

## **JPM 678 EU Democracy, Elections, and Opinions**

*Syllabus Winter 2015*

*Institute of Political Studies, Department of International Relations, Prague*

### **PRACTICAL INFORMATION**

Meeting time: Tuesday 15:30 - 16:50 pm  
Meeting room: 4020  
Instructor: Dr. Magda Giurcanu  
Office: 3088  
Email: [magda.giurcanu@fsv.cuni.cz](mailto:magda.giurcanu@fsv.cuni.cz)  
Office Hours: Wednesday 10am-noon, or by appointment  
Course website: <http://dl1.cuni.cz/enrol/index.php?id=4281>

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

In the state of acute crisis that characterizes Europe and the rise of populist rhetoric, a better understanding of democracy becomes indispensable. How “democratic” is the EU? What role do public opinion and citizen support for the EU play in its democratic development? What are the tensions affecting both representation and more direct forms of democratic participation at the EU level? Does the EU have a “democratic deficit” or, on the contrary, has it strengthened democracy among its members, especially in the new members from post-communist Eastern Europe? Or, what about the impact of EU policies on the democratic facet of other member states, particularly the bailout countries of the 2008-2009 financial crisis? These are some of the questions we will ask, answer, and debate throughout the course.

This course focuses then on the relationship between the European Union (EU), as a political system, and its citizens. Its main purpose is to understand the mechanisms through which the EU relates to its citizens and to expose students to debates on the EU’s (lack of) legitimacy and representation. We start by outlining the institutional structure of the EU and the public opinion analyses on its institutions. Second, we move to issues of representation, where we focus 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 issues that the EU is confronted with today, such as the economic crisis, immigration, and corruption, and we are interested in exposing the public’s reactions to these new challenges.

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

This course is a Master level reading and discussion seminar and the success of this course depends heavily on the active participation of students. All students are therefore expected to have done the required reading before each seminar, and come to class with a willingness to critically reflect on the issues of the week. Since some of the readings may be fairly challenging at times, having multiple people contribute through class discussion and questions about difficult topics will help everyone’s understanding of the material. Participating in class also demonstrates that you have done the readings. For these reasons, a grade for classroom participation will be given. Considering that we have 10 classes that will last 80 minutes, everyone should have ample op-

portunity to participate. One absence during the semester upon prior notification (at least 24 hours ahead) via email is granted.

The seminars will have 2 parts:

- a 30 min lecture component summarizing the key theoretical and conceptual insights relevant to the topic; additional background info on the EU's institutional set-up and policy-making process will be provided during the lecture time
- a 50 min discussion component based on the assigned readings

**Course materials:** There are no required books for this course and most of the readings will consist of journal articles. However, we will be reading extensively from Sarah Hobolt and James Tilly. 2014. *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union*, Oxford University Press.

## GRADING POLICIES

Grading is based on:

- A. Classroom participation (20%)—come to class prepared to actively contribute to the discussion
- B. 1 presentation (20%)—you will either present alone or with one classmate (depending on the final count of students). Choose the week you want to present during the first week of class, but make sure it does not overlap with the weeks of response papers. The presentation should provide a short and concise summary (maximum of 15 minutes) of the week's readings, and should serve as a basis for in-class discussion. You may bring in additional info if the readings are unclear or perhaps to make your point across (you can think of videos, small clips, newspaper items). Most importantly, the presentation needs to end with 2-3 questions that will generate a discussion on the readings. These questions are usually meant to be critical towards the readings. The presentation (in power point format or just word) needs to be submitted by Monday 3pm (the day before class) via email. Always check with me before finalizing the presentation to make sure you cover all the points for full credit.
- C. 2 response papers (20% each, total 40%), one has a fixed date—due on Oct 26 and the second one is your choice. The two response papers are meant to survey and compare the readings of the week. These written assignments should highlight the central themes and points of disagreement in the literature, and pose any potentially important but unanswered questions. Students will sign up on the first day of class for the weeks in which they will write response papers. Presentations and response papers should not overlap. The response papers should be handed in via email on the Monday afternoon (3 pm at the latest) before the class in which the readings will be discussed. The response papers should be between 2,500 and 3,000 words in length, and should follow the usual formatting, and citation requirements of research papers.

For citations please use the 'Harvard style' information available at: <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk/referencing/referencing.htm> . For additional information on citation and referencing please see the short guide for "Acknowledging, Paraphrasing, and Quoting Sources", available at: [http://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/Acknowledging\\_Sources.pdf](http://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/Acknowledging_Sources.pdf)

D. 1 final 24-hour take home (20%). More information on the take home exam will be provided during the first and last week of the course. This final exam will be scheduled during the examination period 11/01/2016 to 12/02/2016.

