

PLSC 455.01: Governments and Politics of Europe

Professor Sona N. Golder

Time: Tuesday, Thursday 1:35 - 2:50.

Place: 217 Thomas Building

Professor Contact Information:

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Office: 305 Pond Lab

Office Hours: 10:45 - 11:45 Tuesday and Thursday.

Description

This is an upper-level course that applies the basic concepts of comparative political science to the political systems of Europe. We will use comparisons within Europe (East and West) as well as comparisons between European political systems and other advanced democratic nations around the world to explore issues of political representation and accountability. We will discuss theories of voting, the development of party systems, political protests, transitions to democracy, the choice of political institutions, and immigration policy, among other topics. Some of these topics will be familiar from your introductory comparative politics course or other political science classes. In this class we will re-examine these theories in the specific context of European politics. The course is divided into three sections.

- In Section I, we focus on the historical development of political systems in Europe since the 1920s. We apply the tools of political science to better understand historical events such as the rise of Nazism, the establishment of the post-war party system, protests and collective action, the transitions to democracy in Southern Europe, and the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe.
- Having obtained an overview of the historical evolution of Europe's political systems, we then turn to an examination of contemporary European institutions and their consequences. We will build on the introduction to types of democratic institutions that you received in your introductory comparative politics class, and will reconsider the relationship between political actors in light of a principal-agent (delegation) framework.
- Finally, in Section III we examine a particular policy area: immigration policy. This allows us to reexamine party systems, voting patterns, the relationship between European and non-European countries, and European identity in a particular policy context.

Required Texts

- William I. Hitchcock. 2004. *The Struggle For Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Tim Bale. 2017. *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction (Fourth Edition)*. (ISBN-13: 978-1137581334 or ISBN-10: 1137581336) UK: Palgrave.

Both required books are available at the university bookstore. All other readings will be accessible by using the PSU library (for downloading journal articles), on the web, or on the course Canvas site.

Course Goals

Our goal is not to cover three or four European countries in depth, nor is it to amass as many facts as possible about Europe. Rather, the goal is to explore a number of political puzzles that are of particular relevance to Europe and to illustrate and explain some of the systematic relationships that exist between certain social, economic and political variables in European countries so that you can better understand European domestic politics, foreign policy, business and legal environments, etc. You will also gain a different (comparative) perspective on politics in the United States. Some of the concepts presented in the readings and in lecture will be straightforward, while others may take a reasonable amount of effort to understand. In some of the political science articles you will read, the methods used to test some of the observable implications of the theories will be entirely new to you. I do not expect you to familiarize yourself with all of the methodological tools used in the readings. Rather, through discussion and lecture, I hope to give you enough information so that you can evaluate the arguments we read. After you leave the class at the end of the semester, the material you have covered will give you a much deeper understanding of developments in European politics in particular, and of developments in advanced industrialized democracies generally.

Course Objectives

By the end of the semester, you will be able to identify relevant historical influences on contemporary politics in European countries, as well as how some basic processes in political science (relating both political behavior and political institutions) play out in a specifically European context. You will be able to evaluate contemporary (as well as historical) political developments in European countries, including (but not limited to) coalition government formation, the determinants of party systems, and the success of anti-immigrant parties. You will also be able to assess the extent to which processes unfolding in Europe occur more generally in other regions of the world.

Requirements

Regular attendance is expected. In my previous classes, attendance has been a good predictor of a student's performance on exams. You should come to class prepared to participate in discussions, and you should bring the relevant readings to class as well. You are encouraged to volunteer questions and observations; please note that I will call on students at random with questions. Demonstrating a lack of knowledge of the readings or other material under discussion will have a negative effect on your participation grade. There will be three exams and regular homework and in-class assignments. Many of the homework assignments will be submitted on Canvas and, in the interests of fairness, homework assignments that are handed in late will not be graded. Midterm exams are held during normal class sessions. Exam makeups will only be possible in extenuating circumstances. If you are ill or have a university-accepted excuse for missing an exam, please notify me *prior* to the test date.

Grades

Your final grade is a weighted average of the following components: Midterm 1 and Midterm 2 are *each* worth 20%. The final exam is worth 25%. Short assignments (homework and in-class

assignments) are worth 15%. Participation is worth 10%. A final paper of 8-10 pages is worth 10%.

