

Political Behaviour and Institutions in the EU

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Seminar dates and times

The seminar meets on **Thursdays at 15:00-17:00**. The first seminar will be on **7 October**, and the final seminar will be on **9 December**.

Course Description and Format

This seminar focuses on empirical research in political science on political behaviour and institutions in the EU, as well as how behaviour and institutions shape EU policy outcomes. The seminar will introduce students to some of the general theoretical ideas and propositions about how to explain political behaviour in the EU (at the national and EU levels), as well as some of the latest empirical research and measurement and estimation techniques in this field of research.

Each week, students will be required to read several “classic” papers on a topic as well as several recent empirical papers with advanced research designs, e.g. experimental or quasi-experimental. EVERYONE is expected to read all the papers and be ready to discuss them. The seminar discussion will focus on the key theoretical, empirical, and design choices scholars made in their research, and participants will be expected to be able to carefully explain and dissect the papers. *Each week, I will randomly pick on someone to kick off a discussion on a particular paper!*

Writing Assignment

Researchers are required to write an 8 to 10-page (double-spaced) paper on one of the topics of the course. The papers should cover at least three things: (1) a critical review of the theoretical approaches, research designs, and/or empirical findings of at least two papers on the topic; (2) an evaluation of the general contribution of the research on a topic to how we understand the EU and/or European integration; and (3) a brief discussion of a research agenda for progressing knowledge on the topic. **The assignment is due in Session 10 (9 December) of the course.**

Seminar Topics & Readings

Participants are expected to read all the readings each week. I have kept the reading list relatively short (only 5 papers each week), so that everyone can read every paper carefully. Note that the articles are listed in chronological rather than alphabetical order: you should read the papers in this order, to develop an understanding of the progress of knowledge and research on a particular topic.

If there are any particular papers you would like to discuss on any of these topics, please let me know and we can discuss whether we could add them.

Session 1. (7 October) Public Opinion Towards the EU

- Gabel, Matthew J. (1998) 'Economic Integration and Mass Politics: Market Liberalization and Public Attitudes in the European Union', *American Journal of Political Science* 42(3) 936-953.
- McLaren, Lauren M. (2002) 'Public Support for the European Union: Cost/Benefit Analysis or Perceived Cultural Threat?', *Journal of Politics* 64(2) 551-566.
- Hakhverdian, Armen, Erika van Elsas, Wouter van der Brug and Theresa Kuhn (2013) 'Euroscepticism and Education: A Longitudinal Study of 12 EU Member States, 1973-2010', *European Union Politics* 14(4) 522-541.
- Goodwin, Matthew, Simon Hix and Mark Pickup (2020) 'For and Against Brexit: A Survey Experiment of the Impact of Campaign Effects on Public Attitudes toward EU Membership', *British Journal of Political Science* 50(2) 481-495.
- Lauterbach, Fabian and Catherine de Vries (2020) 'Europe Belongs to the Young? Generational Differences in Public Opinion towards the European Union during the Eurozone Crisis', *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(2) 168-187.

Session 2. (14 October) Party Competition on Europe

- Hix, Simon (1999) 'Dimensions and Alignments in European Union Politics: Cognitive Constraints and Partisan Responses', *European Journal of Political Research* 35(1) 69-106.
- Marks, Gary, Carole Wilson and Leonard Ray (2002) 'National Political Parties and European Integration', *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3) 585-594.
- McElroy, Gail and Kenneth Benoit (2012) 'Policy Positioning in the European Parliament', *European Union Politics* 13(1) 150-167.
- Nanou, Kyriaki and Han Dorussen (2013) 'European Integration and Electoral Democracy: How the European Union Constrains Party Competition in the Member States', *European Journal of Political Research* 52(1) 71-93.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks (2018) 'Cleavage Theory meets Europe's Crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the Transnational Cleavage', *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(1) 109-135.

