

# TAPIO RAUNIO

## Publications (updated March 2021)

### 1. Articles in international scientific journals with a referee practice

1. Parliamentary Questions in the European Parliament: Representation, Information, and Control. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 2:4 (1996), 356-382.
2. Strong Parliament of A Small EU-Member State: The Finnish Parliament's adaptation to the EU. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 2:4 (1996), 302-321 (& Matti Wiberg).
3. Winners and Losers in the Council: Voting Power Consequences of EU Enlargements. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 36:4 (1998), 549-562 (& Matti Wiberg)
4. Facing the European Challenge: Finnish Parties Adjust to the Integration Process. *West European Politics* 22:1 (1999), 138-159.
5. Always One Step Behind? National Legislatures and the European Union. *Government and Opposition* 34:2 (1999), 180-202.
6. Building Elite Consensus: Parliamentary Accountability in Finland. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 6:1 (2000), 59-80 (& Matti Wiberg).
7. Losing Independence or Finally Gaining Recognition? Contacts Between MEPs and National Parties. *Party Politics* 6:2 (2000), 211-223.
8. Does Support Lead to Ignorance? National Parliaments and the Legitimacy of EU Governance. *Acta Politica* 35:2 (2000), 146-168 (& Matti Wiberg).
9. Backbenchers Learn to Fight Back: European Integration and Parliamentary Government. *West European Politics* 23:4 (2000), 142-168 (& Simon Hix).
10. Parliamentarizing Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Finland in the European Union. *Cooperation and Conflict* 36:1 (2001), 61-86 (& Matti Wiberg).
11. Partisan responses to Europe: Comparing Finnish and Swedish political parties. *European Journal of Political Research* 39:2 (2001), 225-249 (& Karl Magnus Johansson).
12. Controlling Outcomes: Voting Power in the European Parliament 1979-2000. *Journal of European Integration* 24:2 (2002), 75-90 (& Matti Wiberg).
13. Why European Integration Increases Leadership Autonomy within Political Parties. *Party Politics* 8:4 (2002), 405-422.
14. Government Formation in the Nordic Countries: The Electoral Connection. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 25:3 (2002), 259-280 (& Mikko Mattila).
15. The Committee System: Powers, Appointments and Report Allocation. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41:2 (2003), 333-351 (& Virginie Mamadouh).
16. Fifty Years On: Research on the European Parliament. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41:2 (2003), 191-202 (& Simon Hix, Roger Scully).

17. Codecision since Amsterdam: a laboratory for institutional innovation and change. *Journal of European Public Policy* 10:2 (2003), 171-187 (& Michael Shackleton).
18. Does Winning Pay? Electoral success and government formation in 15 West European countries. *European Journal of Political Research* 43:2 (2004), 263-285 (& Mikko Mattila).
19. The Changing Finnish Democracy: Stronger Parliamentary Accountability, Coalescing Political Parties and Weaker External Constraints. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27:2 (2004), 133-152.
20. Much Ado About Nothing? National Legislatures in the EU Constitutional Treaty. *European Integration online Papers* 9:9 (2005) (<http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2005-009a.htm>).
21. Regulating Europarties: Cross-Party Coalitions Capitalizing on Incomplete Contracts. *Party Politics* 11:5 (2005), 515-534 (& Karl Magnus Johansson).
22. Holding Governments Accountable in European Affairs: Explaining Cross-National Variation. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 11:3-4 (2005), 319-342.
23. Hesitant Voters, Committed Elite: Explaining the Lack of Eurosceptic Parties in Finland. *Journal of European Integration* 27:4 (2005), 381-395.
24. Towards An EU Dominated by the Centre-right? The European Parliament after the 2004 Elections. *Representation* 41:4 (2005), 247-258.
25. Holyrood and Europe: an Incremental Response to Deparliamentarization. *Regional and Federal Studies* 16:3 (2006), 281-296 (& Alex Wright).
26. Cautious Voters - Supportive Parties: Opinion Congruence between Voters and Parties on the EU Dimension. *European Union Politics* 7:4 (2006), 427-449 (& Mikko Mattila).
27. The open method of coordination and national parliaments: further marginalization or new opportunities? *Journal of European Public Policy* 14:4 (2007), 489-506 (& Francesco Duina).
28. Open List, Open Mandate? Links between MEPs and Parties in Finland. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 8:2 (2007), 131-146.
29. Softening but Persistent: Euroscepticism in the Nordic EU Countries. *Acta Politica* 42:2/3 (2007), 191-210.
30. The Best Represented Voters in Europe: An *a priori* Voting Power Analysis of the 2004 Elections for the European Parliament. *Homo Oeconomicus* 24:3/4 (2007), 485-500 (& Hannu Nurmi and Juha Helin).
31. The Eduskunta and the Parliamentarisation of Finnish Politics: Formally Stronger, Politically Still Weak? *West European Politics* 31:3 (2008), 581-599 (& Matti Wiberg).
32. From consensus to competition? Ideological alternatives on the EU dimension. *Comparative European Politics* 7:3 (2009), 325-341 (& Mikko Mattila).
33. National Parliaments and European Integration: What We Know and Agenda for Future Research. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 15:4 (2009), 317-334.
34. How to Measure the Europeanisation of a National Legislature? *Scandinavian Political Studies* 33:1 (2010), 74-92 (& Matti Wiberg).

