Report on Workshop
‘Coalition-Formation in the European Union’,
Leiden University
January 24-25, 2008

I. Introduction
The purpose of this workshop was to bring together a selection of CONNEX -- and a few non-CONNEX -- experts to discuss the topic of coalition-formation in the European Union (EU). The workshop aimed to help researchers plan further research activities, such as applications for (European) research funding. For the workshop, we aimed to have contributions on coalition-formation within the European Parliament (EP), the Council of the EU and coalition-formation across various EU institutions. For example, papers could focus on how member state governments ‘cluster’ in decision-making in the Council of the EU or how representatives of European Political groups form coalitions in processes of EP decision-making.

Indeed, in the conference program (see attachment 1), we saw a fairly wide range of paper topics, dealing with various aspects of coalition-formation in the EU. With the workshop, we also hoped to create a foundation to encourage further research collaboration in the future among the workshop participants. This was stimulated, for example, by a session offered on EU and International Research Funds (FP6 & 7), by a representative of the Leiden University Research & Innovation Services (LURIS) in the afternoon of the second day of the workshop.

2. Motivation
Coalition-formation is at the center of various processes of decision-making. In the context of the EU, governments, for example, form coalitions when aiming to support a specific legislative proposal, or to propose amendments to a given legislative act. Similarly, governments of EU states may cooperate with each other in order to negotiate a change to existing treaty provisions, such as in the context of the negotiations on the European constitutional treaty. Within the EP, European political
groups may form coalitions in order to gain support for a specific legislative act as proposed by the European Commission, or in order to elect the next EP president. However, in the EU context, coalitions may also span different institutional settings. For example, representatives of the same political parties may ‘cluster’ in a transnational pattern across EU decision-making channels.

Research on coalition-formation in the EU is increasingly relevant. Assuming institutions to essentially function as ‘unitary actors’ risks neglecting important dynamics of actor collaboration and coalition-formation. Various methodological approaches -- including formal ones -- can account for processes of coalition-building, such as statistical analyses of voting behavior and analyses based on cooperative and non-cooperative game theory. For future research on this topic, it is especially important to explore to which extent different methodological approaches complement each other in the analysis of coalition-formation among actors in the EU. In addition, it is helpful to see how the results generated by different analyses can be combined to derive meaningful insights into patterns of coalition-formation within and among EU institutions. Indeed, as the program for this workshop demonstrates, papers covered a wide range of themes within the general topic ‘Coalition-Formation in the European Union’, ranging from analyses of coalition-formation within EP committees to the exploration of coalition dynamics within the Council of the EU.

3. Practical Planning and Organization

In order to facilitate academic discussion and debate, we made sure all papers were available in advance to all conference participants. In order to ensure this, we opened a ‘Blackboard’ webpage at Leiden University and provided all participants with access to this page (with passwords for those external to Leiden University). The webpage is still operational and looks as follows:
## Papers for the Leiden Workshop on Coalition-Formation in the European Union

### Panel I: Coalition-Formation and Voting in the Council of the European Union

- **Mikko Mattila**: "Roll Call Analysis of Voting and Coalitions in the EU Council of Ministers after the 2004 Enlargement" (281.22 Kb)
- **Plechanova**: "The EU Council Enlarged: North-South-East or Core-Periphery?" (520.908 Kb)
- **Roozendaal, Hosli and Heetman**: "Coalitions in the Council of the European Union" (221.494 Kb)

Chair: Madeleine Hosli
Discussant: Hannu Nurmi

### Panel II: Party Contestation, Elections and the European Parliament

- **Catherine de Vries and Martin Rosema**: "The Dual Nature of EU Issue Voting: The impact of European integration on national and European parliamentary elections" (178.475 Kb)
- **Neuhold and Settembri**: "Consensus formation in European Parliament committees" (421.795 Kb)
- **Hix and Noury**: "After Enlargement: Voting Patterns in the Sixth European Parliament" (503.078 Kb)

Chair: Hannu Nurmi
Discussants: Sergiu Gherghina, Marat Markert, Caspar Heetman

### Panel III: Referenda, Turnout and Party Competition

- **Juha Helin and Hannu Nurmi**: "Party competition and electoral turnout: Downs's calculus in a multiparty system" (136.269 Kb)
- **Walter and Hosli**: "Explaining the Dutch "No" on the European Constitutional Treaty" (345.128 Kb)

Chair: Bela Plechanovova
Discussant: Catherine E. de Vries

### Panel IV: Patterns of Coalition-Formation in the European Union

- **Blavoukos and Pagoulatos**: "Coalition-building in the Reform Negotiations on the Stability and Growth Pact" (232.753 Kb)
- **Kaniovski and Hosli**: "Towards An Empirical Model of Coalition Formation in the Council of the European Union" (189.511 Kb)

Chair: Peter van Roozendaal
Discussant: Mikko Mattila

The webpage also provided all participants with relevant information on the materials (papers) and structure of the workshop (distribution into panels). In addition, the webpage contained information on the (location of) the hotel and the restaurant for the workshop dinner.

