Course Manual
Citizens, parties and governments in global times

2018

Contents

General information

Course description

This third course in the Politics & Society specialisation focuses on the political relevance of different types of globalisation for citizens, political parties, and governments. First, we focus on contemporary debates in political sociology and political science that are directed at scrutinizing how citizens react to globalization processes, such as free trade, migration flows, the global exchange of ideas and images, and the (alleged) withering of national institutions. Do these processes inspire a more cosmopolitan outlook or do citizens become more nationalistic or attached to regional identities? And do citizens feel that their political behaviour decreasingly matters? Second, we discuss the new challenges that political parties face due to globalisation. Hotly debated topics that will be addressed in this course are questions such as whether globalisation explains the rise of new populist parties, and whether it affects party ideologies. Third, contemporary governments have to deal with all abovementioned aspects and political corollaries of globalisation. The general question is how governments behave in a globalised context. How does globalization affect policy-making? Does globalization lead to welfare state retrenchment? Does it lead to less liberal immigration policies? And what about European Union (EU) policy-making, how do citizens perceive the EU and what factors differential support for EU integration across individuals and countries. More importantly, do changing citizen attitudes and a changing party landscape affect the European Union and its institutions as well? Fourth, how do societal developments affect the dimensions on which political parties mobilise? And can we witness the same dimension among their voters?

Note: This course builds on theories, concepts, and research findings discussed in the first two courses in Politics & Society (that is, *The Social Bases of Politics* and *Political Attitudes and Behaviour in Context*). We allow up to five elective students. Students who have at least attended one and preferably both of the two prior courses in Politics & Society are eligible to apply. Selection will be based on both prior knowledge and motivation. Note that basic knowledge of quantitative social-scientific methods is needed in order to understand a substantial part of the mandatory literature.

Learning objectives

After successful completion of this course, students will be able to:
- Differentiate among the types and aspects of globalisation processes taking place;
- Explain social-scientific theories on how globalisation influences citizens' political attitudes and behaviours, party systems, and party ideologies;
- Explain social-scientific theories on the way in which governments and policies related to global issues are influenced by tensions between domestic politics and international obligations;
- Apply the above-mentioned social-scientific theories on the relationship between globalisation and politics to contemporary social phenomena;
- Discuss the similarities and differences between social-scientific theories on the relationship between globalisation and politics;
- Critically reflect on social-scientific theories on the relationship between globalisation and politics;
- Formulate and test a theoretically informed hypothesis related to the impact of globalization on political institutions, policies, and/or citizen's attitudes and behaviour by conducting a basic quantitative analysis of secondary data;
- Orally present the findings of the above-mentioned analysis to an informed audience.

Staff

For questions about this course, please contact Asya Zhelyazkova: zhelyazkova@essb.eur.nl

Dr. Asya Zhelyazkova is Assistant Professor of Comparative European Union Politics and Public Policy. She holds a Master degree in Sociology and Social Research from Utrecht University, where she also completed her PhD at the Inter-university Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS) (2007 – 2012). During her doctoral years, Asya was also a visiting scholar at the University of Manheim (2010). In 2012, Asya started working as a post-doctoral researcher at the European Politics Research Group at the Center for Comparative and International Studies at ETH Zürich, where she worked on different projects related to EU integration, EU policy implementation and member states' compliance with EU directives.
Asya obtained Radboud Excellence Initiative Fellowship (REI) at the School of Management of Radboud University Nijmegen (2016-2018).
Her research interests include EU and national public policy, enforcement of EU policy, European integration, transparency and responsiveness of government and supranational policy, quantitative methods.

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Dr. Jeroen van der Waal is Associate Professor of Sociology. His research contributes to a wide-range of subfields within sociology – cultural sociology, political sociology, urban sociology,

sociology of religion, sociology of health – and adjacent fields as criminology, psychology, and political science. Yet, explaining the political ramifications of social stratification in Western societies is the bedrock of his research program. To do so, he applies the type of mechanism-based approach developed by scholars of the 'Columbia school', most notably Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton.

