



Roles reversed: The Public in the Politician's Eye

A comparison of New Zealand and
the Netherlands

Y.M. van der Horst

Erasmus University

Master International Public Management and Policy

First reader: Sebastian Jilke

Second reader: Steven Van de Walle

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Executive summary

Reforms of the public service sector have increasingly been taking place in many Western countries. These reforms include economic and managerial changes that have put citizens in the driver's seat. Research has shown that this has resulted in a transformative society which moved from a collective based towards an individual driven culture. Services are no longer provided for by the state. Citizens are now expected to choose their own service provider and voice their discontent if they are not satisfied. However, this has led to a gap between the expansive and transformative demands of citizenship and the market-centered reform of public services. The best way to bridge this gap is by re-inventing the identity of the citizen. This takes place by public and political discursive work on part of the government. The citizen is expected to think and behave as a consumer and it is the government's duty to make this transformation happen. Research has been done on a bottom-up basis by asking individuals how they feel about their new identity. Nonetheless, this thesis takes a new approach by looking at the political parties and the way they view their electorates, thereby taking into account the popular and political discursive work that is considered to be a part of public service sector reforms.

The dependent variable in this research is the perception political parties have of their electorates. Using quantitative content analysis, this thesis attempts to explain which different factors may cause different perceptions. Electorates are expected to be viewed either as citizens or as customers. First, it is assumed that time is of influence in the way parties view their electorates. This leads to the hypothesis that parties view their electorates more as customers over time. Second, Hans Slomp's political spectrum, combined with the left/right axis, is used to guide us towards another influencing factor: the party's political orientation. It is believed that right-wing parties view their electorates as customers while left-wing parties view them as citizens. Finally, the time-element and the political orientation are combined. This is incorporated to show whether the hypothesis that parties view their electorates more as customers over time is stronger for right-wing than for left-wing parties.

The analysis is executed using an existing dataset of the Party Manifesto Project as well as a dataset built by myself. Carefully a selection of words is assigned to the two identities. The amount of time these words were used in the party manifestos is counted. The results show that, in our case studies, electorates are still considered to be citizens over customers, both by left-wing and right-wing parties.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

The main purpose of this introductory chapter is to present the reader with the research question: *Do political parties view their electorate as citizens or customers?* This research question has been formulated against the backdrop of the transforming role of citizens in society which is related to the transforming role of the state. Chapter one will provide some background on the transformation of the state and shortly touch upon the consequences that state-level changes have on the actors that operate within the state. This will be followed by an explanation of the research question and the underlying hypotheses, a clarification of the theoretical and social relevance of this research and, finally, an outline of the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

1.2. The role of the state

The role of the state has been changing as time went by. Internal and external pressures demand active reconsideration of what the state should and should not do and interfere with. Especially the twentieth century meant a time of change. The welfare state, which is a notion of a government whose main responsibility is to ensure its citizens' economic and social well-being, had become topic of discussion (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 1; Castles, Leibfried, Lewis, Obinger, & Pierson, 2010). During this time, the welfare state not only emerged to the stage for the first time, many Western countries also witnessed the decline of the welfare system (Esping-Andersen, 1990, pp. 1-4; Giddens, 1985; Castles, Leibfried, Lewis, Obinger, & Pierson, 2010; Giddens, 1994). The origin of the term traces back to 1942, when Sir William Temple first used it to describe the difference between Nationalist Socialist Germany, which he referred to as a warfare state, and the United Kingdom, which he called a welfare state (Brindle, 2012). The welfare state consists of a variety of forms of economic and social organization which results from a state's political negotiation of institutionalized relations between the state, society, and its citizens (Anheier & Huergensmeyer, 2012). Gøsta Esping-Andersen identified three forms of welfare states, the explanation of which lie outside the scope of this thesis but, are all preoccupied 'with the production and distribution of social well-being' (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 1).

Based on principles of equal opportunity, equal distribution of wealth and public responsibility to take care of the less fortunate amongst us, many Western countries were consciously reorganizing the state by including a social dimension. The unique combination of democracy, welfare and capitalism was to transform the state into a socially just political entity, in which citizenship encompassed not only access to social, but also to political and civil rights (Marshall, 1950). In addition, nation-building processes and discussions revolving around citizenship included much negotiation on not only the citizens' rights, but also

their duties. These included, but are not limited to, social solidarity and political participation. The fundamental rationale behind the emphasis on social redistribution and 'welfare for all' was the idea that 'without a minimum of social security, citizens are not able to participate in social and political processes in a fully independent manner' (Anheier & Juergensmeyer, 2012, p. 1783).

Social security was provided for in the form of public services, such as health care, energy and education. These services would be under-provided if the market was not regulated. By doing this, the whole society would benefit because a healthier and better educated population would be beneficial to all, now and in the future. Therefore, providing public services can be seen as an investment. In addition, the state acted based on the principle of egalitarianism, which states that 'the hallmark of any civilized society is to deliver some minimum levels of consumption of key goods to its population' (Besley & Ghatak, 2003, p. 4-5). Finally, citizens might not be able to understand the importance of certain goods and services due to information problems or a lack of 'rational forward-looking decision making'. Price signals sent by the markets, for example, do not adequately reflect the social value of consumption. Therefore, the state took it upon itself to correct any information asymmetry that existed (Besley & Ghatak, 2003; Camerer, Issacharoff, Loewenstein, O'Donoghue, & Rabin, 2003). This is often referred to as paternalism.

By the 1930s, the concept became to represent the expression of social justice. This was reinforced after the Second World War, when job and family security was to be guaranteed by 'a more socially conscious, liberal economy' that emerged against the backdrop of the socialist alternative. 'Welfare states today mostly combine a liberal market economy based on free trade with conscious government intervention into the market through taxes, regulations, redistributions, and interest negotiations' (Anheier & Juergensmeyer, 2012, p. 1783). Taxation has become the state's main way to finance this system, and thus guarantee the citizens' security and rights, whilst it also constitutes as a tool to organize social solidarity amongst them. This way social stability is secured while economic growth remains to be supported.

1.3. Deliberate transformation of the public sector

As time went by the world began to shrink due to the process of globalization. International integration took place as a result of the exchange of world views and ideas as well as products (Albrow & King, 1990). When this started to effectively kick in, the welfare state became to be criticized for being an obstacle to the self-regulating forces of the free market, both within a state and globally. Simultaneously, its existence was challenged by the competitive forces of the global market. In the established integrated global economy, individuals acting in the market would secure a sustainable social order. Therefore, it became imperative that social ties did not lag behind. Milton Friedman argued that economies should be disembedded from both the state and the social establishment. According to him, the best way for

governments to serve their society and social security is by unleashing all market forces and enforcing a legal, but not a social order (Friedman & Friedman, 1990).

According to Wolfgang Streeck capitalism and the welfare state do not mix. He argues that it is impossible for employers and investors to be given a free hand to do as they please while simultaneously providing in the needs of the employees and the weak and maintaining the political institutions in healthy conditions (Streeck, 2013). There was only one period in time when this was possible, and that was during the 'exceptional time' immediately following the Second World War (WWII) (Haegens, 2013). Traumatized by the horrific events witnessed in both World War I (WWI) and WWII, trade unions and employers, for the time being, set their most important demands aside in order to compromise. However, by the 1960s, they were tired of the tight rules and regulations that prevented them from making profit (de Gruyter, 2015). Following the collapse of the Communist bloc and several economic crises, a growing resistance against state interventionism was witnessed in most Western countries, triggering a movement of government reforms. This international trend in public administration is called New Public Management (NPM). Neo-liberalist beliefs, in which social problems were to be overcome by market offers rather than government solutions, lie at the heart of reforms away from state monopoly-provided public services and towards free markets (Tummers, Jilke, Vande Walle, 2014, p. 3-8).

The one-size-fits all attitude of governments neglected the different needs and preferences that individuals have, thus the importance of choice was emphasized. In addition, from a provider's point of view too much regulation was inefficient. Because their target audience was not perceived as a customer, like in the private sector, there was little incentive to improve the quality of their services. Also, production costs were not likely to go down because of the operation of soft budget constraints (Besley & Ghatak, 2003). Introducing the free market into the public service sector would result into choice-based public service delivery systems steered by citizens and their preferences. Putting citizens in the driver's seat would change the provider's perception of its target audience; citizens would become customers whose wishes need to be met, hence an improvement of the service delivery would be triggered.

1.4. Deliberate transformation of the citizen

By introducing the market in areas that were originally facilitated by the government, such as rail transport, health care, education and energy, the traditional order between government and citizens was disturbed. 'The new model of public governance challenges both the traditional notion of the welfare state and that of the citizen. The welfare state is conceived as a market-based delivery system, and the citizen is seen as a customer' (Christensen & Lægreid, 2002, p.269). Citizens no longer had to depend on the government. Instead they were put in the driver's seat and came to depend on themselves and their abilities to make the right decisions for their own benefits. This process required the people to review their role in society

and encouraged them to think of themselves as independent, economic agents. NPM has increased the individual's channels for articulating their interests in a democracy; besides putting in their votes, they can now act as a customer or as a member of an interest group (Pierson, 1995).

'In contrast to general change processes, reform always involves deliberate change' (Christensen & Lægreid, 2002, p.268). This leads to the assumption that the changing relationship between the state and the citizen must involve deliberate change as well. According to Clarke and Newman, 'market rule is not just a process of institutional reform, it also produces a reworking of political and popular discourse about the relationships between society, politics and economy' (2009, p. 86). During the reforms, it had become the topic of much political and popular discourse. Despite their own reservations (Clarke, 2007), the people had to be encouraged to think in economic matters, led by the pursuit of the best possible deal.

1.5. Research aim and question

The above reveals background information about the transformation the public service sector in many Western countries underwent during the last two centuries. In addition, it touches upon the consequences these reforms have on both the relationship between the state and its citizens as well as on the identity of the citizens itself. The deliberate transformation from a welfare state to a market based economy implies the deliberate change of the citizen, its relation to the state and its role in society. As argued by Clarke and Newman, this change was developed by means of popular and political discourse. This thesis will focus on this discourse from a top-down perspective. As such, the objective set for this thesis is to look more closely at the way political parties view their electorate. This research will be executed using the party manifestos of the political parties in the case studies, which are New Zealand and the Netherlands.

Manifestos are perceived as the parties' key tool of communicating policy statements to their voters, indicating what their policy preferences are at that moment in time. They serve as the parties' business card and as the voters' guide for making the right choice. As such, their content is very important, and should be well thought of before being made public. This not only makes manifestos interesting subjects for content analysis, it also serves as a link between parties and their constituents. In addition, they serve as a great way to position political parties along the Left-Right axis (Dinas & Gemenis, 2009, p. 1). Though Dinas and Gemenis argue there are three main methods to position political parties on this axis (including the use of expert surveys and opinion polls), content analysis of party manifestos is the most popular because of the impartiality of the data retrieved from this research method. Generally, manifestos provide the most accurate picture on where a party stands without requiring any pre-knowledge (Dinas & Gemenis, 2009, p.2). Also, manifestos are used to promote the party's policies and views, rather than being wasted on comparing the party's capabilities or 'highlighting their differences with other parties' (Dinas & Gemenis,

2009, p. 9). As such, manifestos serve as the perfect tool for parties to persuade their voters to vote for them, but also as the perfect platform for the reworked political discourse on citizens versus customers.

Keeping the importance of manifestos in mind, this thesis analyzes how political parties address their constituents in these documents. Party manifestos are written documents, thus the analysis of their content is based on the language that is used and, more importantly, how it is used. Based on the information provided, this research will be executed based on the assumption that political parties, in their discourse towards their constituents, use language in a sense that reflects the way they perceive their electorate. As has been explained before, reforms include deliberate change. In light of the NPM reforms, this deliberate change is expected to be applied to the role and perception of the citizen; this refers specifically to the transformation of the individual from citizen to customer. This research will determine whether parties that are in favor of the free market tend to view their electorates as customers rather than citizens. The main assumption underlying the hypotheses that have been formed is derived from the different economic policies that are pursued by the traditional opposing beliefs of left-wing versus right-wing parties. It is expected to find that right-wing parties promote the free market and thus view their voters as customers, where left-wing parties favor regulation and view their voters as citizens.

Following this problem statement, the research question guiding this thesis is:

Do political parties view their electorate as citizens or customers?

In this research question, the dependent variable is the perceived electorate. The hypotheses accompanying this question are the following:

Hypothesis 1. Political parties view their electorates more as customers over time

Hypothesis 2A. Right-wing parties view electorates as customers

Hypothesis 2B. Left-wing parties view electorates as citizens

Hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 1 is stronger for right-wing parties than for left-wing parties

1.6. Social and theoretical relevance

This thesis focuses on reforms in the public sector and the way these reforms transform society. Debates amongst as well as between politicians, businesses and the public often revolve around the topic of the free market and the position it has put the citizen in. In the August 2, 2015, edition of the Dutch philosophical television show 'Het filosofisch kwintet', scholars Mathieu Segers and Henk van Houtum were invited to join philosopher Ad Verbrugge and host Clairy Polak in the discussion on solidarity in the Dutch society. During this debate, Segers argued that a form of 'hyper rationality' has come into existence (Segers, 2015). This hyper rationality, he explains, is the fundamental belief that all problems can be solved. In our

minds, we have connected policy, rational policy to be exact, to the solutions that solve our problems. Segers defines rational policy as policies that are the result of cost/benefit analyses, the collection of data and calculations (Segers, 2015). The idea of hyper rationality has been repeated, and criticized, on several occasions and by different people. Jesse Klaver, a Dutch politician of the Green Party, mentioned in a speech that we live in a society that is ran by what he calls 'economism' in which 'every social and political problem has been reduced to a financial-economic calculation' (Klaver, 2015). Across the world, Bernard Hickey, who is the economics columnist for the newspaper New Zealand Herald, wrote that 'the economic god of completely free markets and capital flows is not worth believing in anymore and we must look for other things to believe in and do' (Hickey, 2010). Nowadays, there are challenges that cannot be solved based on rational grounds, but ask for a moral dimension. The economy has started to dominate politics, and our society has become more and more individualistic as a result of it (van Houtum, 2015). If the economy and politics are becoming more alike, it suggests that those on the receiving end of both the economy (consumers) and politics (citizens) are becoming more alike as well. Looking into the way political parties view their electorate will be of social relevance because it clarifies the transformation of not only our society, but also how political parties guide this transformation.

The theoretical relevance of this thesis is formed by the research design that is applied in the comparison of the two concepts citizen and customer. It will extend the current research that has been done on the definitions and symbolic meanings of the concepts due to two reasons. First of all, much research has been done on the transformation from being a citizen to being a customer, scholars Clarke and Newman have been the most influential. However, the focus has always been on the differences between the two notions and how individuals feel about the notions as well as the supposed transformation of society. This contains a bottom-upward approach in which individuals are asked questions via surveys or interviews. This thesis will put the focus on the political parties and the way they view the individuals, thus will take on a top-down approach. In order to execute this in the limited amount of time, the manifestos of political parties will form the main source of research. By looking at the number of times certain words are used, this thesis will apply a quantitative content analysis approach and extent possible research designs to the studies on citizens versus customers. Second, this thesis will do research in two new cases. Much research has been done on the case of the United Kingdom, due to the reforms of the public service sector there. Not much research has been done on the citizen versus customer debate in the Netherlands and New Zealand, despite the reforms of their public service sector.

1.7. Thesis outline

This thesis is structured along the following outline:

Chapter 1 – Introduction

This chapter has provided the reader with an introduction to the topic, explained what the general objectives of the research are, introduced the research question and its subsequent hypotheses and clarified the relevance of the research.

Chapter 2 – Literature review

This chapter provides a literature review on the movement called New Public Management, highlighting its features and origins. In addition, it describes what scholars have written about the changing relationship between the state and the market. Furthermore, the consequent dynamic relationship between the state and its citizens is underlined, which results into an overview about the differences between being a citizen and being a customer.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework guiding this thesis will be introduced here. The framework consists of two theories. The first theory that is presented is the theory of consumerism, which is expected to explain more deeply the features of the transformation of society into a consumer culture. The second theory is Hans Slomp's model of the European Political Spectrum, which divides political parties according to their ideals and beliefs. Background information on what existing political science literature says about the spectrum is provided here. Finally, these theories will explain how we derived at the hypotheses that guide the research.

Chapter 4 – Research design

This chapter explains the case selection, discusses the research design and the reliability and validity of the research, describes the operationalization of the theories and explains how the data has been collected.

Chapter 5 – Empirical analysis

This chapter presents the empirical analysis and the results it has found.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion and discussion

This chapter discusses the findings and answers research question. In addition, suggestions for further research are made.

Chapter 2. Literature review

Around the year 1800, French economist J.B. Say came up with the term 'entrepreneur'. He defined it as 'someone who worked towards the maximization of productivity and effectiveness by shifting economic resources out of an area of lower and into an area of higher productivity and greater yield' (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992, p. xix). As time went by and the world was shrinking as a result of international integration, this term came to be used in combination with government, which traditionally had not been known for its efficient and cost-effective ways of operating. This statement suggests that there is a link between globalization and a new, perhaps more efficient, government. Scholars trace this relationship back to the doctrine of NPM, which 'has tried to introduce efficiency, transparency and accountability in a traditional bureaucratic environment' while also offering possibilities 'to monitor budget performance which have provided ways to measure results and deliver better services to citizens' (Bertucci & Jemai, 2000, p. 2). The UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs has studied the effects of globalization on governments and concluded that 'while it is true that governments are challenged to redefine the role of the state in the light of globalisation, they also have to grapple with the fact that it might involve a loss of sovereignty'. As a result of the pressures of globalisation, they argued, in most governments 'the public service as an institution is under strain' (Bertucci & Jemai, 2000, p. 3). Kettl adds that 'preeminent policy strategies have tended to grow beyond the nation-state, to linkages with international organizations, and to focus below it, to partnerships with subnational, for-profit, and non-profit organizations' (Kettl, 2000, p. 489). This does not go without consequences, thus a deeper understanding of the doctrine and emergence of NPM is provided for in this chapter. This chapter will also review the literature on the changing identity of the citizen that was mentioned before. As such, the individual as a citizen will be compared with the individual as a customer as can be found in the existing literature.

2.1. New Public Management – the doctrine

During the 1970s and 1980s, many members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) experienced resistance against state interventionism. This has led to a series of government reforms which could be witnessed all over the world, especially in Western countries. As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, this international trend in public administration is often referred to as *New Public Management*. At the core of NPM lies the combination of the two doctrines of *new institutional economics*, which promotes the freedom of choice, and *managerialism*, which stimulates freedom to manage the public sector in a business-like manner (Hood, 1991, pp. 5-6).

Hood (1991) has looked into the trends that can be witnessed within the NPM movement. In doing so, he distinguishes between four important megatrends. The first deals with the size of government spending

and government staffing, which has been brought back in many countries. This trend can be found in the form of public services being contracted out to private sector actors. The second trend covers the shift away from government institutions towards the private sector. Following the principle of subsidiarity, services are now provided for on the most appropriate level and the customer can benefit from them directly. Processes of privatization, semi-privatization and marketization are examples of how this is often organized. Third, public services are more and more produced and distributed automatically due to technological advancements. Finally, the globalization process, which is immediately linked to the increase in technology, called for an international agenda. This international agenda focused on intergovernmental cooperation and public management styles (Hood, 1991). The European Union (EU) forms a great example. The Union consists of 28 Member States (MS), in which different national public administration and managements styles are present. However, in order to reach the goals set by the European agenda reforms, leading to a deeper European integration, were needed (Hood, 1991, p. 3). Furthermore, a higher degree of competition in several sectors was necessary. Too many differences between MS' markets would defeat the purpose of the internal market, hence the many attempts that try to tackle this.

Neo-liberalism lies at the heart of the reforms away from state monopoly-provided public services and towards free markets (Tummers, Jilke & Van de Walle, 2014, pp. 3-8). Choice-based public service delivery systems were introduced under the assumption that putting citizen's in the driver's seat would improve the service delivery. The rationale behind this lies in the idea that competition in the service sector would lead to incentives for providers to improve their services because they can lose their customers if the quality of their services is not up to par. These choice-based public service delivery systems have been introduced in several forms. Deregulation, for example, happens when the state introduces fewer and simpler regulations in order to raise competitiveness. Liberalization is the relaxation of previously introduced government restrictions, such as the encouragement of schools to compete. Privatization and marketization are both about the shift from state-control enterprises to private control. The distinguishing factor is that marketization refers to the 'restructuring process' of the environment, such as changing the legal environment and educational activities, that is required to develop new market whereas privatization is about the transfer of the ownership of public services to the private sector. 'Together, these reforms develop more private ownership, more private accountability, and more competition' (Belfield, 2002, p. 224).

NPM advocates present the doctrine as universal because of its portability and diffusion. They claim it can be applied 'to solve management ills in many different contexts' – including different countries, levels within governments, and policy areas. In addition, they portray the movement as politically neutral because the basic framework is set up in such a way that slight alternations would suffice in order to meet different demands in different situations (Hood, 1991, p. 8). These two characteristics can be explained by the

different components that are witnessed in different cases. Hood (1990) stresses that there are many different aspects of NPM that can be observed, however, he claims seven elements are most present in NPM literature. These seven elements are presented in Appendix A on page 87.

2.2. The state and the market

‘The dominant narrative about the reform of public services treats markets as having replaced – or displaced – states’ (Clarke & Newman, 2009, p. 69). Consider the following examples which show this statement to be true: the vulnerable position nation-states have found themselves in when it comes to the international market; public functions that used to be the core business of governments have now been contracted out to the private sector; the privatization of public goods and resources. At the core of ‘the rise of the market’ lies the idea that markets deliver services in a more efficient and dynamic manner than states. Also, these services are better attuned to the needs and desires of people living in so-called ‘consumer cultures’ (Clarke & Newman, 2009). These consumer cultures are ‘dominated by the ‘cash-nexus’: the exchange of money for desired goods and services’ (Clarke, 2009/2010, p. 34).

Though this trend of marketization has been spotted in several sectors (utility, health care, education) in many countries, a significant role for the government remains: it is the main facilitator of choice. When a government decides to open a sector to the market and generate choice for the citizens, it needs to make sure there are multiple suppliers that the citizens can actually choose between. This ‘market making’, thus stimulating the emergence of new providers and protecting new markets against abuse, requires state intervention to some degree. Markets that have been opened up still require some regulation. For example, it should not be possible for providers to provide just in the profitable areas of a country. Once the market is established and the different choices are available, the government may want to assist the citizens in making their choices by means of providing market and service information that is easily accessible and understandable. Examples are portals and websites which display the performance of the providers. A final form of government intervention can be the direct funding of clients through budgets and vouchers. The aim is to give the client a stronger voice as this would affect the performance of the providers or give the client more choice (Tummers, Jilke, Van de Walle, 2014, pp. 10-15).