I will apply the following indicative grading scheme:

- 100-90: (A)
- 89-70: (B)
- 69-50: (C)
- < 50: (fail, F)

## POLICIES

**Assignments:** All assignments must be submitted on line, **by the deadline**, and handed in to the instructor, at the beginning of the class. Make up exams and late final papers will not be accepted unless there are serious legitimate reasons. Provision of a signed medical note is required, and notice must be given prior to the deadline.

**Academic honesty policies:** The standard plagiarism and academic integrity rules apply, i.e. all the materials you submit in paper or online must be the results of your own individual work. Any signs of plagiarism will be taken very seriously. You do not submit a paper for this course, but make sure that you abide by the academic integrity rules also in the shorter pieces of text you will submit for your homework assignments. Please consult the Faculty policies on plagiarism (see <http://intranet.fsv.cuni.cz/FSVINT-637.html>, only in Czech) or have a look here: [https://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/Acknowledging\\_Sources.pdf](https://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/Acknowledging_Sources.pdf)

**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.

## COURSE SCHEDULE\*

*\*As the semester unfolds I usually come across readings that I think are more interesting than the ones selected. If this happens, I will let you know in advance (1 week) when I am replacing the old ones with new ones.*

### **PART 1: Issues of accountability and legitimacy from an institutional perspective**

#### **Sept 29--Week1**

#### **Introduction to the course and its policies**

#### **EU as a political system; issues of representation and legitimacy**

Norris, Pippa. 1997. "Representation and the democratic deficit", *European Journal of Political Research* 32 (2) December: 273-282

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. YEAR. "European Union?" *West European Politics*, 31(1-2): 108-129.

## **Oct 6--Week 2**

### **Questions of Legitimacy, Accountability, and Responsibility (A theoretical approach)**

Hobolt, Sarah and James Tilly. 2014. "Who is Responsible" in *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union* (chapter 2) (scan)

Deirdre Curtin, Peter Mair & Yannis Papadopoulos. 2010. "Positioning Accountability in European Governance: An Introduction", *West European Politics*, 33:5, 929-945

Mark Bovens. 2007. "New Forms of Accountability and EU Governance" *Comparative European Politics* 5: 104-120

Majone, Giandomenico, 1998. "Europe's 'Democratic Deficit': The Question of Standards", *European Law Journal*, 4(1), pp. 5-28.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2002. "In Defense of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing legitimacy in the EU", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (4): 603-24

Follesdal, Andreas and Simon Hix, 2006. "Why there is a Democratic Deficit in the European Union. A Response to Majone and Moravcsik", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44(3), pp. 533-62.

## **Oct 13--Week 3**

### **Institutions and Public Satisfaction with EU Policies (1)—the 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 (scan)

Hobolt, Sarah and James Tilly. 2014. "When do Citizens Get it Right" in *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union* (chapter 3) (scan)

Anchrit Wille. 2010. "Political–Bureaucratic Accountability in the EU Commission: Modernising the Executive", *West European Politics*, 33:5, 1093-1116.

Marianne van de Steeg. 2014. "The European Council's Evolving Political Accountability" in Mark Bovens, Deirdre Curtin and Paul't Hart, 2010. "The Real World of EU Accountability: What Deficit?" Oxford University Press, 117-149. (scan)

## **Oct 20--Week 4**

### **Institutions and Public Satisfaction with EU Policies (2)—the Legislatures**

Hobolt, Sarah and James Tilly. 2014. "When do Citizens Get it Wrong" in *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union* (chapter 4) (scan)

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) (scan)

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) (scan)

Gabel, Mathew. 2003. "Public Support for the European Parliament", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41 (2): 289-308

Tapio Raunio. 2015. "The Role of National Legislatures in EU Politics" in Olaf Cramme and Sara Hobolt, *Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress*, Oxford University Press, pp103-119 (scan)

## **PART 2: Communicating EU and issues of representation**

## Oct 27--Week 5 \*\*\*

### Communicating Europe:

**\*\*\*The Instructor will miss the class. Use it as an opportunity to catch up on the readings.**

Hobolt, Sarah and James Tilly. 2014. "Who do the Media Blame" in *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union* (chapter 5) (scan)

Hobolt, Sarah and James Tilly. 2014. "When do the Media Inform" in *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union* (chapter 6) (scan)

Hobolt, Sarah and James Tilly. 2014. "Who Do Politicians Blame" in *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union* (chapter 7) (scan)

Meyer, Christoph. 1999. "Political legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics: Exploring the EU's Communication Deficit", *Journal Common Market Studies* 37 (4): 617-39

Giuseppe Veltri. 2012. "Information flows and centrality among elite European newspapers", *European Journal of Communication* 27(4) 354– 375.