35. The EU and the Welfare State are Compatible: Finnish Social Democrats and European Integration. *Government and Opposition* 45:2 (2010), 187-207.
36. Organizing the Core Executive for European Union Affairs: Comparing Finland and Sweden. *Public Administration* 88:3 (2010), 649-664 (& Karl Magnus Johansson).
37. The Gatekeepers of European Integration? The Functions of National Parliaments in the EU Political System. *Journal of European Integration* 33:3 (2011), 303-321.
38. Semi-presidentialism and European integration: lessons from Finland for constitutional design. *Journal of European Public Policy* 19:4 (2012), 567-584.
39. Drifting Further Apart: National Parties and their Electorates on the EU Dimension. *West European Politics* 35:3 (2012), 589-606 (& Mikko Mattila).
40. Les parlements nationaux sont-ils mal conseillés? Examen critique du Mécanisme d'alerte précoce. *Revue internationale de politique comparée* 20:1 (2013), 73-88.
41. Introduction: Connecting with the Electorate? Parliamentary Communication in EU Affairs. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 20:1 (2014), 1-12 (& Katrin Auel).
42. Debating the State of the Union? Comparing Parliamentary Debates on EU Issues in Finland, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 20:1 (2014), 13-28 (& Katrin Auel).
43. Who Decides What EU Issues Ministers Talk About? Explaining Governmental EU Policy Co-Ordination in Finland. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52:5 (2014), 1019-1034 (& Anna Hyvärinen).
44. The politicization of EU affairs in the Finnish Eduskunta: Conflicting logics of appropriateness, party strategy or sheer frustration? *Comparative European Politics* 14:2 (2016), 232-252.
45. Refusing to be Sidelined: The Engagement of the Finnish *Eduskunta* in Foreign Affairs. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 39:4 (2016), 312-332.
46. Towards parliamentarisation of foreign and security policy? *West European Politics* 40:1 (2017), 1-19 (& Wolfgang Wagner).
47. Reaching out to the people? Assessing the relationship between parliament and citizens in Finland. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 23:4 (2017), 614-634 (& Hyeon Su Seo).
48. Parliament as an arena for politicisation: The Finnish Eduskunta and crisis management operations. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20:1 (2018), 158-174.
49. Redirecting national parliaments: Setting priorities for involvement in EU affairs. *Comparative European Politics* 16:2 (2018), 310-329 (& Pieter de Wilde).
50. Exploring the Most Likely Case for Constituency Service: Finnish MPs and the Change towards Personalised Representation. *Representation* 54:1 (2018), 37-53 (& Taru Ruotsalainen).
51. Concluding Remarks: Constituency Service or Constituency Effort? *Representation* 54:1 (2018), 1-4 (& David Arter).
52. The varying degrees and meanings of Nordicness in Finnish foreign policy. *Global Affairs* 4:4-5 (2018), 405-418 (& Hanna Ojanen).

53. Shifting Power-Centres of Semi-Presidentialism: Exploring Executive Coordination in Lithuania. *Government and Opposition* 54:4 (2019), 637–660 (& Thomas Sedelius).
54. Presidents and Cabinets: Coordinating Executive Leadership in Premier-Presidential Regimes. *Political Studies Review* 18:1 (2020), 53-70 (& Thomas Sedelius).
55. Encouraging a longer time horizon: the Committee for the Future in the Finnish Eduskunta. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 26:2 (2020), 159-179 (& Vesa Koskimaa).
56. The Party Politics of Foreign and Security Policy. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16:4 (2020), 515–531 (& Wolfgang Wagner).
57. Party Politics or (Supra-)National Interest? External Relations Votes in the European Parliament. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16:4 (2020), 547–564 (& Wolfgang Wagner).
58. Centralizing Government Communication? Evidence from Finland and Sweden. *Politics & Policy* 48:6 (2020), 1138-1160 (& Karl Magnus Johansson).
59. Contestation over Development Policy in the European Parliament. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 59:1 (2021), 20-36 (& Wolfgang Wagner).

## **2. Articles in international scientific edited volumes or working paper series with a referee practice**

1. Efficiency Through Decentralisation: The Finnish Eduskunta and the European Union. In Matti Wiberg (ed.) *Trying To Make Democracy Work: The Nordic Parliaments and the European Union*. Gidlunds, Stockholm, 1997, 48-69 (& Matti Wiberg).
2. Parlamentarische Anfragen: Das Konzept der Repräsentation. In Ernst Kuper & Uwe Jun (eds) *Nationales Interesse und integrative Politik in transnationalen parlamentarischen Versammlungen*. Leske + Budrich, Opladen, 1997, 73-94.
3. Steuerung des Abstimmungsverhaltens 1979-1995. In Ernst Kuper & Uwe Jun (eds) *Nationales Interesse und integrative Politik in transnationalen parlamentarischen Versammlungen*. Leske + Budrich, Opladen, 1997, 95-118 (& Matti Wiberg).
4. Cleavages and Alignments in the European Parliament: MEP Voting Behaviour, 1989-1994. In David S. Bell & Christopher Lord (eds) *Transnational Parties in the European Union*. Ashgate, Aldershot, 1998, 168-188.
5. The Challenge of Diversity: Party Cohesion in the European Parliament. In Shaun Bowler, David M. Farrell & Richard S. Katz (eds) *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*. Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1999, 189-207.
6. An Institutional Theory of Behaviour in the European Parliament. *European Parliament Research Group (EPRG) Working Paper* No. 1, 1999 (& Simon Hix, Roger Scully).
7. Second-rate parties? Towards a better understanding of European Parliament's party groups. In Knut Heidar & Ruud Koole (eds) *Parliamentary Party Groups in European Democracies: Political parties behind closed doors*. Routledge, London, 2000, 231-247.