‘Politics is no longer a place for conversation and contests over conflicting ideas about goals for the community. Market-oriented, neoliberal, for-profit thinking puts forward instead the idea of society as a technocratic arrangement for individuals pursuing wealth and economic growth’ (Holland et. all, 2007, p. 236). An important aspect of NPM is encouraging people to think of themselves as economic agents that are moved and driven by economic means. This does not happen organically because people tend to reject

the impersonal associations they have with identifying themselves as ‘consumers of public services’ (Clarke, 2007). This is where governments come into play again. In order for NPM to be a success, governments have taken the responsibility to get people to think of themselves in economic matters through much political and discursive work. However, this does not go without struggles. It is important that in the construction of the different types of economic agents they each have their own appealing form of power or authority. Clarke and Newman (2009) have witnessed the following examples in this process of ‘making economic agents’:

Table 1. Economic agents

Economic agents	Who and what
<i>Provider organizations</i>	Existing businesses or previously public sector-based organizations that have now been subjected to market pressures which encourages them to ‘think like businesses’
<i>Senior figures in organizations</i>	Resulting from ‘new managerialism’, senior figures are trained through development programs to behave like leaders and embody the corporate entity
<i>Clients, contractors and commissioners</i>	These are the new, more independent and empowered, names for providers and purchasers of the (previously public) services
<i>Producers and consumers</i>	They form the foundational economic identities
<i>Workers in organizations</i>	Workers are portrayed as valued human resources of the organization as they execute its core mission
<i>Entrepreneurs</i>	In an effort to expand the market for public services, nowadays almost everyone is invited to stand up and identify his-/herself as entrepreneur

These economic agents are the core of the operationalization and the data collection of this thesis and will be elaborated on later.

2.3. The emergence of NPM

There is no clear explanation why NPM became so popular around the world. Some argue that it was just a ‘whim of fashion’, others explain it as a ‘cargo cult phenomenon’, and again others interpret it is a ‘synthesis of opposites’ (Hood C. , 1991, pp. 6-7). However, none of these explanations justify its endurance or acknowledge the time frame in which NPM came to the stage.

Finally, there is a more comprehensive explanation which states that the NPM movement was a response to social conditions that were existent at that point in time. Immediately after WWII, it was extremely important that the people were provided for, hence the emergence of the welfare state. At that time the incompatible combination of capitalism and the welfare state worked because unions and employers were so horrified and shocked by the events of WWII that they were willing to compromise and let go of certain demands. However, by the end of the 1960s, as peace remained and economic growth continued, they only wanted to make profit (de Gruyter, 2015). 'Rising living standards, a more diverse society and a steadily stronger consumer culture had brought expectations of greater choice, responsiveness, accessibility and flexibility' (Office of Public Services Reform, 2002, p. 8). As a result, the welfare state had to make way for reforms that fit the social conditions at that moment in time. Income levels and distribution of income changed and persisting technological developments brought the public and private sector together. This changed the socio-technical system; so-called 'new machine politics' began to emerge. In the new order, public policy was formed based on opinion polling of key groups. Uniform approaches of public policy did not meet the demands of society as it had become more and more heterogeneous (Hood, 1991, p. 7). In the globalizing world, 'imitating the market in respect to consumer responsiveness' would lead to outputs that were more in tune with those wanted by the population, 'thereby achieving important goals of administration in democratic systems' (Aberbach & Christensen, 2005, p. 226). De Gruyter (2015), journalist for the Dutch newspaper NRC Next, witnessed the striking consequences this had for political parties, the left-wing parties in particular. Responding to outputs desired by the public and to the changes that accompanied the process of international and economic integration meant letting go of their story of 'the righteous society', an economically and socially equal society. Economic policies promoted by left-wing parties began to resemble the capitalist thought more and more (de Gruyter, 2015). Lukes reasons that in the twentieth century 'the left may survive as 'a matter of values' but it is no longer distinguished from the right in offering alternative analyses or the promise of an alternative institutional design for the economy that is both feasible and superior to what exists' (2003, pp. 12-13). Chapter three, which introduces the theoretical framework on which this research is based, will further elaborate on the distinctions between left-wing and right-wing parties. Chapter five, which constitutes the analysis, will find out whether the statements made by de Gruyter and Lukes are true. First, the distinctive features of citizens and customers are presented.

2.4. Citizens versus customers

As has been mentioned before, public reforms related to NPM required much political and discursive work on part of the government. The so-called process of 'making economic agents' blurred the traditional separation between being a citizen, which belonged to the public sector, and being a customer, which was associated with the private sector. Much research has already been done on this process. This thesis aims to contribute to this research by focusing on two case studies. Looking at the way political parties in New

Zealand and the Netherlands refer to their constituents will be seen as a contribution to this process of ‘making economic agents’. The results are presented in chapter 5.

Before turning to the information about citizens and customers found in contemporary literature, it is worth explaining how the customer differs from the consumer, as both are mentioned and included in the operationalization of this thesis. According to the Oxford Dictionary, the customer is defined as ‘a person who buys goods or services from a shop, business or provider’ (Oxford Dictionary). The customer is the recipient of the goods, services and products which are bought from sellers, vendors or suppliers. This can either be for their own consumption or for someone else’s. This is where the customer differs from the consumer, because the Oxford Dictionary defines the consumer as ‘a person who purchases goods and services for *personal use*’ (Oxford Dictionary). Though both of great importance for a nation’s economy because they both send market signals, they are not the same. To illustrate this with an example we use the case of education. The customer can be a father who is buying private education for his daughter, the consumer. In this part of the thesis, the words are used interchangeably because the existing literature uses both notions. However, it is important to know that their differences will be taken into account and attention will be paid to the way the scholars, journalists and politicians use the different concepts.

In their book *Creating Citizen-Consumers*, Clarke and Newman (2007, p.3) outline the distinct features of the concepts of citizens and consumer as the following:

Table 2. Citizen/Consumer

Citizen	Consumer
State	Market
Public	Private
Political	Economic
Collective	Individual
De-commodification	Commodification
Rights	Exchange

The concept of citizenship has been enlarged and transformed over time which has created a multiplicity of overlapping and contradicting notions of what and who citizens are. This heterogeneity has unsettled the match between public service providers and their publics. Thus, in order to reach specific groups providers had to respond to these dynamics by tailoring their services. Consider schools that have to respond to migrant or special needs children or police that is dealing with new issues such as towards the gay and lesbian community. ‘One way of reconciling expansive and transformative citizenship demands with the market-centred reform of public services has been through re-inventing the citizen as a consumer

of public services' (Clarke & Newman, 2009, p. 158). John Clarke has looked into this process, also referred to as 'transformism', as was set in motion by New Labour in the United Kingdom (UK). New Labour's consumerist orientation led to a modernization of public services in the UK. As was explained before, part of this modernization process was discursive work by the government. In the case of the UK, New Labour first introduced the term of the 'citizen-consumer' in 1998 in an attempt to 'appropriate and accommodate a variety of political and cultural tendencies, such as popular anxiety about declining public services and social movements challenging professional paternalism' (Clarke, 2007, p. 161-162).

In the modern state, the role of the citizen has increasingly been defined in individual terms, leaving less room for the values of the traditional notion of citizenship, specifically the public morality. There are four reasons behind this statement. First, in some cases the freedom to choose makes participation in the political process unnecessary because someone's self-interest can be served best by non-participation. Second, assuming that the individual is a rational actor serving its self-interest, citizens will use the law to exploit loopholes in a manner that benefits the individual. Third, citizens may legitimately use (often) state-provided education for their own benefit rather than to contribute to society because the human capital they possess belongs to the individual. Finally, citizens are free to choose when and where to demand public services, thus, if they perceive services to be better somewhere else they can decide to move to that provider (Gabriel & Lang, 1995).

'The consumer has become a god-like figure, before whom markets and politicians alike bow' (Gabriel & Lang, 1995, p. 1) . The consumer is perceived as a dominant figure in everyday life, a person who drives production, politics, innovation, economics and even the environment. Simultaneously, the consumer is a passive figure who can easily be, and more often than not *will* be, manipulated by those active in invisible board rooms and operating from behind the scenes. This goes to show, citizens also pay a price for all the freedom they get under these reforms. They sacrifice a sense of security and comfort that comes along with uniformity. In order to understand the difference between being a citizen and a customer, it is necessary to clarify what the different features are that set them apart.

2.5. Citizens

The concept of citizenship is both politically desirable, as it provides citizens with a sense of belonging to a group, and politically problematic, those who do not belong to that group may experience feelings of exclusion. Add to this the emergence of the idea of the market-state, in which choice in public services has been introduced as a form of power and authority for the people, and you can imagine that governments have taken it upon themselves to reconstruct the concept of citizenship. This has led to an array of different images of ideal citizens, including their rights and obligations, that arise in policy discourses (Clarke & Newman, 2009, p. 163).

However, before turning to these different notions, there are common features of citizenship that require attention first. As can be seen in table 2, citizens are aligned with the state. They enjoy a legal and political status which provides them with fundamental rights, such as ‘the right to vote, free speech, freedom of the press and information, freedom of assembly and freedom to organize and petition the government’ (Aberbach & Christensen, 2005, p. 228). These rights, in particular the right to vote, were meant to provide citizens with the possibility to have an input in the political process and therefore boost feelings of influence, while, simultaneously, enabling them to learn and develop personally. In short, it creates a feature of popular sovereignty. However, this only works if the following three conditions are met. First, the government should provide citizens with the right information when it comes to voting rights and should do everything in its power to remove any obstacles that stand voting in the way. Second, the election process, for example the functioning of parties and citizens’ participation in both elections and parties, should be clear and transparent. Finally, citizens should have influence on the composition of political bodies and politicians should truly represent the public opinion (Aberbach & Christensen, 2005, p. 228).

Aberbach and Christensen have made a distinction between two of the most common images of citizenship: republican citizenship and liberal citizenship.

Republican citizenship, also referred to as the collective model of citizenship, is a somewhat older, yet well-established, notion of citizenship which revolves around the idea that citizens have a sense of belonging, ‘a moral bond with the community’, in which the fate of that community supersedes their individual needs (Aberbach & Christensen, 2005, p. 227). It is the government’s role to facilitate the enactment of legislation which grants basic rights as well as to facilitate collective goals and benefits for society as a whole. One can think of national health insurance that should be available to all, basic criteria for minimum living conditions and standardized pension and education rights.

According to this model the sense of belonging to a collective body and the sharing of a common heritage and history are of utmost importance and are also connected to how people act in ‘appropriate ways’ without restricting options and resources for future generations (Aberbach & Christensen, 2005, p. 229). Trust between citizens and political-administrative institutions lies at the core of democratic life under the collective norms. An incremental-institutional process led to the development of political institutions which are based on citizen participation and public discourse. The following quote summarizes the idea behind the collective notion of citizenship:

'If you behave appropriately, the system will treat you accordingly, and the citizen learns appropriateness over time, through the education system, professional systems, socialization and training by public authorities' (Aberbach & Christensen, 2005, p. 229).

The appropriate citizenship role encompasses aspects such as a sense of obligation to vote and to participate in political processes, an appropriate attitude towards public services and resources by not cheating or misusing them, and the obligation to get educated and advance professional skills for the purpose of contributing to the development of society rather than for personal gain. Therefore, the customer-oriented approach which follows from NPM does not fit with the republican tradition, and has been criticized by them as profoundly undemocratic rather than a way to create a more responsive government that tries to provide for a better match between demand and supply.

The *liberal*, or individual, model already moves towards a more customer-oriented notion of citizenship. This model puts the focus on the individual and the individual's right to perform up to his or her potential, without putting too much emphasis on their contribution to society. In fact, it is through voluntary action, rather than collective activities through the state, that the playing field is ought to be levelled. Other images of citizens that are in line with the more individualistic view of the liberal citizenship model are those that are described by Clarke and Newman in their books *Creating Citizen-Consumers* (2007) and *Publics, Politics and Power* (2009, pp. 163-166). These are presented in table 3.

Table 3. Images of citizens

Type of citizen	Features
Empowered citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Post-welfarist' states, such as the UK, the Netherlands and New Zealand, view choice in public services as a tool to release citizens from time-consuming bureaucratic administration, empowering them to decide their own relationship with public services • In the Southern European countries, empowerment strategies are aligned with development reasoning, thus citizens are able to break free from poverty or even oppressive governmental regimes
Worker-citizen	The importance of the market has made governments shift their focus from providing social protection to the unemployed to investing in their skills and capacities in order to help them (re-)enter the labour market. The labour market is seen as the way out of social exclusion
Contracted citizen	In reforms away from the welfare system, governments engage in social contracts with citizens, making them a negotiating partner, in order to gain

	insight in their self-relation. Understanding the citizens' inner will, will help the successful transformation of the welfare state
Responsible citizen	With the shrinking welfare state, citizens are encouraged to take greater responsibilities for their own well-being as well as the well-being of their community. Participating citizens will cost the state less money in terms of health care, pension funds, social care etc.
Conditional citizen	Those states reluctant to make citizens responsible right away have introduced conditions (based on contracts and performance) which should be met before citizens are eligible to get social benefits from the state
Active citizen	<p>Most governments are excited to see their citizens being busy managing their lifestyles and well-being, volunteering in their communities and co-producing services. These citizens reduce public spending while pressuring service providers to perform.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberal view: privileges the individual worker citizen and citizen-consumer • Republican view: focus on democratic participation and civil society activism • Communitarian view: responsible citizen sustaining the moral fabric of the community

Each of these concepts 'opens the citizen to rationalities and forms of power that attempts to shift the meaning of citizenship from a status carrying rights and entitlements towards individualised notions of responsibility and self-sufficiency' (Clarke & Newman, 2009, p. 166)

2.6. Customers

'In the second half of the twentieth century, we have gradually learnt to talk and think of each other and ourselves as consumers. A new way of thinking and talking about people has emerged' (Gabriel & Lang, 1995, p. 1). In discourses the word 'consumer' has been used in so many different contexts that it has become a meaningless notion. Gabriel and Lang (1995) study this array of different discourses on consumption and attempt to structure the views and arguments put forward by those who claim to represent the different types of consumer. They have classified the types of consumer according to their specific traits, as these arise from discourses by scholars, politicians and journalists, into nine portraits; the consumer as a *chooser, communicator, explorer, identity-seeker, hedonist, victim, rebel, activist* and *citizen*. After evaluating these different types and highlighting their strengths and weaknesses, they come to the conclusion that the portraits used in discourses on consumerism are too civilized and one-sided. Gabriel and Lang argue that the existing literature, in an attempt to explain Western consumerism, failed to

acknowledge the fragmentation and contradictions that exist within contemporary consumption. As opposed to just falling in one category, they argue, 'we are creative composites of several social categories at the same time' (Gabriel & Lang, 1995, p. 5). By overlooking the fragmentation and unmanageability of consumerism, Gabriel and Lang foresee consumerism undergoing a period of malaise, hence the introduction of the 'unmanageable consumer'. Politicians are approaching 'the consumer' as if it has become a new social class in which all consumers are pursuing the same goals and benefits, and thus are projecting them to the same pressures. Gabriel and Lang argue that this is not the way to go. Though the status of consumer is claimed by many, it cannot be controlled by few (the government) because consumers do not even know how to control themselves due to all the incentives they are faced with on a daily basis.

As was mentioned before, the public service sector in the UK underwent modernization under New Labour's reign. The British government presented the choice-based public service delivery as the solution to several problems (Ministers of State, 2004, p. 4):

- It's what users want
- It provides incentives for driving up quality, responsiveness and efficiency
- It promotes equity
- It facilitates personalization

As part of the reworking process that accompanies modernization of the public sector, New Labour often pointed out the contrasts between the past and the future. This refers to both the identity of the individual as well as his/her attitude towards the state. In the past, the individual was a lying-down patient or passive citizen (bad). Now, the individual has grown out to be an assertive choice-making consumer (good). As an 'expert of their own condition', the individual became a co-producer of services, taking on a more active role (Clarke, 2007, p. 172). According to New Labour, these distinctions between the old and the new led to 'new ways of providing services that made them look and feel more like the experience of being a consumer' (Clarke, 2009/2010, p. 39). Anthony Giddens defines consumers as 'self-possessing and self-directing individuals' who provide a contrast with the passive and dependent recipients of public services, thus citizens, that were the main actors in the 'old model', the welfare state (Clarke, 2007, p. 160-161; Giddens, 1998). As such, 'the consumer has come to stand for the array of market freedoms associated with economic or neo-liberal globalization' (Clarke, 2009/2010, p. 33).

Clarke and Newman foresee a transitioning of society as we knew it and claim it will become 'a society of individuals who are treated, and understand themselves, as private rather than public figures, who owe 'responsibilities' to the economy, the state and the nation, who have a limited array of 'freedoms' that can be exercised in market or market-like institutions, and whose core rights are 'spending one's own money' and 'being hard-working' (Clarke & Newman, 2009, pp. 158-159).

2.7. Conclusion

This literature review has further elaborated on the doctrine of NPM, its emergence and its core elements. In addition, it has shown that reforms in the public service sector have called for a changing identity of the individual. Scholars have argued that modernization of the public sector has transformed the 'passive citizen' into an 'active consumer', whom would trigger improvements in public service delivery and therefore become a co-producer. However, it has become clear that this does not go without problems. The impersonal and unequal position of the consumer was often rejected by individuals. As a result, political discourse has been less straightforward than the citizen/consumer distinction might propose. Instead, both terms are found combined and interchangeably in political statements and polity texts which aim to discuss public services. This is exemplified by the statement made by Tony Blair in 2004:

In reality, I believe people do want choice, in public services as in other services. But anyway, choice isn't an end in itself. It is one important mechanism to ensure that citizens can indeed secure good schools and health services in their communities. Choice puts the levers in the hands of parents and patients so that they as citizens and consumers can be a driving force for improvement in their public services. We are proposing to put an entirely different dynamic in place to drive our public services; one where the service will be driven not by the government or by the manager but by the user, the patient, the parent, the pupil and the law-abiding citizen.

(Blair, The Guardian, 24 June 2004, p. 1)

The ideal would be a combination of 'modern public services that affirm our status as citizens, while meeting our demands as consumers' (Blair, 2002).

This thesis will research what happened in political discourse in New Zealand and the Netherlands when public services were discussed, both during and after the public service sector reforms. This research will be executed by quantitative content analysis of the party manifestos during election times. However, before turning to this analysis, the next chapter will introduce the theoretical framework which underlies this research.

Chapter 3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Introduction

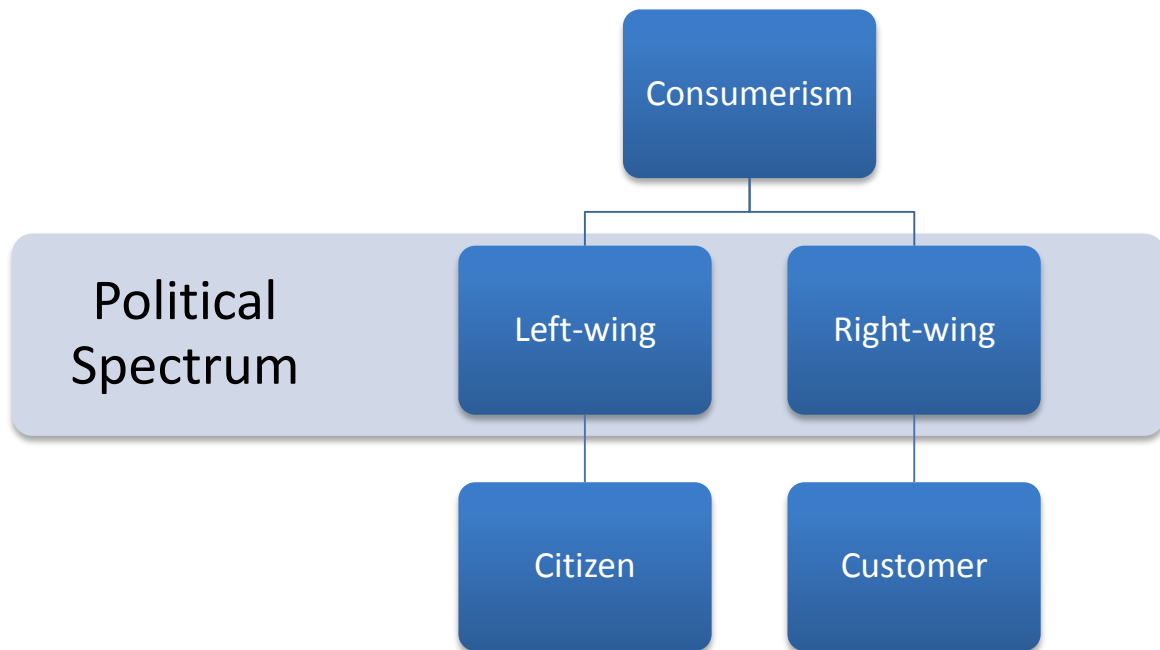
This chapter introduces the theories which underlie this research. The research question guiding this thesis is:

Do political parties view their electorate as citizens or customers?

In this research question, the dependent variable is the way electorates are viewed. The previous chapters have made clear that developments in global politics (the world's integration) as well as national developments (such as welfare states that are too costly or the changing demands from citizens) has called for public sector reforms in many Western countries. It is believed that these reforms were accompanied by a changing identity of the individual. Consequently, the way that governments view and approach their constituents has changed as well. This idea has been advocated a long time ago by E.E. Schattschneider, whom stated that 'new policies create a new politics' (Schattschneider, 1935, p. 288; Pierson, 1993, p. 595). Schattschneider (1935) challenged the common belief that policy was the outcome of political forces. Instead he argued that the introduction of new policies can upset the political dynamic in such a way that it becomes very challenging to reverse. He mentions examples such as shifts within the state's capacities, the enhancement of collective action and the encouragement of societal commitments (Schattschneider, 1935). Pierson reasons that Schattschneider's argument is still underappreciated as most studies focus on formal governmental institutions and political organizations. He encourages scholars to appreciate that 'major public policies also constitute important rules of the game, influencing the allocation of economic and political resources, modifying the costs and benefits associated with alternative political strategies, and consequently altering ensuing political development' (Pierson, 1993, p. 596).

Following Schattschneider and Pierson's arguments, this thesis will look at how new policies create new politics in New Zealand and the Netherlands. Testing hypotheses derived from theoretical explanations in consumerism and party orientation, this research aims to explain how political parties view and address their electorate during election times. In doing so, it expects to find relations between public sector reforms and the messages promoted in party manifestos as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Theoretical framework



3.2. Consumerism

The Oxford Dictionary provides us with a general definition and a derogatory notion of the concept 'consumerism'. Its definition reads as 'the protection or promotion of the interests of consumers', whereas the derogatory explanation describes it as 'the preoccupation of society with the acquisition of consumer goods' (Oxford Dictionary). The difference lies exactly in the words *preoccupation* and *acquisition*. As a social and economic ideology, consumerism boosts the acquisition of goods and services, if possible in ever-increasing amounts, making consumption a main priority for society nowadays.