His research in political sociology is inspired by classical readings such as Lipset's *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* and Lazarsfeld et al.'s *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. Informed by the Weberian distinction between class and status, he analyses the various ways in which both economic stratification (i.e. class hierarchies) and cultural stratification (i.e. status hierarchies) are salient for a wide range of political issues. He does so by uncovering the mechanism that underlie well-established relationships between stratification markers such as education and income on the one hand, and political attitudes, various forms of discontent and institutional distrust, party identification and voting on the other.

In addition to his research activities, Jeroen is programme director of the new international multidisciplinary Bachelor program *Management of International Social Challenges* and the Master programme *Politics & Society*.
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Assessment

Your final grade will be determined by a) a closed-book examination (65%), b) an oral presentation of an individual research project (35%)

The **closed-book exam** (April 11, 18.30-21.30h) will consist of open questions. These questions will not only test your knowledge of the literature and the information covered in the lectures, but will also test your ability to apply this knowledge to contemporary political phenomena, and to recognize and theoretically reflect on the impact of globalisation on citizens, parties and governments. The skills required to succeed in the examination are listed in this course's learning objectives.

The second assignment of this course is an individual **research project**, consisting of a presentation. For a detailed description of the elements that your presentation should consist of and the evaluation criteria, please see Appendix A. The presentation should include five elements:

Introduction: an attractive start of the presentation, which catches the interest of the audience, and discusses the 1) research question and the 2) scientific relevance (how does it contribute to the literature).

Theory: description of the central concepts and theories used, including the mechanisms these theories assume, and well-formulated hypotheses that are deduced from those theories.
Methods & Data: description of the method that is employed, including the operationalization of the concepts in your hypotheses.
Results: eloquent presentation of results, using appropriate amount of graphs
Conclusions: description of central findings, limitations of the study, recommendations for future research and possibly policy.

Three elements of the presentation are assessed: the slides, the notes related to the slides, and the presentation itself. The notes function as an elaboration of the slides, which reflect what you aim to tell during the presentation. It can also be the text that you will read out during the presentation. In the slides (in small font), and in the notes, correct references must be used. In an appendix (not in presentation), a complete reference list must be included, as well as the syntax of your analyses.

Note that there are **three deadlines** involved in this assignment:

1. As a first step, the students present their subject idea to the other students and a staff member to get feedback. Your **pitch presentation** should include an introduction to the subject of your study, your research question, the scientific relevance and a description of the data that you want to use. The deadline for uploading your pitch presentation on SocWeb is **February 28 (23.59h).**
2. The second step is the **draft research project**. Instead of a plenary tutorial, all students will discuss their draft version of the research project with a staff member (on March 31). Please make sure to submit a well-developed draft version, to get optimal feedback on all aspects of your proposal. You are very welcome to include questions or specific points that you like guidance on. You are advised to upload both a draft presentation, as well as draft notes. You can upload this as one document by using the notes function in PowerPoint. The deadline for submitting your draft research project on SocWeb is **March 18 (23:59h).**
3. The deadline for uploading the **final research presentation** to SocWeb is **March 29 (23.59h)**. Please note that this is the *final* deadline, and that it is of course allowed to submit your presentation at a moment of your convenience prior to this deadline.

Attendance

1) Satisfactory participation in tutorials includes being well-prepared, i.e. having thoroughly read all readings for that week.
2) Prior to tutorials 2 and 3, you have to submit an assignment. If you do not properly and timely submit these assignments, you do not satisfactorily participate in the tutorial and the tutor will register you as absent.
3) You can be absent in **maximum 2** tutorials
4) If you are registered as absent from a tutorial, you are required to complete a catch-up assignment. You should summarise the key research puzzles, theories, and insights from the literature for the week in which you were absent at the tutorial. The <u>minimum</u> word count is 1,000.
5) The deadline of all catch-up assignments is **April 20 (23.59h).** Catch-up assignments can be uploaded through Mystudy on **SocWeb.**

Second chances

Students who's final average grade is lower than 5,5 or who have a grade lower than a 4 on either the exam or the research project, need to do a resit. Whether they re-sit the exam, the research project, or both, is their own decision. The re-sit of the exam will be on **June 22 (13.30-16.30h)**.