Registration was conducted from 9:45 to 10:15 on the first workshop day (January 24). Upon registration, all conference participants received a folder with
their name tags, a Leiden University pen, the conference program and practical information about the workshop lunches and dinner.

4. Registration, Accommodation and Travel

All invited participants (both CONNEX and non-CONNEX) were asked to submit a registration form in advance, with information regarding their travel arrangements and bank details. Participants were asked to either book APEX airline tickets or second-class train tickets. Costs for travel and accommodation were only covered for active conference participants (paper-givers and discussants). The names of these persons and respective paper titles are given in the workshop program (see appendix 1 to this report). Appendix 2 provides the names and affiliations of all workshop participants.

Active workshop participants were staying at the Mariënpoel Hotel, Leiden, which is located on a 5-minute walking distance from the workshop site (the Pieter de la Court building, Leiden University). The Mariënpoel is a new hotel in Leiden with a nice atmosphere. The hotel’s building dates from 1907 and is an official monument. Check-in time was 09:00 - 22:00; check-out time 11:00 a.m.

Lunches (on both workshop days) and a workshop dinner (January 24) were offered for all workshop participants. Lunches were provided in the restaurant of the Pieter de la Court Building (the workshop site). Dinner was at the restaurant ‘In den Doofpot’, a nice, but reasonably-priced restaurant located towards the center of Leiden. In addition, coffee and tea was served in the workshop breaks (mornings and afternoons).

5. Effects

This workshop has brought together academics working on the topic of coalition-formation in the EU from the CONNEX community and in addition, drew in some additional experts on this theme not integrated into the CONNEX network. We believe the workshop has indeed contributed to laying the foundations for future research collaboration and to set first steps as regards potential proposals for future research funding among some of the workshop participants.
Appendix 1

CONNEX Workshop Program

Thursday, January 24

Room 5A37, Pieter de la Court Building, Leiden University

9:45 – 10:15  Registration

10:15 – 10:20  Welcome and Introduction

10:20 – 11:50  Panel I: Coalition-Formation and Voting in the Council of the European Union

Chair: Madeleine O. Hosli

Bela Plechanovova: The EU Council Enlarged: North-South-East or Core-Periphery?

Mikko Mattila: Roll Call Analysis of Voting and Coalitions in the EU Council of Ministers after the 2004 Enlargement

Peter van Roozendaal, Madeleine O. Hosli and Caspar Heetman: Coalitions in the Council of the European Union

Discussant: Hannu Nurmi

11:50 – 13:30  Lunch

13:30 – 15:00  Panel II: Party Contestation, Elections and the European Parliament

Chair: Hannu Nurmi

Abdul Noury and Simon Hix: After Enlargement: Voting Patterns in the Sixth European Parliament

Christine Neuhold and Pierpaolo Settembri: Achieving Consensus Through Committees: Does the European Parliament Manage?

Catherine E. de Vries and Martin Rosema: The Dual Nature of EU Issue Voting: The Impact of European Integration on National and European Parliamentary Elections

Discussant: Sergiu Gherghina, Marat Markert, Caspar Heetman

15:00 – 15:30  Coffee Break
15:30 – 16:30 Panel III: Referenda, Turnout and Party Competition

Chair: Bela Plechanovova

Annemarie S. Walter and Madeleine O. Hosli: Explaining the Dutch ‘No’ on the European Constitutional Treaty

Hannu Nurmi: Party Competition and Electoral Turnout: Downs's Calculus in a Multiparty System

Discussant: Catherine E. de Vries

18:00 Dinner

Friday, January 25

Room SA49, Pieter de la Court Building

10:00 – 11:30 Panel IV: Patterns of Coalition-Formation in the European Union

Chair: Peter van Roozendaal

Ad M van Deemen: A Multidimensional Conflict Theory of Coalition Formation: With an Application to European Politics

Serguei Kaniovski and Madeleine O. Hosli: Towards An Empirical Model of Coalition Formation in the EU Council of Ministers

Spyros Blavoukos and George Pagoulatos: Coalition-building in the Reform Negotiations on the Stability and Growth Pact

Discussant: Mikko Mattila

11:30 – 13:30 Lunch

Room ‘Faculteitskamer’, ground floor Pieter de la Court Building

13:30 – 15:00 Presentation on EU Funding Possibilities

Anna K. Groeninx van Zoelen, EU and International Research Funds (FP6 & 7), Leiden University Research & Innovation Services (LURIS)

15:00 – 15:30 Coffee Break

15:30 – 16:00 Short Discussion on Funding Ideas and Closing of the Workshop
Appendix 2: List of Participants

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