Criticism on this focus in society can already be traced back to 1899 when Thorstein Veblen published his work 'The Theory of the Leisure Class'. As a result of the Industrial Revolutions, the Second in particular (1870-1914), the turn of the twentieth century meant the rise of a new social class: the middle class. This class was often referred to as *nouveau riche* or the *leisure class*, as people belonging to this class regularly spent too much money on goods and services in order to impress the rest of society. Veblen called this 'conspicuous consumption' (Veblen, 1899, p. 33-35). As social status became to be linked to patterns of consumption rather than someone's financial status, others, in their desire to belong to the same social class, began to engage in the same consumption behavior. As a result, society was characterized by waste of time and money (Veblen, 1899, p. 28). By the end of twentieth century, the process of globalization had magnified this pattern, resulting into the enlargement of this middle class. Consequently, the stories of consumerism and globalization together have produced a corrosive narrative, which according to Benjamin

Barber, has led to 'an accelerating process of internal disintegration' (Barber, 2008, p. 73). In his research into the American society, Barber discovered the following effects of the two stories:

'Consumerism has meant the transformation of citizens into shoppers, eroding America's sovereignty from within; globalization has meant the transformation of nation-states into secondary players on the world stage, eroding America's sovereignty from without'

(Barber, 2008, p. 73).

It is important to note the difference between consumerism in the political and in the economic domain. In economics, the doctrine of consumerism contains of economic policies that put the emphasis on consumption creating a society in which free choice should empower consumers to orient the economic organization by looking into what is produced and how it is produced. Whether this 'one dollar, one voice' idea is beneficial to the whole society or not can be questioned. In the political sense, consumerism rather refers to the consumerist movement which protects and informs the consumer by implementing policies that regulate the products and services as well as the standards of production and advertisements of the commodities. Generally, the increase of consumerism as a way of life has affected all domains, which means a remodeling of politics, economics and culture, which fuels the discursive work that was mentioned before.

As such, at the heart of governmental discourses, in particular in NPM countries, lies the 'narrow economic assumption that considers individuals to be agents sharing the capacity and willingness to maximize the utility of their decisions through a calculating framework of choosing' (Wilkins, 2011, p. 357). This meant a reorganization of the balance between rights, obligations and entitlements that were aligned with the citizen. Instead of passive recipients, citizens were seen as self-regulating subjects whom acquired the role of consumer which was presented with several choices to make (Wilkins, 2011, p. 358). This new role presents the individual with two contrasting approaches in decision-making. One is based on consumerist orientation, while the other is led by a desire to find the best possible match between someone's norms and values and the service/good. The first sets in motion a view of the individual as a 'maximizer: someone who always seeks the biggest possible benefits and the least costs in their decisions' (Wilkins, 2011, p. 362). This idea neglects the idea that the individual might not always be motivated by maximization.

Barber is critical of the notion of consumerism. According to him, all the talk about 'giving people "what they want," and how the market "empowers" consumers' is rubbish (Barber, 2008, p. 75). Instead of the liberty and freedom promised by the market, he claims we receive nothing. He goes on to arguing that 'consumerism encourages a kind of civic schizophrenia', dividing the citizen into 'opposing fragments' (2008, p. 75). The citizen is exposed to the individual 'me' and 'private' versus the collective 'we' and

'public'. Choice is treated as fundamentally private and the market facilitates in all the 'wants' that we harbor as 'private consumers and creatures of personal desire' (2008, p. 75). The notions of 'civic' and 'public' were long forgotten when the market was introduced into the public sphere. However, we should not underestimate the social consequences and public outcomes that result from the so-called private choices. Indeed, the concept of consumerist citizenship, along with personal responsibility, can increase popular interaction and participation, but at the risk of rendering common political concerns into individual matters (Eriksson & Vogt, 2013, p. 153).

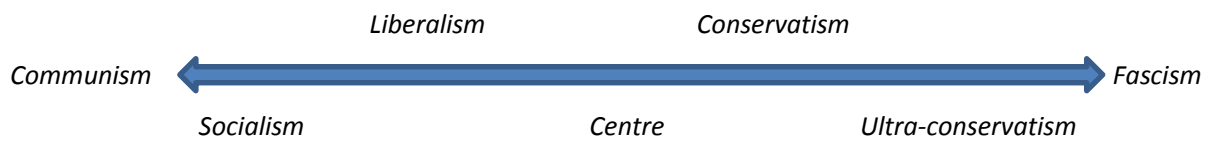
Consumerism has its influence on the political landscape as well. In the past, social class played a major, if not decisive, role in party choice explanation. However, according to Clarke's analysis started to change during the 1960s. Now, he argues, 'the really powerful explanations of party choice are found in voter attitudes related to choice-based models of individual decision-making that see voters as active participants in a complex, dynamic and uncertain political process' (Clarke, 2009, p. 30). This explains the bottom-upward result of which information voters can find on choice-based models in the manifestos of political parties. Individuals will then vote based on how they feel about this information. However, this research is about the top-down relation between parties and voters. How do parties view their voters? As is explained in the literature review NPM has contributed to the transformation of the welfare society into a consumerist society. This new way of life has had a major impact on several domains including politics, economics and culture, and facilitated a lot of popular and political discursive work on part of the government.

The dependent variables that derive from this theory are the *citizen*, who stands for the persona that was linked with society before the reforms, and the *customer*, which is the new identity of individuals after the reforms have taken place.

3.3. The political spectrum

Naturally, in a democracy there are different political positions that are represented, otherwise there would be no choice for voters to make, hence there would no purpose for voters at all. These different positions are based on different ideologies. Erikson & Tedin define a political ideology as 'a set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can be achieved' (2003, p. 64). Denzau & North add a social dimension to this definition by emphasizing the role social groups play in this matter. They argue 'ideologies are the shared framework of mental models that groups of individuals possess that provide both an interpretation of the environment and a prescription as to how that environment should be structured' (1994/2000, p. 24). One can imagine that there are many different political ideologies and positions within a country, let alone internationally. A political spectrum tries to classify all these different positions according to their symbolic political dimensions. The oldest and most straightforward form is the

left-wing/right-wing spectra, with communism (extreme form) and socialism on the left side, and fascism (extreme form) and conservatism on the right side.



The introduction of this traditional notion dates back to France in the late-eighteenth century. During the French Revolution, ‘supporters of the status quo sat on the right side of the French Assembly hall and its opponents sat on the left’ (Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009, p. 310). This conflict of interest about the status quo versus change had its origin in different ideas about ‘the proper role of hierarchy, authority, and inequality’ (Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009, p. 310). Thus, conventionally, competition between political parties in developed democracies revolved around the left-right class cleavage over economic and redistributive issues. Left-wing political parties, whose social democratic beliefs promote state ownership and intervention, are in conflict with the classical liberal beliefs of the right-wing parties, who fight for free markets and individual enterprise (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967, pp. 13-14, 20-21). Other associations with left-wing and right-wing ideologies are presented in table 4.

Table 4. Associations with left/right-wing parties

Source: Fuchs & Klingemann, 1990, pp. 213–214

Left-wing	Right-wing
Progressive, system change, equality, solidarity, protest, opposition, radical, socialism, communism	Conservative, system maintenance, order, individualism, capitalism, nationalism, fascism

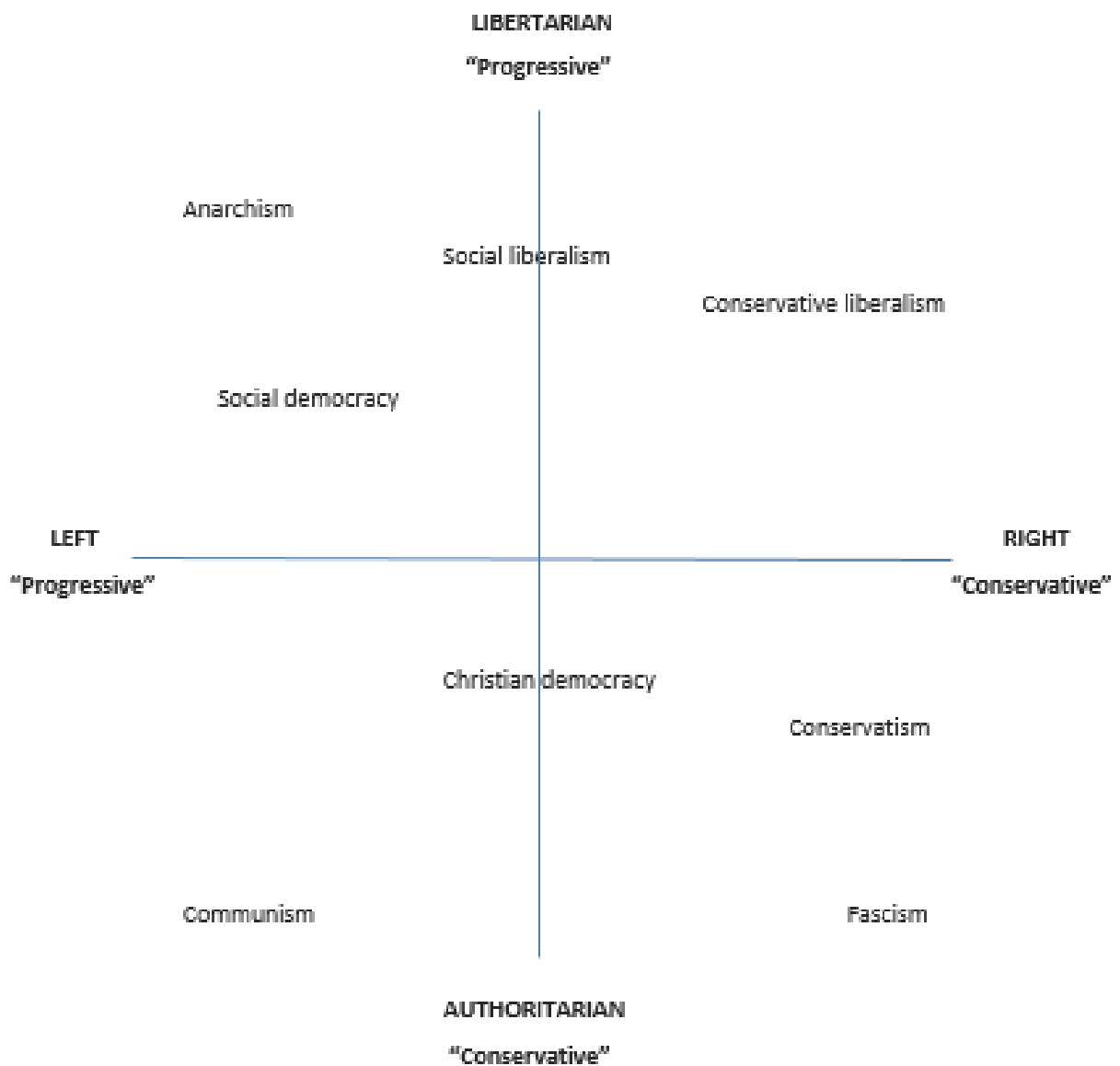
However, the left-right axis’ simplicity has been criticized as it fails to acknowledge all the existing variances in political beliefs that have come to the stage in most post-industrial democracies. As economic prosperity and physical security increased, new post-materialist issues, such as freedom of speech, same sex marriage rights, or women’s emancipation, gave room for new cleavages creating a divide between traditional and libertarian voters (Gibbons, 2011, pp. 43-44). In order to be able to paint a better and more complete picture, multi-axis political models have come into existence, adding other dimensions to the mix.

One of these models is Hans Slomp’s model which is portrayed in Figure 2. In his work, Slomp has often compared Europe’s politics to those of the United States. He has concluded that, much to the confusion of the Americans, European values are very different from theirs (Slomp, 2000). European liberals and Christian democrats do not hold the same ideas as the American liberals and Christian democrats.

Before turning to the model itself, it is necessary to make a remark about the contribution this model will make to this research. The hypotheses that have shortly been mentioned in the introduction of this thesis suggest that only the left/right model is applied to our case studies. Therefore, the introduction of a multi-axis model should be explained. The reason why Slomp's model is included in this thesis is due to the fact that our case studies consist of multi-party systems. In two-party systems the dominating parties usually represent either left-wing or right-wing beliefs, which puts them directly across from each other. On the contrary, parties in multi-party systems tend to hold views that may overlap with those of other parties. Nonetheless, due to the limited scope of this thesis it is not possible to compare parties individually. Therefore, the parties will be grouped into either left-wing or right-wing. Due to the previously mentioned overlap in ideas, the parties of our case studies cannot simply be divided into left- and right-wing without providing more background information on the ideologies the parties belong to and what the ideologies stand for. It should also be noted that the New Zealand political system closely resembles the British Westminster system which justifies the fact that New Zealand will be researched against the backdrop of the European Political Spectrum that will be introduced next.

In his fascination for European politics and in an attempt to capture the wide range in political beliefs, Slomp created the European Political Spectrum. He argues that there are two problems with the traditional horizontal left-right line. First of all, there are many parties between 'the two extremes of 'social interventionism' and 'no interventionism' that advocate or accept some form of social state interventionism' (Slomp, 2000, p. 32) for other purposes than promoting social equality. For example, when it comes to foreign expansion or security, right-wing parties may want greater power for the state where they do not desire that same power in economic terms (Slomp, 2000). Second, he adds another source of division to the spectrum, namely between authoritarianism and libertarianism, which revolves around freedom and authority in moral values and family life (Slomp, 2000, p. 32). The result is a political spectrum (Figure 2) with two lines of division, the horizontal left-right and the vertical authoritarian-libertarian division. It is important to keep in mind that the words 'progressive' and 'conservative' apply for both lines.

Figure 2. The European Political Spectrum



As Figure 2 shows, Hans Slomp’s division resulted into eight different political ideologies in European politics. Table 5 shows some short definitions and core themes of these ideologies.

Table 5. Definitions and core themes of political ideologies

Sources: (Heywood, 2012; Huber, Ragin, & Stephens, 1993; Sargent, 2009; Cristi, 1989)

Political ideology	Core themes
Anarchism	Against the state: ‘the state is unnecessary because order and social harmony can arise naturally and spontaneously, and does not have to be imposed from above through government’ (Heywood, 2012,

	p. 140). Anarchism is of less interest for this research because it is not present in our case studies.
Christian democracy	Christian democracy emerged as a combination of conservatist and catholic beliefs, while also sharing some of the socialist ideas such as the promotion of 'high levels of social expenditure' (Huber, Ragin, & Stephens, 1993, p. 713). Nonetheless, Christian democrats' general stances on cultural, social and moral issues and its greater focus on the market puts these parties (most of the time) on the <i>centre-right</i> side of the spectrum (Heywood, 2012).
Communism	Karl Marx was the father of the communist ideology, which was dominant mostly between WWI and the early 1990s. The ideology is strongly focused on the collective. It is believed that 'private property and alienation are intimately linked' (Sargent, 2009, p. 183). As such, the goal is to establish a society in which order is reached by common ownership and the abolition social classes, money and the state (Sargent, 2009), thus it is a <i>left-wing</i> ideology. Again, this form of ideology is not present in our case studies.
Conservatism	Conservatism is a concept that is used in everyday language to describe different things: moderate behaviour, a conventional lifestyle, a fear or refusal to change (Heywood, 2012, p. 65). In politics, this translates to political parties that prefer the status quo over changing the traditional social institutions as they fear change would affect the stability and continuity of the culture and civilization (Heywood, 2012). This form of ideology belongs to the <i>right</i> side of the spectrum.
Conservative liberalism	Conservative liberals find themselves on the <i>right</i> side of the spectrum as they hold and promote liberal values while also taking conservative stances

	<p>on social and political matters. Hegel has shared his political philosophy on conservative liberalism. According to him, civil society must be seen as ‘the system of contractual relations that results from affirming the rights of persons. Rights allow persons to assert their individualities and stake their own private domains’ (Cristi, 1989, p. 717).</p>
Fascism	<p>Fascism belongs to the far <i>right</i> side of the spectrum and finds its origin in Italy during WWI. According to Reich, fascism constitutes the ‘collective expression of average human beings, whose primary biological needs have been ruthlessly crushed by an authoritarian and sexually inhibited society’ (Reich, 1933). This type of ideology is not present in our case studies, thus further explanation is not necessary.</p>
Social democracy	<p>Much like the Christian democrats, social democrats hold views that promote high expenditures. However, what distinguishes this ideology from its counterpart is the fact that the focus is put on redistributive matters rather than the free market. (Huber, Ragin, & Stephens, 1993, p. 713). This puts social democracy on the <i>left</i> side of the spectrum.</p>
Social liberalism	<p>Social liberals aim to find a harmony between the collective and the individual. As such, they validate the market economy and the rights of the individual, but acknowledge the role the government ought to play in economic and social issues, such as health care and education (Heywood, 2012). These beliefs generally place social liberals on the <i>centre left</i> of the spectrum.</p>

When it comes to political beliefs on globalization, marketization and matters such as the incorporation of choice-based models in the public service sector, the general divide between the different streams is described as follows. ‘Those on the neoliberal right are typically pro-globalization, arguing that it has opened up markets across the globe, that it is a force for spreading opportunity and wealth across nations

and that the intensification of competition it engenders stimulates innovation and productivity. Those on the political left tend to be anti-globalization, arguing it is a process dominated by global corporations that have become more powerful than nation states, that it increases inequality within advanced economies and undermines the ability of the world's poorer countries to improve social welfare or protect their natural environment' (Christopherson, Garretsen & Martin, 2008, p. 343). The main differences between the right- and the left-wing parties are illustrated in table 6.

Table 6. Political division

Political		
<i>Left-wing</i>	Spectrum	<i>Right-wing</i>
Liberal	Values	Conservative
Economic		
Publically-driven	Philosophy	Privately-driven
Wealth distribution	Theme	Wealth protection
Raise taxes on wealthy	Taxation	Cut taxes
Stimulus	Economic policy	Austerity

Part of the empirical analysis of this thesis is based on the database provided for by the Party Manifesto Project. In this database political parties have been coded based on (quasi-) sentences which are used in the manifestos in order to promote certain policies or express the party's views on these policies. The coders have based this categorization on several matters which include: economic views, military, human rights and freedoms, traditional morality, the welfare state, internationalism and civic mindedness. This means that the parties that have been subjected to their codings are grouped based on a multi-axes model, such as Hans Slomp's, rather than the one-dimensional model, which merely focuses on economic and distributional matters.

3.4. Hypotheses

Once the set of variables has been established, we can turn to the derivation of the hypotheses that guide this thesis in answering the research question; Do political parties view their electorate as citizens or customers?

As was made clear by the literature review, reforms are considered processes of deliberate change. The reforms that are discussed in this thesis include reforms that have arguably transformed the relationship between state and society as we knew it. With the introduction of market elements and business managerial doctrines in the public service sector, a social and cultural transformation within society could be witnessed. People were put in the driver's seat as a result of reforms that fall under the doctrine of NPM. They were given the power to choose between providers of services such as education, health care, energy and transportation. In addition, performance-measures and greater emphasis on output controls

resulted into greater incentives for providers to perform at their best. Providing the public with access to the information that was collected through these tools also added to the 'stronger' position citizens grew into as a result of the reforms. The literature review has made clear that this last statement is debateable. However, consumerism has meant the transformation of citizens into consumers and customers. Therefore, these identities form the dependent variables in this research.

Due to the consumerist evolution within society, that results from processes of globalization as well as NPM reforms in the public sector of many OECD countries, we derive at hypothesis 1. As mentioned before, some scholars argue that society has found itself in an inevitable transition towards a more individual-oriented construction. The purpose of this thesis is to analyze how political parties view their electorate. Asking all the politicians how they view their electorate is not feasible for two reasons. First of all, it is too time-consuming for the researcher to reach every politician due to their busy schedules. Second, and most importantly, views on the electorate can differ per person, thus they may not even represent the views of the party. It was explained before that party manifestos serve as a business cards for political parties. They are written documents in which the party's views, beliefs, stances and policies on different topics are presented. This makes them reliable sources to research their views on their constituents as well. It is assumed that political parties use language in a sense that reflects the way they perceive their electorate. Therefore, we expect that parties will use words that are linked to one of the two variables: citizen or customer. Due to processes of globalization and NPM reforms, it has been argued that society has transformed into a consumer culture, in which we view ourselves as consumers. Because of this transformation, I believe to find a general increase in customer-based mentions in party manifestos over time.

Hypothesis 1. Political parties view their electorates more as customers over time

The second theory in this chapter introduces the European Political Spectrum, which enables us to categorize political parties according to their political orientations. Based on the traditional Left-Right axis, hypotheses 2A and 2B have been developed. Table 4 showed the traditional division between left-wing and right-wing parties in their economic views. Due to the pro-market approach and progressive economic views of right-wing parties, we believe that these parties will view their electorates as customers. The reason for this assumption is that the society that results from the introduction of the free market and business-like managerial styles is an individual driven, consumer society. The citizens are put in the driver's seat because they can now choose between different providers, have access to information on the performance of these providers and are even consulted for their opinions and suggestions for improvement. Society is designed in such a way that the citizen has become a customer, whose desires are supposed to be met. If this does not happen, the customer can leave and go elsewhere to fulfil his/her desires. Right-wing parties often take on a pro-market approach in the belief that the market will fulfill the

desires of all the individuals, as they are provided with the ability to 'shop for the best deals'. As such, in the word count, this research expects to find a higher score on the customer variable in the party manifestos of right-wing parties than those of the left-wing parties.

Hypothesis 2A. Right-wing parties view electorates as customers

On the contrary, left-wing parties have been known for their publicly-driven approach of the economy and their focus on wealth distribution by raising taxes on the wealthy in order to create a fair society. In fact, left-wing parties are known for their concern about unfair distribution of wealth and services. Their collective approach towards society, the previously mentioned one-size-fits-all approach, results into policies that are standard rather than tailored to individual needs. Citizens are aligned with the state and enjoy a legal and political status providing them with fundamental rights. Left-wing parties believe it is the duty of the state that these rights are looked after. Introducing (too much of) the market into the public sector would destroy the state's ability to do this because businesses would take away a lot of the state's power as it moves from being a provider to being more of a regulator. Due to the restrictive attitude towards the free market and handling the public sector as a business, I expect to find a higher score on the citizen variable in left-wing party manifestos.