If a student's grade for the research project is lower than 5,5, (s)he can use the resit to improve their project in order to increase to a sufficient grade. If a student's grade is higher than a 5,5 (s)he can only submit a research project of a new chosen topic. The deadline for the re-sit of the research project will be on **June 22 (23.59h)**.

Course overview

Week	Topic lecture & staff member	Topic tutorial	Deadlines (submit on SocWeb)
1	Globalisation and nationalism *(Dr. Jeroen van der Waal)*	Statistics refreshment session	
2	Globalisation, efficacy and electoral participation	Research into macro-micro relations	Tutorial assignment *February 15 (15.00h)*
3	Globalization and welfare policies	Research into macro-macro relations	Tutorial assignment *February 22 (15.00h)*
4	Globalization and immigration policies	Pitch presentation subject research project	Pitch presentation *February 28 (23.59h)*
5	Political competition	Debate	
6	Public Opinion and Politicisation of EU policymaking	Group work: public opinion and party positions on EU integration	
7	Responsiveness of EU policy-making	Individual feedback on draft research project	Draft research project *March 18 (23.59h)*
8	Global times: reflections and projections *(all staff)*	Presenting final research project + drinks	Final research project presentation *March 29 (23.59h)*
9	Exam		*April 11 (18.30-21.30h)*

Weekly programme

Week 1

Preparation: thoroughly read all of this week's literature

Lecture:
This week's lecture consists of two parts. It will, firstly, describe the objectives of the course together with the practical requirements, In the second, more substantive part of the lecture, we will introduce the notion of globalisation: what does it entail, what aspects relevant for contemporary politics can be discerned, and how are these aspects measured in empirical research. We continue with a discussion of the dominant theories of the impact of globalisation on the nationalism of citizens (i.e. their opposition to free trade, immigration, and supranational organisations) as well as competing theoretical notions of the losers and winners of globalisation. Together with the students, the lecturer will build a conceptual model able to test these theories and invite the students to summarise their insights from the previous two courses of the program.

Tutorial: Statistics refreshment session
Although all students have experience with quantitative analyses, we use this first tutorial to refresh your knowledge. We will start with a mini lecture which covers the main points of attention in preparing your data for regression analysis, and regression analyses itself.

Week 2

Preparation: thoroughly read all of this week's literature + upload tutorial assignment

Tutorial assignment deadline: February 15 (15.00h)

Lecture: Globalisation, efficacy and electoral participation
One of the main characteristics of globalisation is that the nation state is exposed to global forces beyond its control. And therefore, one implication of globalization is that national governments have less ability to effectively change the circumstances of their voters. This is especially the case for the economic dimension of globalization. In this lecture we will discuss to what extent economic globalization affects the political perceptions and behaviours of individual citizens. Do voters perceive economic globalization? Does it matter for their judgement of political actors? And do they even care who is in office, if the national political arena does not have much of a say in the global economic playing field?

Tutorial: Research into macro-micro relationships

In this tutorial we will continue our practice of quantitative analyses. The focus of this tutorial is the impact of globalisation political attitudes and behaviours of citizens. We will only use aggregate measures in this course for political attitudes and behaviours of citizens, and in this tutorial we will practise this type of analysis. All students need to prepare for this tutorial by submitting a research question based on the literature of week 1 or 2, with accompanying hypotheses and operationalisation with one of the datasets available on SocWeb. This means that you need to develop a research question that can be answered with these data.

Week 3

Preparation: thoroughly read all of this week's literature + upload tutorial assignment

Tutorial assignment deadline: February 22 (15:00h)

Lecture: Globalization and welfare policies
In this lecture we move from citizen characteristics such as attitudes and voter turnout to the macro-level: the country level and more particularly public policies. Globalization is likely to affect policy making directly through creating pressures policy-makers have to respond to and by shaping the feasibility of policy solutions. Globalization is also likely to affect policy making indirectly through changing citizen attitudes and a changing party landscape. This lecture focus on the effect of globalization on welfare policies. Does globalization lead to welfare state retrenchment? What factors explain variation across countries concerning welfare policies? We will also pay attention to conceptualizing and operationalizing public policies to make them palatable for (quantitative) cross-national research (the 'dependent variable' problem).