8. Parliaments' Adaptation to the European Union. In Peter Esaiasson & Knut Heidar (eds) *Beyond Westminster and Congress: The Nordic Experience*. Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 2000, 344-364 (& Matti Wiberg).
9. Five Most Similar Systems? In Peter Esaiasson & Knut Heidar (eds) *Beyond Westminster and Congress: The Nordic Experience*. Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 2000, 17-47 (& Knut Heidar, Erik Damgaard, Peter Esaiasson, Ólafur Th. Hardarson).
10. Building Elite Consensus: Parliamentary Accountability in Finland. In Torbjörn Bergman & Erik Damgaard (eds) *Delegation and Accountability in European Integration: The Nordic Parliamentary Democracies and the European Union*. Frank Cass, London, 2000, 59-80 (& Matti Wiberg).
11. Backbenchers Learn to Fight Back: European Integration and Parliamentary Government. In Klaus H. Goetz & Simon Hix (eds) *Europeanized Politics? European Integration and National Political Systems*. Frank Cass, London, 2000, 142-168 (& Simon Hix).
12. The Party System of the European Parliament after the 1999 Elections. In Juliet Lodge (ed.) *The 1999 Elections to the European Parliament*. Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2001, 231-251.
13. Finland. In Juliet Lodge (ed.) *The 1999 Elections to the European Parliament*. Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2001, 100-116.
14. Parliaments and policy-making in the European Union. In Jeremy Richardson (ed.) *European Union: Power and policy-making*. Routledge, London, 2001, 115-134 (& Torbjörn Bergman).
15. The Parliament of Finland: A Model Case for Effective Scrutiny? In Andreas Maurer & Wolfgang Wessels (eds) *National Parliaments on their Ways to Europe: Losers or Latecomers?* Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2001, 173-198.
16. Political Interests: The EP's Party Groups. In John Peterson & Michael Shackleton (eds) *The Institutions of the European Union*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, 257-276.
17. Party-Electoral Linkage. In Karl Magnus Johansson & Peter Zervakis (eds) *European Political Parties between Cooperation and Integration*. Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2002, 163-189.
18. Allocating Reports in the European Parliament: How parties influence committee work. *European Parliament Research Group (EPRG) Working Paper No. 7, 2002* (& Virginie Mamadouh).
19. Beneficial Cooperation or Mutual Ignorance? Contacts Between MEPs and National Parties. In Bernard Steunenberg & Jacques Thomassen (eds) *The European Parliament: Moving toward Democracy in the EU*. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2002, 87-111.
20. Finland: Polarized Pluralism in the Shadow of A Strong President. In Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller & Torbjörn Bergman (eds) *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, 301-324 (& Matti Wiberg).

21. Il percorso della Finlandia in Europa: dalla periferia nord-orientale al centro continentale. In Ariane Landuyt (ed.) *Idee d'Europa e integrazione europea*. Il Mulino, Bologna, 2004, 451-504 (& Pertti Ahonen, Matti Wiberg).
22. The EP Party System After the 2004 Elections. In Juliet Lodge (ed.) *The 2004 Elections to the European Parliament*. Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2005, 33-44.
23. Finland. In Juliet Lodge (ed.) *The 2004 Elections to the European Parliament*. Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2005, 101-108.
24. Finland: One Hundred Years of Quietude. In Michael Gallagher & Paul Mitchell (eds) *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, 473-489.
25. Mennyire egyezik a partók és szavazóik véleménye az európai integráció kérdésében? In Gábor Tóka & Ágnes Bátor (eds) *A 2004. évi európai parlamenti választások: Pártok és szavazói magatartás nemzetközi összehasonlításban*. DKMKA/Századvég Kiadó/BCEPI, Budapest, 2006, 131-153 (& Mikko Mattila).
26. Holding Governments Accountable in European Affairs: Explaining Cross-National Variation. In Katrin Auel & Arthur Benz (eds) *The Europeanisation of Parliamentary Democracy*. Routledge, Abingdon, 2006, 17-40.
27. The Svenska Folkpartiet: the Gradual Decline of a Language Party. In Lieven De Winter, Marga Gómez-Reino & Peter Lynch (eds) *Autonomist Parties in Europe: Identity Politics and the Revival of the Territorial Cleavage*. ICPS, Barcelona, 2006, 123-139.
28. Political Interests: The European Parliament's Party Groups. In John Peterson & Michael Shackleton (eds) *The Institutions of the European Union*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006, 293-311.
29. Finland: Consensual Politics, Effective Implementation. In Eleanor E. Zeff & Ellen B. Pirro (eds) *The European Union and the Member States*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2006, 271-290 (& Jussi Kinnunen).
30. Political Parties in the European Union. In Knud Erik Jørgensen, Mark A. Pollack & Ben Rosamond (eds) *Handbook of European Union Politics*. SAGE, London, 2007, 247-262.
31. Introduction: Deparliamentarization and European integration. In John O'Brennan & Tapio Raunio (eds) *National Parliaments within the Enlarged European Union: From 'victims' of integration to competitive actors?* Routledge, Abingdon, 2007, 1-26 (& John O'Brennan).
32. National legislatures in the EU Constitutional Treaty. In John O'Brennan & Tapio Raunio (eds) *National Parliaments within the Enlarged European Union: From 'victims' of integration to competitive actors?* Routledge, Abingdon, 2007, 79-92.
33. Conclusion: National parliaments gradually learning to play the European game? In John O'Brennan & Tapio Raunio (eds) *National Parliaments within the Enlarged European Union: From 'victims' of integration to competitive actors?* Routledge, Abingdon, 2007, 272-286 (& John O'Brennan).
34. The Finnish Eduskunta: Effective Scrutiny, Partisan Consensus. In Olaf Tans, Carla Zoethout & Jit Peters (eds) *National Parliaments and European Democracy: A Bottom-Up Approach to European Constitutionalism*. Europa Law Publishing, Groningen, 2007, 23-45.