Hypothesis 2B. Left-wing parties view electorates as citizens

Lukes and de Gruyter argued that, over time, left-wing parties have taken on a more capitalist approach when it comes to the economy, despite their traditional public-driven philosophy and focus on wealth distribution. If this is true, hypothesis 2B would have to become more negative as time passes by and left-wing parties promote more capitalist policies. I personally do not believe this to be true, because I find that left-wing parties are still very much concerned with the fair distribution of wealth. In fact, when reading the newspapers I believe that left-wing parties take on a rather strong stance against the individualistic notions that reforms suggested by right-wing parties set in motion. Terms such as 'egoism', 'selfishness' and 'self-importance' are used in the media and during debates (Klaver, 2010; Kraaijvanger, 2010; Milfont, Duckitt, & Cameron, 2006). This leads me to belief that left-wing parties find the collective identity of the traditional society and its subsequent citizens still very important. Therefore, I expect to find that hypothesis 1 is stronger for right-wing parties than for left-wing parties.

Hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 1 is stronger for right-wing parties than for left-wing parties

The following chapter will introduce the research design, the cases that have been selected for this research and the variables that are used to test the hypotheses that were just mentioned.

Chapter 4. Research design

This section will present the appropriate research design on which the research question will be answered. First, the type of research design that was considered most fitting for this research is explained. It will form the basis of the empirical part of this thesis. Second, the operationalization will be presented, this makes the theory of chapter three measurable. Third, the method which is used to collect the data is described. Fourth, the reliability and validity will be explained. And finally, the case selection will be clarified; why are New Zealand and the Netherlands compared?

4.1. Discussion of research design

According to Sandra van Thiel (2010), there are four main strategies of research that can be used in public administration research. The strategy is the general approach, which is accompanied by methods and techniques in working towards the execution of the research. This study is executed based on a combination of a case study and quantitative discourse analysis.

4.1.1. Case study

Case studies focus on one or a limited amount of cases in their natural habitat (reality), which can include individuals, groups, countries, events, and many more. They combine several methods to gather all the necessary (often qualitative) information about the case. However, the reliability and validity of this research strategy needs special attention because the statistical testing of hypotheses is limited. Due to the specific nature of the research, the external validity of case studies is restricted. Contrarily, in terms of internal validity, case studies form the ideal strategy to research unique situations that often appear in public administration (van Thiel, 2010).

One of the most important aspects of case studies constitutes the case selection. A researcher can decide to study a specific, unique case, and thus focus only on one, or execute what van Thiel calls a *multiplescasestudy*, in which contrasting or homogeneous cases can be compared. In *most similar systems design* studies (homogenous cases) the expected results will be homogenous as well, which, most likely, have the same effect in other cases as well (generalizable). This increases its external validity. However, this does not exclude reliability and validity in *most dissimilar systems design* as this type of research will test the effect of variation on several variables. This is preferably based on variation in the independent variables, because it is easier to identify causality and link them to factors defining success and failure (van Thiel, 2010; Blatter & Haverland, 2012).

Another aspect that ought to be taken into consideration is the pragmatic side of doing research. Gaining access to the right information or getting organizations or individuals to participate is not always feasible. In addition, depending on the topic, research question and pragmatic matters, the researcher needs to decide whether to focus on one specific moment in time or take measurements from different moments in time (longitudinal measurements), also called a time-series design (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). Finally, the choice of methods and techniques needs to be dealt with. In the fight against problems of reliability and validity, a triangular approach, thus using a combination of methods and techniques as opposed to focusing on one, is important. One way of doing this is by incorporating several time units into the research, especially when looking at processes of change and development. Methods linked to case studies are use of interviews, observations, questionnaires, or content analysis (van Thiel, 2010).

4.1.2. Unobtrusive research

Unobtrusive research uses data that is collected by others such as databases like the World Values Survey, the European Values Survey or Eurobarometer. Primary sources consists of all that data that has been collected by the researcher himself. However, it can also include data collected from sources, such as annual reports, newspaper articles or party manifestos, that are not produced for or have been subjected to research. The main advantage of using these resources is that the researcher does not need to create situations or scenarios in order to detract certain information from people. Therefore, the results cannot be accused of manipulation by the researcher. Secondary sources include all those results, mostly statistical data, from previous researches that will be re-used and, in some cases, combined with results from other studies (van Thiel, 2010).

There are three main methods of collecting and analysing existing data, of which content analysis is the most important for this thesis. Content analysis focuses on the message the producer of information intended to send to his recipients. Within content analysis, language constitutes an important part of the research as it is not just the bearer of information, but the way it is used also grants a meaning to one's perceptions on certain issues, people and events (van Thiel, 2010). *Discourse analysis*, for the purpose of this thesis the most important form of content analysis, focuses on the identification of discourses and changes within them in order to explain certain changes and developments in society (van Thiel, 2010).

4.1.3. Selection of research design

Research for this thesis will be executed based on a combination of case study design and quantitative discourse analysis. As mentioned before, case studies focus only on a few cases, but, in doing so, really dive into the available information about those cases. This makes it the perfect strategy to examine cases that are illustrative of the phenomenon that is topic of research, which in this case contains public reforms. As has been explained in the case selection, both New Zealand and the Netherlands have been countries that

have actively executed those reforms, making them the perfect cases to research. Because of the similarities between the countries, this thesis will be a most similar systems design studies, in which it expects to find similar results. This thesis will look into the effects of NPM reforms on the way parties in New Zealand and the Netherlands view their electorate. Because the execution of public sector reforms is a process, the expected effects will also develop slowly along the way, therefore several time units will be included.

The data used for this thesis contains data from the Party Manifesto Project as well as those party manifests that were missing and I have collected myself. These documents will be the subjects of content analysis, and discourse analysis in particular. Van Thiel (2010) argued that discourse analysis forms the perfect strategy to discover changes in society and has even used the example of the changes NPM brought about in multiple countries around the world. She also mentions that the use of certain discourses are used strategically to bring about the desired changes, such as public reforms. This is exactly what this thesis is all about, thus this method will be used. However, as for this thesis a word count will be executed, the method will actually take on the form of a quantitative discourse analysis.

4.2. Operationalization

The operationalization constitutes the transposition phase in which the theoretical notions presented in the previous chapter will become measurable. In this case a quantitative approach is used. The strategy is to focus on the 'making of economic agents' process (Clarke & Newman, 2007) by looking at how often parties refer to their constituents as economic agents as opposed to the traditional notion of citizens. This will happen based on a categorization of words that have been selected securely. In addition, this research expects to find a difference in outcome between left-wing and right-wing parties. Therefore, the parties that are researched will be divided into one of these two groups based on their political orientation.

4.2.1. Word categorization

Table 7 presents the collection of words that will be subjected to research in the party manifestos promoted by political parties that were participating in the national elections in the two countries. In addition, it presents the definitions of the words and explains why these words are included in the research. For the purpose of this thesis, the words have been classified into two categories: the 'citizen category' (0) and the 'customer category' (1). In New Zealand, the native language is English thus only the English words will be used. However, in the Netherlands often a mixture of Dutch and English words is used, therefore both the English and the Dutch words will be searched for in the manifestos.

Table 7. Word categorization

	English	Dutch	Explanation
Category 0	Citizen	Burger (citizen)	As has been explained in chapter 2, citizens are aligned with the state. The fact that they enjoy a legal and political status, which provides them with fundamental rights, such as the right to vote, links it to citizen in the traditional sense of the word, thus the traditional role of voters in society. The other types of citizen that have been mentioned earlier (the empowered citizen, worker-citizen, contracted citizen, responsible citizen, conditional citizen, and active citizen), though aligned with the liberal notion of citizenship, will be included in the search for the word citizen.
	Resident	Inwoner (resident)	<p>The resident is also aligned with the state, as it means that a person is establishing or maintaining a residence in a given place (a country). Which place this is directly affects the person's fundamental rights because countries hold different visa requirements. Therefore, the status of a person's residency also affects his/her rights and responsibilities.</p> <p>In New Zealand, a residence permit holder cannot hold governmental office and can only vote in the national elections after one year of residency, whereas a permanent resident visa holder can do both (Immigration New Zealand).</p> <p>As a residence holder (even a permanent residence holder) in the Netherlands, it is only possible to vote for the elections of the municipalities. Voting for the national elections requires the Dutch citizenship status (Rijksoverheid).</p>
	Civil (civic)	Volk (the people)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The words civil and civic are words that can be translated back to the traditional notion of citizenship, in which individuals are granted the rights (civil rights) or are taking it upon themselves (civic-mindedness) to, collectively

			<p>or individually, participate in their society's civil and political life.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The word 'volk' is often part of other words that have no relation to the context in which this thesis is looking for the words to be used, such as 'volksgezondheid' (public health) and 'bevolkingsgroei/-daling' (drop or growth of the population). However, the words 'volk' (the people) and 'volksvertegenwoordiging' (representative of the people) are used in the context that serves this paper. Therefore, during the analysis, only words linking the government to society in the traditional sense (collective sense) will be counted.
	Taxpayer	Belastingbetaler (taxpayer)	The taxpayer has been issued with an identification number by his/her government, thus is aligned to the state. Part of the money that is spent by governments is collected through taxes paid by its citizens. Therefore, the word taxpayer in public debate is a word often used by politicians in order to include them, or make the fell included, in the decisions on how to spend 'their' money.
	Voter	Kiezer/ stemmer (voter)	The choice for the word voter is rather straightforward, as the right to vote is one of the core features of being a citizen.
Category 1	Customer	Klant (customer)	The customer is the recipient of the goods, services and products which are bought from sellers, vendors or suppliers, either for their own consumption or for someone else. Therefore, the customer and consumer, though both important for a nation's economy, are not the same. For example, in the case of education, the customer can be a father who is buying private education for his daughter, the consumer. The words purchaser and client are used in the same way as well.
	Consumer	Consument (consumer)	The consumer is the one who pays to consume, and thus makes actual use of, goods and services produced.

			They also play a crucial role in the national economy as their demand gives producers the incentive to produce.
	Purchaser /shopper	Koper (purchaser/shopper)	Barber mentioned that 'consumerism has meant the transformation of citizens into shoppers' (Barber, 2008, p. 73). If our society has been transformed into a consumer culture, which revolves around consuming, the word shopper is very fitting for the identity the citizen has taken on.
	Client	Clïënt (client)	According to Clarke and Newman, the word client has been introduced as a 'new, more independent and empowered, name for providers and purchasers of the (previously public) services' (Clarke and Newman, 2009, p. 45). This was related to the new identity of citizens after public administrative reforms. Therefore, they have been included in the search as well.

4.2.2. Left-Right dimension

As was mentioned before, this research expects to find different results in the way political parties view their electorates based on their political orientation. It was explained before that the limited scope of this thesis restricts me to compare the parties individually. Therefore, in order to test the expected differences, the parties in this research are divided into two groups; left-wing parties versus right-wing parties. The theoretical framework explained how, based on certain topics, the parties can be divided into these two groups. The background information of the theoretical framework combined with information found on the parties' websites will form the basis on which the analysis part of the research will execute the left/right division for the parties in New Zealand and the Netherlands.

It is noteworthy to mention that the coders of the Party Manifesto Project, whom read the manifestos from parties in over 50 democratic states, have done something similar. They analyzed the tone of the parties' manifestos when it comes to certain topics. By extracting sentences from the manifestos and coding these according to topic and tone, they were able to categorize the manifestos into seven domains. They then developed a formula that helped determine the tone of the manifesto (either per domain or in total). This is based on the sentences and quasi-sentences that mentioned something favorable (when classified as positive) or not (when classified as negative) about the topic. More information on the domains and the formula can be found in Appendix B and C. This formula is interesting for this research because it enables us to classify the parties of this research as either being a left-wing or a right-wing party based on what they write in their party manifestos. It can thus serve as an extra check on whether the division based on

Slomp's model and the parties' information on their websites is consistent with the analysis executed by the coders of the Party Manifesto Project.

4.2.3. Included political parties

The parties that are included in this research have to meet two criteria. First, only the parties that participated in national elections during the years between 1970 and 2012 are included. This is because we want to cover the years during which the public sector reforms took place in both countries. However, as was stated before, reforms do not take place over night, thus some years before and after the NPM momentum in New Zealand and the Netherlands are included as well. In addition, in order to capture a possible change in the way political parties view their electorate, we find it important that the parties have been participating in at least five elections. Therefore, only those parties that meet this second criteria are researched.

For New Zealand, this results into the following parties: *Labour Party*, *National Party*, *Social Credit Party*, *New Zealand First*, *ACT New Zealand* and the *Greens Party*.

For the Netherlands, these parties are: *GreenLeft*, *D66*, *PvdA*, *VVD*, *SP* and *CDA*. The reader is referred to the following chapter for more information on the parties.

4.3. Method of collecting data

The data that is used stems from two sources. The basis is formed by the party manifestos from the parties that are included in the research. These manifestos have been found online or through the database of the Party Manifesto Project. If necessary, they were converted to an electronic version so a word search could be executed. In addition to the manual word search, the database built by the Party Manifesto Project is used. This is an internationally used Comparative Manifestos Project system in which data has been coded by a team of expert coders, consisting of researchers and student assistants connected to several universities around the world. As has been explained earlier, the formula that was invented by these coders has been applied to categorize the political parties into one of the two political orientations.

4.4. Reliability and validity

The reliability of a thesis depends on the evaluation of the measurement as well as the choice of instruments for data scores (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). There are some general concerns with the use of hand-coded content analysis methods. First, the texts that are the topic of research ought to be a valid source of information about the subject matter. This matter is not of concern in this research as documents that are coded contain the party manifestos that have been published by the political parties. The other concern is related to the way documents are coded. Section 4.3. explained that the documents have been coded by experts. Nonetheless, 'whenever non-deterministic instruments - such as human beings - are

used to unitize and code texts, the content analysis procedure faces potential problems with reliability' (Mikhaylov, Laver, & Benoit, 2008, p. 2). Interpretation of the information in the documents can lead to discrepancies in the dataset. The Party Manifesto Project tries to tackle this problem by subjecting every coder to a training before allowing him/her to start the project. In addition, every coder is obliged to retake the training every two years. Finally, the coders are bound to follow certain rules. This way a certain level of comparability of the results should be reached (Werner, 2014). However, perfect reliability is virtually impossible in any scheme that uses human coders, thus this should not be the goal. It is more important that this factor is taken into account while using the data. The validity and reliability of Party Manifesto Project has been examined extensively by external researchers. The fact that, despite or due to this research, the database has been used by multiple authors makes it satisfactory source.

The internal validity of this thesis will be strong because party manifestos will provide us with concrete evidence of the relationship between public sector reforms (the cause) and the way parties view their electorate (the effect). In addition, because of the most similar systems characteristic of this particular study, the external validity will increase if the results are homogenous, as this will mean that the effect will most probably apply to other (similar) cases as well.

4.5. Case selection

This thesis will compare the way political parties in New Zealand and the Netherlands view their constituents. Both countries have been very active when it comes to NPM reforms. New Zealand has even been seen as a 'world leader' of modern administrative reforms (Whitcombe, 2008, p. 7). Cox argues that the Netherlands, together with Denmark, had become 'the model case of welfare reform in Western Europe' (2001, p. 463). The time frame in which the New Zealand and Dutch governments were incorporating the reforms is similar. New Zealand's first major reform was initiated by the Fourth Labour Government after the party won the 1984 election. In the Netherlands, the first step towards total reform was proposed in 1982. In both countries, the 1980s stood for the years of reform. However, the countries differ quite a lot on the 'social construction of the need to reform', which Cox also refers to as the process of path shaping (Cox, 2001, p. 464). Path shaping is the way political leaders of a country mobilize the public debate, thus the way they frame issues to gain support for certain policies. In New Zealand, reforms were desired by the general public whom, as a result of the high fiscal deficit and overseas borrowing (Whitcomb, 2008), harbored anti-government sentiments. These feelings were maintained by the rigorousness of the reforms that were executed. Nagel (1998) argues that the restructuring was more radical than in other democracies, 'not only in relation to where it started but also with respect to where it ended up' (Nagel, 1998, p. 224). The transition to the free market took more longer and was more expensive than anticipated. In the Netherlands, the need for reforms was driven by a desire for greater efficiency rather than anti-government sentiments. The difference in motivation for reform form an interesting factor in the path shaping by the governments.

Deliberate changes, such as reforms, are expected to involve deliberate changes in the relationship between the state and its constituents as well. Clarke and Newman have done extensive research into the consequences of public service sector reforms on the changing relationship between the state and its constituents in a similar country: the United Kingdom. However, research on this dynamic relationship as a consequence of public sector reforms has been relatively limited in New Zealand and the Netherlands. It will therefore be interesting to see whether reforms in our case studies have had similar effects on how political parties view their constituents. In order to understand why these two countries have been chosen, background information on the political systems, including their respective special features, will be provided first.

4.5.1. General background information on New Zealand politics

New Zealand is a constitutional monarchy, which means that 'by convention, the sovereign, the source of all executive legal authority in New Zealand, acts on the advice of the government in all but the most exceptional circumstances' (New Zealand Parliament). New Zealand's system closely resembles the British Westminster System, which means its political parties can therefore be categorized along Hans Slomp's European Political Spectrum. Queen Elizabeth II, head of state, is represented by the Governor-General, currently Lieutenant General Sir Jerry Mateparae. The current head of government is the Prime Minister, John Key, who chairs the Cabinet that is drawn from an elected Parliament (New Zealand Parliament).

It is worth mentioning that after decades of holding elections according to the first-past-the-post (FPP), or winner-takes-it-all, system, New Zealand's electoral system quite recently changed to the mixed-member proportional (MMP) system. The FPP system works generally best in two-party systems, and even though New Zealand was technically not a two-party system, its politics was dominated by two main parties for a long time. These two parties are the Labour Party, which is a left-wing party, and the National Party, the right-wing counterpart. As one can imagine, this system made it difficult for other parties to gain any representation, which resulted into parliaments that differed from those that the voters wanted. In an effort to find a solution to this problem, by means of a referendum in 1993, the New Zealand voters were asked whether or not they wanted an electoral reform. Arguments for and against the MMP system were fixated on two values: governmental strength and representational fairness (Nagel, 2012). Governmental strength was assessed in two ways. Those in favor of the FPP system believed governmental strength was secured by the stability and speed of decision-making by single-party majority governments. Their counterparts, whom favor the MMP system, viewed this system as an 'elective dictatorship' in which the one-party government held an excessive amount of power, when in reality they needed to be kept in check by minority parties. In addition, this concessive type of policy-making would result into more moderate policies (Nagel, 2012). When it comes representational fairness, however, the solution clearly pointed in the direction of the MMP system. Under the MMP system each voter would get two votes, one for an

electorate Member of Parliament (MP), determining the local representative, and one for a party, standing for proportionality of the House of Representatives as it determines the amount of seats a party gets (Nagel, 2012).

The introduction of the MMP system has meant a more active role in politics for parties other than Labour and National, hence New Zealand transitioned from being a multi-party system on paper to being a multi-party system in practice. The fact that the people chose this system over the previous FPP system can also be seen as a desire for a fair representation of what the public wants.

4.5.2. NPM reforms in New Zealand

New Zealand’s reforms ‘have been promoted by some, such as the OECD and the Auditor General of Canada, as exemplars of public sector reform’ (Goldfinch, 1998, p. 203). Before the reforms, the state had played a substantial role in the national economy and the different departments in government were multi-functional, playing roles in the advisory, regulatory, implementary and administrative aspects of policy-making as well as in the provision of services. In 1984, the government owned businesses which accounted for 12% of the GDP and 20% of investment (Goldfinch, 1998). In July that same year, Labour got elected into government. At that moment in time, New Zealand was facing a high fiscal deficit as well as high levels of overseas borrowing (Whitcombe, 2008). In addition, the government was perceived as too large and inefficient. Thus, driven by ‘a fiscal pressure and the general desire to make the New Zealand economy more competitive’ (Goldfinch, 1998, p. 204), the newly installed Labour Government began to radically reform its public sector. The senior Treasury managers, whom were the main drivers behind the reforms, were inspired by events they witnessed overseas. One can think of the ‘rolling back of the state’ in Thatcher’s Britain and the advent of managerialism in the United States (US) (Whitcombe, 2008, p.8). This resulted into the combination of actions that included, but are not limited to, those presented in table 8.

Table 8. New Zealand public sector reforms

(Source: Goldfinch, 1998)

Doctrine		Actions by the New Zealand government
<i>Hands-on professional management in the public sector</i>	X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase of departmental management autonomy - A move to strategic planning for the government
<i>Explicit standards and measures of performance and</i>	X	Introduction of performance related individual contracts for senior staff

Greater emphasis on <i>output controls</i>	X	Changing financial management and reporting requirements, including moving from input-based to output based reporting
Shift to <i>disaggregation of units in the public sector</i>	X	Corporatizing and privatizing state owned enterprises
Shift to greater <i>competition in public sector</i>	X	Departmental decoupling, including promoting policy-operations and funder-provider splits

In short, the 1980s and 1990s constitute the years in which New Zealand's public sector saw reforms in NPM style. These reforms moved New Zealand from what had probably been 'the most protected, regulated and state-dominated system of any capitalist democracy to an extreme position at the open, competitive, free-market end of the spectrum' (Nagel, 1998, p.223). As such, New Zealand in its extreme form, had been viewed as the 'world leader' (Whitcombe, 2008) of NPM reforms, not only in terms of how it started the doctrine but also with respect to where it ended up (Nagel, 1998, p.224).

4.5.3. General background information on Dutch politics

The Netherlands is classified as a constitutional monarchy, with King Willem-Alexander as head of state since 2013, and a parliamentary democracy (Rijksoverheid). The current head of government is Mark Rutte from the Dutch liberal party VVD. Because of the consensus-based character of its politics and governance, the Netherlands is often referred to as a consociational state (De Been, 2012). Consociationalism is linked to the Dutch 'regime of toleration' and was originally developed for 'the entrenched religious and sociopolitical divisions of the Netherlands in the 19th and early 20th centuries' (De Been, 2012, p.531). This special feature of Dutch politics is referred to as 'verzuiling', or in English 'pillarization'. It is defined as a system in which parties, interest groups and unions are organized along confessional lines. 'Each pillar set up a whole array of organizations encompassing practically every sphere of social life such as primary relations, work, education, politics, health care, leisure, and the media' (Dekker & Ester, 1996, p. 325). Though this system resulted in clear divisions, it also developed into a peaceful and democratic coexistence of the various segmented groups. Simultaneously, a degree of a feeling of belonging assured internal democracy and participation within the groups (Hirschman, 1970).

