

EUROPEAN POLITICS



POLITICAL SCIENCE 8240
Spring 2005
Tuesday 4:30-7:00
1004 General Classroom Building

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

Contemporary crises and enduring puzzles demand that students of politics pay especially close attention to Europe. As such, the principal aim of this graduate seminar is to achieve an advanced understanding of major substantive, theoretical, and methodological issues involved in the study of European political systems. A comparative approach will encourage critical thinking about key trends and controversies, and it will enable students to assess the performance of individual political systems in relation to broader patterns in Europe, North America, and elsewhere. Among the topics covered by readings and discussions will be the following:

- State-building experiences and societal cleavages
- Territorial and processual distributions of power
- Party systems and electoral dynamics
- Variable policy performance and the "crisis of democracy"
- Extremist challenges to the existing political order
- Political control over national economic policy making
- Domestic influences on US-European relations (political, economic, military)
- Multiculturalism and the politics of identity
- Challenges and prospects of European integration

Regarding the last item in this list, the course provides analysis of the political and economic rationales for European Union, evidence on the development of trade and growth in the EU, analysis of convergence and disparities within the EU, and assessment of efforts to enlarge the EU by integrating central and eastern European polities. Focus will be on integration theory and measurement and analysis of EU policy performance illustrated with current issues such as monetary union, immigration, and unemployment.

TEXTS AND COURSE MATERIALS

Wiener, Antje and Thomas Diez. *European Integration Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Pagden, Anthony and Lee Hamilton, eds. *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

McNamara, Kathleen R. *The Currency of Ideas: Monetary Politics in the European Union*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Cogan, Charles. *French Negotiating Behavior: Dealing with La Grande Nation*. United States Institute of Peace, 2004.

Laver, Michael and Norman Schofield. *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

Urwin, Derek W. *A Political History of Western Europe Since 1945, 5th edition*. London: Longman, 1997.

Notes on Articles and Chapters: Additional readings will come from select journal articles and book chapters, which will be made available to you. Many of these readings may be accessed through E-Reserves (<http://reserves.gsu.edu/eres/>), read online and/or printed directly from your own computer. The documents are password protected, and we will discuss the details of using E-Reserves early in the semester. Please note also that numerous readings can be read, downloaded and printed from a campus computer via the archive of political science journal articles at JSTOR (www.jstor.org). Articles available at JSTOR are so noted.

Supplementary Sources: Please note below that I provide you with a set of required readings as well as a suggested list of supplementary readings. You will not be held responsible for the supplementary readings; however, if you find a theme particularly engaging or perhaps particularly difficult to grasp, you may want to pursue the supplementary readings to gain a fuller understanding of the material. Doctoral students are especially encouraged to be aware of these additional sources and to become familiar with them in preparation for a comprehensive exam in the area.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING SYSTEM

Weekly Commentaries

On select weeks students are required to submit short commentaries on the required readings for that week. Commentaries should be sent to me by e-mail no later than Monday at midnight. They should be the equivalent of 1-2 printed pages in length. Please do not send your commentaries as e-mail attachments but rather as the main text of the message. I will compile the commentaries and circulate them via e-mail on Tuesday morning before our class. Please read the other students' commentaries before you come to class.

Seminar Presentation

On select weeks (to be scheduled early in the semester), 1-2 students will make a 15-minute formal presentation on the readings for that week. Presentations should critique the readings, not summarize them. Presenters are not required to submit written commentaries for the week of their presentation.

Economics and Elections Small Group Project

The class will be divided into small groups and charged with preparing a short report and presentation on the relationship between economics and elections in a select European country. Results will be discussed in class on February 15. Details will be provided early in the semester.

