

EU Elections and Opinions
(POS 4931 (section 5022)/EUS 4931 (section 8732))
Spring 2010

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Course Meetings

T (8, 9: 3 - 4.55 pm),
R (9: 4.05 - 4.55 pm)
2306 Turlington Hall

Course Description

This course focuses on the relationship between the EU, as a political system, and its citizens. Its main purpose is to help you understand the mechanisms through which the EU relates to its citizens and to expose you to debates about EU's (lack of) legitimacy and representation. We start, therefore, by outlining the institutional structure of the EU and the public and/or scholarly opinions about these institutions. Second, we move to issues of representation, where we focus mostly on elections and parties in the EU. In this section, we relate the EU elections to other elections in federal systems and compare the EU supranational party system to classical arguments about the evolution of European party systems. Finally, we address some of the major problems that the EU is confronted with today, such as immigration, racism, minorities, terrorism, and corruption, and we are interested in exposing public opinion reactions to these new challenges.

Course Materials

There is only one textbook required for this class. The book is available through the UF Bookstore.

- Hix, Simon. 2005 (2nd edition). *The Political System of the European Union*. New York: St. Martin's Press

E-Learning: You should become familiar with e-Learning (WebCT). All other materials assigned as readings (articles and book chapters) will be posted here, as well as power point slides for the class. However, I expect you to print and bring them to class. In addition, ALL GRADES will be posted on e-Learning.

Course Requirements

Attendance and class participation (15%) Come to class after having read the materials assigned for the respective class and ready to ask and answer questions. The success of this course depends upon your active participation in class. Therefore, having read all the material before each class and having thought about the readings is crucial to having a meaningful conversation. Attendance will be taken on a daily basis. Students with more than three unexcused absences will lose participation points.

- **Online survey: due Jan 14 and TBA.** All students are asked to complete twice an on-line survey found at: http://www.ces.ufl.edu/surveys/2010Spring/EUS4931_POS4931_02_survey.shtml

Reaction papers (20%) to the articles assigned for **Week 3** and **Week 8**. You will have to submit 2 reaction papers during the semester. Papers should be 3 full pages long (1" margins, 12 point font, double-spaced) and will be due **on Tuesday** for each of the two weeks selected. The reaction papers should be submitted online before the Tuesday class and you should bring a hard copy in class as well. The structure of the reaction paper:

- 1) one paragraph summarizing the arguments of the week (all the readings for the weeks are related and speak to each other; make sure this relation is obvious in your summary as well)
- 2) provide a critical analysis of the arguments (do you find the evidence supporting the argument convincing or not; what other evidence do you think the author should bring to strengthen the argument)
- 3) relate the arguments to other prior themes covered during the semester or to news about Europe/EU

Submit 2 meaningful questions per week (10%) The questions should be submitted online, with a deadline of 24 hours before our next class: by Monday (3pm) and by Wednesday (4pm). They should address the arguments made in the journal articles and book chapters assigned. Simple questions such as ‘who’s the author of the article or ‘what is the main argument of this article’ do not count as meaningful questions. Do not submit questions when:

- we have film sessions or only textbook chapters
- when you are co-presenting the weekly readings
- you write reaction papers

Co-presentation of the weekly readings (10%) You will have to co-present the readings for one week (2 presenters for a week, 3 only if necessary, i.e. not enough weeks) With your co-presenter, you should prepare a 20- minute talk, addressing the main arguments of the readings (in the articles and book chapters, but not the textbook) and critically engaging the readings (same advice as for the reaction paper). You can use the weekly questions that your colleagues submit for that week. On Thursday (**Week 1**) I will ask each one of you to select a week for co-presentation. Do not choose Week 3 and Week 8 when you are writing reaction papers.

Make sure you don’t miss class when you serve as co-presenter. In case that happens, you will receive 0 points for this part of the grade. No excuse will be accepted, unless you provide proper documentation.

Mid-term in-class exam in class (2 hour) (25%) The exam will be multiple-choice format, with an essay question in the end and will test all class materials covered before the Spring break, including films, lectures, journal articles and book chapters.

