information:

- A** a list of all countries and political parties as well as their party family affiliation contained in the sample
- B** an empirical analysis using an alternative connectivity scheme based on ideological blocs rather than party families
- C** a test for conditional spatial effects
- D** a more detailed treatment and additional empirical analyses on the riding the wave hypothesis
- E** an empirical assessment of the curvilinear effect of the domestic issue owner's electoral performance

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## A List of All Parties in the Sample

Country	Party	Party Family
Austria	Austrian Social Democratic Party (SPÖ)	Social Democrats
	Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ)	Nationalist
	Austrian People's Party (ÖVP)	Christian Democrats
	Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ)	Nationalist
Belgium	Belgian Socialist Party (BSP/PSB)	Social Democrats
	Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV)	Liberals
	Party of Walloon Reform and Liberty (PRLW)	Liberals
	Liberal Party (PL)	Liberals
	Christian People's Party (CVP)	Christian Democrats
	Christian Social Party (PSC)	Christian Democrats
	Flemish Socialist Party (SP)	Social Democrats
	Francophone Socialist Party (PS)	Social Democrats
	Liberal Reformation Party (PRL)	Liberals
	Flemish Liberals and Democrats (VLD)	Liberals
	Christian Democratic and Flemish (CD&V)	Christian Democrats
	Socialist Party Different - Spirit (SP.a-SPIRIT)	Social Democrats
	Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats (Open VLD)	Liberals
	Reform Movement (MR)	Liberals
Socialist Party Different (SP.a)	Social Democrats	
List Dedecker (LDD)	Liberals	
Bulgaria	Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB)	Christian Democrats
	National Union Attack (ATAKA)	Nationalist
Cyprus	Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL)	Social Democrats
	United Democratic Union of Cyprus (EDEK)	Social Democrats
	Democratic Party (DiKo)	Liberals
	European Party (EVROKO)	Liberals
	Democratic Coalition (DISY)	Nationalist
Czech Republic	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM)	Socialists
	Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD)	Social Democrats
	Civic Democratic Party (ODS)	Conservatives
	Christian and Democratic Union - Czech	
	People's Party (KDU-ČSL)	Christian Democrats
	Tradition, Responsibility, Prosperity 09 (TOP09)	Christian Democrats
Denmark	Left Socialist Party (VS)	Socialists
	Danish Communist Party (DKP)	Socialists
	Socialist People's Party (SF)	Socialists
	Social Democratic Party (SD)	Social Democrats
	Centre Democrats (CD)	Social Democrats
	Danish Social-Liberal Party (RV)	Liberals
	Liberals (V)	Liberals
	Christian People's Party (KrF)	Christian Democrats
	Conservative People's Party (KF)	Conservatives
	Red-Green Unity List (EL)	Socialists

	Danish People's Party (DF) Liberal Alliance	Nationalist Liberals
Estonia	Social Democratic Party (SDE) Estonian Center Party (K) Estonian Reform Party (ER) Pro Patria and Res Republica Union (IRL)	Social Democrats Liberals Liberals Conservatives
Finland	Left Wing Alliance (VAS) Finnish Social Democrats (SSDP) Finnish Christian Union (SKL) National Coalition (KK) Christian Democrats in Finland (SSDP)	Socialists Social Democrats Christian Democrats Conservatives Christian Democrats
France	French Communist Party (PCF) Socialist Party (PS) Rally for the Republic - Gaullist (RPR) National Centre of Independents and Peasants - Conservatives (CNIP) Union for a New Majority - Gaullists/ Conservatives Union for French Democracy (UDF) Front National (FN) Rally for the Republic (RPR) Democratic Movement (MoDem) Union for a Popular Movement (UMP)	Socialists Social Democrats Conservatives  Conservatives Conservatives Conservatives Nationalist Conservatives Conservatives Conservatives
Germany	Social Democratic Party (SPD) Free Democratic Party (FDP) Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)/ The Left (LINKE)	Social Democrats Liberals  Christian Democrats Socialists
Greece	Communist Party of Greece (KKE) Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) New Democracy (ND) Progressive Left Coalition (SYN) Political Spring (Pola) Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA) Democratic Left (DIMAR) Golden Dawn (XA) Independent Greeks (ANEL) Coalition of the Radical Left - Unionist Social Front (SYRIZA-EKN)	Socialists Social Democrats Christian Democrats Socialists Christian Democrats Socialists Socialists Nationalist Nationalist  Socialists
Hungary	Alliance of Federation of Young Democrats - Hungarian Civic Union - Christian Democratic People's Party (FiDeSz-MPSz-KDNP) Hungarian Socialist Party (MSzP) Federation of Young Democrats - Hungarian Civic Union (FiDeSz) Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)	 Liberals Social Democrats  Conservatives Nationalist