I will use the following scale to calculate your course grade:

A: 93.0+ — A-: 90.0 - 92.9 — B+: 87.0 - 89.9 — B: 83.0 - 86.9 — B-: 80.0 - 82.9 — C+: 77.0 - 79.9 — C: 70.0 - 76.9 — D: 60.0 - 69.9 — F: Less than 60.0

Everyone begins with 100% for the participation grade. Maintaining this 100% requires showing up to class prepared (having completed the readings carefully) and contributing to the class discussion. If you are called upon to contribute but cannot do so in a meaningful fashion (because you are absent or unprepared) then you will lose 2% of your participation score. You are welcome – and encouraged! – to contribute to class discussions at any time; simply raise your hand rather than waiting to be called upon.¹ Due to the random nature of the process by which students are called upon, it is possible to skip class or show up without doing the reading and not lose participation points on a particular day. As a general strategy, however, I advise preparing for class regularly.²

The use of the internet during class is not encouraged; surfing the web is distracting both for the owner of the device and for classmates seated nearby. If you are unable to refrain from going online during class to visit non-course related websites, I reserve the right to deduct participation points.

Midterm Exam Dates

Midterm 1: February 14.

Midterm 2: March 28.

News

I encourage you to read (inter)national newspapers online, focusing on the sections on Europe. Going directly to European sources is recommended. If you search, you are likely to find English-language versions of various European media outlets. If you can read European languages other than English, check media sources in the relevant countries as well. Please feel free to bring interesting articles to my attention.

Schedule

This schedule should be treated as tentative and flexible. A regularly-updated schedule that includes due dates for homework assignments will be available on the course Canvas site. Any changes to the reading schedule will also be posted. You are expected to check the course website regularly so that you are aware of all reading and other assignments.

¹This participation policy is based on one developed by a former colleague, Will Moore.

²If you can't attend class regularly due to illness or university-related travel, let me know so that I can take your circumstances into account.

Section I: Historical Development of European Political Systems

Week 1: January 8 - 10 – Course introduction: approaches and topics. Who counts as European? Relevance (or lack thereof) of the distinction between Western and Eastern Europe. European history as conflict between democracy, communism, and fascism.

Tuesday

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics*. Chapter 1. [REQUIRED BOOK - this chapter (only) available on Canvas]

Thursday

Mazower, Mark. 1998. *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Vintage Books. pp. 3-40. [Canvas]

Week 2: January 15 - 17 – Theory of retrospective voting applied to the Nazi vote in interwar Germany. The political aftermath of the Second World War: (i) the division of Europe and the onset of the Cold War.

Tuesday

King, Gary, Ori Rosen, Martin Tanner, Alexander Wagner. 2008. 'Ordinary Economic Voting Behavior in the Extraordinary Election of Adolf Hitler.' *Journal of Economic History* 68(4): 951-996. [Download using Penn State library access.]

Thursday

Judt, Tony. 2005. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: Penguin Books. Excerpts from Chapter 1 ("The Legacy of War"), pp. 27-40 and Chapter 3 ("The Rehabilitation of Europe"), pp. 72-77. [Canvas]

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. pp. 40 - 68 (chapter 2). [REQUIRED BOOK]

RECOMMENDED:

- Hochschild, Adam. 2016. *Spain in Our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Orwell, George. 1938. *Homage to Catalonia*.

Week 3: January 22 - 24 – The political aftermath of the Second World War: (ii) the emergence of the post-war party systems in eastern and western Europe. Collective Action: Protests. (i) Political protests and terrorism in Western Europe.

Tuesday

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. pp. 69-97 (Chapter 3), and 98-125 (Chapter 4). [REQUIRED BOOK]

Charnysh, Volha. 2017. "Diversity and Economic Outcomes: Evidence from Poland." in Matt Golder and Sona Golder (eds.), "Symposium: Race and Ethnic Politics in Comparative Perspective." *CP: Newsletter of the Comparative Politics Organized Section of the American Political Science Association* 27(2): 11-17. [Canvas]

Thursday

Hitchcock, William. 2004. *The Struggle For Europe*. pp. 247-268 (Chapter 9), 311-341 (Chapter 12). [REQUIRED BOOK]

RECOMMENDED:

- Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. pp. 13-39 (Chapter 1).
- Documentary: *The World at War, Vol 9 (Reckoning: 1945 and after)*. 1975.
- Movie: *Le chagrin et la pitié: chronique d'une ville française sous l'occupation* [The sorrow and the pity: chronicle of a French city under the Occupation]. 1969.