This pillarized system lasted until the mid-sixties, as its existence was challenged by structural and cultural developments. The system was criticized by the political party D66. In addition, increased mobility, wealth and education opened the people's eyes; they recognized that the differences between themselves and

those from other pillars were not as large as they initially thought. This changing sentiment made people more independent from their pillar, which in turn resulted in a process of depillarization (Dekker & Ester, 1996). What has remained from the pillarized society, however, is that important issues in Dutch politics are discussed extensively among the political community as well as the Dutch society. Some consider these ‘endless rounds of meetings’ inefficient, but in the Netherlands ‘the 1982 tripartite agreement (Wassenaar Accord) on macro-economic policy between the government, employers’ organizations and the labour unions, institutionalized talks that are considered the warp and the weft of the country’s social fabric and the key to its economic success’ (Jonker, 2014, p. 88). As opposed to politics in New Zealand, due to the multi-party system, the Netherlands has not seen one party hold a majority of the seats in parliament, instead coalitions are formed which are dominated by at least one of the three dominating parties (CDA, PvdA, and VVD).

4.5.4. NPM reforms in the Netherlands

The Netherlands, like New Zealand, has been rather progressive when it comes to public sector reforms. In fact, Kettl argues they both ‘can be found in other published accounts of the leading edge of reform in this field’ (Kettl 1997). As a consociational state, it must not come as a surprise that the Netherlands ‘has traditionally avoided a highly centralized government’ (Jilke, Van de Walle, & van Delft, 2013, p. 8). This is the reason why most of the reform processes have aimed to slim down the central government and delegate more tasks to the lower levels, such as agencies and local governments (including provinces and municipalities). As opposed to the master plan the Labour Party introduced in New Zealand in 1984, reforms of the Dutch public administration were not ‘guided by a full-scale, explicit master plan or program’ (Hoetjes, p. 1). Instead, they were incorporated more slowly and took the form of ‘a series of efficiency measures’ (Hoetjes, p. 1). It started in the 1980s, with the first major plan of reducing the central government personnel with 2% every year. This would create ‘greater integration, efficiency, effectiveness and coherence in government’ (Hoetjes, p. 2). Other initiatives of the Dutch government can be found in table 9.

Table 9. Dutch public sector reforms

(Source: Hoetjes; Jilke, Van de Walle, van Delft, 2013).

Doctrine		Actions by the Dutch government
<i>Hands-on professional management in the public sector</i>	X	Strengthening financial control of government
<i>Explicit standards and measures of performance</i>	X	Automatization of parts of the administration

Greater emphasis on <i>output controls</i>	X	Increased attention for results-oriented budgeting and focused on integrating performance measures
Shift to <i>disaggregation of units in the public sector</i>	X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Operation 2% - Privatization policies - Transformation of many traditional government departments into semi-public agencies
Stress on <i>private-sector styles of management practice</i>	X	Adoption of business-oriented management ideas
Stress on greater <i>discipline and parsimony in resource use</i>	X	Reduction of public expenditure

Contrary to the situation in New Zealand, the Dutch public reforms did not go hand in hand with anti-government sentiments. It was more the drive for greater efficiency that caused the adoption of business-oriented management and the trend of privatization. Therefore, when the need to cut back expenditures lessened around the 1990s, these trends also decreased (Jilke, Van de Walle, & van Delft, 2013). Pollitt and Bouckaert argue that the cabinets during those years, the so-called purple cabinets, shifted their attention towards restoring the 'primacy of politics' (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011, p. 292).

Chapter 5. Empirical analysis

5.1. Introduction

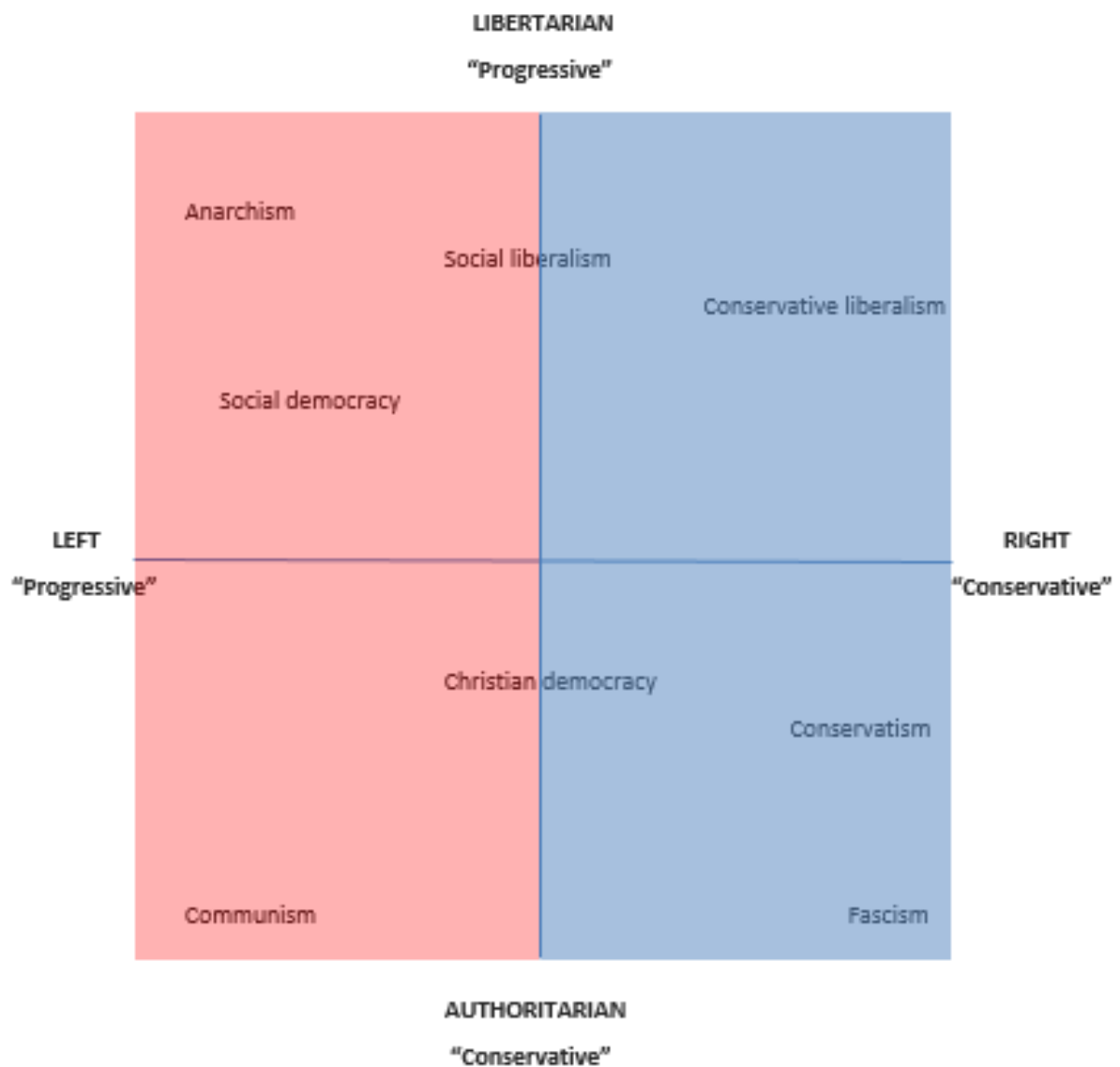
This chapter will present the results of the case study and the quantitative content analysis. These results will be presented in three stages following the three hypotheses that have been presented in the previous chapters. However, as the hypotheses are focused on the idea that right- and left-wing parties view their constituents differently, it is necessary to categorize the selected parties as either left-wing or right-wing. Once this has happened, the number of times that words from the citizen- and customer category have been used in the parties' manifestos over the years will be counted manually. The results will tell us whether the hypotheses that have been formulated are true. This will help us in answering the research question:

Do political parties view their electorate as citizens or customers?

5.2. Categorization of political parties

Completely in line with Hans Slomp's criticism on the simplicity of the traditional right/left division, the categorization of the political parties turns out to be more difficult than initially thought. A party that holds negative views towards the free market, can still be in favor of reducing the powers of the government. Therefore, what constitutes left in this thesis will include all parties located at the centre-left to the end of the spectrum up to the far left, resulting in the social democrats, the greens, in some cases the social liberals and the communists. For right-wing parties, this thesis will include those parties at the centre-right up to the far right, thus the conservative liberals, the conservatists, in some cases the Christian democrats and the fascists. Figure 3 portrays this divide in Hans Slomp's model.

Figure 3. Left-Right dimension on the European Political Spectrum



Now the political parties of New Zealand and the Netherlands will be classified as being either left-wing or right-wing.

5.2.1. New Zealand

Using general information presented on the New Zealand parties' websites and in their manifestos, the parties' core themes have been collected. This information can be found in Table 10. In addition, this table shows the party family the Party Manifesto coders have assigned to the parties. The numbers in the table are the codes that are used to categorize the parties in the database built by the Party Manifesto Project. This way, a coherent and clear overview of the data is secured.

Table 7. Party families and core themes of the N-Z parties

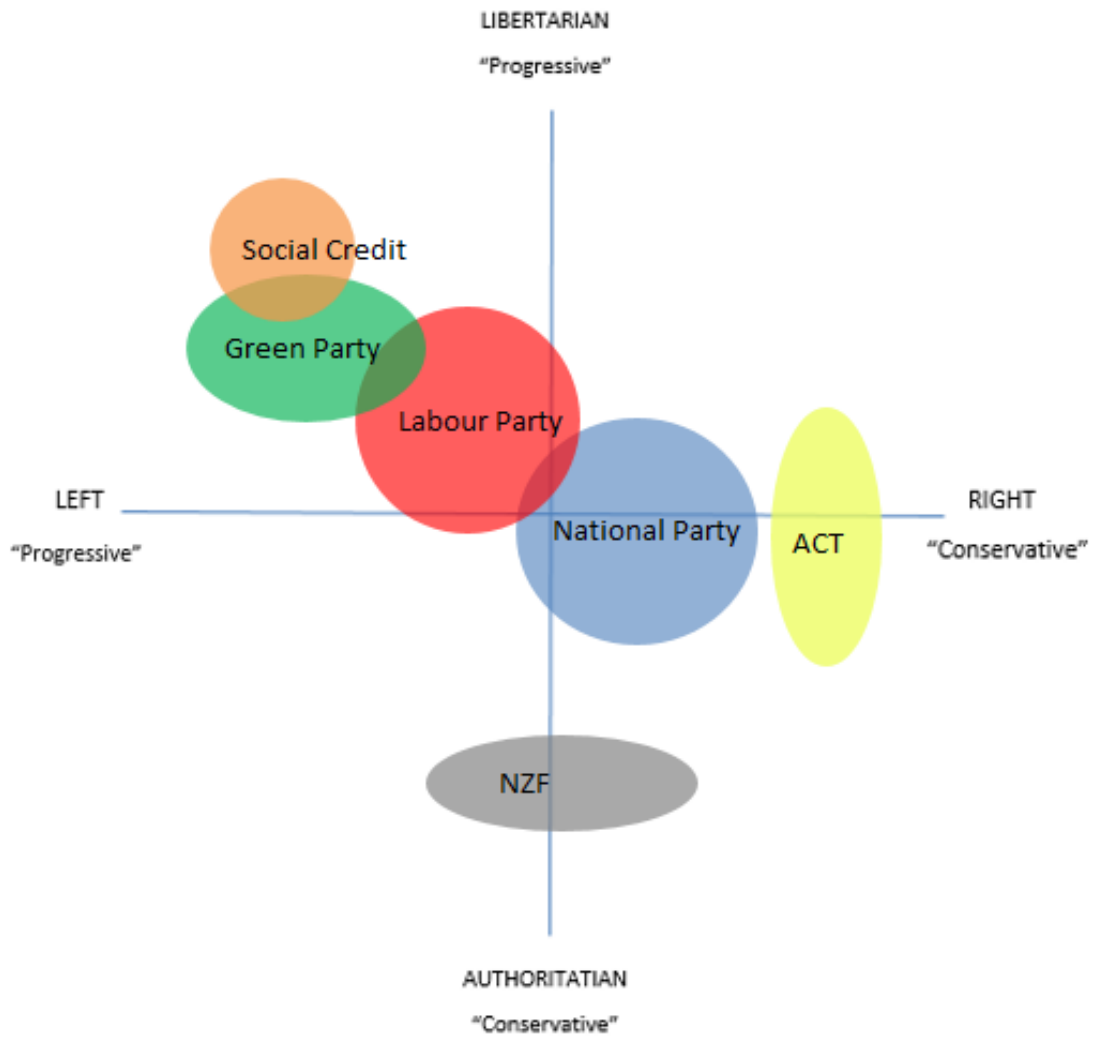
Source: Volkens, Lehmann, Matthieß, Merz, Regel, Werner (2015), pp.9-20

10	Ecological parties	20	Socialist parties
30	Social democratic parties	40	Liberal parties
50	Christian democratic parties	60	Conservative parties
70	Nationalist parties	80	Agrarian parties
90	Ethnic and regional parties	95	Special issues parties

New-Zealand political parties	Party family	Core themes
Association of Consumers and Taxpayers New Zealand (ACT)	40	Individual freedom and choice, personal responsibility, liberty and property of each and every citizen
Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand (Green Party)	10	Ecological economics, social justice, and participatory democracy
New Zealand Labour Party (Labour Party)	30	Family life, better jobs and higher incomes for all New Zealanders, and affordable homes
New Zealand National Party (National Party)	60	Free market economy, reducing taxes, and reducing social welfare payments
New Zealand First Party (NZF)	60	Welfare of the elderly, strong anti-immigration policies, mixed economy
Social Credit Political League (Social Credit Party) / New Zealand Democratic Party (NZDP)	95	Credit and the monetary system controlled by the people through government, economic democracy

After sorting out this information according to Hans Slomp's model, the parties can be categorized as is presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Political spectrum of N-Z parties



As the aim of this thesis is to find out whether there is a difference between the way left-wing and right-wing parties view their constituents, it is necessary to divide the political parties between these two groups. This can be executed based on the information that has been gathered.

For the Social Credit Party, the Green Party and the Labour Party, this classification clearly results into them being located on the left side. The National Party and ACT can also be easily classified as being right-wing parties. However, as was mentioned before, social liberalist and Christian democratic parties are usually considered as centrist parties. This makes it a little more difficult to classify NZF as being one over the other. Generally, social liberalists are placed more on the left side and Christian democrats on the right side. When looking at the core themes in NZF's policies, it can be considered as being more right than left, thus NZF will be representing the right side in this thesis.

5.2.2. The Netherlands

Like in the case of New Zealand, information on the Dutch political parties and their policies has been collected as well. Using this information and the information that was provided for by the Party Manifesto coders, the parties have been subjected to a categorization. The results are presented in Table 11 and Figure 5 below.

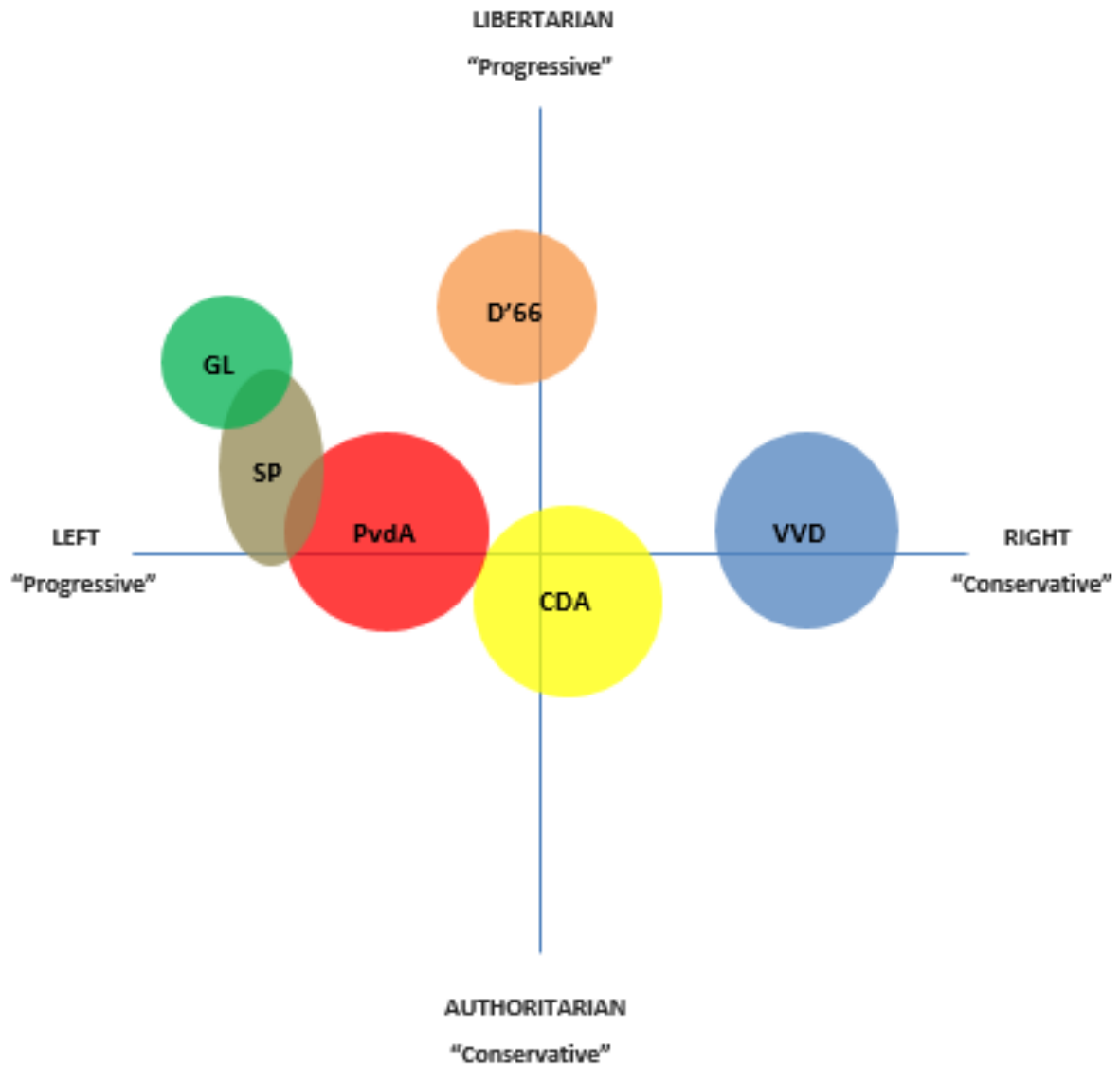
Table 8. Party families and core themes of the Dutch parties

Source: Volkens, Lehmann, Matthieß, Merz, Regel, Werner (2015), pp.9-20

10	Ecological parties	20	Socialist parties
30	Social democratic parties	40	Liberal parties
50	Christian democratic parties	60	Conservative parties
70	Nationalist parties	80	Agrarian parties
90	Ethnic and regional parties	95	Special issues parties

Dutch party names	English translation of party names	Party family	Core themes
Christen Democratisch Appèl (CDA)	Christian Democratic Appeal	50	Principle of subsidiarity and more responsibility for society
Democraten 66 (D'66)	Democrats'66	30	Mixed economy, education for all and the environment
GroenLinks	Green Left	10	Environmental issues and the multicultural society
Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)	Labour Party	30	Until 2005: nationalization of public services New manifesto: mixed economy
Socialistische Partij (SP)	Socialist Party	20	Social policy: education, labour, health care
Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy	40	Free market and individual freedom and responsibility

Figure 5. Political spectrum of Dutch Parties



When it comes to the left/right division of the Dutch parties GreenLeft, the Social Party and the Labour Party will represent the left-wing parties. The VVD is quite clearly a right-wing party. The CDA, which is the Christian democratic party, is a fairly centrist party, yet its policies are more right-wing than left-wing thus it will join the VVD on the right side of the spectrum. Defining D66 as being either one of the two is rather difficult. From its origin, the party has been hard to define as it promotes liberal ideas, while its main focus is put on the citizen. However, due to the always present social aspect of its policies, it is more left-oriented. This places the party on the centre-left side, thus D66 will join GreenLeft, the Social Party and the Labour Party.

Having categorized the political parties over the two political streams, it is now time to test the hypotheses.

5.3. Perceptions of electorates over time

The first hypothesis that will be tested is:

Hypothesis 1. Political parties view their electorates more as customers over time

As was explained in the literature review and the theoretical framework, this hypothesis was incorporated in this thesis due to the idea that globalization and reforms in the public service sector are accompanied by a transforming relationship between the state and society. This thesis has assumed that consumerism has led to the transformation of citizens into consumers and customers. Nowadays, we live in a society in which the citizen is put in the driver's seat. This means that society revolves more and more around the individual who has the power to define his/her own path. However, as was argued by Clarke and Newman, reforms that fall under NPM involve not only institutional changes, but a change in political and popular discourse as well. As a result, we believe that, as these changes were taking place, the political parties started to view their electorates more as customers over time.

In order to find out whether the political parties of New Zealand and the Netherlands truly changed the way they view their electorates over time, the words that were presented in the operationalization of this thesis have been counted in all the parties' manifestos. In addition, to be able to put these numbers into perspective, the total amount of words used in the manifestos has also been collected. Using this information, it is possible to calculate the relative value of the use of the words belonging to the citizen and customer category in percentages. The results for New Zealand are presented in Figure 6.