35. Resisting Change: European Integration and National Party Systems. In Ronald Holzhaacker & Erik Albæk (eds) *Democratic Governance and European Integration: Linking Societal and State Processes of Democracy*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 2007, 69-87.
36. National Parliaments and the Future of European Integration: Learning to Play the Multilevel Game. In Joan DeBardeleben & Achim Hurrelmann (eds) *Democratic Dilemmas of Multilevel Governance: Legitimacy, Representation and Accountability in the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2007, 158-176.
37. Shoda názorů mezi voliči a stranami ohledně dimenze EU. In Lukáš Linek, Jan Outlý, Gábor Tóka & Agnes Batory (eds) *Volby do Evropského parlamentu 2004*. Sociologický ústav Akademie, Praha, 2007, 53-69 (& Mikko Mattila).
38. Ensuring Democratic Control over National Governments in European Affairs. In Gavin Barrett (ed.) *National Parliaments and the European Union: The Constitutional Challenge for the Oireachtas and Other Member State Legislatures*. Clarus Press: Dublin, 2008, 3-27.
39. Too Little, Too Late? Comparing the Engagement of Nordic Parliaments in European Union Matters. In Gavin Barrett (ed.) *National Parliaments and the European Union: The Constitutional Challenge for the Oireachtas and Other Member State Legislatures*. Clarus Press: Dublin, 2008, 379-391 (& Matti Wiberg).
40. The Difficult Task of Opposing Europe: The Finnish Party Politics of Euroscepticism. In Aleks Szczerbiak & Paul Taggart (eds) *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism: Volume I, Case Studies and Country Surveys*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008, 168-180.
41. Finland. In Juliet Lodge (ed.) *The 2009 Elections to the European Parliament*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2010, 104-113.
42. Debating Europe in Finland: Euroscepticism or Legitimate Concerns about National Influence? In Robert Harmsen & Joachim Schild (eds) *Debating Europe: The 2009 European Parliament Elections and Beyond*. Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2011, 165-180.
43. Finland: Moving in the Opposite Direction. In Torbjörn Bergman & Kaare Strøm (eds) *The Madisonian Turn: Political Parties and Parliamentary Democracy in Nordic Europe*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2011, 112-157.
44. Towards Stronger Political Steering: Program Management Reform in the Finnish Government. In Carl Dahlström, B. Guy Peters & Jon Pierre (eds) *Steering from the Centre: Strengthening Political Control in Western Democracies*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2011, 241-260 (& Sirpa Kekkonen).
45. Semi-presidentialism and the Dual Executive in EU Affairs: What Can We Learn from the Finnish Experience? In Thomas Persson & Matti Wiberg (eds) *Parliamentary Government in the Nordic Countries at a Crossroads: Coping with Challenges from Europeanisation and Presidentialisation*. Santérus Academic Press, Stockholm, 2011, 301-325.
46. The Minor Impact of EU Legislation in Finland. In Sylvain Brouard, Olivier Costa & Thomas König (eds) *The Europeanization of Domestic Legislatures: The Empirical Implications of the Delors' Myth in Nine Countries*. Springer, New York, 2012, 59-73 (& Matti Wiberg).

47. From the Margins of European Integration to the Guardians of the Treaties? The Role of National Parliaments in the EU. In Sandra Kröger & Dawid Friedrich (eds) *The Challenge of Democratic Representation in the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012, 175-191.
48. Political Interests: The European Parliament's Party Groups. In John Peterson & Michael Shackleton (eds) *The Institutions of the European Union*. 3rd edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012, 338-358.
49. 'Whenever the EU is involved, you get problems': Explaining the European Policy of The (True) Finns. *Sussex European Institute (SEI) Working Paper No 127 & European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) Working Paper No 26*, 2012.
50. The European Parliament. In Erik Jones, Anand Menon & Stephen Weatherill (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012, 365-379.
51. The Finns: Filling a Gap in the Party System. In Karsten Grabow & Florian Hartleb (eds) *Exposing the Demagogues: Right-wing and National Populist Parties in Europe*. Centre for European Studies & Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Brussels, 2013, 133-160.
52. Legislatures and Foreign Policy. In Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld & Kaare W. Strøm (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2014, 543-566.
53. Introduction: Connecting with the Electorate? Parliamentary Communication in EU Affairs. In Katrin Auel & Tapio Raunio (eds) *Parliamentary Communication in EU Affairs: Connecting with the Electorate?* Routledge, Abingdon, 2015, 1-12 (& Katrin Auel).
54. Debating the State of the Union? Comparing Parliamentary Debates on EU Issues in Finland, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. In Katrin Auel & Tapio Raunio (eds) *Parliamentary Communication in EU Affairs: Connecting with the Electorate?* Routledge, Abingdon, 2015, 13-28 (& Katrin Auel).
55. The Role of National Legislatures in EU Politics. In Olaf Cramme & Sara B. Hobolt (eds) *Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2015, 103-119.
56. The European Parliament. In José M. Magone (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*. Routledge, Abingdon, 2015, 248-262.
57. The Finnish Eduskunta and the European Union: The Strengths and Weaknesses of a Mandating System. In Claudia Heffler, Christine Neuhold, Olivier Rozenberg & Julie Smith (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of National Parliaments and the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2015, 406-424.
58. Finland: An End to Domestic Consensus? In Eleanor E. Zeff & Ellen B. Pirro (eds) *The European Union and the Member States*. 3rd edition, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2015, 243-257.
59. National Parliaments – Gatekeepers for Subnational Parliaments? In Gabriele Abels & Annegret Eppler (eds) *Subnational Parliaments in the EU Multi-Level Parliamentary System: Taking Stock of the Post-Lisbon Era*. Studienverlag, Innsbruck, 2015, 111-126.

