

Government 284: Comparative Politics of Western Europe

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Office hours: Thursday, 1:00 – 3:45

Class meetings: MW 11:00 – 12:20

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: Does Tony Blair's New Labour provide a model for parties of the Left across the West or is Blair's success predicated on the foundations laid by Thatcherism? 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 German 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 March 10th)
- 25% Second paper (due April 21st)
- 35% Final
- 15% Participation

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 will learn the most from this class if you do the reading on each topic before coming to class.

The following book is available for purchase:
Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger (eds.). 2006. *European Politics in Transition*, 5th edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

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

Participation

This course will have a mixed lecture/discussion format. On most days I will start by giving a lecture and then we will discuss the readings for the day. 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 15%.

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.

Class Schedule and Reading Assignments

INTRODUCTION

Jan 25 **Introduction**

Jan 30 **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.

Feb 1 **Why the United States and Europe are Different: Cross National Differences**

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Introduction.

Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan. 1991. “Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments,” in Peter Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 91-138.

THE POSTWAR SETTLEMENTS

Feb 6 **Great Britain: Political System**

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

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

Feb 8 **Great Britain: 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. 3.

Feb 13 **France: Political System**

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

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.

Feb 15 **France: 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. Chap. 6.

Feb 20 **Germany: Political System**

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

Conradt, David. 1989. "Changing German Political Culture," in Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (eds.) *The Civic Culture Revisited*. London: Sage. Pp. 212-272.

Feb 22 **Germany: Political Economy**

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chap. 17.

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.

Feb 27 **Italy: Political System**

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chaps. 21, 23, 24.

Patridge, Hilary. 1998. *Italian politics today*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, Chapter 4.

March 1 **Italy: Political Economy**

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, Chap. 22.

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.

EUROPEAN UNION

March 6 **European Union: History and Institutions**

Readings: Kesselman and Krieger, 1, 2, 3. Plus supplement on the EU Constitution.

March 8 **European Union: Grand Theories of Integration**

Readings: Schmitter, Philippe. 2003. "Neofunctionalism," in Antje Wiender and Thomas Diez (eds.) *European Integration Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2003. "Intergovernmentalism," in Antje Wiender and Thomas Diez (eds.) *European Integration Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

SPRING BREAK!

CONTEMPORARY POLITICS

March 27 **Britain: Thatcher**

Readings: Kavanagh, Dennis and Peter Morris. 1989. *Consensus Politics from Attlee to Thatcher*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd. Ch. 1, pp. 1-22.

Gamble, Andrew. 1994. *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism*. Houndsmills, UK: Macmillan, Chapter 4.

March 29 **Britain: Blair and New Labour**

Readings: Hills, J. and J. Waldfogel. 2004. "A "third way" in welfare reform? Evidence from the United Kingdom," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 765-788.

Quinn, Thomas. 2006. "Choosing the least-worst government. The British general election of 2005," *West European Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 169-178.

Mitchell, James. 2003. "Politics in Scotland," in Patrick Dunleavy, Andrew Gamble, Richard Heffernan, and Gillian Peele (eds.), *Developments in British Politics 7*. New York: Palgrave, pp. 161-180.

April 3 **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. 1999. *Tocqueville's Revenge: State, Society, and Economy in Contemporary France*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. 17-56.

April 5 **French Republicanism**

Readings: Gordon, Philip and Sophie Meunier, "Globalization and French Cultural Identity," *French Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 1, Spring 2001, pp. 22-41.

Bell, David A. 2005. "The Shorn Identity," *The New Republic*. Vol. 233, pp. 20 – 29.

---. 2005. "An underclass rebellion," *The Economist*, Vol. 377, No. 8452, pp. 24-26.

Freedman, J. 2004. "Secularism as a barrier to integration? The French dilemma," *International Migration*, Vol. 42, No. 33, pp. 5-27.

- April 10 **Germany: Unification**
- Readings: Smith, Gordon. 1992. *Developments in German Politics*, Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 9-33.
- Hough, Daniel. 2000. “‘Made in Eastern Germany’ The PDS and the Articulation of Eastern German Interests,” *German Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 125-148.
- April 12 NO CLASS
- April 17 **Germany: Unification and Its Aftermath**
- Readings: Beck, Vanessa, Debbie Wagener, and Jonathan Grix. 2005. “Resilience and Unemployment: A Case Study of East German Women,” *German Politics*, Vol 14, No. 1, pp. 1-13.
- Wiesenthal, Helmut. 2003. “German Unification and ‘Model Germany’: An adventure in institutional conservatism,” *West European Politics*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 37-58.
- April 19 **Germany under Chancellor Merkel**
- Readings: To Be Announced
- April 24 **Italian Politics in the 1990s**
- Readings: Partridge, Hilary. 1995. “Can the Leopard Change its Spots? Sleaze in Italy,” *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol 48, No. 4, October 1995, pp. 711-25.
- Putnam, Robert. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 121-85.
- April 26 **Italy: The Second Republic?**
- Readings: ---. 2005. “A Survey of Italy,” *The Economist*, Vol. 377, No. 8454, pp. 3-16.
- Donovan, Mark. 2001. “A New Republic in Italy? The May 2001 Election,” *West European Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 4, October 2001, pp. 193-205.

May 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. Selections TBA.

 Lovenduski, Joni. 2005. *Feminizing Politics*. Polity Press. Selections TBA.

May 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.

 Bird, Karen. 2002. "Does Parity Work? Results from French Elections," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 691-698.

 Hubert, Agnes. 2001. "From Equal Pay to Parity Democracy: The Rocky Ride of Women's Policy in the European Union," in Jytte Klausen and Charles S. Maier (eds.), *Has Liberalism Failed Women? Assuring Equal Representation in Europe and the United States*. New York: Palgrave, 143 – 163.

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

May 8 **Conclusion**

Readings: Markovits, Andrei S. 2004. "European Anti-Americanism (and Anti-Semitism): Ever Present Though Always Denied." Harvard University, Center for European Studies, Working Paper Series #108.