Figure 6. New Zealand: Perception over time

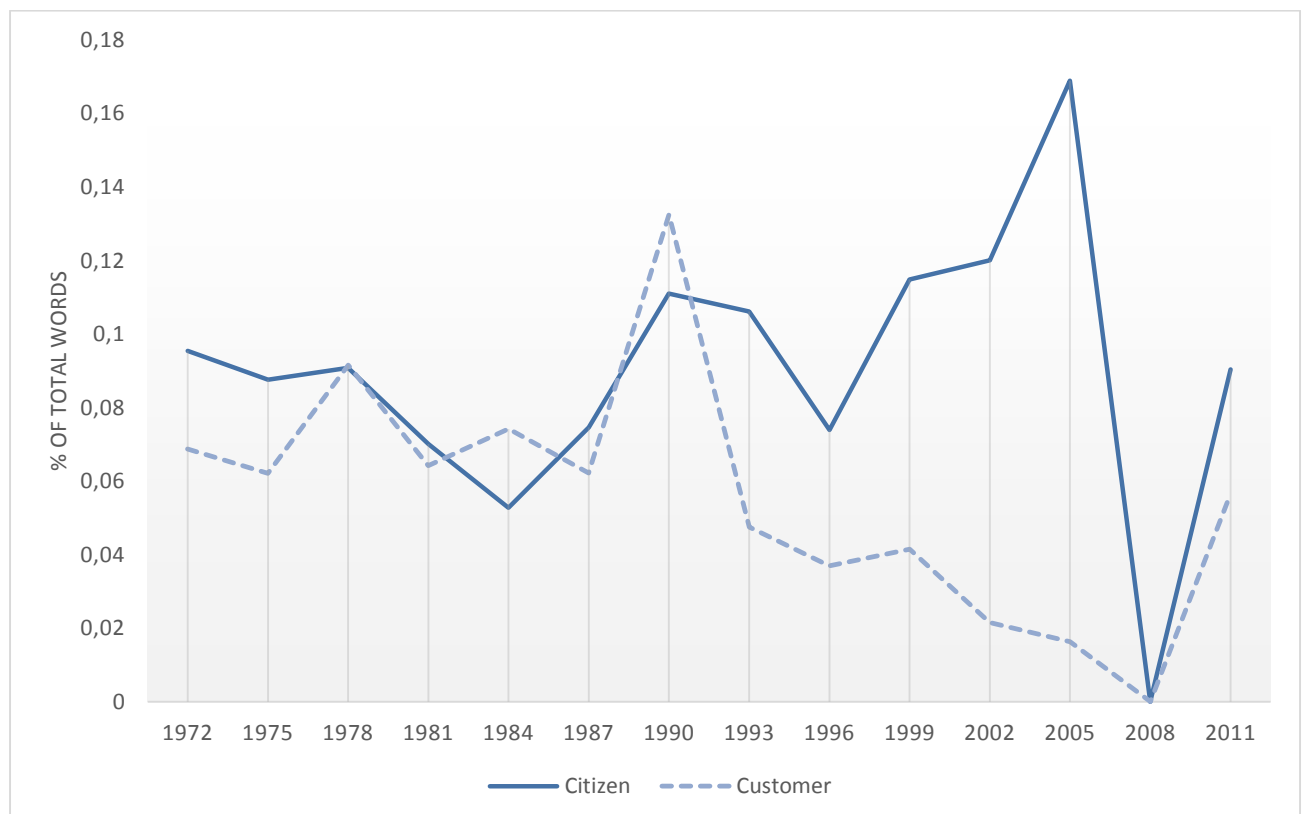


Figure 6 shows that, contrary to what was expected in hypothesis 1, New Zealand parties predominantly used words from the citizen category during the time period 1972-2011. Only during the years 1984 and 1990 did the parties mention words from the customer category more than from the citizen category. However, this is striking because in New Zealand NPM reforms took place during the years 1980-1990. In fact, these reforms were of an economic nature and are often referred to as Rogernomics, after the Minister of Finance of the Fourth Labour Government, Roger Douglas (Schwartz, 1994). Nagel argued that 'between 1984 and 1993, New Zealand underwent radical economic reforms, moving from what had probably been the most protected, regulated and state-dominated system of any capitalist democracy to an extreme position at the open, competitive, free-market end of the spectrum' (Nagel, 1998, p. 223). What is most striking about this piece of information is the fact that the reforms were initiated by the left-wing Labour Party. Labour had 'a socialist heritage, trade-union organizational base, and poor and working-class electoral constituency', which made the initiative surprising (Nagel, 1998, p. 223). Simultaneously, it can explain the relatively high score on the customer scale. The two major parties in New Zealand politics were holding similar views on the economy, which means that the 'reformers were able to maintain momentum through two elections and a change of governing party' (Nagel, 1998, p. 224). Despite the fact that the reforms were very unpopular among the population, due to short-term pain on the promise of long-term gain, voters voted for the 'lesser of two evils' and re-elected Labour again in 1987. Nonetheless, Labour was struggling with the loss of support of the public and became preoccupied by internal disputes. Also, Labour continued to promote the reforms. This can be explained by the path dependency theory, which stresses the importance of history in decision-making. All in all, this put National Party in an advantageous position in the 1990 elections as the party was enjoying the strong leadership of new leader Jim Bolger. While he was condemning the reforms, after winning the elections 'the new National Party ministry not only continued but intensified the restructuring' (Nagel, 1998, p. 224). Conversely, immediately after 1990 the customer line drops quite significantly and does not go up until 2011¹. This can be explained by the fact that the population was tired of the economic focus, mainly the rigorous reforms, during elections. The focus during the 2000s, especially 2005, was mainly put on social issues such as the Maori community and the welfare system (Nagel, 1994; Nagel 1998). This explains the high score on the citizen scale during those years.

The hypothesis suggests that a upward linear, or at the least a higher score for the customer category than the citizen category, was expected. Instead, it seems that after 1990, the citizen rather than the customer was the focus of the political parties in New Zealand. Altogether, this suggests that there is a correlation between the reforms and the way parties in New Zealand viewed their constituents during the years the

¹ It should be noted here that the significant low in 2008 is due to the fact that I was not able to get my hands on the manifestos of any of the parties that participated in the 2008 elections. Nonetheless, the score in 2008 should not be perceived as a zero and the sharp drop should be taken lightly as it is the result of missing numbers. Whether there actually was a drop between 2005 and 2008 cannot be established for certain.

reforms took place. This does not, however, rule out that there can be a significant difference between left-wing and right-wing parties in the way they perceive their electorates. It will be interesting to see what the outcome of hypotheses 2 and 3 will be. Nonetheless, in the case of New Zealand, hypothesis 1 is **incorrect**.

As for the Netherlands, the outcome of the word count for all the parties taken together can be found in Figure 7.

Figure 7. The Netherlands: Perception over time

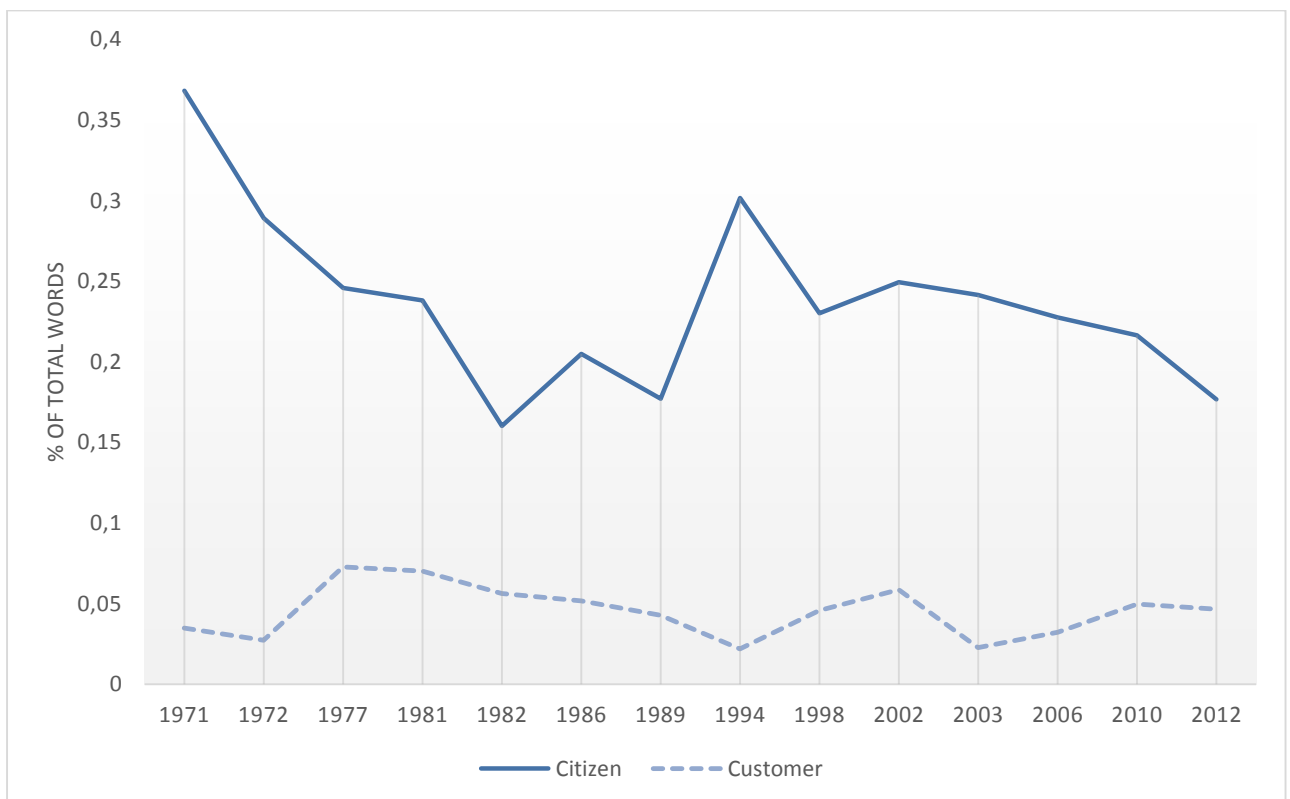


Figure 7 shows a completely different picture than Figure 6. In the Netherlands, the manifestos of the parties taken together have always made greater use of words belonging to the citizen category than the customer category. A connection between public service sector reforms and the way political parties view their electorates is difficult to find. What can be viewed is that in 1977 the customer line did go up a little, while the citizen line dropped between 1971 and 1982. The first major reforms in the Netherlands took place around 1980, thus the fact that the party manifestos did mention words from the customer category more starting in 1977 might not be a coincidence. The first reform, which aimed to reduce government expenses, was introduced by the first cabinet (1982-1986), and continued by the second (1986-1989) and third (1989-1994) cabinet, under the authority of CDA-member Ruud Lubbers. The Dutch government was

dealing with debt and a stagnating economy followed by great unemployment. The welfare system was reviewed and the cabinet's 'no-nonsense' attitude resulted into privatization of public services (Kok, 2013). However little these number might seem, there could be a connection between the slight increase in the use of customer words and public service sector reforms. In addition, there is another year that stands out: 1994. As the introduction of the Dutch case explained, the need to cut back expenses lessened around the early 1990s and, as a consequence, so did the reforms. In the 1994 manifestos of the Dutch parties, an increase in usage of citizen words can be witnessed while a decrease of customer words took place. Together, these events suggest a relation between public service sector reforms and the usage of certain words.

Nonetheless, when purely looking at the hypothesis and the numbers, one cannot say that the Dutch political parties view their electorate as customers more over time. Therefore, it will be interesting if these numbers change when dividing the parties and focusing on their political affiliations. For now, the Dutch case prove hypothesis 1 to be **incorrect** as well.

5.4. Differences in perception between left-wing and right-wing parties

The previous section proved that in both case studies, the political parties did not show a substantive change in the way they view their electorates over time. However, this thesis expects to find differences between left-wing and right-wing parties when it comes to this matter. This is based on the assumption that there is a correlation between reforms in the public service sector and the role people play in society. The previous chapters explained that NPM reforms put citizens in the driver's seat, transforming them from citizens into customers and consumers. In general, right-wing parties have been more in favor of these reforms than left-wing parties have. Whether this is true for the right-wing parties in our case studies can easily be checked using the database of the Party Manifestos project. The reader is referred to Appendix D for the results of this check. The theoretical chapter of this thesis explained that the traditional divide between left-wing and right-wing parties was over issues dealing with the economy and redistributive matters. What matters most is that the numbers show that in our cases the manifestos reinforce this traditional divide.

Therefore, both cases have led us to test hypothesis 2A:

Hypothesis 2A. Right-wing parties view electorates as customers

In order to test this hypothesis, the manifestos of the right-wing parties have been subjected to a word count that was executed manually. The number of times that the words presented in the operationalization was counted and noted per year and per party. These numbers have been added, which leads us to the total number of times that the words were used in years 1970-2012. The numbers that result from this calculation are presented in Tables 12 and 13. In addition, the average number of times has been noted as well. This number shows the times that right-wing parties use certain words in one manifesto on average.

Finally, the tables show a third number. This is added due to the fact that some parties write very long manifestos, where others do not. Thus the total amount of words used to write a manifesto can differ quite a lot. An absolute number does not say a lot if one does not know how many words are used for the entire manifesto. Therefore, the average absolute number has been divided by the average of the amount of total words used and timed by a hundred in order to show the value in percentages.

Table 12 shows how often right-wing parties have used the selected words in New Zealand².

Table 9. Right-wing parties New Zealand

	Customer	Consumer	Client	Buyer/Shopper	Total
Total absolute	15	120	18	22	175
Average absolute	0,71	5,71	0,86	1,05	8,33
Relative	0,0042%	0,034%	0,005%	0,006%	0,049%

	Citizen	Taxpayer	Resident	Civil (civic)	Voter	Total
Total absolute	165	70	53	19	19	326
Average absolute	7,86	3,33	2,52	0,90	0,90	15,51
Relative	0,047%	0,020%	0,015%	0,005%	0,005%	0,092%

The results in the table are contrary to what was expected to be found in advance. Instead of the anticipated higher score in the customer category, it looks like the New Zealand right-wing parties viewed their electorates as citizens rather than customers. In fact, the word citizen (165 times) was the most popular from the selected words. The difference between the score is quite significant. With a total amount of 326 words from the citizen category and only 175 words belonging to the customer category, hypothesis 2A was proven **incorrect** for the right-wing parties in New Zealand.

The higher score on the citizen scale can be clarified by some additional background information on the right-wing parties that are topic of discussion. ACT was founded by previously mentioned Roger Douglas, who stands for individual freedom and personal responsibility. This party will, thus, not enlighten us on the high score. Likewise, NZF will not help explain this unexpected outcome as the party focuses on immigration issues and welfare of the elderly. These topics are not necessarily related to the consequences of the NPM reforms, meaning the citizen/consumer debate. National, New Zealand's greatest right-wing party, however plays such a prominent role in New Zealand's politics that it can have an effect on the outcome of the word count. The party, founded in 1936, was the result of a coalition between the Reform Party, which was mostly supported by farmers, and the United Party, whose support came from the middle

² In the case of New Zealand, 21 right-wing manifestos have been counted and included in the research. This is due to the fact that in quite a few cases the manifestos could not be found or retrieved digitally. The missing manifestos include: NZF (1987, 1990, 2008); National Party (2008, 2011) and ACT (2008, 2011).

class in the cities. The name National Party was chosen to emphasize the new party's representation of all New Zealanders, regardless of their background (Miller, 2005). This historic narrative can explain why the right-wing parties score relatively high on the citizen scale. The citizen was aligned with notions of the collective, and difficulties with altering a storyline that dates back so far can explain why right-wing parties (perhaps National in particular) still score higher on the citizen scale.

Nonetheless, one should keep in mind that there were seven right-wing manifestos missing. This could affect the numbers presented in the tables.

The results of the Dutch right-wing parties in Table 13³.

Table 10. Right-wing parties Netherlands

	Customer	Consumer	Client	Buyer/Shopper	Total
Total absolute	40	171	38	5	254
Average absolute	1,54	6,58	1,46	0,19	8,77
Relative	0,008%	0,032%	0,007%	0,001%	0,048%

	Citizen	Taxpayer	Resident	Civil (civic)	Voter	Total
Total absolute	831	9	34	258	44	1176
Average absolute	31,96	0,35	9,92	1,69	3,35	47,27
Relative	0,157%	0,002%	0,006%	0,049%	0,008%	0,222%

The difference between the two categories in the Netherlands is even larger than in New Zealand. The table shows that the words citizen was the most popular word (a striking 831) in the manifestos published between 1970 and 2012. Words from the citizen category (1176) were used 4,5 times more than those from the customer category (254). This leads us to conclude that in the Dutch case hypothesis 2A is **incorrect** as well.

Background information on the VVD and CDA, however, can put these number into perspective. During the foundation of the VVD, a liberal party, the founders purposely decided to leave out the word 'liberal' from the party name (Lucardie & Voerman, 1992). Ever since WWII the word was associated with crisis and unemployment, thus it had a negative connotation. Despite the party's emphasis on individual freedom and responsibility, it did not want to carry the negative association in its name. This shows that the party has traditionally been careful with words and their meanings, which means this can be the case with the words citizen and customer as well.

The CDA also wants to see the individual take greater responsibility of his/her own success and that of society. Therefore, CDA also proposes to roll back the state. However, where VVD wants possible gaps to

³ There were 26 right-wing manifestos that have been subjected to the word count.

be filled by the free market, CDA does not consider the market to be the answer to every public problem. This rather hesitant attitude can explain the high score on the citizen scale by the right-wing parties in the Netherlands.

Despite the unexpected outcomes of hypothesis 2A, Appendix D showed that in our case studies, the left-wing parties seemed to be more oriented on the planned economy rather than the market economy. Therefore, it will be worth finding out whether hypothesis 2B is true or false.

Hypothesis 2B. Left-wing parties view electorates as citizens

Table 14 displays the results from the research on the way left-wing parties viewed their electorates in New Zealand during 1970-2011⁴.

Table 11. Left-wing parties New-Zealand

	Customer	Consumer	Client	Buyer/Shopper	Total
Total absolute	20	247	8	10	285
Average absolute	0,87	10,74	0,35	0,43	12,39
Relative	0,004%	0,049%	0,002%	0,002%	0,057%

	Citizen	Taxpayer	Resident	Civil (civic)	Voter	Total
Total absolute	47	47	142	68	6	310
Average absolute	2,04	2,04	6,17	2,96	0,26	13,47
Relative	0,01%	0,01%	0,028%	0,013%	0,001%	0,062%

The result is as expected: left-wing parties make greater use of words that belong to the citizen category. However, what immediately catches the eye is the fact that the difference between the scores are not nearly as great as is the case in New Zealand's right-wing party manifestos. The score in the right-wing manifestos was almost twice as big in favor of the citizen category. In the left-wing manifestos however, the difference is not even 10%. This leads to the conclusion that left-wing parties view their electorates as customers almost as often as they view them as citizens. Nonetheless, when taking a closer look at the numbers, we can see that the highest score was on the word consumer. A possible explanation for this result can be that the left-wing parties were concerned with the rights of consumers in light of the public service sector reforms. When we take a look at the results of hypothesis 3, which will include the transition over the years, a focus will be put on when the consumer was addressed so much. Another factor that can influence these numbers is the fact that the Labour Party also initiated some of the economic reforms

⁴ There were 23 manifestos of New Zealand's left-wing parties included in the research due to missing manifestos. The missing manifestos are: Green Party (2008, 2011) and Labour Party (2008).

during 1984-1993. This explains the relatively high score on the customer scale as well. All in all, hypothesis 2B was proven **correct** in the New Zealand case.

The results of the left-wing parties in the Netherlands are presented in Table 15⁵.

Table 12. Left-wing parties Netherlands

	Customer	Consumer	Client	Buyer/Shopper	Total
Total absolute	63	293	74	34	464
Average absolute	1,37	6,37	1,61	0,74	10,09
Relative	0,006%	0,028%	0,007%	0,003%	0,044%

	Citizen	Taxpayer	Resident	Civil (civic)	Voter	Total
Total absolute	1499	18	68	437	144	2166
Average absolute	32,59	0,39	1,48	9,5	3,13	47,09
Relative	0,143%	0,002%	0,007%	0,042%	0,013%	0,207%

In the Netherlands, the difference between the score on the customer versus the citizen category is much greater than in New Zealand. Again, words belonging to the citizen category are mentioned around 4,5 times as much as those from the customer category. This leads to the assumption that in the Netherlands, all the parties still consider their electorates to be citizens rather than customers. However, the results of hypothesis 3 will probably shed some more light on whether there is any transition to be spotted over time. Perhaps the changes are still happening as we speak. Nonetheless, this case shows that in the Netherlands left-wing parties view their electorates as citizens rather than customers, thus the hypothesis is proven to be **correct**.

In conclusions, the results of hypotheses 2A and 2B do not conclude the research. The factor of time can play a significant role in this matter. This study aims to find a relation between the way parties view their electorates and their views on government reforms that fall under the NPM doctrine. Right-wing parties are expected to be more in favor of these reforms. However, reforms do not take place overnight, thus the way parties view their electorate can change over time. Whether New Zealand's and the Dutch political parties have changed their views after the reforms will be tested with hypothesis 3.

⁵ There were 46 left-wing manifestos included in the case of the Netherlands. The only missing manifesto was the SP's 1982 manifesto.

5.5. Left-wing and right-wing perceptions of electorates over time

The previous sections have researched the way political parties in our case studies view their electorates. First by looking at the total of all the parties and how they changed their perception over time, followed by the differences that can be witnessed based on the parties' political position on the left/right spectrum. In both cases, hypothesis 1 was incorrect. This means, the political parties did not view their electorates more as customers as time went by. Hypothesis 2A was also proven to be false in both cases, thus right-wing parties do not view their electorate as customers. On the contrary, hypothesis 2B was correct in both cases, meaning that left-wing parties view their electorates as citizens rather than customers. In the Netherlands, the numbers on hypothesis 2B were more significant than in New Zealand.

However, the results can still be debatable. The underlying assumption of this thesis is that society in both New Zealand and the Netherlands has been undergoing a deliberate transition in light of the public service sector reforms. As a result, we believe that those political parties that are the drivers behind these reforms (right-wing parties) have engaged in a deliberate change in their popular and discursive work. The fact that hypothesis 1 and 2A are not proven to be true do not mean that the case is closed. In fact, it can mean that the transition that has been discussed in this thesis is still taking place today. For example, the scores of right-wing parties on the customer variable can be overruled by the traditional view of left-wing parties. In addition, the slow speed of a transition that has such a symbolic meaning as being transformed from a 'passive' citizen into an 'active' customer can have an effect. In order to rule out this possibility, it is necessary to combine hypotheses 1 and 2. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is formulated:

Hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 1 is stronger for right-wing parties than for left-wing parties

The results of the analysis of hypothesis 3 will be presented per country. Therefore, for the results of New Zealand, the reader is referred to Figures 8 and 9, and for the Netherlands to Figures 10 and 11 on the following pages.