Session 3. (21 October) Explaining Brexit

- Colatone, Italo and Piero Stanig (2018) 'Global Competition and Brexit', *American Political Science Review* 112(2) 201-218.
- Carl, Noah, James Dennison and Geoffrey Evans (2019) 'European but Not European Enough: An Explanation for Brexit', *European Union Politics* 20(2) 282-304.
- Fetzer, Thimo (2019) 'Did Austerity Cause Brexit?', *American Economic Review* 109(11) 3849-3886.
- Chan, Tak Wing, Morag Henderson, Maria Sironi and Jutta Kawalerowicz (2020) 'Understanding the Social and Cultural Bases of Brexit', *British Journal of Sociology* 71(5) 830-851.
- Hobolt, Sara, Thomas J. Leeper and James Tilley (2020) 'Divided by the Vote: Affective Polarization in the Wake of the Brexit Referendum', *British Journal of Political Science*, first view, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123420000125>.

Session 4. (28 October) Voting Behaviour in European Parliament Elections

- Blondel, Jean, Richard Sinnott and Palle Svensson (1997) 'Representation and Voter Participation', *European Journal of Political Research* 32(2) 243-272.
- Hix, Simon and Michael Marsh (2007) 'Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections', *Journal of Politics* 69(2) 495-510.
- Schmitt, Hermann, Sara Hobolt and Sebastian Adrian Popa (2015) 'Does Personalization Increase Turnout? *Spitzenkandidaten* in the 2014 European Parliament Elections', *European Union Politics* 16(3) 347-368.
- Hobolt, Sara B. and Catherine de Vries (2016) 'Turning Against the Union? The Impact of the Crisis on the Eurosceptic Vote in the 2014 European Parliament Elections', *Electoral Studies* 44, 504-514.
- Gattermann, Katjana and Franziska Marquart (2020) 'Do *Spitzenkandidaten* Really Make a Difference? An Experiment on the Effectiveness of Personalized European Parliament Election Campaigns', *European Union Politics* 21(4) 612-633.

Session 5. (4 November) The Electoral Connection: MEP Electoral Behaviour

- Carrubba, Clifford J. (2001) 'The Electoral Connection in European Union Politics', *Journal of Politics* 63(1) 141-158.
- Hix, Simon (2004) 'Electoral Institutions and Legislative Behavior: Explaining Voting-Defection in the European Parliament', *World Politics* 56(1) 194-223.
- Obholzer, Lukas and William T. Daniel (2016) 'An Online Electoral Connection? How Electoral Systems Condition Representatives' Social Media Use', *European Union Politics* 17(3) 387-407.
- Koop, Christel, Christine Reh and Edoardo Bressanelli (2018) 'When Politics Prevails: Parties, Elections and Loyalty in the European Parliament', *European Journal of Political Research* 57(3) 563-586.

Daniel, William T. and Lukas Obholzer (2020) 'Reaching out to the Voter? Campaigning on Twitter During the 2019 European Elections', *Research and Politics*, online first, <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168020917256>.

Session 6. (11 November) Legislative Politics in the European Parliament

Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury and Gérard Roland (2006) 'Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament', *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2) 494-511.

McElroy, Gail (2006) 'Committee Representation in the European Parliament', *European Union Politics* 7(1) 5-29.

Yordanova, Nikoleta and Monika Mühlböck (2014) 'Tracing the Selection Bias in Roll Call Votes: Party Group Cohesion in the European Parliament', *European Political Science Review* 7(3) 373-399.

Blumenau, Jack and Benjamin E. Lauderdale (2018) 'Never Let a Good Crisis Go to Waste: Agenda Setting and Legislative Voting in Response to the EU Crisis', *Journal of Politics* 18(2) 462-478.

Chiou, Fang-Yi, Silja S.L. Hermansen and Bjørn Høyland (2020) 'Delegation of Committee Reports in the European Parliament', *European Union Politics* 21(2) 233-254.