Group project (3 students/per group) (20%) After Spring break you will start working on a group project. This will involve collecting 6 newspapers articles (written within the last 2 years) and 4 journal articles related to one theme of your choice (it can be something covered in class or not; prior approval from the instructor is necessary). With this material you should prepare a 6-8 page paper (12” font, Times New Roman, double-spaced), where you start by explaining why you chose this theme, followed by a summary of the findings in the articles, and a critical reaction to the writings. One important element for your project is to find articles (journals or newspapers) that are related to a common theme and either support each other or make opposite claims.

Deadlines:

- have the group and the theme (**March 18**)
- have the summary ready and prepare an abstract (5-7 lines) (**April 6**)
- present your project in class (10-15 minutes) (**April 15, 20**)
- work on the final paper and submit it before **April 27, 4pm.**

Policies

1. **Assignments:** All assignments must be submitted on line, by the deadline, and handed in to the instructor, at the beginning of the class. Extensions will be granted at my discretion and, if granted, they will require proper documentation. Make sure you ask for an extension only **PRIOR** to the deadline date.
2. **Cheating/plagiarism:** Any student caught violating the honor code will fail the class. For more information, read the Code of Student Conduct <http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/honorcode.php>
3. **Courtesy:** Don’t come late and turn off your cell-phones. Any disruptive behavior (reading newspapers or materials related to other courses, talking outside of class discussions) will not be tolerated and you will be asked to leave the class.
4. **Special Needs:** If you have a disability that requires special arrangements (e.g. note- and/or test-taking), please register with UF’s Office of Students with Disabilities and contact me **within the first week** of class. Every effort will be made to accommodate those with registered disabilities.
5. **Grading scale:** (<http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationgrades.html>):

Letter Grade	A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	D+	D	D-	E
Grade Point	4.0	3.6 7	3.3 3	3.0	2.6 7	2.3 3	2.0	1.6 7	1.3 3	1.0	0.6 7	0.0

Course Schedule

Week1 Introduction

Jan 5 Syllabus: Introduction to the course and to each other

Jan 7 EU as a political system; issues of representation and legitimacy

- Hix, ch1
- Norris, Pippa. 1997. "Representation and the democratic deficit", *European Journal of Political Research* 32: 273-282
- **Choose your co-presentation week**

Part I: EU Government and its legitimacy

Week 2 EU executive and questions of legitimacy

Jan 12

- Hix (ch2) "Dual executive"
- De Winter and Swyngedouw. 1999. "The Scope of the EU government", in Hermann Schmitt and Jacques Thomassen. *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union*, Oxford: University Press. Chapter 3: pp 47-73
- Ehin, Piret (2008) "Competing Models of EU Legitimacy: the Test of Popular Expectations", *JCMS* 46 (3): 619-640

Jan 14

- Moravcsik, Andrew (2002) "In Defense of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing legitimacy in the EU", *JCMS* 40 (4): 603-24
- Hage, Frank (2008) "Who Decides in the Council of the EU?", *JCMS* 46 (3): 533-558

Week 3 Public satisfaction with EU policies

REACTION PAPER/ No co-presentation

Jan 19

- Hix (ch 3): "Legislative Politics"
- Gabel, Mathew (2003) "Public Support for the European Parliament", *JCMS*, 41 (2): 289-308
- Norris, Pippa, "The Political regime" in Hermann Schmitt and Jacques Thomassen. *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union*, Oxford: University Press (Ch 4: 74-89)
- Marsh, Michael, "Policy Performance" in Hermann Schmitt and Jacques Thomassen. *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union*, Oxford: University Press (Ch 5: 90-110)

Jan 21

- Film: *Inside the European Union: parliament under pressure*

Week 4 The EU law and the public

Jan 26

- Hix (ch 4): 'Judicial Politics'
- Scott, Colin (2009). "Governing Without Law or Governing Without Government? New-ish Governance and the Legitimacy of the EU", *European Law Journal*, 15 (2): 160-173

- Haltern, Ulrich. 2003. "Pathos and Patina: The Failure and Promise of Constitutionalism in the European Imagination", *European Law Journal*, 9 (1): 14-44

Jan 28 **EU and the communication deficit**

- Meyer, Christoph (1999). Political legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics: Exploring the EU's Communication Deficit", *JCMS* 37 (4): 617-39
- Anderson, Peter and Weymouth Anthony (1999) "The Great Public Relations Disaster?" in *The British Press and the European Union*, New York: Longman Inc.

