



B.A. Sozialwissenschaften

Political Behavior and Representation in Europe

Winter semester 2017/2018

Seminar times: Tuesday, 10.10.17 16:00-17:30, 17.10. 16:00-19:00, 07.11.17 16:00-19:00, 14.11.17 16:00-19:00, 28.11.17 16:00-19:00, 12.12.17 16:00-19:00, 09.01.18 16:00-19:00, 23.01.2018 16:00-19:00

Room: [Seminargebäude \(106\)](#), [Seminarraum S23](#) and [Gebäude \(107b\)](#), [PC-Pool B III](#)

Instructor:

Dr. Christopher Wratil
Cologne Center for Comparative Politics
Universitätsstraße 91
50931 Cologne

Office hours on request (to arrange a meeting, send email to c.wratil@uni-koeln.de)

1. Summary

This seminar offers an advanced introduction to central debates in the fields of political behavior and political representation in Europe, including politics in national systems and at the European Union level. *Political behavior* is principally concerned with how citizens form their political preferences and become active in politically meaningful ways, most notably as voters in elections. In turn, *political representation* focuses on how governmental, party, and parliamentary elites reflect and react to citizens' preferences and voting behavior in their communications, strategies, and law-making activities. Thus, at the intersection of the two fields we will tackle some of the key questions about representative democracy: how do citizens form preferences/views on politics? How can they effectively channel their preferences into the political process? What kind of preferences do citizens express through their voting behavior? To what extent and under what conditions do politicians "listen" to people's opinions? And, when will policy-making and final laws reflect people's views and wishes?

We deal with these issues in three steps: (1) We investigate how citizens form their opinions and preferences towards the political world. Specifically, we consider their preferences on the

two core conflicts in contemporary European politics: left/libertarian versus right/authoritarian, and pro versus anti EU/European integration. What factors explain whether someone has “left” or “right” worldviews and whether she supports European integration? (2) We consider which role citizens’ political preferences and other considerations play when casting votes for parties or candidates in national or European elections. In particular, we weigh the role of preferences (e.g. being in favor of “leftist” policies, being against the EU) vis-à-vis the role of “valence”/performance considerations such as the state of the national economy or perceptions of the competence of parties/political candidates. (3) We examine how citizens’ preferences are reflected at the elite level. Do parties follow the opinions of their voters or of the mean voter in their political programs? Do national governments adjust their policy-making activities to the public’s mood? Does the EU listen to its citizens when adopting policies?

Seminars will be held in 7 * 3 hour blocks addressing a specific scholarly debate. Each of the first two hours will start off with a student presentation of compulsory readings and be followed by a class discussion. In the third hour, we will transfer to the computer lab and look at and analyze some data (e.g. public opinion surveys) related to the studies we have just discussed.

2. Goals

Upon completion of the course, students should have a basic overview of central research topics at the intersection between political behavior and representation in Europe. They should be aware of the main arguments in key debates as well as capable of identifying and formulating basic criticisms of scholarly works in these areas. In addition, they should have gained some (first) experience with conducting quantitative analyses in political behavior and representation.

3. Prerequisites

This seminar is ideally suited for bachelor students in their third year, but students with strong analytical skills and strong motivation may also enter in their second year (please consult with me if you are uncertain whether you meet the prerequisites). The seminar will be held in English and all seminar texts will be in English. Most literature will make use of quantitative methods. Some basic familiarity with quantitative methods, in particular linear regression analysis, is therefore expected (e.g. Aufbaumodul “Angewandte Regressionsanalyse”, or Basismodul “Quantitative Methoden” or similar training). If you are able to interpret a p-value from a regression table, you will be fine. Some knowledge of European politics will be advantageous.

4. Assessment

All students are required to hold a **presentation of about 10 minutes** on core readings for a particular block, either individually or together with other participants. This will be **assessed on a pass/fail basis**. Active and passive participation in class are strongly encouraged and expected. Students must read all compulsory reading *before* class (usually two research articles

per session, hence four per 3 hour block). Students are also encouraged to complete some complementary reading on topics of interest to them. The focus of reading will be on extracting the core points from several texts rather than reading a single text in depth.

In addition, a term paper of around 4,500-5,500 words (under PO 2015, 9 ECTS) must be submitted by **1st of March 2018**. This will **determine the final mark**. Late submissions will be penalized. Plagiarism will lead to failing the course. Term papers should address a research question related to the course using some available data. The focus of the paper should be sufficiently narrow for students to address it with a few weeks work, but some data must be used to answer the question. Students are highly recommended to consult with me during December latest on their provisional plans for the term paper. I will also provide guidance on available data sources.