Session 7. (18 November) Bicameralism and Legislative Behaviour in the EU Council

Zimmer, Christina, Gerald Schneider and Michael Dobbins (2005) 'The Contested Council: Conflict Dimensions of an Intergovernmental EU Institution', *Political Studies* 53(2) 403-422.

König, Thomas, Bjorn Lindberg, Sandra Lechner and Winfried Pohlmeier (2007) 'Bicameral Conflict Resolution in the European Union: An Empirical Analysis of Conciliation Committee Bargains', *British Journal of Political Science* 37(2) 281-312.

Tallberg, Jonas and Karl M. Johansson (2008) 'Party Politics in the European Council', *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(8) 1222-1242.

Hagemann, Sara and Bjørn Høyland (2010) 'Bicameral Politics in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(4) 811-833.

van Gruisen, Philippe, Pieterjan Vangerven and Christophe Crombez (2019) 'Voting Behavior in the Council of the European Union: The Effect of the Trio Presidency', *Political Science Research and Methods* 7(3) 489-504.

Session 8. (25 November) EU Judicial Politics

Weiler, Joseph H.H. (1994) 'A Quiet Revolution: The European Court of Justice and Its Interlocutors', *Comparative Political Studies* 26(4) 510-534.

Garrett, Geoffrey, R. Daniel Kelemen and Heiner Schulz (1998) 'The European Court of Justice, National Governments, and Legal Integration in the European Union', *International Organization* 52(1) 149-176.

- Carrubba, Clifford J., Matthew J. Gabel and Charles Hankla (2008) 'Judicial Behavior under Political Constraints: Evidence from the European Court of Justice', *American Political Science Review* 102(4) 435-452.
- Larsson, Olof and Daniel Naurin (2016) 'Judicial Independence and Political Uncertainty: How the Risk of Override Affects the Court of Justice in the EU', *International Organization* 70(2) 377-408.
- Peritz, Lauren (2018) 'Obstructing Integration: Domestic Politics and the European Court of Justice', *European Union Politics* 9(3) 427-457.

Session 9. (2 December) EU Policy Responsiveness

- Franklin, Mark N. and Christopher Wlezien (1997) 'The Responsive Public: Issue Salience, Policy Change, and Preferences for European Unification', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 9(3) 347-363.
- Heiner Schulz and Thomas König (2000) 'Institutional Reform and Decision-Making Efficiency in the European Union', *American Journal of Political Science* 44(4) 653-666.
- Crombez, Christophe and Simon Hix (2015) 'Legislative Activity and Gridlock in the European Union', *British Journal of Political Science* 45(3) 477-499.
- Hagemann, Sara, Sara B. Hobolt and Christopher Wratil (2017) 'Government Responsiveness in the European Union: Evidence from Council Voting', *Comparative Political Studies* 50(6) 850-876.
- Târlea, Silvana, Stefanie Bailer, Hanno Degner, Lisa Maria Dellmuth, Dirk Leuffen, Magnus Lundgren, Jonas Tallberg and Fabio Wasserfallen (2019) 'Explaining Governmental Preferences on Economic and Monetary Union Reform', *European Union Politics* 20(1) 24-44.

Session 10. (9 December) The Democratic Deficit Debate

- Crombez, Christophe (2003) 'The Democratic Deficit in the European Union: Much Ado about Nothing?', *European Union Politics* 4(1) 101-120.
- Føllesdal, Andreas and Simon Hix (2006) 'Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44(3) 533-62.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks (2009) 'A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus', *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1) 1-23.
- Bol, Damien, Philipp Harfst, André Blais, Sona N. Golder, Jean-Francois Laslier, Laura Stephenson and Karine Van Der Straeten (2016) 'Addressing Europe's Democratic Deficit: An Experimental Evaluation of the Pan-European District Proposal', *European Union Politics* 17(4) 525-545.
- Hyeonho Hahm, David Hilpert and Thomas König (2019) 'Institutional Reform and Public Attitudes toward EU Decision Making', *European Journal of Political Research* 59(3) 599-623.