Ireland	Labour Party (Labour) Family of the Irish Soldiers of Destiny Workers' Party (WP) Progressive Democrats (PD) Democratic Left Party (DLP)	Social Democrats Christian Democrats Conservatives Socialists Liberals Socialists
Italy	Italian Communist Party (PCI) Italian Socialist Party (PSI) Italian Democratic Socialist Party (PSDI) Italian Republican Party (PRI) Italian Liberal Party (PLI) Christian Democrats (DC) Italian Social Movement - National Right (MSI-DN) Proletarian Unity of Party for Communism (PdUP) Radical Party (PR) Proletarian Democracy (DP) Democratic Party of the Left (PDS) Pannella List (LP) Communist Refoundation Party (PRC) Pannella-Riformatori List Italian Popular Party (PPI) National Alliance (AN) Northern League (NL) Pannella-Sgarbi List Democratic Alliance (AD) Go Italy (FI) Democrats of the Left (DS) Party of Italian Communist (PdCI) Olive Tree New Italian Socialist Party (NPSI) List Di Pietro - Italy of Values (IdV) Union of the Center (UdC) People of Freedom (PdL) Democratic Party (PD)	Socialists Social Democrats Social Democrats Liberals Liberals Christian Democrats Nationalist Socialists Social Democrats Socialists Socialists Social Democrats Socialists Social Democrats Christian Democrats Nationalist Nationalist Social Democrats Christian Democrats Conservatives Socialists Socialists Social Democrats Conservatives Liberals Christian Democrats Conservatives Liberals
Latvia	Concord Centre (SC) Unity National Alliance "All For Latvia!" - "For Fatherland and Freedom" - Latvian National Independence Movement	Socialists Conservatives Nationalist
Lithuania	Liberal and Centre Union (LiCS) Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP) Liberal Movement (LRLS) Order and Justice (PTT) Homeland Union - Lithuanian Christian Democrats (TS-LKD)	Liberals Social Democrats Liberals Liberals Conservatives
Luxembourg	Communist Party of Luxembourg (KPL/PCL) Socialist Workers' Party of Luxembourg	Socialists

	(LSAP/POSL) Democratic Party (DP/PD) Christian Social People's Party (CSV/PCS) The Left	Social Democrats Liberals Christian Democrats Socialists
Netherlands	Radical Political Party (PPR) Labour Party (PvdA) Democrats 66 (D66) People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) Democratic Socialists '70 (DS'70) Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) Reformed Political League (GPV) Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) Centre Democrats Socialist Party (SP) Livable Netherlands (LN) Christian Union (CU) List Pim Fortuyn (LPF) Party of Freedom (PVV)	Social Democrats Social Democrats Social Democrats  Liberals Christian Democrats Christian Democrats Christian Democrats Christian Democrats Nationalist Socialists Liberals Christian Democrats Nationalist Nationalist
Poland	Civic Platform (PO) Law and Justice (PiS)	Liberals Conservatives
Portugal	Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) Socialist Party (PS) Social Democratic Party (PSD) Social Democratic Center Party (CDS) Unified Democratic Coalition (CDU) Social Democratic Center - Popular Party (CDS-PP) Left Bloc (BE)	Socialists Social Democrats Conservative Christian Democrats Socialists  Christian Democrats Socialists
Slovakia	Direction-Social Democracy (Smer) Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Slovak Democratic and Christian Union - Democratic Party (SDKÚ-DS) Slovak National Party (SNS) Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Freedom and Solidarity (SaS)	Social Democrats Christian Democrats  Christian Democrats Nationalist Nationalist Liberals
Slovenia	Social Democratic Party (Sd) Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS) Liberal Democratic Party (LDS) Slovenian People's Party (SLS) New Slovenian Christian People's Party (Nsi) Slovenian National Party (SNS) For Real	Social Democrats Conservatives Liberals Christian Democrats Christian Democrats Nationalist Liberals
Spain	United Left (IU) Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) Centre Democrats (CDS)	Socialists Social Democrats Christian Democrats

