

**Gov 2400: West European Politics
Fall 2019**

T/Th 8:30 – 9:55 am
Sills 117
Gov2400@bowdoin.edu

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Office hours:
Wednesdays 1:30-3:00 pm
Thursdays 2:00-3:30 pm
and by appointment

The course examines West European politics from WWII to the present, including the post-war political and economic settlement that began to disintegrate in the 1970s and is being redefined and reconstructed in the current period. Topics covered include the variety of democratic regimes, governance of advanced capitalist economies, political party realignment, welfare state policies, immigration, and the domestic impact of European Union integration. The course is designed to strike a balance between introducing students to the theory and concepts of political science and country-specific knowledge. Particular attention is paid to Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, although students are encouraged to examine other states through their written assignments.

Assignments and Grading

Grades will be calculated based on the following assignments:

Participation	10 percent	Throughout the semester
Contextualizing European Politics paper	20 percent	Tues., October 1
Midterm exam	20 percent	Thurs., October 17
Comparative research paper	25 percent	
<i>Choose one of the following:</i>		
Welfare reform		Tues., November 21
Environmentalism		Fri., November 22
Immigration		Tues., November 26
Foreign Policy		Tues., December 10
Final exam	25 percent	Mon., December 16

Participation

The participation grade evaluates attendance and participation in class discussion and activities. Students are expected to come to class having completed the reading assigned for that date and prepared to join in class discussion. Students also are expected to take an active role in class activities.

Contextualizing European Politics paper

Each student will select a current political debate within a single state, in consultation with the professor. In a 4-5 page paper, each student will describe the debate, including the actors and points of view on both sides. The rest of the paper will address how the country's historical development, including critical junctures and specific political, institutional, and economic characteristics, shape the debate.

Midterm and Final exams

The midterm and final exams will consist of short answer and essays questions. Students will have some choice of which questions to select on the exam.

Comparative Research Paper

Each student will choose a contemporary challenge to Europe from the syllabus – either welfare reform, environmental issues, immigration, or foreign policy. Students will write a 5-7 page paper that compares policy on this issue in two European states. I will provide a list of possible topics later in the semester. Students are encouraged consult me about narrowing and shaping the topic and selecting the two states. Papers are due on different dates, following our class period on that course material (see specific dates above).

Readings

There are no books required for this course. All readings will be available as PDFs or through weblinks on our Blackboard course website.

Books that may provide useful background for those students not familiar with the history of Western Europe (and are on reserve at the library) include:

- John Merriman. *History of Modern Europe*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2010.
- Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1994*, New York: Penguin Books, 2006.
- William A. Pelz, *A People's History of Modern Europe*. London: Pluto Press, 2016.

Course Website on Blackboard

On the course Blackboard website, you will find access to readings, copies of assignments and other handouts, advice for researching topics related to European politics, links to useful websites, and a "Europe in the news" section. I encourage you to visit the website frequently and to use its resources as you complete your assignments.

Laptop Policy

Laptops and tablets are not allowed in class, unless you have a documented accommodation or some other challenge that necessitates an exception. While I recognize that it can they

can be useful for note taking, they are also a distraction and can be an obstacle to class participation. Please see me if you have any concerns.

International Perspective Requirement

This course satisfies the International Perspectives distribution requirement. The course considers how states develop similarities and differences in their political and economic institutions over time and how these similarities and differences shape policy responses to shared challenges. It also considers why and how states may collaborate in a higher level of governance to make shared policies.

Plagiarism

Bowdoin College uses the following definition of plagiarism:

“Plagiarism is possible with any work performed in any medium and in any scholarly discipline. Plagiarism involves the intentional or unintentional use, by paraphrase or direct quotation, of the published or unpublished work of another person without full and clear acknowledgment in all such scholarly work as essays, examinations, oral/written reports, homework assignments, laboratory reports, computer programs, music scores, choreography, graphic depictions, and visual presentations. Plagiarism also includes the unacknowledged use of materials prepared by another person or agency engaged in selling of term papers or other academic materials.” (Bowdoin Academic Honor Code)

We will discuss how to properly cite your sources, but you also consult the college webpage on plagiarism: <https://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/judicial-board/academic-honesty-and-plagiarism/index.html>. If you are in doubt about how to refer to a particular work, please let me know.

Readings:

Thursday, September 5

Introduction: Why West European Politics?