Research Paper

Each person will complete a research paper. Although the exact length of the paper will vary depending upon your individual style and approach, we have a target length of approximately 20 pages, typed double-spaced, plus endnotes and bibliography. The paper will contain a review of the relevant literature, and it will be written in the professional style of the American Political Science Association. The objective of this project is not simply the production a research design,

but rather original research. You may use whatever methodology you feel is most appropriate to the issue and which you feel qualified to implement. I will not be impressed by inept quantitative analysis, nor will I penalize competent hypothesis-driven historical, philosophical or case-study approaches. Papers will be completed following a process that involves:

- Submission of a research proposal for approval by February 22
The two-page research proposal must include:
 1. The title or topic of the paper
 2. The propositions to be developed/hypothesis to be tested/central research question to be pursued
 3. A one-paragraph rationale for choosing the topic and statement of what the paper is expected to accomplish
 4. A one-page preliminary bibliography with varying kinds of sources (not all books, articles, or documents)
- Doctoral students (and any interested MA students) will present research findings in class on April 26 (students can expect to receive constructive feedback on their work)
- Submission of the final paper by 5:00 on Tuesday, May 3

Participation: I expect the course to be conducted as a seminar. That means that you need to talk as much as I do. Members are thus expected to attend all class sessions and to participate actively at each. Seminar participants must complete the assigned readings on time and contribute thoughtfully to class discussions.

Grade: The final seminar grade will be determined on the basis of the following weights:

Seminar presentation	15
Economics and Elections Group Project	15
Weekly summaries	20
Participation	25
Research Paper	<u>25</u>
	100%

SCHEDULE:

Section I: Introduction

January 11 **Introduction to European Politics and Political Economy**
Introductory comments and discussion of seminar format.
Framing of central issues and questions.

January 18 **Historical Foundations of "Europe"**

- Urwin, *Political History of Western Europe* (Chapters 1-6)
- Pagden, *The Idea of Europe* (Chapters 1-8)

Supplementary reading:

- Charles Tilly, ed. *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Perry Anderson. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: Verso, 1979.
- Mark Mazower. *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.
- Cyril E. Black et al. *Rebirth: A Political History of Europe Since World War II*, 2nd ed. Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 2000.

Useful Websites:

Western Europe Since 1945 <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook49.html>
History of Europe -- Primary Documents <http://library.byu.edu/~rdh/eurodocs/ec.html>
Europe on the Internet <http://www.eurunion.org/infores/euindex.htm>

European News <http://www.europe-daily.com>
EU Studies Association <http://www.eustudies.org/home.html>

Section II: Players, Institutions, and Rules of the Game

January 25

Structuring Institutions: The Territorial Axis

- "The Territorial Structuring of Europe," in Peter Flora, ed., *State Formation, Nation-Building and Mass Politics in Europe* (Oxford University Press, 1999) [E-Reserves]
- Thomas O. Hueglin, "Regionalism in Western Europe: Conceptual Problems of a New Political Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 18:4 (1986): 439-458 [JSTOR]
- Hudson Meadwell, "A Rational Choice Approach to Political Regionalism," *Comparative Politics* 23:4 (1991): 4-1-421 [JSTOR]

Supplementary reading:

- William M. Downs, "Accountability Payoffs in Federal Systems? Competing Logics and Evidence from Europe's Newest Federation." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 29:1 (Winter 1999): 87-110 [E-Reserves]
- Ivo D. Duchacek, *Comparative Federalism: The Territorial Dimension of Politics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.
- Martin Rhodes, ed. *The Regions and the New Europe: Patterns in Core and Periphery Development*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Pagden, *The Idea of Europe* (Chapter 14)

Useful Website:

Assembly of European Regions <http://www.are-regions-europe.org/>

February 1

Structuring Interests: Parties and Party Systems

- Lane and Ersson, *Politics and Society in Western Europe*, Chapters 3-5 [E-Reserves]
- André Krouwel, "Otto Kirchheimer and the Catch-All Party," *West European Politics* 26:2 (2003): 23-40 [E-Reserves]
- Nick Sitter, "Cleavages, Party Strategy and Party System Change in Europe, East and West," *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 3:3 (2002): 425-451. [E-Reserves]

Supplementary reading:

- Alan Siaroff. *Comparative European Party Systems: An Analysis of Parliamentary Elections Since 1945*. New York: Garland, 2000.
- Jean Blondel and Maurizio Cotta, eds. *The Nature of Party Government: A Comparative European Perspective*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000.
- Herbert Kitschelt et al. *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Useful Website:

European Political Resources <http://www.politicalresources.net/europe.htm>

February 8

Structuring Influence: Parliamentary Government

- Laver, Michael and Norman Schofield. *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

Supplementary reading:

- William M. Downs. *Coalition Government, Subnational Style: Multiparty Politics in Europe's Regional Parliaments*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998.