60. Finland. In Donatella M. Viola (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of European Elections*. Routledge, Abingdon, 2016, 396-413.
61. Introduction: Finland 1970-2015 – A Transformed Political Landscape. In Lauri Karvonen, Heikki Paloheimo & Tapio Raunio (eds) *The Changing Balance of Political Power in Finland*. Santérus Academic Press, Stockholm, 2016, 9-29 (& Lauri Karvonen, Heikki Paloheimo)
62. The Effect of EU and Internationalisation on the National Division of Power. In Lauri Karvonen, Heikki Paloheimo & Tapio Raunio (eds) *The Changing Balance of Political Power in Finland*. Santérus Academic Press, Stockholm, 2016, 209-243.
63. Evolution of Political Power in Finland. In Lauri Karvonen, Heikki Paloheimo & Tapio Raunio (eds) *The Changing Balance of Political Power in Finland*. Santérus Academic Press, Stockholm, 2016, 335-344 (& Lauri Karvonen, Heikki Paloheimo).
64. European parties: A powerful caucus in the European Parliament and beyond. In Dermot Hodson & John Peterson (eds) *The Institutions of the European Union*. 4th edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2017, 357-377.
65. Control and scrutiny: parliaments as agents of administrative law. In Carol Harlow, Päivi Leino & Giacinto della Cananea (eds) *Research Handbook on EU Administrative Law*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 2017, 316-343.
66. Finland: Strong Party-Union Links under Challenge. In Elin Haugsgjerd Allern & Tim Bale (eds) *Left-of-Centre Parties and Trade Unions in the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2017, 93-111 (& Niko Laine).
67. Re-Assessing Finland's Integration Policy: The End of Domestic Consensus? In Malin Stegmann McCallion & Alex Brianson (eds) *Nordic States and European Integration: Awkward Partners in the North?* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2018, 35-58 (& Hanna Ojanen).
68. Towards parliamentarisation of foreign and security policy? In Tapio Raunio & Wolfgang Wagner (eds) *Challenging Executive Dominance: Legislatures and Foreign Affairs*. Routledge, Abingdon, 2018, 1-19 (& Wolfgang Wagner).
69. Finland: Informal interdependence and occasional clashes. In Karl Magnus Johansson & Gunnar Nygren (eds) *Close and Distant: Political Executive–Media Relations in Four Countries*. NORDICOM, University of Gothenburg, 2019, 29-54 (& Risto Niemikari, Tom Moring).
70. Government communication in a comparative perspective. In Karl Magnus Johansson & Gunnar Nygren (eds) *Close and Distant: Political Executive–Media Relations in Four Countries*. NORDICOM, University of Gothenburg, 2019, 127-148 & Karl Magnus Johansson).
71. Political parties in the European Union. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2019, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1153> (& Karl Magnus Johansson).
72. Navigating through troubled times: the left and the euro crisis in Finland. In Michael Holmes & Knut Roder (eds) *The European left and the financial crisis*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2019, 140-157.
73. Voting on the use of armed force: Challenges of data indexing, classification, and the value of a comparative agenda. In Delphine Deschaux-Dutard (eds) *Research Methods*

- in Defence Studies: A Multidisciplinary Overview*. Routledge, London, 2021, 170-188 (& Falk Ostermann, Florian Böller, Flemming J. Christiansen, Fabrizio Coticchia, Daan Fonck, Anna Herranz-Surrallés, Juliet Kaarbo, Kryštof Kučmáš, Michal Onderco, Rasmus B. Pedersen, Yf Reykers, Michal Smetana, Valerio Vignoli, Wolfgang Wagner).
74. Democracy and the EU. In Rory Costello & Neil Robinson (eds) *Comparative European Politics: Distinctive Democracies, Common Challenges*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2021, 101-117.