	Popular party (PP)	Conservatives
	Convergence and Union (CiU)	Conservatives
Sweden	Left Party (V)	Socialists
	Social Democratic Labour Party (SAP)	Social Democrats
	Liberal People’s Party (FP)	Liberals
	Christian Democrats (Kd)	Christian Democrats
	Moderate Coalition Party (MSP)	Conservatives
United Kingdom	Labour Party	Social Democrats
	Liberal Party	Liberals
	Conservative Party	Conservatives
	Social Democratic Party (SDP)	Social Democrats
	Liberal Democrats (LibDems)	Liberals
	Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	Conservatives
	We Ourselves (SF)	Socialists

## B Connecting Parties Based on Ideological Blocs

As stated in the manuscript, each party has on average only 0.49 family members within its party system and there are some electoral contexts where there are not two parties within the same party family. This raises the concern that the results are sensitive to outlier electoral contexts in which many parties from the same party family compete against each other.

In order to address this concern, we changed the specification of the four connectivity matrices. Instead of their family affiliation, the new matrices connect parties based on their ideological bloc membership. More specifically, we follow Adams and Somer-Topcu (2009, 834) and classify communist and social democratic parties as “left,” liberals as “centrist,” and conservative, christian democratic, and nationalist parties “right.”<sup>1</sup> By differentiating between ideological blocs instead of party families, the average number of domestic competitors from the same bloc increases to 1.18. Using the amended matrices, we reestimate the three models presented in the manuscript (for a similar approach, see Böhmelt et al., 2017; Böhmelt et al., 2016). Table B.1 presents the results.

While most coefficient estimates are not affected by the choice of the connectivity scheme, some of the spatial parameters differ in magnitude. However, it is important to note that the spatial parameter estimates cannot be interpreted as marginal effects and that these differences can be caused by the increase in the number of non-zero elements in the connectivity matrices (for a detailed discussion on this point, see Whitten, Williams and Wimpy, 2019). To facilitate the substantive interpretation, we follow our approach in the main manuscript and calculate the average marginal effects (AMEs) of the spatial short-term effects.

As Table B.2 illustrates, the substantive short-term effects of all four spatial lags are

<sup>1</sup>Recall that in our analysis, we omit green parties as well as regional, agrarian, and other small single-issue party families.

Table B.1: Fractional Logit Model Estimates of Environmental Issues Emphasis Based on Party Bloc Membership

	DV: Issue Emphasis (Proportion)	
	Model 3 (Family)	Model 4 (Bloc)
Constant	-3.091*** (0.556)	-2.988*** (0.555)
$DV_{t-1}$	-1.527 (1.077)	-1.415 (1.076)
$\theta_1 \mathbf{W}^{FW} \mathbf{y}$	0.809*** (0.299)	0.405** (0.189)
$\theta_2 \mathbf{W}^{FL} \mathbf{y}$	-0.129 (0.246)	-0.064 (0.168)
$\theta_3 \mathbf{W}^{DW} \mathbf{y}$	0.001 (1.225)	0.103 (0.819)
$\theta_4 \mathbf{W}^{DL} \mathbf{y}$	-0.824 (1.276)	1.155 (0.846)
$VSGreen_{t-1}$	-0.202*** (0.043)	-0.190*** (0.043)
$VSGreen_{t-1}^2$	0.011*** (0.004)	0.010*** (0.004)
$AvgGreen_{n-1}$	0.332** (0.164)	0.293* (0.166)
$GDP_{n-1}$	0.025 (0.021)	0.024 (0.021)
$Incumbent_t$	-0.047 (0.071)	-0.044 (0.071)
$Incumbent_{DV_{t-1}}$	4.704*** (1.663)	4.428*** (1.659)
$VS_{t-1}$	0.010 (0.007)	0.010 (0.007)
Party and Year FEs	✓	✓
$\psi$	0.0192	0.0191
Observations	733	733
RMSE	0.0233	0.0234

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01; two-tailed. SEs in parentheses.

very similar to the ones reported in the article. Despite differences in the spatial parameter estimates, connecting parties based on their ideological bloc membership instead of their party family does not affect the substantive results. Again, we find that the data does not provide evidence for the diffusion of saliency strategies at the domestic level which is consistent with our theory. Overall, this analysis confirms that the substantive inferences presented in the manuscript also hold if we assume that parties learn from foreign members of their ideological bloc rather than their party family.