Recommended:

Sift Stefanie et al 2007. "Segmented Europeanization: Exploring the Legitimacy of the EU from a public discourse perspective", *JCMS* 45 (1): 127-55

Part II: Issues of representation: EU, cleavages, parties, and elections

Week 5 Political cleavages

Feb 2

- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures and Voter Alignments", in Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds) *Party Systems and Voter Alignment: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: The Free Press (Ch 1)
- Mair, Peter. 2001. "The Freezing Hypothesis: An Evaluation." In Lauri Karvonen and Stein Kuhnle (eds) *Party System and Voter Alignments Revisited*. New York: Routledge
- Whitefield, Stephen (2002). "Political Cleavages and the Post-Communist Politics", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 5: 181-200

Feb 4

- Hix ch5 Cleavages in the EU

Week 6 Parties in the EU

Feb 9

- Hix (ch 6) Parties, Elections, and EU Democracy
- Marks, Gary, and Steenbergen, Marco. 2002. "Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union", *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (8): 879-892
- Hooghe, Liesbet, Marks Gary and Wilson, Carole. "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (8): 965-989

Feb 11

- Gabel, Matthew and Hix, Simon. 2002. "Defining the EU Political Space: An Empirical Study of the European Elections Manifestos, 1979-1999", *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (8): 934-964

Week 7 Second order elections (first theories)

Feb 16

- Campbell, Angus. 1960. "Surge and Decline: A Study of Electoral Change", *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 24 (3): 397-418
- Tuftes, Edward. 1975. "Determinants of the Outcomes of Midterm Congressional Elections", *The American Political Science Review* 69 (3): 812-826
- Reif, Karlheinz, and Schmitt, Hermann. 1980. "Nine Second-Order National Elections – A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Elections Results", *European Journal of Political Research*, 8(1): 3-44

Feb 18

- Schmitt, Hermann. 2005. "The European Parliament Elections of June 2004: Still Second-Order?", *West European Politics* 28(3): 650-679

Week 8 EP elections as second order elections – different nuances

REACTION PAPER/ No co-presentation

Feb 23

- Oppenhuis, Erik, van der Eijk, Franklin, Marc. “The Party Context: Outcomes” in Cees van der Eijk and Mark Franklin. 1996. *Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press
- Hix, Simon, and Marsh Michael. 2007. “Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections” in *The Journal of Politics*, 69 (2): 495-510
- Toka, Gabor. 2007. “Information Effects on Vote Choices in European Elections” in *Connex Report Series No. 1: “European Elections after Eastern Enlargement”*

Feb 25

- Franklin, Marc, van der Eijk, Cees, and Marsh, Michael. “The Electoral Connection and the Democratic Deficit”, in 1996. *Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press

Week 9 Media and Campaigns during EU elections and referenda

Think about the group projects and choose your partners!!!

March 2

- De Vreese, Claes, Lauf, Edmund, and Peter, Jochen. 2007. “The Media and European Parliament elections: Second-rate coverage of a second-order event?” in Wouter Van der Brug and Cees van der Eijk (eds) *European Elections and Domestic Politics. Lessons from the Past and Scenarios for the Future*, Indiana: University of Notre Dame (chapter 6), pp. 116-30
- Claes de Vreese, Susa Banducci, Holli Semetko and Hajo Boomgaarden. 2006. “The News Coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign in 25 Countries”, *European Union Politics*, 7: 477-504
- Hobolt, Sara. 2005. “When Europe Matters: The Impact of Political Information on Voting Behavior in EU Referendums”, *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 15 (1): 85-109

March 4

- Hobolt, Sara, Spoon, Jae-Jae, and Tilley, James. 2008. “A Vote Against Europe? Explaining Defection at the 1999 and 2004 European Parliament Elections” in *British Journal of Political Science* 39: 93-115

Week 10 Spring Break

- No class. Get ready for the exam.