### **3. Articles in Finnish scientific journals with a referee practice**

1. Enemmistö kannattaa integraatiota mutta ei innosta palaen: eurooppalainen mielipideilmasto eurobarometrien valossa. *Politiikka* 37:4 (1995), 253-269 (& Matti Wiberg).
2. Kansan valitsema, kansan unohtama: Euroopan parlamentti eurobarometrien valossa. *Ulkopolitiikka* 33:1 (1996), 20-29 (& Matti Wiberg).
3. Eduskunta tiennäyttäjänä integraation kansallisessa valmistelussa. *Politiikka* 39:3 (1997), 256-270 (& Matti Wiberg).
4. Kulisseista puoluejohdon valvontaan? Euroedustajien ja kansallisten puolueiden yhteydet. *Politiikka* 41:1 (1999), 23-39.
5. Parlamentti ilman äänestäjiä: Miksi kansalaiset eivät äänestä eurovaaleissa? *Ulkopolitiikka* 36:2 (1999), 33-49 (& Matti Wiberg).
6. Federalismi: Johdatus liittovaltioiden poliittiseen järjestelmään. *Ulkopolitiikka* 36:2 (1999), 64-72 (& Teija Tiilikainen).
7. Valtaa eurokansalle: Miten Euroopan unionin demokratiavaje voidaan poistaa? *Politiikka* 41:3 (1999), 155-167 (& Matti Wiberg).
8. Liittovaltiolliset elementit vahvistuvat: EU Nizzan jälkeen. *Ulkopolitiikka* 38:1 (2001), 19-30 (& Teija Tiilikainen).
9. Vaalimenestys ja hallituksen muodostaminen Länsi-Euroopassa 1945-1999. *Politiikka* 44:4 (2002), 299-314 (& Mikko Mattila).
10. Toimivallan jakautuminen EU:ssa: Demokraattiset ihanteet ja liittovaltioiden todellisuus. *Kosmopolis* 33:3 (2003), 29-48 (& Maija Setälä).
11. Kuka edustaa EU:n vastustajia? Euroopan parlamentin vaalit 2004. *Politiikka* 47:1 (2005), 28-41 (& Mikko Mattila).
12. Parlamentaarinen vastuu ulkopoliittikaan: Suomen ulkopoliittikan johtajuus uuden perustuslain aikana. *Politiikka* 50:4 (2008), 250-265.
13. Mistä EU-asioista hallitus keskustelee ja kenen aloitteesta? Suomen hallituksen Eurooppa-politiikan koordinaatio vuosina 1995–2012. *Politiikka* 56:2 (2014), 87-100 (& Anna Hyvärinen).

### **4. Articles in Finnish scientific edited volumes with a referee practice**

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**C) Other publications**

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3. Eurokansalaiset eivät tunne unioniaan, *Helsingin Sanomat* 22.12.1995 (& Matti Wiberg)
4. Poliittisia kykyjä europarlamenttiin, *Helsingin Sanomat* 27.4.1996 (& Matti Wiberg)
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6. Puoluevalta määrää EU-parlamentissa, *Helsingin Sanomat* 13.8.1996 (& Matti Wiberg)
7. Europuolueet ovat vahvoja vaikuttajia: Suomalaisella vaalikansalla ja viestimillä huonot tiedot europuolueista, *Turun Sanomat* 22.8.1996 (& Matti Wiberg)
8. Euroopan parlamentti kansanvaltaistaa yhdentymistä, *Aamulehti* 21.9.1996 (& Matti Wiberg)
9. EU:lla on jo monia liittovaltion piirteitä: Euroopan Yhdysvallat vielä hyvin etäinen tavoite, *Turun Sanomat* 1.11.1996 (published in *Muuttuva EU ja Suomi: Turun Sanomien artikkelisarja Euroopan unionista 1996*, ed. Kimmo Lunden, Turun Sanomat, 1997)
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59. Finland: Moving in the Opposite Direction, *Workshop on Scandinavia and the Resilience of Parliaments and Political Parties*, 25.-28.5.2006, Oslo, Norway
60. European Integration and Party Politics in Finland: Limited Change, Weaker Accountability, *ISA 48<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention*, 28.2.-3.3.2007, Chicago, USA
61. National Parliaments and OMC: Destined to Remain Apart?, *Fifty Years of Interparliamentary Cooperation: Progressing towards Effective Cross-Level Parliamentarism?*, 13.6.2007, Berlin, Germany
62. New Dimensions of Contestation in the European Parliament (presentation), *Research Seminar at the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS)*, 12.10.2007, Copenhagen, Denmark
63. National Parliaments and the Democratic Deficit: Modifying the Expectations, *Research Seminar, Department of Politics, International Relations and European Studies*, 5.3.2008, Loughborough University, England

64. Crisis of Party Democracy: What Crisis? (presentation), *Candidates and Campaigns: Are parties losing control of elections?*, Nordic Policy Studies Centre Seminar (Aberdeen University), 5.12.2008, Edinburgh, Scotland
65. National Parliaments and European Integration: What We Know and What We Should Know, *ARENA Tuesday Seminar*, 16.12.2008, Oslo, Norway
66. Towards Stronger Political Steering: Programme Management Reform in the Finnish Government (& Sirpa Kekkonen), *Steering from the Center: Central Government Offices and their Roles in Governing*, 14.-16.1.2009, Gothenburg, Sweden
67. Semi-presidentialism and European Integration: Lessons from Finland for Constitutional Design, *Research Seminar, Department of Politics, International Relations and European Studies*, 18.3.2009, Loughborough University, England
68. Semi-presidentialism and European Integration: Lessons from Finland for Constitutional Design (presentation), *Research Seminar, Department of Politics and International Relations*, 29.4.2009, University of Aberdeen, Scotland
69. The Gatekeepers of European Integration? The Functions of National Parliaments in the EU Political System, RECON Workshop *With or Without Lisbon: Continuous Institutional Change in the EU*, 15.-16.5.2009, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
70. The Gatekeepers of European Integration? The Functions of National Parliaments in the EU Political System, *Europeanisation of Parliamentary Behaviour*, 21.-22.7.2009, University of Oxford, England
71. Debating Europe in Finland: Euroscepticism or Legitimate Concerns about National Influence?, *National European Debates and the 2009 European Parliament Elections – lessons learned for the future*, 15.-16.10.2009, Otzenhausen, Germany
72. *European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Joint Sessions*, co-director of the workshop *The Europeanization of National Political Parties* (& Robert Ladrech), 22.-27.3.2010, Münster, Germany
73. The Functions of National Parliaments in EU Affairs, *Workshop on National Parliaments in the European Union*, 14.5.2010, Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder), Germany
74. Main challenges facing national parliaments in the EU (presentation), *Joint IIEA / Law Society Seminar on the Role of the Oireachtas under the Lisbon Treaty*, 16.6.2010, Dublin, Ireland
75. Destined for Irrelevance? Subsidiarity Control by National Parliaments, *A Question of Subsidiarity: Principle, Protocol and Implementation*, A Wales Governance Centre Conference, 16.-17.9.2010, Cardiff, Wales
76. Introduction: National Parliaments, Electorates and EU Affairs (& Katrin Auel), *National Parliaments and Their Electorates in EU Affairs*, Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, 7.-8.4.2011, Berlin, Germany
77. Comparing Parliamentary Debates on EU Issues in Finland, France, Germany and the United Kingdom (& Katrin Auel), *National Parliaments and Their Electorates in EU Affairs*, Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, 7.-8.4.2011, Berlin, Germany
78. Why national parliaments fail to make EU governance more democratic (presentation), *Parliaments in the European Union after Lisbon*, 23.-24.2.2012, Maastricht, The Netherlands