Table B.2: Average Marginal Effect Estimates of the Spatial Short-Term Effects (Ideological Blocs)

	Estimate	95%-CI
$\theta_1 \mathbf{W}^{Fw} \mathbf{y}$	0.443	[0.101; 0.903]
$\theta_2 \mathbf{W}^{FL} \mathbf{y}$	-0.083	[-0.423; 0.274]
$\theta_3 \mathbf{W}^{Dw} \mathbf{y}$	0.002	[-0.051; 0.062]
$\theta_4 \mathbf{W}^{DL} \mathbf{y}$	-0.021	[-0.091; 0.052]

## C Conditional Spatial Dependence

In this section, we explore a possible conditioning effect of the strength of a domestic issue owner on the parties' learning efforts. Specifically, it is reasonable to expect that parties who face a strong issue owner are less likely to learn from their family members abroad. To test this expectation empirically, we interact the two foreign spatial lags with the green's lagged vote share. Table C.1 compares the estimates of the full model presented in the article (Model 3) with a model that features conditional spatial effects (Model 5).

The results suggest that the strength of a domestic issue owner does not condition the parties' learning abilities. While the spatial parameter estimate for successful foreign parties is statistically significant, the interaction term does not achieve conventional levels of statistical significance. This suggests that parties in systems with a strong Green party are as likely to take cues from foreign family members as parties who face a weak domestic issue owner.



Table C.1: Fractional Logit Model Estimates of Environmental Issues Emphasis with Conditional Spatial Effects

	DV: Issue Emphasis (Proportion)	
	Model 3	Model 5
Constant	-3.091*** (0.556)	-3.072*** (0.558)
$DV_{t-1}$	-1.527 (1.077)	-1.605 (1.082)
$\theta_1 \mathbf{W}^{Fw} \mathbf{y}$	0.809*** (0.299)	0.793** (0.374)
$\theta_2 \mathbf{W}^{FL} \mathbf{y}$	-0.129 (0.246)	0.107 (0.318)
$\theta_3 \mathbf{W}^{Dw} \mathbf{y}$	0.001 (1.225)	-0.006 (1.229)
$\theta_4 \mathbf{W}^{DL} \mathbf{y}$	-0.824 (1.276)	-0.840 (1.282)
$VSGreen_{t-1} \times \mathbf{W}^{Fw} \mathbf{y}$	-	-0.005 (0.077)
$VSGreen_{t-1} \times \mathbf{W}^{FL} \mathbf{y}$	-	-0.075 (0.063)
$VSGreen_{t-1}$	-0.202*** (0.043)	-0.185*** (0.048)
$VSGreen_{t-1}^2$	0.011*** (0.004)	0.012*** (0.004)
$AvgGreen_{n-1}$	0.332** (0.164)	0.308* (0.167)
$GDP_{n-1}$	0.025 (0.021)	0.023 (0.021)
$Incumbent_t$	-0.047 (0.072)	-0.044 (0.072)
$Incumbent_{DV_{t-1}}$	4.704*** (1.673)	4.549*** (1.673)
$VS_{t-1}$	0.010 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)
Party and Year FEs	✓	✓
$\psi$	0.0192	0.0193
Observations	733	733
RMSE	0.0233	0.0232

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01; two-tailed. SEs in parentheses.

## D Riding the Wave Hypothesis

In contrast to saliency-based theories of party competition, the riding the wave literature suggests that parties do not simply talk about the issues most favorable to them. Instead, they focus on the issues most salient to the electorate during their campaigns

in an attempt to highlight their responsiveness to the voters' demands (e.g., Klüver and Sagarzazu, 2016; Spoon and Klüver, 2015; Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1994). As a consequence, the theory expects a considerable overlap in the parties' issue emphasis since parties converge on the topics most important to the electorate.