- Mikko Matila and Tapio Raunio. "Does Winning Pay? Electoral Success and Government Formation in 15 West European Countries." *European Journal of Political Research* 43:2 (2004): 263-285.

Useful Website:

Parliaments Online <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp>

Section III: Domestic Political Economy

February 15

Politics, Economics and the Structure of Credit and Blame

- Henry W. Chappell, Jr. and Linda Gonçalves Veiga, "Economics and Elections in Western Europe: 1960-1997," *Electoral Studies* 19 (2000) 183-197. [E-Reserves]
- Christopher J. Anderson, "Economic Voting and Political Context: A Comparative Perspective," *Electoral Studies* 19 (2000): 151-170. [E-Reserves]
- Marcus A. G. Harper, "Economic Voting in Postcommunist Eastern Europe," *Comparative Political Studies* 33:9 (2000) 1191-1227.
- [Economics and Elections Group Assignment due](#)

Supplementary reading:

- Christopher Anderson. *Blaming the Government: Citizens and the Economy in Five European Democracies*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.
- Michael S. Lewis-Beck. *Economics and Elections*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.

Useful Website:

Parties and Elections in Europe <http://www.parties-and-elections.de/>

February 22

Public Sector Politics and the European Welfare State

- Anton Derks, "Are the Underprivileged Really That Economically 'Leftist'? Attitudes towards Economic Redistribution and the Welfare State in Flanders," *European Journal of Political Research* 43:4 (2004): 509-521. [E-Reserves]
- Martin Schludi, "Politics of Pension Reform-The French Case in a Comparative Perspective," *French Politics* 1:2 (2003): 199-224. [E-Reserves]
- Nathan M. Jensen, "Rational Citizens Against Reform: Poverty and Economic Reform in Transition Economies," *Comparative Political Studies* 36:9 (2003): 1092-1111. [E-Reserves]

Supplementary reading:

- Harvey B. Feigenbaum and Jeffrey R. Henig. *Shrinking the State: The Political Underpinnings of Privatization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Gøsta Esping-Andersen. *Politics Against Markets: The Social Democratic Road to Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Useful Website:

Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs & Health <http://www.stm.fi/Resource.phx/eng/index.htm>

March 1

Welfare Chauvinism and the Radical Right in Europe

- Pagden, *The Idea of Europe* (Chapter 10)
- Urwin, *Political History of Western Europe* (Chapter 11)
- Matt Golder, "Explaining Variation in the Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe," *Comparative Political Studies* 36:4 (2003): 432-466. [E-Reserves]
- William M. Downs, "How Effective Is the Cordon Sanitaire? Lessons from Efforts to Contain the Far Right in Belgium, France, Denmark and Norway," *Journal für Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung* 4:1 (2002): 32-51 [E-Reserves]

Supplementary reading:

- Herbert Kitschelt, *The Radical Right in Western Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Geoffrey Harris. *The Dark Side of Europe: The Extreme Right Today*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994.

Useful Website:

ECPR Standing Group on Extremism <http://www.bath.ac.uk/Departments/ESML/ps/>

March 8 **Spring Break**

Section IV: Politics and Policy in the European Union

March 15 **Integration and European Union Politics I (Background and Institutions)**

- Urwin, *Political History of Western Europe* (Chapters 7-9, 14-15, 20)
- Wiener and Diez, *European Integration Theory* (Chapters 1-4)

Supplementary reading:

- Brent Nelson and Alex Stubbs, *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration* Lynne Rienner, 1998.
- Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Christopher Booker and Richard North, *The Great Deception: The Secret History of the European Union*. London: Continuum, 2003.