79. The EU as an external constraint on national legislatures (presentation), Workshop *Changes and Challenges in Parliamentary Democracies*, EUI, 3.-4.5.2012, Florence, Italy
80. Parliaments, governments and EU affairs: lessons for the EU candidate countries (presentation), *Research seminar (GPAC2)*, Maastricht Graduate School of Governance, 19.6.2012, University of Maastricht, The Netherlands
81. Euro crisis and national parliaments: (temporary) end to the depoliticization of EU?, LSE European Institute and Policy Network Seminar *Can national politics cope with further integration?*, 30.1.2013, LSE, London, England
82. National parliaments – Gatekeepers and competitors for subnational parliaments?, *Institutskolloquium, Institut für Politikwissenschaft*, 6.2.2013, Universität Tübingen, Germany
83. National Parliaments and European Integration after the Lisbon treaty and enlargement to 28: finally ‘learning to play the European game’ (+ keynote address), *National Parliaments in the European Integration Process: ‘finally learning to play the European game’ in the aftermath of the Lisbon Treaty reforms and the EU economic crisis*, 6.-7.12.2013, Dublin, Ireland
84. When party politics and institutional culture collide: the politicization of EU affairs in the Finnish Eduskunta, *National parliaments in EU policy-making*, 6.-7.3.2014, Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg, Delmenhorst, Germany
85. *Symbiotic leader-media relations? Exploring interaction between prime ministers and the media in Finland, Lithuania, Poland and Sweden*, workshop, 5.9.2014, Södertörn University, Sweden
86. *Awkward States in Regional Integration*, workshop, 5.-6.2.2015, Karlstad University, Sweden
87. Structures of news and information management – Finland (& Tom Moring), workshop of the project *Symbiotic leader-media relations? Exploring interaction between prime ministers and the media in Finland, Lithuania, Poland and Sweden*, 12.-13.3.2015, Södertörn University, Sweden
88. *European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Joint Sessions*, co-director of the workshop ‘Analysing Parliamentary Behaviour in European Union Affairs’ (& Thomas Winzen & Rik de Ruiter), 29.3.-2.4.2015, Warsaw, Poland
89. Legislative-Executive Relations in Foreign and Security Policy (& Wolfgang Wagner), *Workshop on Legislative-Executive Relations in Foreign and Security Policy*, 21.-22.5.2015, Amsterdam, The Netherlands (workshop organized by Tapio Raunio & Wolfgang Wagner)
90. Research outline: EU and foreign policy in Romania and Poland (presentation), *Kick-off seminar: Semi-Presidentialism and Governability*, 26.5.2015, Dalarna University, Sweden
91. *Second Annual Conference of the Erasmus Academic Network on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe (PADEMIA)*, chairing the panel ‘Parliaments and foreign policy’, 2.-3.7.2015, Brussels, Belgium
92. Keeping tabs on the executive: the engagement of the Finnish Eduskunta in foreign affairs, and chairing the panel ‘The Challenge of Bicameralism’, *Twelfth Workshop of*

- Parliamentary Scholars and Parliamentarians*, 25.-26.7.2015, Wroxton College, England
93. *How do Nordic parliamentarians do constituency service?*, workshop of the project *Parliaments, Citizens and Democracy in the Nordic Countries*, 15.-16.10.2015, University of Tampere Tampere, Finland (workshop organized by David Arter & Tapio Raunio)
  94. *Semi-presidentialism as a challenge for collective action: beyond constitutional rules and divided government*, workshop of the project *Semi-Presidentialism and Governability in Transitional Regimes*, 23.2.2016, Dalarna University, Sweden
  95. *Relations between media and the prime minister in Finland: some preliminary findings (& Risto Niemikari)*, workshop of the project *Symbiotic leader-media relations? Exploring interaction between prime ministers and the media in Finland, Lithuania, Poland and Sweden*, 17.-18.3.2016, Södertörn University, Sweden
  96. *Legislatures and foreign affairs: political parties, committees, and individual MPs*, workshop of the Erasmus Academic Network on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe (PADEMIA), 14.4.2016, University of Tampere, Finland (workshop organized by Tapio Raunio)
  97. *Third Annual Conference of the Erasmus Academic Network on Parliamentary Democracy in Europe* (PADEMIA), chairing the panel 'Explaining issue variation: which EU matters are scrutinized by national parliaments', 19.-20.5.2016, Brussels, Belgium
  98. *Semi-presidentialism as a challenge for collective action in Lithuania: beyond constitutional rules and divided government (& Thomas Sedelius)*, workshop of the project *Semi-Presidentialism and Governability in Transitional Regimes*, 30.-31.5.2016, Dalarna University, Sweden
  99. *Exploring the most likely case for constituency service: Finnish MPs and their home turfs in the era of digital communication (& Taru Ruotsalainen)*, *How Do Nordic Parliamentarians Seek to Represent Their Constituency?*, workshop of the project *Parliaments, Citizens and Democracy in the Nordic Countries*, 2.6.2016, Roskilde, Denmark
  100. *Effective scrutiny, less contestation: The Finnish Eduskunta and crisis management operations*, *Parliaments and Security Policy: Control, Legitimacy and Effectiveness*, 22.-23.9.2016, Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt, Germany
  101. *Effective scrutiny, less contestation: The Finnish Eduskunta and crisis management operations*, *TICS seminar*, 6.12.2016, Dalarna University, Sweden
  102. *Semi-Presidentialism and Governability in Transitional Regimes*, project workshop, 5.-7.12.2016, Dalarna University, Sweden
  103. *Symbiotic leader-media relations? Exploring interaction between prime ministers and the media in Finland, Lithuania, Poland and Sweden*, workshop, 8.-9.12.2016, Södertörn University, Sweden
  104. *Finland: developments in party politics and coalition governance since 2000*, *Coalition government in the new millennium – Western Europe*, workshop, 15.-16.12.2016, University of Vienna, Austria