Figure 8. N-Z left-wing parties over time

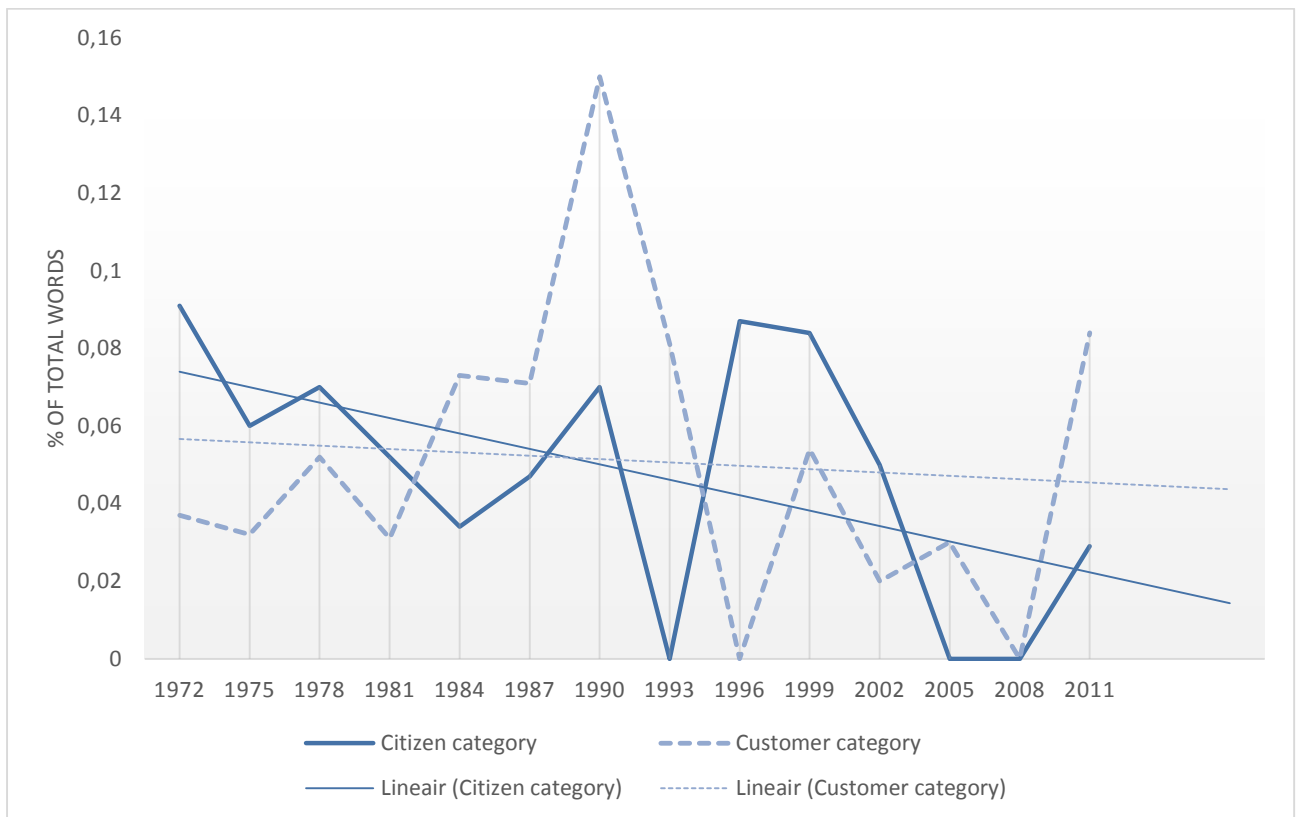


Figure 8 shows the way left-wing parties in New Zealand have addressed their electorates over time. As was witnessed in Table 14, the word consumer scored relatively high over the total amount of years. The graph now shows that there was one particular year during which words from the customer category were mentioned quite often, which is the year 1990. Figure 6 confirms that during that year, the customer variable outweighed the citizen variable over all the parties taken together. In New Zealand, the years between 1984-1993 and during the year 2011 were periods in which left-wing manifestos showed a greater usage of words from the customer category. The trend lines that belong to their respective graphs show that the citizen category have experienced a greater fall than the customer category.

As was explained before, it is striking that this increase in customer words takes place during the years that public service sector reforms were taking place in New Zealand. The website of the government of New Zealand provides information on the different governments that have been in office and their respective policies. During the years 1984 and 1990, Labour Party was in government and enacted major social and economic reforms. It is therefore not a surprise that during those years, words from the customer category have often been mentioned in left-wing party manifestos. The 1990 Labour manifesto (p. 2-3) mentioned issues regarding consumers such as:

In addition to its credit awareness programme, the Ministry has produced posters, video productions and pamphlets aimed at increasing consumer awareness on a variety of issues.

Labour will promote greater awareness among consumers of their rights and obligations.

ACT also made strong statements about the state and the customer (1999, p. 3-4):

Governments should not own insurance companies; doing so undermines competition, puts taxpayers at risk and makes customers vulnerable.

Only customer choice can ensure that premiums give value for money.

Many people were dissatisfied with the two major parties at that time. The National Party used this to its advantage and promised to reform the electoral system if they would get elected in 1990. And so the people did. This can explain the sudden drop in words belonging to the customer category; it was not the major concern for left-wing parties.

Figure 9. N-Z right-wing parties over time

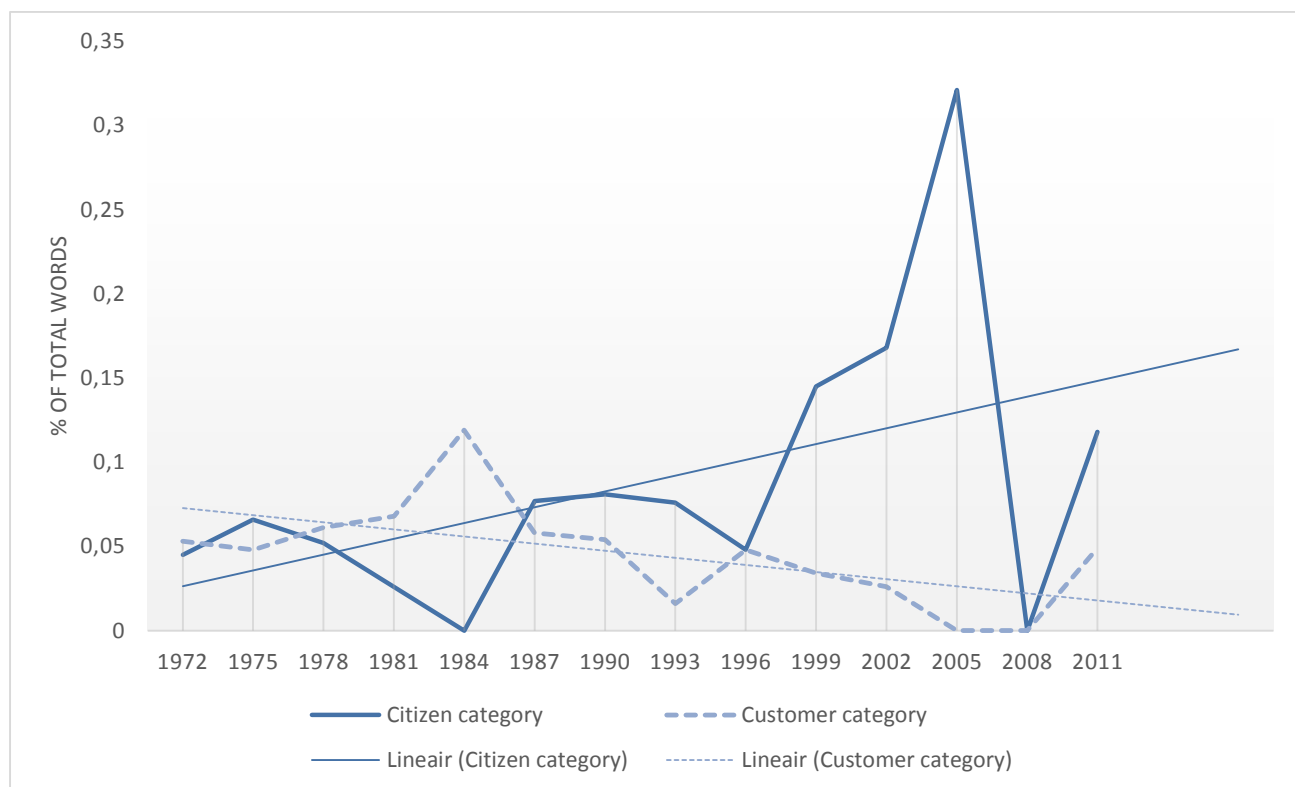


Figure 9 shows a very different and a somewhat surprising picture of the results from the analysis of right-wing manifestos in New Zealand. In sharp contrast with the expectations, right-wing parties seem to view

their electorates as citizen rather than as customers. Only during the years 1978-1984 did the customer variable score higher than the citizen variable. During the years 1999-2008, the manifestos show a sharp increase in words from the citizen category. A possible explanation for this increase can be related to the fact that these years constitute the Fifth Labour Government. History had taught that the voters were not happy with the two major parties (National and Labour), hence the introduction of the MMP system, which gave way for smaller parties to become larger. Greater competition from other parties increases the importance of views and policies promoted in party manifestos. In addition, the way these policies are communicated to the electorate can grow in importance. The high score in 2005 invites a deeper analysis of the message of the manifestos. What was found in the 2005 National Party manifesto (p. 3) was that in their attack on other parties, the National Party used the word citizen to make its claim stronger:

The Clark Labour Government has been carried away with its hip hop tours and its twilight golf courses, it has lost sight of one of the most important roles of any government: the protection of its citizens.

This thesis has touched upon the resistance that many voters feel against seeing themselves as well as being viewed as customers rather than citizens. The fact that the right-wing parties have increased the amount of words belonging to the citizen category can possibly be explained by the sensitivity that is felt around this concept by their voters. The trend lines show that right-wing parties in New Zealand view, and are expected to keep viewing, their electorates as citizens instead of customers.

In conclusion, in New Zealand hypothesis 3 is proven to be **incorrect**. It expected to find an outcome in which the right-wing parties would view their electorates as customers more over time. On the contrary, the right-wing parties, more so than the left-wing parties, strongly perceive their electorates as citizens. Figure 8 shows a sharp decrease in words belonging to the citizen category in left-wing manifestos, and only a minor decrease on the customer variable. Figure 9 portrays the opposite, with a sharper decrease on the customer variable and a sharp increase on the citizen variable.

Figure 10. Dutch left-wing parties over time

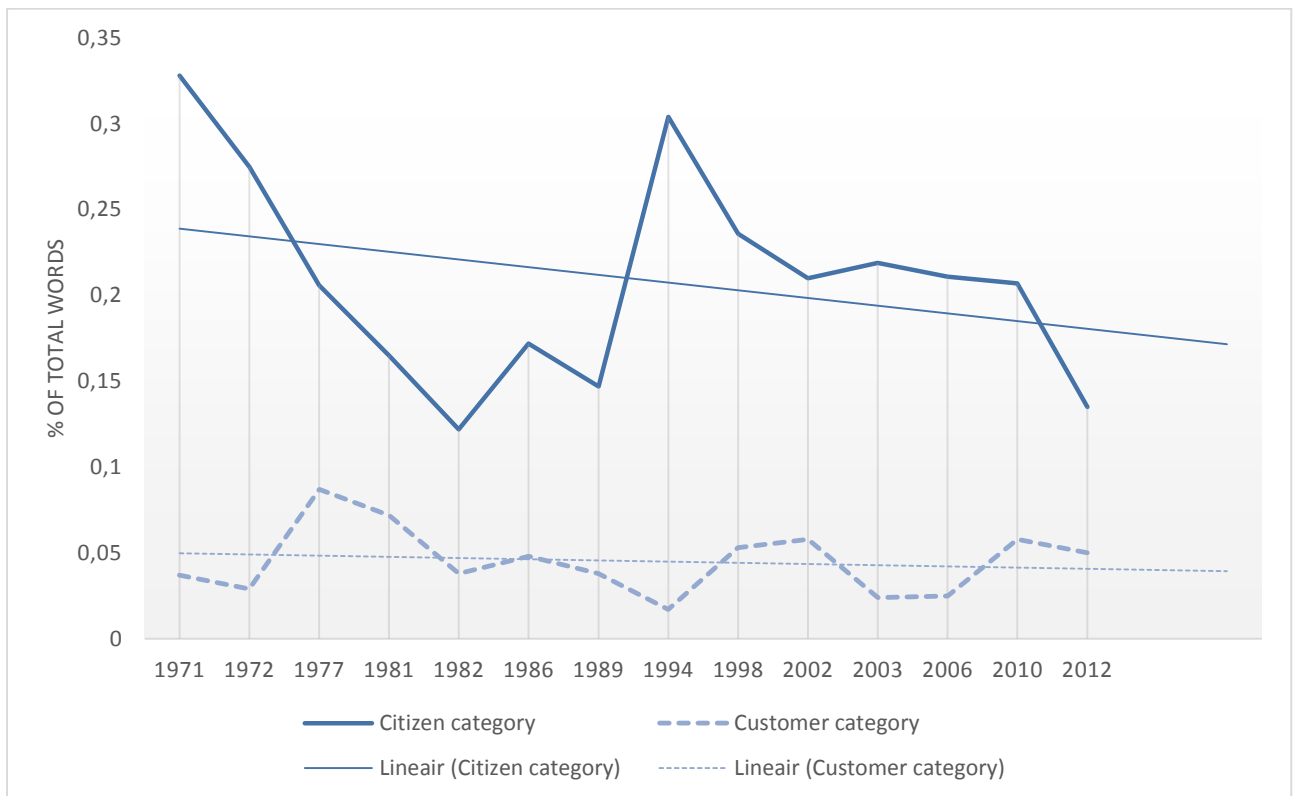


Figure 10 reveals a very different picture of left-wing parties in the Netherlands than in New Zealand. The graph is very straightforward in showing that Dutch left-wing parties view their electorates as citizens rather than customers. The slight increase on the customer side in 1977 can be explained by the fact that the first major public service sector reforms took place in 1980 and that the manifestos in 1977, in anticipation of these reforms, were mentioning topics that included words from the customer category. Nevertheless, these numbers are fairly low and hardly significant, the left-wing parties remained concerned with the citizen. In 1971 (D66 manifesto, p. 1), D66 made the following claim about the decreasing relationship between the government and the citizens:

The power has become impersonal, invisible and elusive, it is far beyond the grasp of the citizens. Trust in democratic institutions has decreased.

In its 1977 manifesto (D66 manifesto, p. 5), it came with solutions to this problem, such as the following:

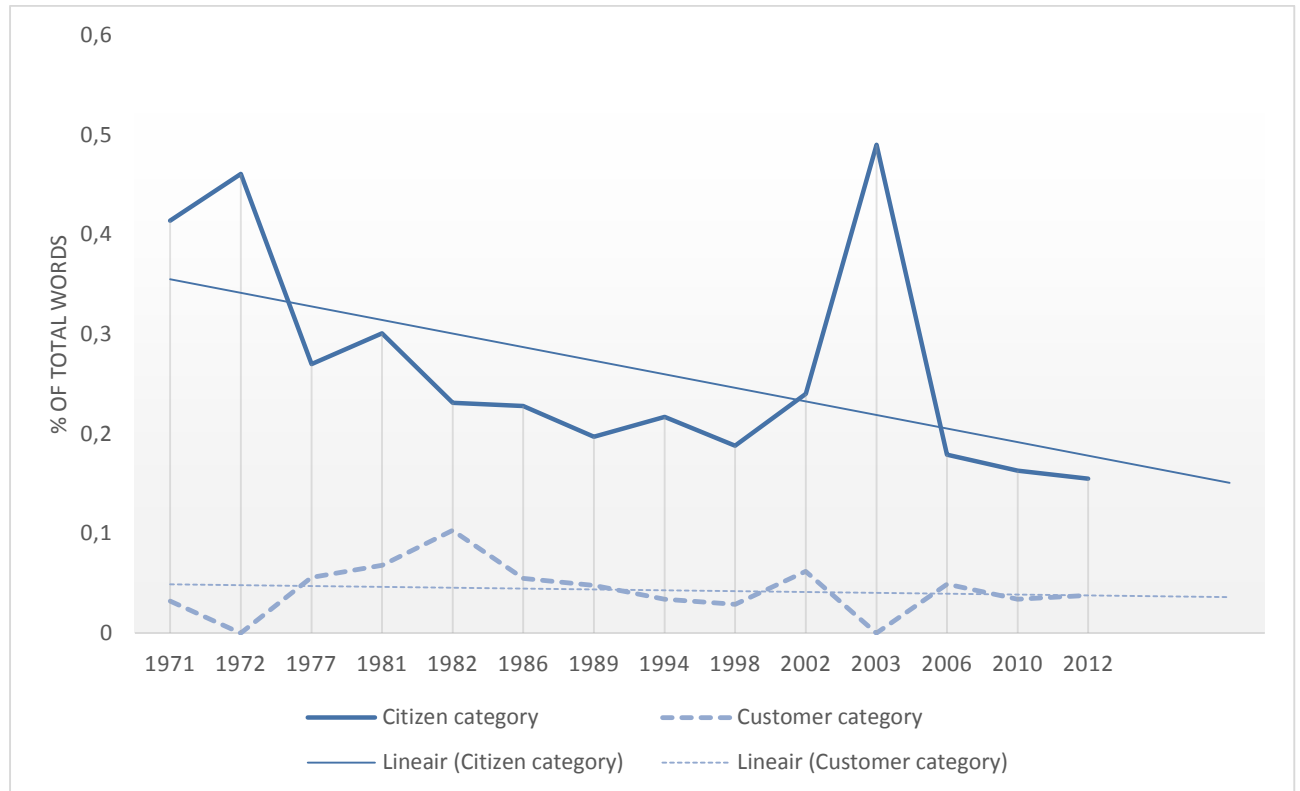
The current administration, by its sheer size and its excessive powers, threatens the citizen. This calls for the establishment of an ombudsman, which should both respond to complaints from citizens, and on its own initiative, check whether current policies suffice.

GroenLinks also stated concerns about this topic (1998, p. 2):

Due to the fixation on the contrast between the government and the free market, the citizen disappeared from the stage, even though citizens and citizens' associations can play a crucial role in this dynamic society.

Nevertheless, the conclusion remains that Dutch left-wing parties view their electorates as citizens.

Figure 11. Dutch right-wing parties over time



On the right-wing side, again the parties view their electorates as citizens, despite the right-wing focus on public service sector reforms. Figure 11 shows a relatively stable amount of words from the customer category, almost every year fairly low. The slight increase during 1982 can be in relation with the reforms that started around the 1980s. These reforms included, but are not limited to, marketization and privatization elements, which would perfectly explain a higher score on the customer variable. However, overall the parties makes great use of word from the citizen category. In case of the VVD this result is in line with its populist ideas. However, it undermines the idea that those parties in favor of the free market economy also call their constituents consumers and customers. It is also possible that in the promotions of their economic views, parties purposely refer to their voters in the collective manners, thus as citizens. It was explained before the that VVD had traditionally been careful with its choice of words, suggesting some form of framing. An example that supports this idea was found in its 1981 manifesto (p. 1) which stated the following:

The freedom and responsibility of citizens and society must be strengthened. Confidence in own vigor and ingenuity and the ability to overcome problems of this time must be restored. The government's role as a guardian has undermined the autonomy of the social groups and the individual, and should therefore be reduced. Both in economic and social terms. The balance between individual strength and responsibility as well as care for the community should be found again.

In the end, it is clear that, despite the decline witnessed in the trend line, right-wing parties remain to view their electorates as citizens over customers. It will be interesting to see whether this has changed when executing this research again over the course of another thirty years. For now, hypothesis 3 is **incorrect** for the Dutch political parties as well.

5.6. Conclusion

All three hypotheses have now been tested and analyzed. It has become clear that, besides hypothesis 2B, none of the hypothesis ended up being true. The results are presented in a summarizing table below. In order to answer the research question, the results of the individual hypothesis need to be combined. They will be further discussed in the final chapter.

Table 13. Conclusion case studies

Hypotheses	New Zealand	The Netherlands
More as customer over time	False	False
Right-wing as customers	False	False
Left-wing as citizens	True	True
Right-wing more as customer over time	False	False

Chapter 6. Conclusion and discussion

This final chapter will combine the results from the analysis and answer the research question guiding this thesis. In the discussion part the limitations of this research and suggestions for further research will be presented.

6.1. Discussion of findings

The aim of this thesis was to find out how political parties in New Zealand and the Netherlands view their electorates in light of the reforms their public service sector underwent in the last decade. Literature on NPM explained that developments of such a form are considered deliberate. Reforms that affect society in the manner that NPM has are usually accompanied by public and political discursive work on the side of the government. This thesis has explained that NPM reforms included elements that belong to the doctrines of new institutional economics and managerialism. This has led to a transformation of society in which the one-size-fits-all approach of the traditional notion of the state has given way to the more individual-based society in which citizens are free to choose their own provider for their services. This, in turn, has led to a need to facilitate all the different needs the citizens actually have. One can say that citizenship demands have transformed and expanded (Clarke & Newman, 2009, p. 158). The introduction of the market in the public service sector was supposed to be the way to reach this goal. However, this has led to a disconnect between the state and the citizen, because the citizen cannot turn to the state to fulfill all its needs anymore. By 're-inventing the citizen as a consumer of public services' (Clarke & Newman, 2009, P. 158), the gap between these changing citizenship demands and the market-based reforms of public services can be bridged. This is where the popular and political discursive work of the government comes in, because people tend to reject the impersonal perception they have with perceiving themselves as consumers. As a consequence, governments are assumed to encourage people to think of themselves as economic agents whom pursue economic maximization goals. This leads to the research question guiding this thesis:

Do political parties view their electorate as citizens or customers?

Party manifestos are considered the main tool for political parties to communicate with their constituents. Therefore, these formed the main sources on which quantitative content analysis was executed. The quantitative content analysis was performed in the form of a word count of a selection of words present in the manifestos. The idea behind this was that, in their party manifestos, political parties, especially those parties in favor of the free market, would make greater use of words that were in line with the transformation process that accompanied the reforms. In this thesis words that were aligned with the free market were considered to be of an individualistic nature and categorized under the customer category. Along the same line, the citizen category includes words that belong to the collective society, which is

considered as the way society was designed before the reforms: a society in which every citizen's rights and privileges were looked after by the state.

Having said that, it is time to elaborate on the findings of the hypotheses. In order to be able to answer the research question in a structured manner, the findings will first be discussed per hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1 Political parties view their electorates more as customers over time

The first hypothesis focused on the element of time based on the assumption that society in our case studies had been changing under the influence of events such as globalization and the NPM reforms the governments executed in the public service sector. This transformation of society was accompanied by a transformation of the relationship between the state and its citizens as well as the identity of the citizen itself. The theory of consumerism implied that the citizen had become a customer. The assumption behind hypothesis 1 was that if the new society called for customers rather than citizens, the political parties would view their electorates as customer instead of citizens as well. Since the transformation does not happen overnight, the hypothesis suggests the transformation in the way political parties view their electorates is a gradual process that takes place over time as well.

However, subchapter 5.3 showed that in both New Zealand and the Netherlands, the parties did not view their electorates more as customers as time passed by. The difference between the two cases is that in New Zealand there are two moments in time during which the customer category get a higher score than the citizen category. The years during which this takes place are considered the years during which the NPM reforms were happening as well. This shows there is a relation between the time reforms were happening and the number of times words from the customer category were used. However, on average there is no linear line that suggests that parties view their electorates differently as time goes by. This is reinforced by the fact that the customer line goes down immediately after 1990. In the Dutch case, the customer line never exceeds the citizen line. Therefore, we can conclude that in the Netherlands, parties do not view their electorates more as customers over time.

Hypothesis 2 links a party's political orientation to the way parties view their electorates by discussing the expected differences between left-wing and right-wing parties in this matter. It can therefore be divided into two sub hypotheses.

Hypothesis 2A. Right-wing parties view electorates as customers

Hypothesis 2B. Left-wing parties view electorates as citizens

Section 5.4 shows that in both case studies, the answer to hypothesis 2A was the opposite of what was expected, where hypothesis 2B was confirmed. Left-wing parties still view their electorate as citizens. This

is not surprising seeing that left-wing parties tend not to favor the introduction of the market in the public service sector due to the inequalities they foresee as the result of such events.