Students can improve their mark by submitting two “**bonus works**” (about 2-3 pages each) at the beginning of December and the beginning of January 2018. These assignments will be distributed at least two weeks before the submission deadline and ask students to perform some statistical analyses with some data covered in the course. The assignments are an ideal preparation for the term paper. Students are therefore highly encouraged to participate. Note that submission of the bonus works can only improve but never harm your mark.

5. Syllabus

Intro **Introduction to Political Behavior and Representation**

(10.10.2017) *Lead questions:* What is political behavior and political representation? What is the “chain of responsiveness” (or representation)?

Compulsory reading:

Powell, G. Bingham. 2004. “The Chain of Responsiveness.” *Journal of Democracy* 15(4): 91–105.

Complementary reading:

Dalton, Russell J., and Hans Dieter Klingemann. 2007. “Citizens and Political Behavior.” *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*: 1–29.

Block 1 **Public Opinion Formation (I): Citizens’ Left-Right Preferences**

(17.10.2017) *Lead questions:* What do “left” and “right” mean from the citizens’ perspective – do these labels mean the same across Europe and has their meaning changed over time? What are typical attitudes on specific issues associated with “left” and “right”?

What are the factors at the individual and the country levels that explain why people conceive of themselves as being “left” or “right”? How does the influence of these factors vary across European countries?

Compulsory reading:

Mair, Peter. 2007. “Left-Right Orientations.” *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*: 1–21.

de Vries, Catherine E., Armen Hakhverdian, and Bram Lancee. 2013. “The Dynamics of Voters’ Left/Right Identification: The Role of Economic and Cultural Attitudes.” *Political Science Research and Methods* 1(2): 223–38.

Flanagan, Scott C., and Aie-Rie Lee. 2003. “The New Politics, Culture Wars, and The Authoritarian-Libertarian Value Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies.” *Comparative Political Studies* 36(3): 235–70.

Freire, André. 2008. “Party Polarization and Citizens’ Left-Right Orientations.” *Party Politics* 14(2): 189–209.

Complementary reading:

Piurko, Yuval, Shalom H. Schwartz, and Eldad Davidov. 2011. “Basic Personal Values and the Meaning of Left-Right Political Orientations in 20 Countries.” *Political Psychology* 32(4): 537–61.

Knutsen, Oddbjørn. 1997. “The Partisan and the Value-Based Component of Left-Right Self-Placement: A Comparative Study.” *International Political Science Review* 18(2): 191–225.

Knutsen, Oddbjørn. 1995. “Value Orientations, Political Conflicts, Left-Right Identification: A Comparative Study.” *European Journal of Political Research* 28: 63–93.

Thorisdottir, Hulda, John T. Jost, Ido Liviatan, and Patrick E. Shrout. 2007. “Psychological Needs and Values Underlying Left-Right Political Orientation: Cross-National Evidence from Eastern and Western Europe.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71(2): 175–203.

Lipset, Seymour M., and Stein Rokkan. 1967. “Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction.” In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, eds. Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan. New York: The Free Press, 1–64.

Block 2 **Public Opinion Formation (II): Citizens’ European Integration Preferences**

(31.10.2017)

Lead questions: What factors explain citizens’ attitudes towards the EU and European integration?

To what extent do explanations vary over time and across countries? How do they relate to citizens’ left-right preferences?

Compulsory reading:

- Hobolt, Sara B., and Catherine E. de Vries. 2016. "Public Support for European Integration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19(1): 413–32.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2005. "Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration." *European Union Politics* 6(4): 419–43.
- Hakhverdian, Armen, E. 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): 522–41.
- van Elsas, E., and Wouter van der Brug. 2015. "The Changing Relationship between Left-Right Ideology and Euroscepticism, 1973-2010." *European Union Politics* 16(2): 194–215.

Complementary reading:

- Boomgaarden, Hajo G., Andreas R.T. Schuck, Matthijs Elenbaas, and Claes H. de Vreese. 2011. "Mapping EU Attitudes: Conceptual and Empirical Dimensions of Euroscepticism and EU Support." *European Union Politics* 12(2): 241–66.
- Carey, Sean. 2002. "Undivided Loyalties: Is National Identity an Obstacle to European Integration?" *European Union Politics* 3(4): 387–413.
- McLaren, Lauren M. 2002. "Public Support for the European Union: Cost/Benefit Analysis or Perceived Cultural Threat?" *The Journal of Politics* 64(2): 551–66.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2004. "Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration?" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 37(3): 415–20.
- Hobolt, Sara. 2014. "Ever Closer or Ever Wider? Public Attitudes towards Further Enlargement and Integration in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(5): 664–80.
- Gabel, Matthew, and Kenneth Scheve. 2007. "Estimating the Effect of Elite Communications on Public Opinion Using Instrumental Variables." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 1013–28.