If parties are "riding the wave" and campaign on issues salient to the electorate prior to an election, we would find a positive pattern of spatial dependence at the domestic level. In this case, the saliency strategies employed by domestic competitors would in fact be informative as they facilitate the identification of the issues most important to the voters. Hence, imitating domestic competitors would be a promising strategy.

In order to test this argument, we define the new spatial lag  $\mathbf{W}^{D^{all}}$  that connects all domestic parties to one another. Since the riding the wave hypothesis identifies imitation rather than conscious learning as the diffusion process at work, differentiating between successful and unsuccessful competitors is not necessary in order to evaluate the theoretically expected mechanism. The average number of neighbors as defined by  $\mathbf{W}^{D^{all}}$  is 3.861. Table D.1 compares the results of the main model (Model 3) to the estimates derived from a model that connects all domestic parties irrespective of their electoral performance and family affiliation (Model 6) as well as a model that includes all five spatial lags (Model 7).

Regarding the transnational level, the inferences remain identical. Parties consciously learn about the most promising saliency strategy from successful foreign family members. With respect to the domestic level, this analysis also confirms the results displayed in the article. Irrespective of the electoral fortunes of domestic family members, parties cannot use their performance as a heuristic.

More importantly, Table D.1 also allows us to assess the expectation that parties converge to the issues most important to the electorate. Although the riding the wave hypothesis expects a positive spatial pattern among parties within the same national party system ( $\theta_5 > 0$ ), the statistically insignificant spatial parameter indicates that party strategies do not diffuse domestically. Therefore, at least based on party manifestos, our analysis does not provide evidence for the riding the wave hypothesis.

Table D.1: Fractional Logit Model Estimates of Environmental Issues Emphasis with Spatial Lags Connecting all Domestic Parties

	DV: Issue Emphasis (Proportion)		
	Model 3	Model 6	Model 7
Constant	-3.091*** (0.556)	-3.072*** (0.560)	-3.070*** (0.561)
$DV_{t-1}$	-1.527 (1.077)	-1.506 (1.075)	-1.504 (1.080)
$\theta_1 \mathbf{W}^{FW} \mathbf{y}$	0.809*** (0.299)	0.802*** (0.298)	0.805*** (0.299)
$\theta_2 \mathbf{W}^{FL} \mathbf{y}$	-0.129 (0.246)	-0.119 (0.246)	-0.120 (0.248)
$\theta_3 \mathbf{W}^{Dw} \mathbf{y}$	0.001 (1.225)	-	-0.114 (1.287)
$\theta_4 \mathbf{W}^{DL} \mathbf{y}$	-0.824 (1.276)	-	-0.958 (1.356)
$\theta_5 \mathbf{W}^{Dall} \mathbf{y}$	-	0.043 (0.392)	0.125 (0.424)
$VSGreen_{t-1}$	-0.202*** (0.043)	-0.198*** (0.043)	-0.200*** (0.044)
$VSGreen_{t-1}^2$	0.011*** (0.004)	0.011*** (0.004)	0.011*** (0.004)
$AvgGreen_{n-1}$	0.332** (0.164)	0.322* (0.171)	0.318* (0.172)
$GDP_{n-1}$	0.025 (0.021)	0.026 (0.020)	0.025 (0.021)
$Incumbent_t$	-0.047 (0.072)	-0.047 (0.072)	-0.047 (0.072)
$Incumbent_{DV_{t-1}}$	4.704*** (1.663)	4.482** (1.907)	4.426** (1.913)
$VS_{t-1}$	0.010 (0.007)	0.010 (0.007)	0.010 (0.007)
Party and Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
$\psi$	0.0192	0.0192	0.0193
Observations	733	733	733
RMSE	0.0233	0.0233	0.0233

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01; two-tailed. SEs in parentheses.