However, surprising is the result of hypothesis 2A. Not only is the hypothesis proven to be incorrect. Both cases also show very high numbers on the citizen category for the right-wing parties. In fact, the differences between the scores on the categories is higher in the manifestos of right-wing parties than in those of left-wing parties. The conclusion of hypothesis 2 therefore is that both left-wing and right-wing parties view electorates as citizens.

The results presented in section 5.4 show the average numbers of party manifestos published between the years 1970 and 2012. However, this does not exclude the possibility that right-wing parties are still in the middle of transitioning their views on electorates. Thus, by combining the element of time and political orientation, it is possible that an increase in words from the customer category can be found in the manifestos as time went by. Hypothesis 3 tests this theory.

Hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 1 is stronger for right-wing parties than for left-wing parties

In New Zealand, the graph shows a very dynamic picture in the left-wing party manifestos. Both the citizen and the customer line fluctuate a lot. However, when taking a look at the trend lines, the citizen line experiences a sharper fall than the customer line. On the contrary, in the graph belonging to the right-wing parties' word usage the trend line of the citizen, and not the customer, category experiences a great increase. Combining this information with the fact that the left-wing parties, compared to right-wing parties, made relatively greater use of words from the customer category, suggests that in the future probably the left-wing, instead of the right-wing, parties may view their electorate as customers.

In the Netherlands, the differences between the left-wing and right-wing parties are not as significant as is the case in New Zealand. Despite the fact that the Dutch case shows a decrease in the right-wing trend line of the citizen category, the customer category also does not go up. Time will tell whether right-wing parties will start to change their views on the electorate. Left-wing parties remain to view their constituents as citizens.

6.2. Conclusion

Based on the results of the tested hypotheses, the conclusion is that in New Zealand and the Netherlands, all political parties view their electorates as citizens rather than customers. Whether this will change as time goes by is hard to say. Nonetheless, there seems to be a relation between the years that are considered to be the years our cases saw public service sector reforms and the amount of time words from the customer category were used. In addition, the parties in our case studies showed that the assumption about right-wing parties being in favor of the free market and left-wing parties favoring the regulation and

planned market is true. The fact that the right-wing parties then tend to stay away from words from the customer category is striking. My immediate thought is that this phenomenon can be explained by the theory of framing. This idea is sparked by the fact that, as Clarke and Newman stated, people tend to reject the idea of being a customer rather than a citizen due to the impersonal and selfish associations they have with this character. By repeatedly mentioning words that are still related to such negative connotations, parties will not become very popular, and thus lose votes. Also, I doubt whether we would ever really know whether political parties view us as citizens or customers.

6.3. Limitations

The greatest limitation of this thesis was the limited amount of time and words that set for this thesis. This limited the scope of the research. Also, executing content analysis is very time-consuming, as it requires you to not just count the words, but also read large parts of the manifestos in order to decide if certain words should be counted or not.

Furthermore, a very important limitation of this particular research was the language barrier. The problem with content analysis is that you really need to be able to master the language well in order to understand what documents are stating. In addition, it is necessary to understand the language because it helps you decide which words are important for the research and which words can be left out.

Also, the case selection could be expanded. Only comparing two countries can be quite limited. Thus adding more countries to the research could perhaps strengthen the results.

Finally, the data itself was problematic as well. Comparing the number of times a certain word was used to the total amount, and valuing it, results into very low numbers.

6.4. Suggestions for further research

Based on the analysis, suggestions for further research would include expanding it to other countries. There are many countries that have executed public service sector reforms and can therefore be expected to have incorporated changes in their communication towards the public. This does not need to be restricted to countries that have introduced the market in the public service sector. It can also be interesting to see whether something has changed in countries which have moved towards nationalization of certain services. If one were to include more countries, it would also be interesting to research whether differences can be found between parties from different ideologies besides left-wing versus right-wing. Thus, the parties can be compared based on the multi-axis model introduced in this thesis.

In addition, due to a time constraint it was not possible to reach out to politicians and gather qualitative, in-depth information on the way political parties perceive their electorates. Though it might be tough to reach somebody that is willing to take the time and meet, it can be interesting to execute interviews with politicians or somebody in government. Nonetheless, it could include an interesting dynamic to the research.

It will be interesting to execute this research again in a number of years in order to see if anything has changed. Perhaps we are still transitioning and getting used to accepting or viewing ourselves as customer rather than citizens.

Abbreviations

ACT	Association of Consumers and Taxpayers
CDA	Christen Democratisch Appèl
D66	Democraten 66
EU	European Union
FPP	First Past the Post
GL	Groenlinks
MMP	Mixed-Member Proportional
MS	Member States
NPM	New Public Management
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid
SP	Socialistische Partij
US	United States
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War

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List of coded documents

Manifesto Project Dataset List of coded documents

New Zealand

Greens → Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand

Year	Title
1999	Green Party Policy, 1999
2002	Our Single Issue: The Future of Aotearoa New Zealand
2005	Make a difference that will last for generations
2008	Russel Norman: Green Party. Campaign Launch: 'Vote for the Future'
2011	Green Party Opening Broadcast 2011

Labour Party → Labour New Zealand

Year	Title
1972	Labour Party Manifesto 1972
1975	The Labour Party Manifesto 1975
1978	To Rebuild the Nation
1981	Getting New Zealand Working Again.
1984	1984 Policy Document
1987	The Next Three Years. Labour's Plan for the Future. Be there with Labour
1990	Labour leading us into the future. Our policies for the 90s
1993	Jobs. Growth. Health.
1996	Labour's Key Policies
1999	Key Policies 1999
2002	Key Policies 2002
2005	Working together, sharing a vision. Labour's policies for the future.
2008	Speeches: 'Helen Clark launches the Labour election campaign.'
2011	No information about title

ACT → ACT New Zealand

Year	Title
1996	Values. Not Politics
1999	'ACT Policy 1999
2002	ACT's policies for a better New Zealand
2005	These ACT policies will change New Zealand and in time give you \$500 per week
2008	Do you want a change in government?
2011	ACT: The right party for the John Key Government

National Party → New Zealand National Party

Year	Title
1972	1972 General Election Policy
1975	National Party Manifesto
1978	1978 General Election Policy 'We're Keeping Our Word'
1981	This is Your Future: Politics for the Decade of the 80s
1984	National's 84 Election Policy. New Zealand, you're winning
1987	Let's get New Zealand Right. Manifesto '87
1990	National Party, Policies for the 1990s. Creating a decent society

1993	Manifesto '93: 'Stepping out on the Path to 2010'
1996	The Plan for Progress. The Best is yet to Come
1999	'How Would You Write the Next Chapter of the New Zealand Story?
2002	National Times
2005	Brash Address to the 2005 Campaign Opening. A new government and a new direction.
2008	Speech: 'My Key Commitments to You.'
2011	No information about title

NZF → New Zealand First Party

Year	Title
1993	Manifesto '93
1996	The Leadership, the Vision, the Policies and the Kiwi Spirit
1999	New Zealand First Policies, 1999
2002	Keeping New Zealand First
2011	For a fair go – Campaign Launch 2011

Social Credit Party

Year	Title
1972	General Policy
1975	The New Dimension
1978	Bold New Policies
1981	Social Credit Manifesto 1981
1984	Policy in Brief
1987	N.Z. Democratic Party Manifesto. Democrats. Opportunity with Justice
1990	Policy Briefs 1990. Democrats

The Netherlands

GL → GroenLinks (Green Left)

Year	Title
1989	Verder kijken. Het Verkiezingsprogramma van Groen Links
1994	Verkiezingsprogramma voor de Tweede Kamer en Europees Parlement 1994-1998
1998	Verkiezingsprogramma 1998-2002
2002	Overvloed en onbehagen
2003	De visie van GroenLinks. Verkiezingen januari 2003. Protest en Perspectief
2006	Groei mee
2010	Klaar voor de toekomst
2012	Kansen pakken!

SP → Socialistische Partij (Socialist Party)

Year	Title
1994	Stem tegen, Stem SP!
1998	Tegengas!
2002	Eerste weg links. Actieprogramma SP 2002-2006
2003	Eerste weg links. Stem voor sociale wederopbouw. Stem SP actieprogramma SP 2003-2007
2006	Een beter Nederland, voor hetzelfde geld
2010	Een beter Nederland voor minder geld
2012	Verkiezingsprogramma SP 2013-2017 Nieuw vertrouwen

PvdA → Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party)

Year	Title
1971	Verkiezingsprogramma 1971-1975
1972	Joint programme of PPR, PvdA, and D'66: 'Regeerakkoord van de progressieve drie'
1977	Verkiezingsprogramma 1977

1981	Verkiezingsprogramma 1981
1982	Verkiezingsprogramma 1982
1986	De toekomst is van iedereen. Voor werk en eerlijk delen
1989	Kiezen voor Kwaliteit
1994	Wat mensen bindt
1998	Een wereld te winnen
2002	Samen Voor De Toekomst. Idealen en ambities 2010
2003	PvdA Verkiezingsmanifest 2003
2006	Samen sterker
2010	Verkiezingsprogramma Tweede-Kamer verkiezingen 2010
2012	Verkiezingsprogramma Tweede Kamerverkiezingen 2012

D'66 → Democraten'66 (Democrats'66)

Year	Title
1971	Program
1972	Joint programme of PPR, PvdA, and D'66: 'Regeerakkoord van de progressieve drie'
1977	Verkiezingsprogramma 1977-1981
1981	Verkiezingsprogramma Democraten '66 1981-1985
1982	Verkiezingsprogramma Democraten '66 1982-1986
1986	Verkiezingsprogramma Democraten '66 1986-1990
1989	Een schoon land, een helder bestuur
1994	'Ruimte voor de toekomst' Verkiezingsprogramma Democraten '66 94-98
1998	Bewogen in beweging. Verkiezingsprogramma Democraten '66
2002	Toekomst in eigen hand
2003	Verkiezingspamflet D66
2006	Het gaat om mensen
2010	We willen het anders
2012	Verkiezingsprogramma D66 voor de Tweede Kamer 2012 / 2017

VVD → Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy)

Year	Title
1971	Verkiezingsprogramma 1971-1975
1972	Urgentieprogramma
1977	Verkiezingsprogramma 1977
1981	Verkiezingsprogramma 1981
1982	Urgentie programma 1982
1986	'Als de toekomst je lief is...
1989	Een kansvolle toekomst
1994	'Nederland moet weer aan de slag'. Kernprogramma 1994-1998
1998	Investeren in uw Toekomst
2002	VVD Verkiezingsprogramma 2002
2003	De VVD maakt werk van Nederland
2006	VOOR EEN SAMENLEVING MET AMBITIE
2010	Orde op zaken
2012	Concept-verkiezingsprogramma VVD 2012-2017 Tweede Kamerverkiezingen

CDA → Christen-Democratisch Appèl (Christian Democratic Appeal)

Year	Title
1977	Verkiezingsprogramma 1977-1981
1981	Verkiezingsprogramma 1981-1985
1982	'Om een zinvol bestaan'
1986	Verkiezingsprogramma
1989	Verkiezingsprogramma

1994 Wat echt telt. werk - veiligheid - milieu
1998 CDA-Verkiezingsprogramma 1998
2002 Betrokken samenleving, betrouwbare overheid
2003 The CDA contested the 2003 election with the 2002 programme
2006 Vertrouwen in Nederland. Vertrouwen in elkaar.
2010 Verkiezingsprogram 2010-2015 slagvaardig en samen
2012 Verkiezingsprogramma 2012-2017

Appendices

Appendix A – New Public Management Elements

Source: (Hood C. , 1991, pp. 4-5)

#	Doctrine	Meaning	Typical justification
1	<i>Hands-on professional management</i> in the public sector	Active, visible, discretionary control of organizations from named persons at the top, 'free to manage'	Accountability requires clear assignment of responsibility for action, not diffusion of power
2	<i>Explicit standards and measures of performance</i>	Definition of goals, targets, indicators of success, preferably expressed in quantitative terms, especially for professional services	Accountability requires clear statement of goals; efficiency requires 'hard look' at objectives
3	Greater emphasis on <i>output controls</i>	Resource allocation and rewards linked to measured performance; breakup of centralized bureaucracy-wide personnel management	Need to stress results rather than procedures
4	Shift to <i>disaggregation</i> of units in the public sector	Breakup of formerly 'monolithic' units, unbundling of U-form management systems into corporatized units around products, operating on decentralized 'one-line' budgets and dealing with one another on an 'arms-length' basis	Need to create 'manageable' units, separate provision and production interests, gain efficiency advantages of use or contract or franchise arrangements inside as well as outside the public sector
5	Shift to greater <i>competition</i> in public sector	Move to term contracts and public tendering procedures	Rivalry as the key to lower costs and better standards
6	Stress on <i>private-sector styles of management practice</i>	Move away from military-style 'public service ethic', greater flexibility in hiring rewards; greater use of PR techniques	Need to use 'proven' private sector management tools in the public sector
7	Stress on greater <i>discipline</i> and	Cutting direct costs, raising labour discipline, resisting union demands, limiting 'compliance costs' to business	Need to check resource demands of public sector and 'do more with less'

	<i>parsimony</i> in resource use	
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Appendix B – Domains of the Party Manifesto Project

Source: Volkens, Lehmann, Matthieß, Merz, Regel, Werner (2015), pp.9-20

Domains	Categories
External Relations	Foreign Special Relationships (positive/negative), Anti-imperialism, Military (positive/negative), Peace, Internationalism (positive/negative), European Union (positive/negative)
Freedom and Democracy	Freedom and Human Rights, Democracy, Constitutionalism (positive/negative)
Political System	Decentralization, Centralization, Governmental and Administrative Efficiency, Political Corruption, Political Authority
Economy	Free Market Economy, Incentives: Positive, Market Regulation, Economic Planning, Corporatism/Mixed Economy, Protectionism (positive/negative), Economic Goals, Keynesian Demand Management, Economic Growth: Positive, Technology and Infrastructure: Positive, Controlled Economy, Nationalization, Economic Orthodoxy, Marxist Analysis, Anti-Growth Economy: Positive
Welfare and Quality of Life	Environmental Protection, Culture: Positive, Equality: Positive, Welfare State Expansion, Welfare State Limitation, Education Expansion, Education Limitation
Fabric and Society	National Way of Life (positive/negative), Traditional Morality (positive/negative), Law and Order: Positive, Civic Mindedness: Positive, Multiculturalism (positive/negative)
Social Groups	Labour Groups (positive/negative), Agriculture and Farmers: Positive, Middle Class and Professional Groups, Underprivileged Minority Groups, Non-economic Demographic Groups

Appendix C – Formula determining the Left/Right position of parties based on party manifestos

The operationalization explained that the coders analyzed the parties' positions on certain topics by extracting sentences from the manifestos and coding these according to topic and tone. This led to the seven domains and subsequent subtopics presented in Appendix B. Whenever a topic is mentioned in the manifestos, the coders have not only looked at what was said about this topic, they have also looked at the context in which it was mentioned. As such, they decided to either classify it as a favorable or non-favorable mention. These mentions were all counted and included in the dataset. Let us clarify this with an example from the codebook: we take the topic of Military, which belongs to the domain External Relations. Table 17 shows what kind of statements on the Military the coders would define as either being positive or negative. They did something similar for all the subtopics that belong to the seven domains that can be found in appendix B.

Table 14. Example of Party Manifesto coding

(Source: Volkens, Lehmann, Matthieß, Merz, Regel, Werner (2015), p.9)

Tone	Military
<p>Positive</p>	<p>The importance of external security and defense.</p> <p>Statements may include the need to/for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintain or increase military expenditure • Secure adequate manpower in the military • Modernize armed forces and improve military strength • Rearmament and self-defense • Keep military treaty obligations
<p>Negative</p>	<p>Negative references to the military or use of military power to solve conflicts.</p> <p>Statements or references may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Evils of war' • Decreasing military expenditures • Disarmament • Reduced or abolished conscription.

It was touched upon before that the coders came up with a formula to determine the tone of the manifesto (either per domain or in total). This is based on the sentences and quasi-sentences that mentioned

something favorable (when classified as positive) or not (when classified as negative) about the topic. The formula can be found in Figure 12. The explanation of this formula consists of a couple of steps. First, the topics have been classified as either left-wing or right-wing. Those considered to be right-wing can be found above the minus sign and those considered to be left-wing can be found beneath the minus sign. Second, the coders counted the number of times these topics were mentioned in the manifestos. Third, they added all the numbers above the minus sign and all the numbers beneath the minus sign. Finally, they subtracted these numbers from each other. If the results was higher than 0, the manifesto was considered right-wing. The other way around, when the results was lower than 0, the manifestos was left-wing. Remember, this formula can serve as a back-up check for the division of the parties.

Figure 12. Formula for the Right- Left position of a party

(Source: Volkens, Lehmann, Matthieß, Merz, Regel, Werner (2015), pp.9-20)

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \text{per104 (Military: Positive) + per201 (Freedom and Human Rights) + per203 (Constitutionalism: Positive) +} \\
 & \text{per305 (Political Authority) + per401 (Free Market Economy) + per402 (Incentives: Positive) + per407} \\
 & \text{(Protectionism: Negative) + per414 (Economic Orthodoxy) + per505 (Welfare State Limitation) + per601} \\
 & \text{(National Way of Life: Positive) + per603 (Traditional Morality: Positive) + per605 (Law and Order:} \\
 & \text{Positive) + per606 (Civic Mindedness: Positive)} \\
 & \quad \quad \quad - \\
 & \text{per103 (Anti-Imperialism) + per105 (Military: Negative) + per106 (Peace) + per107 (Internationalism:} \\
 & \text{Positive) + per202 (Democracy) + per403 (Market Regulation) + per404 (Economic Planning) + per406} \\
 & \text{(Protectionism: Positive) + per412 (Controlled Economy) + per413 (Nationalization) + per504 (Welfare} \\
 & \text{State Expansion) + per506 (Education Expansion) + per701 (Labour Groups: Positive)} \\
 & \quad \quad \quad = \\
 & \text{Right (= >0) or Left (= <0)}
 \end{aligned}$$

Planned economy

per403 (Market Regulation) + per404 (Economic Planning) + per412 (Controlled Economy)

Market economy

per401 (Free Market Economy) + per414 (Economic Orthodoxy)

Welfare

per503 (Equality: Positive) + per504 (Welfare State Expansion)

In addition to the general formula, the coders focussed on specific topics that can be interesting for this research as well. These topics include parties' views on the planned and market economy and the welfare state. Chapter three has explained that economic and redistributive issues have led to competition between left-wing and right-wing parties. In this division, left-wing parties promote state ownership and intervention, thus are expected to include favorable mentions of the planned economy and topics on welfare. Contrarily, the classical liberal beliefs of right-wing parties, who believe in free markets and individual enterprise, are expected to mention topics that are related to the market economy. The formulas that are linked to these topics can also be found in Figure 12. To be concrete, these formulas calculate the party's position on these topics based on positive or negative mentions as exemplified in table 18. The results of this research can be found in Appendix D.

Table 15. Topics included in the coding by Party Manifesto coders

(Source: Volkens, Lehmann, Matthieß, Merz, Regel, Werner (2015), pp.9-20)

Planned economy	Market economy	Welfare
<p>Market regulation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Calls for increased consumer protection • Increasing economic competition by preventing monopolies and other actions disrupting the functioning of the market • Defense of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses • Social market economy 	<p>Free Market Economy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laissez-faire economy • Superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems • Private property rights • Personal enterprise and initiative • Need for unhampered individual enterprises. 	<p>Equality: Positive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special protection for underprivileged social groups • Removal of class barriers • Need for fair distribution of resources • The end of discrimination (e.g. racial or sexual discrimination).
<p>Economic Planning:</p> <p>Favorable mentions of long-standing economic planning by the government:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy plans, strategies, policy patterns • Of a consultative or indicative nature 	<p>Economic Orthodoxy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction of budget deficits; • Retrenchment in crisis • Thrift and savings in the face of economic hardship • Support for traditional economic institutions such as stock market and banking system • Support for strong currency 	<p>Welfare State Expansion:</p> <p>Government funding of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health care • Child care • Elder care and pensions • Social housing

<p>Controlled Economy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Control over prices • Introduction of minimum wages 		
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Appendix D – Left-wing an right-wing scores on variables underlying hypothesis 2

As was highlighted in the operationalization, the coders of the Project read all the manifestos and counted the number of times the manifestos mentioned favorable things about the market economy, the planned economy and welfare issues. The theoretical chapter explained that the traditional divide between left-wing and right-wing parties was over these issues. Therefore, when incorporating the data collected by the Project coders, we expect that the right-wing parties score higher on the market economy variable than left-wing parties do. Vice versa, it is expected that left-wing parties will score higher on the planned market variable and the welfare variable. The results are presented in table 19⁶.

Table 16. N-Z parties' score on variables

Parties	Market Economy	Planned Economy	Welfare
National Party	7,66	1,53	11,17
ACT	15,86	1,58	9,25
NZF	1,92	3,50	21,26
Total Right	25,44	6,61	41,68
Labour Party	3,22	5,07	18,48
Social Credit Party	3,87	6,42	10,38
Green Party	1,92	1,19	13,23
Total Left	9,01	12,68	42,09

Table 19 provides us with information on two things. First of all, it seems that all the parties in New Zealand find welfare issues very important, as they all score very high on the welfare variable. This means that all the parties have mentioned favorable things on topics such as fair distribution, government spending and the end of discrimination. Rather than it being a purely left-wing issue, in New Zealand it appears to be of importance to all parties. Therefore, the idea that right-wing parties score lower on the welfare variable is incorrect. Nonetheless, this also brings us to the second element. The table shows that the hypothesis that right-wing should score higher on the market economy variable than left-wing parties is **correct**.

Table 17. Dutch parties' score on variables

⁶ The numbers in the table show the average scores of the parties over the time period 1972-2011.

Parties	Market Economy	Planned Economy	Welfare
VVD	10,08	2,03	6,89
CDA	3,71	3,06	10
Total Right	13,79 (6,89)	5,09 (2,54)	16,89 (8,45)
GL	0,86	2,61	13,41
PvdA	2,04	4,53	15,17
SP	1,02	4,50	14,10
D'66	3,10	4,08	10,20
Total Left	7,02 (1,75)	15,72 (3,93)	52,88 (13,22)

Like is the case in New Zealand, the Dutch political parties prove part of the hypothesis on the difference between left-wing and right-wing parties to be **true**. Table 20 shows that, indeed, right-wing parties score higher on the market economy variable than on the planned economy variable. Likewise, the left-wing parties score higher on both the planned economy and the welfare variable. However, one should keep in mind that there are only two parties representing the right side in this thesis. Therefore, a true comparison would be to divide the total amounts by the number of participants as is presented in the brackets. Nevertheless, the Dutch case confirms that right-wing parties are more market oriented than left parties.