Block 3
(14.11.2017)

Vote Choice (I): "Ideological" Models of Voting

Lead questions: How important are citizens' left-right preferences for their voting behavior in elections? Does the relevance of left-right vary across countries? Has it changed over time?

Under what conditions do attitudes towards the EU play a role for vote choice in national or European elections? Which conditions facilitate EU issue voting?

Compulsory reading:

- van der Eijk, Cees, Hermann Schmitt, and Tanja Binder. 2005. "Left-Right Orientations and Party Choice." In *The European Voter*, ed. Jacques Thomassen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 167-82.
- Hellwig, Timothy. 2008. "Explaining the Salience of Left-Right Ideology in Postindustrial Democracies: The Role of Structural Economic Change." *European Journal of Political Research* 47(6): 687-709.
- de Vries, C. E. 2007. "Sleeping Giant: Fact or Fairytale?: How European Integration Affects National Elections." *European Union Politics* 8(3): 363-85.
- de Vries, Catherine E., Erica E. Edwards, and Erik R. Tillman. 2010. "Clarity of Responsibility Beyond the Pocketbook: How Political Institutions Condition EU Issue Voting." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(3): 339-63.

Complementary reading:

- Hix, Simon, and Michael Marsh. 2008. "Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections." *The Journal of Politics* 69(2): 495-510.
- de Vries, Catherine E. 2009. "The Impact of EU Referenda on National Electoral Politics: The Dutch Case." *West European Politics* 32(1): 142-71.
- de Vries, Catherine E. 2010. "EU Issue Voting: Asset or Liability?: How European Integration Affects Parties' Electoral Fortunes." *European Union Politics* 11(1): 89-117.
- van der Brug, Wouter, Mark Franklin, and Gábor Tóka. 2008. "One Electorate or Many? Differences in Party Preference Formation between New and Established European Democracies." *Electoral Studies* 27(4): 589-600.

Block 4 **Vote Choice (II): "Valence" Models of Voting**

(28.11.2017)

Lead questions: What is "valence"? How do voting models stressing valence factors differentiate themselves from "ideological" models? When is valence voting strong and when is it weak?

How important are economic factors for vote choice? To what extent has European integration influenced economic voting in Europe? What is the effect of the "Great Recession" after 2008 on economic voting?

Compulsory reading:

- Green, Jane, and Sara B. Hobolt. 2008. "Owning the Issue Agenda: Party Strategies and Vote Choices in British Elections." *Electoral Studies* 27(3): 460–76.
- Clark, Michael. 2009. "Valence and Electoral Outcomes in Western Europe, 1976–1998." *Electoral Studies* 28: 11–22.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., and Mary Stegmaier. 2007. "Economic Models of Voting." *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*: 1–25.
- Lobo, Marina Costa, and Michael S. Lewis-Beck. 2012. "The Integration Hypothesis: How the European Union Shapes Economic Voting." *Electoral Studies* 31(3): 522–28.
- Hernández, Enrique, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2016. "The Electoral Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 55(2): 203–24.

Complementary reading:

- de Sio, Lorenzo, and Till Weber. 2014. "Issue Yield: A Model of Party Strategy in Multidimensional Space." *American Political Science Review* 108(4): 870–85.
- Abney, Ronni et al. 2013. "When Does Valence Matter? Heightened Valence Effects for Governing Parties During Election Campaigns." *Party Politics* 19(1): 61–82.
- Anderson, Christopher J. 2000. "Economic Voting and Political Context: A Comparative Perspective." *Electoral Studies* 19(2–3): 151–70.

Block 5 **Representation (I): Party Responsiveness to Public Opinion**

(12.12.2017)

Lead questions: What is "political representation"? Define key concepts such as "responsiveness", "anticipatory representation", "promissory representation", "gyroscopic representation", or "congruence".

To what extent do parties follow public opinion on left-right and pro-anti EU in their stances and programs? What is more influential: mean public opinion or the opinions of party supporters?

Compulsory reading:

- Mansbridge, Jane. 2003. "Rethinking Representation." *American Political Science Review* 97(4): 515–28.
- Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2004. "Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or to Past Election Results?" *British Journal of Political Science* 34(4): 589–610.