## E Test for an U-shaped Relationship

Whether the quadratic term in the model ( $VSGreen_{t-1}^2$ ) is statistically significant and the estimated extreme point is within the data range are necessary but insufficient for the existence of an U-shaped relationship. The possibility remains that the relationship is convex but monotone over the empirically observed range of the variable (Lind and

Mehlum, 2010). To test for this possibility, we follow the suggestions by Lind and Mehlum (2010) and test the joint null hypothesis  $H_0 : \beta_1 + 2 \times \beta_2 X_{min} \leq 0$  and/or  $\beta_1 + 2 \times \beta_2 X_{max} \geq 0$ , where  $X_{min}$  and  $X_{max}$  are the minimum (0) and the maximum value (14.35) of the variable  $VSGreen_{t-1}$  in the data. Intuitively, the test evaluates whether the estimated slope of the function significantly decreases and increases within a specified range of values. Table E.1 reports the results of the test.

Table E.1: Test for an U-shaped Relationship

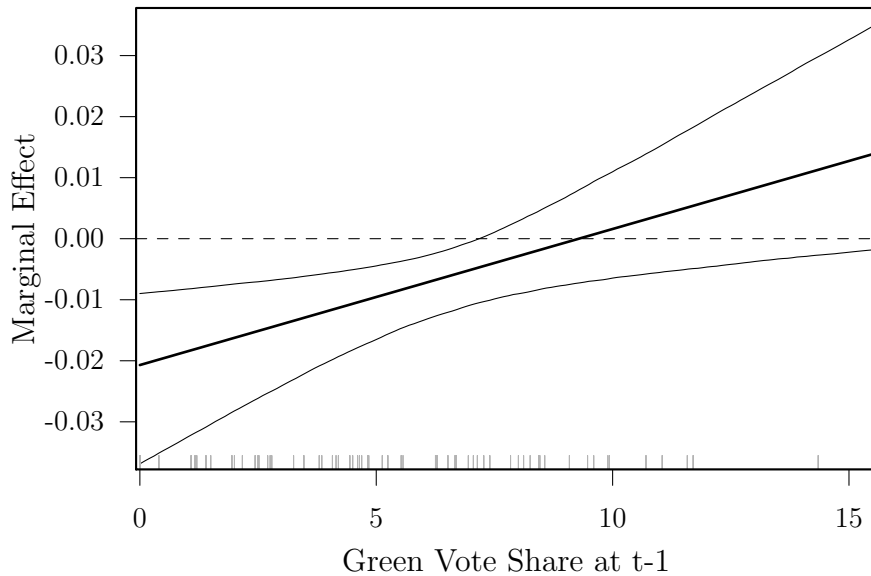
	$X_{min} = 0$	$X_{max} = 14.35$
Slope	-0.202*** (0.043)	0.108 (0.070)
Lind-Mehlum test statistic	-4.633	1.528
p-value	0.000	0.127

\*\*\* p<0.01; two-tailed. SEs in parentheses.

While the slope at both points  $X_{min}$  and  $X_{max}$  is correctly signed, it fails to reach statistical significance at  $X_{max}$ , suggesting that the relationship is monotone over the relevant range of values. For low levels of electoral support for green issue owners, an additional increase in the domestic green parties' support significantly decreases the share of quasi-sentences dedicated to environmental issues in the other parties' manifestos. This negative effect, however, diminishes as the green parties' support increases. For high levels of electoral support for the issue owner, an additional increase in support for green parties does not have a significant impact on its competitors' emphasis of the valence issue. Figure E.1 graphically illustrates this finding by showing how the marginal effect of domestic green parties' vote share after the previous election changes as the variable increases. The ticks at the horizontal axis represent the observed data points. Again, uncertainty estimates are obtained via simulation.

In sum, although the coefficient of the quadratic term in the analysis is statistically significant and the estimated extreme point lies within the empirically observed data range, the test suggested by Lind and Mehlum (2010) fails to reject the combined  $H_0$  at conventional levels of statistical significance. While the relationship between the strength of an issue owner and the other parties' issue emphasis is a convex function, it monotonically decreases over the relevant range of values. Instead of an U-shaped relationship, the analysis reveals a non-linear or, more precisely, a diminishing effect of the issue owning green parties' strength on the other parties' emphasis of the valence issue. Therefore, the strength of the issue owner alters the other parties' strategies but the data does not support the expectation that they respond to a strong issue owner by emphasizing the issue.

Figure E.1: Marginal Effect of Green Parties' Electoral Support



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