Tutorial: Research into macro-macro relationships
As a sequences to the previous two tutorials, this week we will practice research into macro-macro relationships. Hence, the dependent variables changes from attitudes and other individual characteristics to the macro phenomenon public policy. Beforehand, just like for tutorial 2, all students need to upload a research question, accompanying hypotheses and operationalisation, with one of the datasets on SocWeb. They need to base that research question on the literature and lecture of this week.

Week 4

Preparation: thoroughly read all of this week's literature + upload your Pitch Presentation

Pitch Presentation deadline: February 28 (23.59h)

Lecture: Globalization and immigration policy
This lecture focuses on immigration, which another policy area closely related to globalization. We will discuss how to measure immigration policy and which factors explain differences across countries and over time. In particular, we will focus on how parties in government and different institutional domestic factors shape the objectives immigration policies. We also address effects of globalization on asylum policy, which has become extremely politicised due to the refugee crisis in Europe. In particular, we will focus on the extent to which supranational organizations like the EU influenced government actions in relation to asylum policy.

Tutorial: Pitch Presentations
In this tutorial, the students present their subject idea to the other students and the lecturer to get feedback. Your pitch presentation should include an introduction to the subject of your study, your research question, the scientific relevance, and a description of the data that you want to use. We ask students to actively engage, by asking questions and providing constructive feedback to each other. We stimulate students to share their experiences and knowledge of the datasets.

Week 5

Preparation: thoroughly read all of this week's literature

Lecture: Political competition
How do the forces of economic and cultural globalization affect competition between political parties? Do they still focus on economic issues, and differentiate themselves from other parties on issues of class, such as redistribution? Or have new issues, such as identity, immigration, and environmental policy taken over from well-known economic left-right divide? This lecture pays attention to the dimensions in which parties can be situated, and changes in these dimensions of political competition in recent decades. Furthermore, we will also look at voters. To what extent do the changes in the positions of parties match their demands? Do parties supply the policy stances that voters actually want?

Tutorial: Debate
In the tutorial, you will receive propositions based on course literature you have read so far. You will have some time to prepare a position concerning the proposition in pairs of two students, and then you will debate either in favour or in opposition towards the proposition.

Week 6

Preparation: thoroughly read all of this week's literature

Lecture: Public Opinion and Politicisation of EU policymaking
This lecture moves from national policy-making to EU policy-making. For a long time, EU policy-making has been relatively isolated from public opinion and party politics. However, globalization has led to an increased politicisation of the European Union. In this lecture we will first refresh our knowledge of the EU institutional architecture. Second, you will become acquainted with the main theories that explain why citizens support or oppose EU integration and EU policy-making. We will therefore address the following questions: How do citizens perceive the EU and why? How can we conceptualize and measure public support of / opposition to the EU? In the third part of the lecture, we will discuss how national political parties have responded to the increased contestation of EU politics in the public domain. We will thus explain the concept of "politicization" and the extent to which the EU has become more politicized over time and especially after the Euro-crisis.

Tutorial: Group work on public opinion and politicization of EU policy-making
In this tutorial, students will work in groups of three on a short "collaborative project" linking public opinion and party positions on EU integration. First, each group of students will choose an EU member state that they wish to analyse. Second, students will analyse the level of public and party support for EU integration in their selected country, based on the Eurobarometer data-sets and the Chapel Hill data-set on party positions on EU integration. Both data-sets are available online and the instructor will provide additional instructions on SocWeb. After the group work, we will proceed with short presentations and general discussion about politicisation of EU integration in different member states. Prior to the tutorial, all students should familiarize themselves with the relevant data-sets.