Useful Websites:

Official European Union website <http://europa.eu.int/>

The European Union in the US <http://www.eurunion.org/>

European Commission http://europa.eu.int/comm/index_en.htm

Council of the European Union <http://ue.eu.int>

European Parliament <http://www.europarl.eu.int/default.htm>

Court of Justice <http://curia.eu.int/en/index.htm>

Committee of the Regions <http://www.cor.eu.int/>

March 22 **Integration and European Union Politics II (Theory)**

- Wiener and Diez, *European Integration Theory* (Chapters 5-12)

Supplementary reading:

- Alec Stone Sweet and Wayne Sandholtz. *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Ben Rosamond. *Theories of European Integration*. New York: St. Martin's, 1999.

Useful Website:

Eur-Lex (European Union Law) <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/index.html>

March 29 **European Monetary Policy**

- McNamara, Kathleen R. *The Currency of Ideas: Monetary Politics in the European Union*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Supplementary reading:

- Pagden, *The Idea of Europe* (Chapter 12)

Useful Website:

European Central Bank <http://www.ecb.int/>

April 5

Lifting the Iron Curtain: Enlargement of the European Union

- Jan Zielonka, "Challenges of EU Enlargement," *Journal of Democracy* 15:1 (2004): 22-35. [E-Reserves]
- Margit Kraus and Robert Schwager, "EU Enlargement and Immigration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42:1 (2004): 165-181 [E-Reserves]
- Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak, "Contemporary Euroscepticism in the party systems of the European Union candidate states of Central and Eastern Europe," *European Journal of Political Research* 43:1 (2004): 1-27. [E-Reserves]

Supplementary reading:

- Geoffrey Pridham. *Dynamics of Democratization: A Comparative Approach*. London: Continuum, 2000.
- John K. Glenn. *Framing Democracy: Civil Society and Civic Movements in Eastern Europe*. Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Jon Elster et al. *Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Useful Websites:

Radio Free Europe <http://www.rferl.org/nca/special/EUEXPANDS/index.html>

Section V. Foreign Policy and Europe's Identity in the World

April 12

Whither the Atlantic Alliance? US-EU Relations

- Urwin, *Political History of Western Europe*, Chapters 13, 16, 21-23
- Christopher Hill, "Renationalizing or Regrouping? EU Foreign Policy since 11 September 2001," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42:1 (2004): 143-163. [E-Reserves]
- Paul Cornish, "The Practice and Politics of Transformation," *International Affairs* 80:1 (2004): 63-74. [E-Reserves]
- Ronald D. Asmus, "Rebuilding the Atlantic Alliance," *Foreign Affairs* 82:5 (2003): 20-31.

Supplementary reading:

- Erik Jones, "Debating the Transatlantic Relationship: Rhetoric and Reality," *International Affairs* 80:4 (2004): 595-612.

Useful Websites:

West European Union <http://www.weu.int>

NATO <http://www.nato.int/>

April 19

Dealing with the French

- Charles Cogan. *French Negotiating Behavior: Dealing with La Grande Nation*. United States Institute of Peace, 2004.

Supplementary reading:

- Henrik Larsen. *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis: France, Britain, and Europe*. Routledge, 1997.

Useful websites:

US Embassy in France <http://www.amb-usa.fr/>

French Embassy in the US <http://www.info-france-usa.org/>

April 26

Synthesis/Paper Presentations

- Pagden, *The Idea of Europe* (Chapter 15)
- David Castiglione, "Reflections on Europe's Constitutional Future," *Constellations* 11:3 (2004): 393-411. [E-Reserves]

Supplementary reading:

- Christopher Piening. *Global Europe: The E.U. in World Affairs*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997.
- Lars-Erik Cederman. *Constructing Europe's Identity: The External Dimension*. Lynne Rienner, 2001.

Useful Website:

European Constitution <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/dat/constit.html>

May 3 Research Paper due (by no later than 5:00)

Notes:

- This course syllabus provides a general plan for the course; deviations may be necessary.
- March 4 is the last day to withdraw and possibly receive a W.
- Students are responsible for the information contained in the Academic Honesty policy found in *On Campus*.