Ezrow, Lawrence, Catherine E. de Vries, Marco R. Steenbergen, and Erica Edwards. 2010. "Mean Voter Representation and Partisan Constituency Representation: Do Parties Respond to the Mean Voter Position or to Their Supporters?" *Party Politics* 17(3): 275–301.

Carrubba, Clifford J. 2001. "The Electoral Connection in European Union Politics." *The Journal of Politics* 63(1): 141–58.

Complementary reading:

Hellström, Johan. 2008. "Who Leads, Who Follows? Re-Examining the Party–Electorate Linkages on European Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(8): 1127–44.

Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2006. "Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976–1998." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 513–29.

Adams, James, and Lawrence Ezrow. 2009. "Who Do European Parties Represent? How Western European Parties Represent the Policy Preferences of Opinion Leaders." *The Journal of Politics* 71(1): 206.

Williams, Christopher, and Jae-Jae Spoon. 2015. "Differentiated Party Response: The Effect of Euroskeptic Public Opinion on Party Positions." *European Union Politics* 16(2): 176–93.

Rohrschneider, Robert, and Stephen Whitefield. 2007. "Representation in New Democracies: Party Stances on European Integration in Post-Communist Eastern Europe." *The Journal of Politics* 69(4): 1133–46.

Block 6
(09.01.2018) **Representation (II): Responsiveness to Public Opinion in National Policy-Making**

Lead questions: To what extent does policy-making in Europe reflect citizens' preferences? What are the mechanisms that align policy-making with citizens' preferences?

Which institutions are best suited to ensure a strong relationship between citizens' preferences and policy-making? Why are they effective?

Compulsory reading:

Wlezien, Christopher, and Stuart N. Soroka. 2007. "The Relationship between Public Opinion and Policy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behaviour*, eds. Russel J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 799–817.

- Hakhverdian, Armen. 2010. "Political Representation and Its Mechanisms: A Dynamic Left–Right Approach for the United Kingdom, 1976–2006." *British Journal of Political Science* 40(4): 835–56.
- Hobolt, Sara B., and Robert Klemmensen. 2008. "Government Responsiveness and Political Competition in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(3): 309–37.
- Wlezien, Christopher, and Stuart N. Soroka. 2012. "Political Institutions and the Opinion–Policy Link." *West European Politics* 35(6): 1407–32.

Complementary reading:

- Brooks, Joel E. 1990. "The Opinion-Policy Nexus in Germany." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 54(4): 508–29.
- Hakhverdian, Armen. 2012. "The Causal Flow between Public Opinion and Policy: Government Responsiveness, Leadership, or Counter Movement?" *West European Politics* 35(6): 37–41.
- Soroka, Stuart N., and Christopher Wlezien. 2010. *Degrees of Democracy: Politics, Public Opinion, and Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Block 7
(23.01.2018) **Representation (III): Responsiveness to Public Opinion in EU Policy-Making**

Lead questions: When do policy-makers in the EU, such as MEPs and national governments, react to public opinion? What form of public opinion do they react to?

To what extent does EU policy output reflect the preferences of the EU's citizens? Which citizens are best represented?

Compulsory reading:

- Lo, James. 2013. "An Electoral Connection in European Parliament Voting." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38(4): 439–60.
- Hagemann, Sara, Sara B. Hobolt, and Christopher Wratil. 2016. "Government Responsiveness in the European Union: Evidence From Council Voting." *Comparative Political Studies*: 1–27.
- Toshkov, Dimitar. 2011. "Public Opinion and Policy Output in the European Union: A Lost Relationship." *European Union Politics* 12(2): 169–91.
- Bølstad, Jørgen. 2015. "Dynamics of European Integration: Public Opinion in the Core and Periphery." *European Union Politics* 16(1): 23–44.

Complementary reading:

- Alexandrova, Petya, Anne Rasmussen, and Dimiter Toshkov. 2016. "Agenda Responsiveness in the European Council: Public Priorities, Policy Problems and Political Attention." *West European Politics* 39(4): 605–27.
- Arnold, Christine, and Eliyahu V. Sapir. 2013. "Issue Congruence across Legislative Terms: Examining the Democratic Party Mandate in the European Parliament." *West European Politics* 36(6): 1292–1308.
- Costello, Rory, Jacques Thomassen, and Martin Rosema. 2012. "European Parliament Elections and Political Representation: Policy Congruence between Voters and Parties." *West European Politics* 35(6): 1226–48.
- Williams, Christopher. 2016. "Responding through Transposition: Public Euroskepticism and European Policy Implementation." *European Political Science Review*: 1–20.