Week 7

Preparation: thoroughly read all of this week's literature + upload presentation draft research project

Presentation draft research project deadline: March 18 (23.59h)

Lecture: Responsiveness of EU policy-making
In the previous lecture, we addressed questions about citizens' perceptions and party stances on EU issues. However, an important questions remains unanswered: to what extent the EU institutions and national representatives are willing and able to accommodate citizens' preferences about the EU in supranational policy outputs. In this lecture we will address this question by focusing on different ideas of "responsiveness" and linking these to the EU policy-making process. We will discuss different theoretical pathways and mechanisms through which citizens can influence EU public policy and the problems associated with analysing questions of EU responsiveness empirically.

Tutorial: Presenting draft research project
This tutorial offers students the opportunity to get individual feedback from the course coordinator on their draft research project. Please make sure to submit a well-developed draft version, as to get optimal feedback on all aspects of your proposal. You are very welcome to include questions, or specific points that you like guidance on.

Week 8

Preparation: thoroughly read all of this week's literature + upload presentation final research project

Presentation research project deadline: March 29 (23.59h)

Lecture: Global times: reflections and projections
In this course, and more broadly, in this master's programme, we have discussed many different aspects of politics in contemporary Western societies. We have paid attention to differences between groups of citizens, differences between contexts, and the interplay between citizens, political parties and policies (both domestic and supranational). This has made abundantly clear that the projections of various intellectuals and scholars made in the 1990s failed to materialise. Firstly, as addressed in the first course, contrary to the individualisation thesis various social collectivities still, or even increasingly are, politically salient. Secondly, as addressed in this course, the idea in Fukuyama's notion 'the end of history' that liberal democracy is the only viable option after the fall of the Berlin wall is flawed: all kinds of illiberal tendencies can still, or even increasingly so, be found in Western democracies. In this final lecture, the staff of this master's programme wants to discuss and theorise projections for upcoming decades together with students. What, taking all the insights gained during this Master programme into account, will the future of Western democracies look like? This will be discussed by means of statements formulated by the staff members. The students will discuss these statement group wise. They will do so by formulating arguments both in favour and in opposition to the statements.

Tutorial: Presenting final research project
In this tutorial, all students present the results of their research projects. This presentation, and the accompanying notes and references, determine 35% of the grade of this course. As this is the final plenary meeting of the master's programme, we invite all students for a drink afterwards.

Readings

We do not use a single textbook that covers all the basics. Instead, we aim for in-depth insights and relating social-scientific theories to empirical research by drawing on various research articles and book chapters. The articles and chapters that you will need to read each week are listed below.

Week 1

Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M. J. (2007). Educated preferences: Explaining attitudes toward immigration in Europe. *International organization*, *61*(02), 399-442.

Kuhn, T., van Elsas, E., Hakhverdian, A., & van der Brug, W. (2016). An ever wider gap in an ever closer union: Rising inequalities and euroscepticism in 12 West European democracies, 1975–2009. *Socio-Economic Review*, *14*(1), 27-45.

Margalit, Y. (2012). Lost in globalization: International economic integration and the sources of popular discontent1. *International Studies Quarterly*, *56*(3), 484-500.

Van der Waal, J., & de Koster, W. (2015). Why do the less educated oppose trade openness? A test of three explanations in the Netherlands. E*uropean Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, *2*(3-4), 313-344.

Week 2

Hellwig, T., & Samuels, D. (2007). Voting in open economies the electoral consequences of globalization. *Comparative Political Studies*, *40*(3), 283-306.

Marshall, J., & Fisher, S. D. (2015). Compensation or Constraint? How different dimensions of economic globalization affect government spending and electoral turnout. *British Journal of Political Science*, *45*(2), 353-389.

Steiner, N. D. (2016). Economic globalisation, the perceived room to manoeuvre of national governments, and electoral participation: Evidence from the 2001 British General Election. *Electoral Studies*, *41*, 118-128.

Vowles, J. (2008). Does globalization affect public perceptions of 'Who in power can make a difference'? Evidence from 40 countries, 1996–2006. *Electoral Studies*, *27*(1), 63-76.

Week 3

Allan, J. P., & Scruggs, L. (2004). Political partisanship and welfare state reform in advanced industrial societies. *American Journal of Political Science*, *48*(3), 496-512.

Green-Pedersen, C. (2004). The dependent variable problem within the study of welfare state retrenchment: Defining the problem and looking for solutions. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, *6*(1), 3-14.