Sheri Berman, Lessons from Europe, *Journal of Democracy*, 18, 1 (2007): 28-41.

Tuesday, September 10

Why States? Why Nations? The Emergence of European Nation States

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*, Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990, Chapters 2-3.

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso, 1983, pp. 5-7 and 37-46.

Thursday, September 12

Why Markets? Early Economic Development in Europe

Karl Polanyi, "The Self-Regulating Market and the Fictitious Commodities: Land, Labor, and Money" *The Great Transformation*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1968, Chapter 6.

Skim: Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective and Other Essays*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962, Chapter 1.

Recommended: E.J. Hobsbawm, "The Industrial Revolution," *The Age of Revolution*, pp. 44-73.

Tuesday, September 17

Why Democracy?

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966, pp. 413-452.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Economic Development and Democracy," *Political Man*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Chapter 2.

Recommended: Dan Stone, *Goodbye to All That*, Chapter 2.

Thursday, September 19

Why Fascism?

Sheri Berman, "Civil society and the collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49, 3 (1997): 401-429.

Robert Paxton, "The Five Stages of Fascism," *Journal of Modern History* 70, 1 (1998): 1-23.

Public Lecture

Masha Gessen, "Jews and Borders"
Thursday, September 19, Kresge, 7:30 pm

Tuesday, September 24

United Kingdom

John Hopkin, "Great Britain from New Labour to New Politics?," Chapter 2, in Tiersky and Jones, *Europe Today: A Twenty-first Century Introduction*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2014, 5th ed.

Fintan O'Toole, "It was never about Europe: Brexit is Britain's reckoning with itself," *The Guardian*, January 18, 2019. Available at:
https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jan/18/europe-brexit-britain-state-politics-fit-for-purpose?CMP=share_btn_link

Thursday, September 26

France

Alistair Cole, "France Since 1958," *French Politics and Society*, Routledge, 2004, Chap. 2.
Sylvain Cypel, "From Sans Culottes to Gilets Jaunes: Macron's Marie Antoinette Moment," *The New York Review of Books*, December 11, 2018. Available at;
<https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2018/12/11/from-sans-culottes-to-gilets-jaunes-macrons-marie-antoinette-moment/>

Recommended: *The Economist*, "France: Special Report," October 2, 2017.

Tuesday, October 1

Political Institutions

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, Chapters 2-3.

Recommended: Steven Hill, "The Legacy of Luther and Cromwell: Political Democracy in Europe," *Europe's Promise: Why the European Way Is the Best Hope in an Insecure Age*, 2010, Chapter 13.

*****Contextualizing European Politics paper due in class*****

Thursday, October 3

Germany

- Peter Katzenstein, *Policy and Politics in West Germany: the Semi-Sovereign State*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987, Chapter 1.
- Timo Lochocki. "The Specter Haunting Europe: Will the German Center Hold?" *Journal of Democracy* 27, 4 (2016): 37-46.

Recommended: *The Economist*, "Special Report: Germany," April 12, 2018.

Tuesday, October 8

The Development of Party Systems

- Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments. In Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, Chapter 9.
- Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems." In Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, Chapter 6.

Thursday, October 10

Political Parties and Realignment in Europe

- Herbert Kitschelt, *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, Chapter 1.
- Cas Mudde, "The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy," *West European Politics* 33, 6 (2010), pp. 1167-1186.
- Emma Graham-Harrison, "A quiet revolution sweeps Europe as Greens become a political force" *The Guardian*, June 2, 2019. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jun/02/european-parliament-election-green-parties-success>

Recommended: K. Arzheimer, "Explaining Electoral Support for the Radical Right," In J. Rydgren, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, Oxford University Press, 2018.

Tuesday, October 15

No Class – Fall Break

Thursday, October 17

*****MIDTERM EXAM – IN CLASS*****

Tuesday, October 22

Italy

Frederic Spotts and Theodor Wieser, "The Political Context." Chapter 1 in *Italy: A Difficult Democracy*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 1-19.

Martina Avanza, "The Northern League and its 'innocuous' xenophobia," in Andrea Mammone and Giuseppe A. Veltri, eds. *Italy Today: The Sick Man of Europe*, New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 131-142.