Week 11

March 16

- Mid term exam in class (2 hours)

March 18

- Discussing the exams and the group projects

Part III: Europeans and the others

If you choose to be a co-presenter for these final weeks make sure you have enough time to work on the group projects as well!!!

Week 12 Inclusion and exclusion in the EU (gender relations, minorities, and immigration problems)

March 23

- Hix Ch 11
- Morgan, Kimberly. 2008. "Toward the Europeanization of Work-Family Policies? The Impact of the EU on Policies for Working Parents" in Roth, Silke (eds) *Gender Politics in the Expanding European Union*. New York: Berghahn Books. (Chapter 2: pp 37-59)
- Levy, Daniel. 1999. "Coming home? Ethnic Germans and the transformation of national identity in the Federal Republic of Germany", in Andrew Geddes and Adrian Favell (eds) *The politics of belonging: migrants and minorities in contemporary Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited (Ch: pp 93-108)

March 25

- Betz, Hans-Georg. 1994. "Immigration and Xenophobia", in Hans-Georg Betz. *Radical Right Wing Populism in Western Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press (ch 3: pp 69-106)
- Film: *No colors: racism and prejudice in modern Europe* / producer/director, Wilson R.

Week 13 Populism, Euroscepticism, and radical right movements

March 30

- Benoit, Bertrand. 1997. "How? The Six Points of Euroscepticism" in Benoit, Bertrand. *Social-Nationalism: an Anatomy of French Euroscepticism*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited (Ch 4: pp 69-98)
- O'Connell, Michael. 2003. "Public Opinion and Populism" in O'Connell, Michael. *Right-Wing Ireland? The Rise of Populism in Ireland and Europe*. Dublin: The Liffey Press (Ch 2: pp 25-48)
- Forster, Anthony. 2002. "Patterns and Trends in Euroscepticism" in Forster Anthony. *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics. Opposition to Europe in the British Conservative and Labour Parties since 1945*. London: Routledge (Ch 8: pp 129-143)

April 1

- Populism in Eastern Europe (TBA)

Week 14 Terrorism and corruption

April 6

- Van Leeuwen, Marianne. 2003. "Confronting Terrorism" in Van Leeuwen, Marianne. *Confronting Terrorism. European Experiences, Threat Perceptions and Policies*, The Hague: Kluwer Law International (Ch 1: pp 1-9)
- Vidino, Lorenzo. 2009. "Origins and Characteristics of Homegrown Jihadist Networks in Europe" in Franz Eder/ Martin Senn (eds.) *Europe and Transnational Terrorism. Assessing Threats and Countermeasures*. Baden: Nomos (pp 35-74)

April 8

- Adonis, Andrew. 1997. "The UK: Civic Virtue Put to the Test" Donatella Della Porta and Yves Meny (eds). *Democracy and Corruption in Europe*, London: Pinter (Ch 7: pp 103-117)
- Miller, William, Grodeland, Ase, Koshechkina, Tatyana. 2001. "A Culture of Corruption? Support, Priorities and Prospects for Reform" in Miller, William, Grodeland, Ase, Koshechkina, Tatyana. *A Culture of Corruption? Coping with Government in Post-Communist Europe*, Budapest: Central European University Press (Ch 9: pp 279- 346)

Week 15 What Europeans have accomplished and what do they think about the US

You should take advantage of this week and work on the group projects!!!

April 13

- Film: *Does Europe hate us?* [videorecording] : Thomas L. Friedman reporting / Discovery Channel ; producer.
- Film: *10th anniversary of the euro* [videorecording] / directed by Sergio Ghizzardi and Kattalin Landaburu.

April 15

- Group projects

Week 16

April 20

- Group projects