Kauder, B., & Potrafke, N. (2015). Globalization and social justice in OECD countries. *Review of World Economics*, *151*(2), 353-376.

Rothstein, B., Samanni, M., & Teorell, J. (2012). Explaining the welfare state: power resources vs. the Quality of Government. *European Political Science Review*, *4*(1), 1-28.

Week 4

Akkerman, T. (2012). Comparing Radical Right Parties in Government: Immigration and Integration Policies in Nine Countries (1996–2010). *West European Politics*, 35(3), 511-529

Abou-Chadi, T. (2016). Political and institutional determinants of immigration policies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(13), 2087-2110.

Koopmans, R., Michalowski, I., & Waibel, S. (2012). Citizenship Rights for Immigrants: National Political Processes and Cross-National Convergence in Western Europe, 1980–2008. *American Journal of Sociology*, *117*(4), 1202-1245.

Toshkov, D. & de Haan, L. (2013) The Europeanization of asylum policy: an assessment of the EU impact on asylum applications and recognitions rates. *Journal of European Public Policy, 20(5)*, 661-683

Week 5

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S., & Frey, T. (2006). Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared. *European Journal of Political Research*, *45*(6), 921-956.

Stubager, R. (2010). The development of the education cleavage: Denmark as a critical case. *West European Politics*, *33*(3), 505-533.

Van der Brug, W., & Van Spanje, J. (2009). Immigration, Europe and the 'new'cultural dimension. *European Journal of Political Research*, *48*(3), 309-334.

Van der Meer, T., Lubbe, R., Van Elsas, E., Elff, M., & Van Der Brug, W. (2012). Bounded volatility in the Dutch electoral battlefield: A panel study on the structure of changing vote intentions in the Netherlands during 2006–2010. *Acta Politica*, *47*(4), 333-355.

Week 6

De Vries, C. E., & Edwards, E. E. (2009). Taking Europe to its extremes: Extremist parties and public Euroscepticism, *Party Politics, 15(1)*, 5-28.

Hobolt, S.B. & Wratil, C. (2015). Public opinion and the crisis: the dynamics of support for the euro, *Journal of European Public Policy, 22(2),* 238-256

Hobolt, S. B., & de Vries, C. E. (2016). Public support for European integration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *19*, 413-432.

Hutter, S., & Grande, E. (2014). Politicizing Europe in the national electoral arena: A comparative analysis of five West European countries, 1970–2010. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, *52(5*), 1002-1018.

Week 7

Alexandrova, P., Rasmussen, A. & Toshkov, D. (2016). Agenda responsiveness in the European Council: public priorities, policy problems and political attention. *West European Politics, 39(4)*, 605-627.

Franklin, M. N., & Wlezien, C. (1997). The responsive public: Issue salience, policy change, and preferences for European unification. *Journal of Theoretical Politics, 9(3)*, 347-363.

Wratil, C. (2017). Modes of government responsiveness in the European Union: Evidence from Council negotiation positions*. European Union Politics*, 1465116517735599 (online first)

Week 8

Participation in the lecture of week 8 calls for acquaintance with the theoretical notions discussed in the readings of all courses.

Appendix A: Elements and evaluation criteria research project presentation

Elements of research project presentation	Points
Introduction	**20**
An appealing introduction into your subject	
Well-formulated research question	
Scientific relevance	
Social relevance (if relevant)	
Theory	**25**
A clear and systematic discussion of the relevant concepts, theoretical approaches and mechanisms	
Well-formulated hypotheses	
Methods & Data	**15**
A description of the methods and data (operationalisation) that are employed and why these are the best way to answer the research question.	
Results	**20**
A clear description of the results, using graphs and concise tables	
Conclusion	**20**
Main results, limitations of the study, recommendations for future research	
Total	**100**

Formal requirements

Adequate spelling, grammar, and syntax

Adequate use of references in APA style

Complete overall structure (which should include: introduction, theory, methods & data, results and conclusion)

If your presentation does not meet these formal requirements, it might not be graded or points might be deducted from your grade