Thursday, October 24

Spain

The Economist, "Spain's democracy is about to turn 40. How well has it worn?," July 26, 2018. Available at: <https://www.economist.com/special-report/2018/07/26/spains-democracy-is-about-to-turn-40-how-well-has-it-worn>

In class: Watch Documentary: Two Catalonias

Tuesday, October 29

Varieties of Capitalism: The Relationship between States and Markets

Peter Hall, "The Institutional Logic of Comparative Political Economy," *Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, Ch. 9.

Thursday, October 31

Scandinavia

Arter, David. "A Nordic model of government," *Scandinavian Politics Today*, Manchester University Press, 1999, Chapter 7.

The Economist, "Norway's global fund: How to not spend it," September 24, 2016.

Available at: <https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2016/09/24/how-to-not-spend-it>.

Tuesday, November 5 and Thursday, November 7

Challenges I: Why are European Welfare States So Big? Can They Survive?

- Gøsta Esping-Andersen, “The Three Political Economies of the Welfare State,” *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Princeton University Press, 1990, 9-34.
- Alberto Alesina, Edward Glaeser, and Bruce Sacerdote, “Why Doesn’t the United States Have a European-Style Welfare State?” *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 2, 2001: 187-277.
- Iain Begg, Fabian Mushövel and Robin Niblett, “The Welfare State in Europe Visions for Reform,” Research Paper, Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2015.

Recommended: Kimberly J. Morgan, *Working Mothers and the Welfare State*, Chapter 1.

Tuesday, November 12

Postcommunism’s Challenge to Europe

- Timothy Snyder, “The Historical Reality of Eastern Europe,” *East European Politics and Society*, 23, 1, 2009, pp. 7-12.
- Slavenka Drakulic, “Europe Tastes Better.” In Susan Stern and Elisabeth Seligman, eds., *Desperately Seeking Europe*, London: Archetype Publications, 2003, pp. 21-26.

*****Comparative research paper on welfare reform due in class*****

Thursday, November 14

Challenges II: Europe’s Economic Challenges

- Mark Blyth, “Europe – Too Big to Bail? The Politics of Permanent Austerity,” *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, Chapter 3.

Tuesday, November 19

Challenges III: A European Approach to Environmentalism?

- Frank Dohmen, Alexander Jung, Stefan Schultz and Gerald Traufetter, “German Failure on the Road to a Renewable Future” and “How Germany’s Energiewende Could Work After All,” *Der Spiegel*, May 13, 2019. Available at:
<https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/german-failure-on-the-road-to-a-renewable-future-a-1266586.html>.

Thursday, November 21

Challenges for Europe IV: Immigration

Erik Bleich, "Integrating Ideas into Policy-Making Analysis: Frames and Race Policies in Britain and France," *Comparative Political Studies* 35, 9 (2002): 1054-1076.

Rafaela M. Dancygier and David D. Laitin, "Immigration into Europe: Economic Discrimination, Violence, and Public Policy," *Annual Reviews of Political Science* 17 (2014): 43-64.

Elisabetta Povoledo, "Ship Captain Who Landed Migrants in Italy Sails Into Political Storm," *New York Times*, July 5, 2019. Available at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/05/world/europe/carola-rackete-italy-migrants.html>.

*****Friday November 22: Comparative research paper on environmentalism due Monday, Nov 18 in class*****

Tuesday, November 26

European Union I: What is the European Union?

James Caparoso, "The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory, Post-Modern," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34, 1 (1996): 29-52.

Ursula von der Leyen, "A Union that strives for more: My agenda for Europe," 2019. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/political-guidelines-next-commission_en.pdf.

*****Comparative research paper on immigration due in class*****

Thursday, November 28

No Class – Thanksgiving Holiday

Tuesday, December 3

European Union II: Domestic Impact of European Integration

Paulette Kurzer, *Markets and Moral Regulation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, Chapters 6 and 7.

Thursday, December 5

Challenges IV: European Foreign Policy?

Michael Peel and Aime Williams, "NATO at 70: Europe fears tensions will outlast Trump," *Financial Times*, April 2, 2019. Available at:

<https://www.ft.com/content/9933782a-5465-11e9-91f9-b6515a54c5b1>.

Max Bergmann, "Europe is Back," *Foreign Policy*, July 17, 2019. Available at:

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/17/europe-is-back/>.

Tuesday, December 10

The Politics of Song: Eurovision!

No readings.

*****Comparative research paper on foreign policy due in class*****

Final Exam: Monday, December 16 at 8:30 am