## Nov 3--Week 6

**\*\*\*Discuss the readings of Week 5.**

## Nov 10—Week 7

### Political Cleavages and Applications to EU politics

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

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

Simon Hix. 2008. "Towards a Partisan Theory of EU Politics", *Journal of European Public Policy* 15:8, 1254 -1265.

*Background readings not related to the EU but to party systems more generally—I assume you've seen these readings in other classes, if not please consult them for this week to be able to make sense of the idea of political cleavage at the EU level. These readings should not be part of the response papers, in case you decide to write on this week.*

1. 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) (scan)
2. Mair, Peter. 2001. "The Freezing Hypothesis: An Evaluation." In Lauri Karvonen and Stein Kuhnle (eds) *Party System and Voter Alignments Revisited*. New York: Routledge (scan)
3. Whitefield, Stephen (2002). "Political Cleavages and the Post-Communist Politics", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 5: 181-200

## Nov 17—Week 8

### European Parliament (EP) Elections as Second Order National Elections

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

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

*Background readings not related to the EU but to midterm elections more generally—I assume you've seen these readings in other classes, if not please consult them for this week to be able to make sense of the idea of second order national elections at the EU level. These readings should not be part of the response papers, in case you decide to write on this week.*

1. Campbell, Angus. 1960. "Surge and Decline: A Study of Electoral Change", *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 24 (3): 397-418
2. Tuftes, Edward. 1975. "Determinants of the Outcomes of Midterm Congressional Elections", *The American Political Science Review* 69 (3): 812-826

### **Nov 24--Week 9**

#### **EP elections– different nuances**

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 (scan)

Hix, Simon, and Marsh Michael. 2007. "Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections" in *The Journal of Politics*, 69 (2): 495-510

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 (scan)

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

### **PART 3: EU(rope) under stress—an evaluation of the major crises facing the EU**

### **Dec 1--Week 10**

#### **Populism, Euroscepticism, and Radical Right Movements**

Han Werts, Peer Scheepers and Marcel Lubbers. 2013. "Euro-scepticism and radical right-wing voting in Europe, 2002-2008. Social cleavages, socio-political attitudes and contextual characteristics determining voting for the radical right", *European Union Politics* 14(2) 183–205

Pierangelo Isernia and James S Fishkin. 2014. "The EuroPolis deliberative poll" *European Union Politics* 2014 15 (3): 311-327

Ian Kearns and Denitsa Raynova. 2014. "The Foreign and Security Policies of Populist Parties in Europe. Policy Brief" (scan)

Pieter de Wilde and Hans-Jörg Trenz. 2012. "Denouncing European integration: Euroscepticism as polity contestation" *European Journal of Social Theory* 2012 15 (4): 537-554

Matthijs Rooduijn. 2014. "The Mesmerising Message: The Diffusion of Populism in Public Debates in Western European Media", *Political Studies*, Volume 62, Issue 4, pages 726–744,

### **Dec 8--Week 11**

## **The Euro, the Economic crisis, and EU Democracy**

Martin Feldstein, "The Euro and European Economic Conditions," NBER Working Paper Series, *Working Paper* 17617, November 2011.

APSA European Politics and Society Section Newsletter, special issue on the Euro debt crisis, pp. 3-16.

Fabio Serricchio, Myrto Tsakatika, and Lucia Quaglia. 2013. "Euroscepticism and the Global Financial Crisis", *JCMS* 2013 Volume 51. Number 1. pp. 51-64.

Philip Levitz and Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2010. "Why No Backsliding? The EU's Impact on Democracy and Governance Before and After Accession," *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 457-485.

Simon Hix 2015. "Democratizing a Macroeconomic Union in Europe" in Olaf Cramme and Sara Hobolt (eds) *Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress*, Oxford University Press, pp 181-198 (scan)

Frank Schimmelfenning. 2015. "Differentiates Integration Before and After the Crisis" in Olaf Cramme and Sara Hobolt (eds) *Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress*, Oxford University Press, pp 120-134 (scan)

## **Dec 15--Week 12**

### **Where does it leave us? Reflections on issues covered.**

Hobolt, Sarah and James Tilly. 2014. "Does Responsibility Matters" in *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union* (chapter 8) (scan)

Hobolt, Sarah and James Tilly. 2014. "Conclusion: Responsibility without Accountability" in *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without Accountability in the European Union* (chapter 9) (scan)

Catherine de Vries. 2015. "Rethinking Electoral Democracy in Europe" in Olaf Cramme and Sara Hobolt (eds) *Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress*, Oxford University Press, pp 217-235 (scan)

Sverker Gustavsson. 2015. "The Need for Legitimate Opposition and Protectionism" in Olaf Cramme and Sara Hobolt (eds) *Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress*, Oxford University Press, pp 236-254(scan)