105. Presidents – a genuine threat to European governance?, *Diplomacy and Global Affairs Research Seminar Series*, 9.2.2017, Leiden University, The Hague, The Netherlands
106. Ideology or national interest? External relations votes in the European Parliament (& Wolfgang Wagner), *Politologenetmaal 2017, annual conference of Dutch and Flemish political scientists*, 1.-2.6.2017, Leiden University, The Netherlands
107. Informal interdependence: Relations between the political executive and media in Finland (& Risto Niemikari, Tom Moring), *CEECOM 2017, Critique of/at/on periphery?*, 15.-17.6.2017, Ljubljana, Slovenia
108. Ideology or national interest? External relations votes in the European Parliament (& Wolfgang Wagner), *11th Pan-European Conference on International Relations*, 13-16.9.2017, Barcelona, Spain
109. The Party Politics of Foreign and Security Policy in Europe and Beyond (& Wolfgang Wagner), Workshop *Party Politics of Foreign and Security Policy in Europe*, 5.-6.10.2017, Amsterdam, the Netherlands (workshop organized by Tapio Raunio & Wolfgang Wagner)
110. Ideology or national interest? External relations votes in the European Parliament (& Wolfgang Wagner), Workshop *Party Politics of Foreign and Security Policy in Europe*, 5.-6.10.2017, Amsterdam, the Netherlands (workshop organized by Tapio Raunio & Wolfgang Wagner)
111. Government communication in comparative perspective (& Karl Magnus Johansson), workshop of the project *Symbiotic leader-media relations? Exploring interaction between prime ministers and the media in Finland, Lithuania, Poland and Sweden*, 14.-15.12.2017, Södertörn University, Sweden
112. Informal interdependence: Relations between the political executive and media in Finland (& Risto Niemikari, Tom Moring), workshop of the project *Symbiotic leader-media relations? Exploring interaction between prime ministers and the media in Finland, Lithuania, Poland and Sweden*, 14.-15.12.2017, Södertörn University, Sweden
113. Presidents and cabinets: coordinating executive leadership in premier-presidential regimes (& Thomas Sedelius), Workshop *Presidents and assemblies: a quarter of a century after Shugart and Carey's seminal book*, 8.2.2018, University of Göttingen, Germany
114. Finland: forming and managing ideologically heterogeneous oversized coalitions. Workshop *Coalition Governance in Western Europe*, 17.-18.5.2018, Lund University, Sweden
115. Government communication in comparative perspective (& Karl Magnus Johansson), *68th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association*, 24.-26.5.2018, Prague, The Czech Republic
116. *European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) General Conference*, co-chair of the section 'Presidential and Semi-Presidential Regimes: Institutional Dynamics and Political Leadership' (& Thomas Sedelius), 22.-25.8.2018, Hamburg, Germany
117. Encouraging a longer time horizon: The Committee for the Future in the Finnish Eduskunta (& Vesa Koskimaa), *Fourteenth Workshop of Parliamentary Scholars and Parliamentarians*, 27.-28.7.2019, Wroxton College, England

118. Committees in the Finnish Eduskunta: cross-party cooperation and legislative scrutiny behind closed doors, *IPSA RCLS Workshop Parliamentary Committees in the Policy Process – Their Role in Legislation, Oversight, Scrutiny and Communication*, 23.-24.10.2019, University of Valencia, Spain
119. Contestation over development policy in the European Parliament (& Wolfgang Wagner), Workshop *Politicization of EU external relations: European development policy at the crossfire*, 30.-31.10.2019, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), Bonn, Germany (online)
120. *Parliamentary Deployment Votes Database*, project workshop, 11.6.2020 (online)
121. *International Treaty Ratification Votes Database*, project workshop, 3.7.2020 (online)
122. Contestation over development policy in the European Parliament (& Wolfgang Wagner), *UACES 2020 Annual Conference*, 7.-11.9.2020 (online)
123. Finland: putting normal politics on hold (& Corentin Poyet). Workshop *Representative Democracy in Pandemic Times: Decline or Resilience?*, 30.10.2020 (online)
124. Shaping the EU's future? Europarties, European Parliament party groups, and the Conference on the Future of Europe. EUGenDem workshop *European Parliament's political groups in turbulent times*, 22.1.2021 (online)