### **Government 284: Comparative Politics of Western Europe**

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Office hours: Thursday 11:00-12:00; 2:30-3:45

Class meetings: TTh 1:10-2:30; PAC 125

# **Course overview**

The leading nations of Western Europe – Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy – have developed vibrant economies and stable democracies that differ in important ways from the United States and from each other. This course explores the ability of European economies to withstand pressures of globalization and the capacity of European democracies to integrate political newcomers such as women and immigrants. We address questions such as: Where is Britain headed in the post-Blair era? With the limited ability of the French people to influence politics, should we still consider that country a democracy? Has Germany definitively overcome its Nazi past or does the strength of German democracy rely on a strong Germany economy? How can we make sense of the Italian "second republic"? Our readings and discussions over the course of the semester will shed light on these questions.

#### **Course Requirements**

25% First paper (due October 16<sup>th</sup>)

25% Second paper (due November 24<sup>th</sup>)

35% Final

10% Participation

5% Images of Europe project

#### **Course Readings**

The readings for this course average around 150-200 pages per week. They contain conflicting interpretations of both theory and history. It is important that you read actively and critically. There is no single accepted "truth" in most of the topics we explore. Your job is to learn to identify, and then to compare and evaluate competing arguments. The readings for this course complement classroom discussion; neither can substitute for the other. You should do the reading on each topic before coming to class.

The following book is available for purchase: Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger (eds.). 2008. *European Politics in Transition*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

The other readings will be on reserve at Olin. Most readings will be available as both online reserve and hard-copy reserve.

#### **Participation**

This course will have a mixed lecture/discussion format. It is therefore critical that you come to class having done the readings and prepared to talk about the material. Because discussion is critical to the course, attendance is required. Students are allowed two absences. Absences exceeding two will result in a deduction of your participation grade. Attendance alone, however, does not guarantee a good participation grade. You must also actively contribute to class discussion and I will keep track of who has spoken. Smaller assignments, such as short answers to study questions or pop quizzes, will also count towards your participation grade. Frequent absences from class will result in your participation grade counting for significantly more than 10%.

#### **Course Policies**

Students are required to complete all readings and attend each class period prepared to talk about the readings. Extensions and incompletes will not be granted under any circumstances other than significant and verifiable personal emergencies (e.g., serious illness, death in family). Late work will be penalized one full grade per day.

All work that you submit must be your own. You must cite all sources used in completing the assignments using the standard form of citation that we will go over in class. If you are unsure how to use proper citation form, please ask me. Failure to use proper citation is plagiarism. You must adhere to all aspects of the honor code. Please write on each assignment: "No aid. No violation." Please sign your name next to that statement.

#### **Images of Europe**

Twice during the semester you will be required to contribute to our Images of Europe blog. We will assign days on the second day of class. Your blog entry should contain at least two images related to the subject matter of that day's course material, as well as citation to where you found it. Students will present their images at the beginning of each class. This work will be done in pairs.

# **Class Schedule and Reading Assignments**

# **INTRODUCTION**

Sept 8 **Introduction** 

Sept 10 **Did the United States Save Europe?** 

Reading: Urwin, Derek. 1997. A Political History of Western Europe Since 1945.

Fifth edition. London: Longman. Chap. 3 "Problems of Reconstruction."

Maier, Charles. 1981. "The Two Postwar Eras and the Conditions for Stability in Twentieth Century Western Europe," *American Historical* 

Review, Vol. 86, No. 2, pp. 327-352.

Heilbroner, Robert. 1986. "The Heresies of John Maynard Keynes," in *Idem., The Worldly Philosophers*. New York: Simon and Schuster, pp. 249-

87.

Sept 15 Why the United States and Europe are Different: Cross National

**Differences** 

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Introduction.

Esping-Andersen. 2006. [first published 1990]. "Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism," in Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles (eds.), *The* 

Welfare State Reader. Second edition. Pp. 160-174.

#### THE POSTWAR SETTLEMENTS

Sept 17 Great Britain: Political System

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chaps. 1, 3, 4.

Beer, Samuel. 1982. *Modern British Politics: Parties and Pressure Groups in the Collectivist Age*. New York: W. W. Norton. Pp. 69-102.

Sept 22 Great Britain: Political Economy

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chap. 2.

Hall, Peter. 1986. Governing the Economy: The Politics of State

Intervention in Britain and France. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chap. 3.

Sept 24 NO CLASS: INSTRUCTOR IS IN GERMANY FOR THE ELECTION

Sept 29 Germany: Election News

Readings: Conradt, David. 1989. "Changing German Political Culture," in Gabriel

Almond and Sidney Verba (eds.) *The Civic Culture Revisited*. London:

Sage. Pp. 212-272.

October 1 Germany: Political System

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chaps. 11, 13, 14.

Clemens, Clay M. (2007) "The Grand Coalition and a Changing Political Order: Shifting Alliances and a New Era in German Politics," *The Forum*:

Vol. 5: Issue 3, Article 5.

October 6 Germany: Political Economy

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chap. 12.

Hall, Peter. 1986. Governing the Economy: The Politics of State

Intervention in Britain and France. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ch. 9, pp. 229-258.

Streeck, Wolfgang. 1991. "On the Institutional Conditions of Diversified

Quality Production," in Egon Matzner and Wolfgang Streeck (eds.),

Beyond Keynesianism. Worcester: Edward Elgar, pp. 21-61.

October 8 France: Political System

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chaps. 6. 8, 9.

Hoffmann, Stanley. 1991. "The Institutions of the Fifth Republic," in

James Hollifield and George Ross (eds.), Searching for the New France,

New York: Routledge. Pp. 43-56.

October 13 France: Political Economy

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chap. 7.

Hall, Peter. 1986. Governing the Economy: The Politics of State

Intervention in Britain and France. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chap. 6.

October 15 Italy: Political System

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chaps. 16, 18, 19.

Patridge, Hilary. 1998. Italian Politics Today. Manchester: Manchester

University Press, Chapter 4.

October 20 **Italy: Political Economy** 

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chap. 17.

Spotts, Frederic and Theodor Wieser. 1991. Italy: A Difficult Democracy.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 10, pp. 194-221.

Krause, Elizabeth. 2005. A Crisis of Births: Population Politics and Family-Making in Italy. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

Ch. 3, pp. 45-56.

## **CONTEMPORARY POLITICS**

October 22 **Britain: Thatcher, Blair and Beyond** 

Readings: Kavanagh, Dennis and Peter Morris. 1989. Consensus Politics from Attlee

to Thatcher. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd. Ch. 1, pp. 1-22.

Wilson, Graham K. (2007) "A Blair Era? The Political Order of Modern

Britain," *The Forum*: Vol. 5: Issue 3, Article 2.

October 27 NO CLASS! FALL BREAK

October 29 France: The French State in Trouble?

Readings: Bell, David S. 2004. "Parliamentary Democracy in France,"

Parliamentary Affairs, Vol. 57, No. 3, pp. 533-549.

Levy, Jonah. 2000. "France: Directing Adjustment?" in Fritz W. Scharpf and Vivien A. Schmidt (eds.), Welfare and Work in the Open Economy: Volume II. Diverse Responses to Common Challenges. Oxford: Oxford

University Press, pp. 308-350.

November 3 **Germany: Unification and Its Aftermath** 

Readings: Smith, Gordon. 1992. Developments in German Politics, Durham: Duke

University Press, pp. 9-33.

Hough, Daniel. 2010 (forthcoming). "From Pariah to Prospective Partner? The German Left Party's Winding Path towards Government," in Jonathan Olson, Daniel Hough, and Michael Koss (eds.), *Left Parties in National Governments*, London: Palgrave.

November 5 Italy: The Second Republic

Readings: Putnam, Robert. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 121-85.

Diamanti, Ilvo. 2007. "The Italian Centre-Right and Centre-Left: Between Parties and 'the Party'," *West European Politics*, Vol. 30, Issue 4, pp. 733-762.

# **EUROPEAN UNION**

November 10 European Union: History

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chapters 31, 32.

November 12 The Institutions of the European Union

Readings: Bomberg, Elizabeth, John Peterson, and Alexander Stubb. 2008. *The* 

European Union: How does it work? Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chap. 3.

November 17 Turkish Accession

Reading: Hughes, Kirsty. 2004. "Turkey and the European Union: Just Another

Enlargement? Exploring the Implications of Turkish Accession," A

Friends of Europe working paper.

#### **ISSUES IN EUROPEAN POLITICS**

November 19 **Immigration in Theory** 

Readings: Geddes, Andrew. 2003. The Politics of Migration and Immigration in

Europe. London: Sage Publications, Chapter 1.

Zimmermann, K. (ed.) 2005. European Migration: What Do We Know?

Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.

Joppke, Christian. 1998. *Challenge to the Nation-State: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 1.

# November 24 Immigration in Practice

Readings: Begag, A. 2007. *Ethnicity and Equality: France in the Balance*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press. Chapter 3.

Geddes, Andrew. 2003. *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*. London: Sage Publications, Chapter 2.

Martin, Philip L. 2004. "Germany: Managing Migration in the Twenty-First Century," in Wayne A. Cornelius, Takeyuki Tsuda, Philip L. Martin and James F. Hollifield (eds.), *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 221-260.

Geddes, Andrew. 2008. "Il rombo dei cannoni? Immigration and the centre-right in Italy," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 15, Issue 3, pp. 349-366.

### THANKSGIVING BREAK!

#### December 1 Gender Quotas in Theory

Readings: Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2006. Challenging Parties, Changing Parliaments: Women And Elected Office in Contemporary Western Europe. Ohio State

University Press. Chapters 1.

Bacchi, Carol. 2006. "Arguing for and against quotas: Theoretical issues,"

in Drude Dahlerup (ed.), Women, Quotas and Politcs. New York:

Routledge, pp. 32-52.

#### December 3 Gender Quotas in Practice

Reading: McKay, Joanna. 2004. "Women in German Politics: Still Jobs for the

Boys?" German Politics, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 56-80.

Freedman, J. 2004. "Increasing Women's Political Representation: The Limits of Constitutional Reform," *West European Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 1,

pp. 104-123.

Maier, Charles S. and Jytte Klausen. 2001. "Introduction: New Perspectives on the Use of Parity Mandates and Quotas to Guarantee Equality between Men and Women," in Jytte Klausen and Charles S. Maier (eds.), *Has Liberalism Failed Women? Assuring Equal Representation in Europe and the United States*. New York: Palgrave, pp. 3-17.

Lovenduski, Joni and Pippa Norris. 2003. "Westminster Women: The Politics of Presence," *Political* Studies, Vol. 51, Issue 1, pp. 84-102.

# December 8 Catch-Up Day

#### December 10 Conclusion

Readings: German Marshall Fund of the United States. 2009. *Transatlantic Trends – Key Findings*.