Week 4: January 29 - 31 – Collective Action: Protests. (ii) Failed uprisings in Eastern Europe (Berlin 1953, Budapest 1956, Prague 1968). Transitions to democracy in Southern Europe.

Tuesday

Hitchcock, William. 2004. *The Struggle For Europe*. pp. 193-220 (Chapter 7), 288-310 (Chapter 11). [REQUIRED BOOK]

Thursday

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. pp. 269-287 (Chapter 10). [REQUIRED BOOK]

Week 5: February 5 - 7 – Transitions from dictatorship to democracy in Eastern Europe.

Tuesday

Kuran, Timur. 1991. 'Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989.' *World Politics* 44: 7-48. [Download using Penn State library access.]

Thursday

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. pp. 347-379 (Chapter 13). [REQUIRED BOOK]

RECOMMENDED:

- Documentary: *When the Wall Came Tumbling Down: 50 Hours That Changed the World*. 1999.
- Movie: *Z*. 1969. Fictionalized account of the assassination of a Greek politician, set shortly before the military coup. In French. Banned in Spain until 1976.
- Garton Ash, Timothy. 1993. *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague*. Journalist's eyewitness account of the collapse of Communism.

- Rosenberg, Tina. 1996. *The Haunted Land: Facing Europe's Ghosts After Communism*. Journalist's account of the dilemma facing new democracies: what to do with former elite and those who collaborated with the dictatorial regime?

Week 6: February 12 - 14 – Transitions from dictatorship to democracy (cont.).

Tuesday – No new reading.

1st Midterm Exam: February 14

Section II: Political Institutions and Their Effects

Week 7: February 19 - 21 – Parties and party families. Electoral rules and their effect on party system size. Duverger's Law.

Tuesday

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics*. Chapter 5. [REQUIRED BOOK]

Thursday

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics*. Chapter 6 excerpt, pp. 187-200. [REQUIRED BOOK]

Clark, William Roberts, et al. 2017. *Principles of Comparative Politics*, 3rd Edition. Washington, DC: Sage CQ Press. Excerpt from Chapter 14, pp. 621-639. [Canvas]

Week 8: February 26 - 28 – Review of executive-legislative relations in parliamentary, presidential, semi-presidential regimes. Government formation overview. Delegation and Accountability in parliamentary democracies. Introduction to principal-agent framework.

Tuesday

Golder, Sona N. 2015. "Government Formation and Cabinets", in *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Wiley. pp. 1-14. [Canvas]

Gilmore, Eamon. 2016. *Inside the Room: The Untold Story of Ireland's Crisis Government*. Ireland: Merrion Press. Chapter 4, "Forming a National Government", pp. 70-91. [Canvas]

Thursday

Lupia, Arthur. 2003. "Delegation and its Perils", in *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies* (eds. K. Strom, W.C. Müller, and T. Bergman). NY: Oxford. pp. 33-54. [Canvas]

Spring Break, March 3 - 9

Week 9: March 12 - 14 – Minority, minimal winning, and surplus governments. More on government formation - cabinet portfolio allocation, government survival and political experience.

Tuesday

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics*. Chapter 4 excerpt, pp. 105-120. [REQUIRED BOOK]

Hazell, Robert and Ben Young. 2012. *The Politics of Coalition: How the Conservative-Liberal Democratic Government Works*. Oxford: Hart Publishing Ltd. Excerpt from Chapter 3, “Formation of the Coalition”, pp. 28-35. [Canvas]

Thursday

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics*. Chapter 4 excerpt, pp. 120-140. [REQUIRED BOOK]

Clegg, Nick. 2016. *Politics: Between the Extremes*. London: The Bodley Head (Vintage). Chapter 3, “The Plumage of Power”, pp. 73-97. [Canvas]

Weeks 10 and 11: March 19 - 28 – Choice of electoral institutions. European elections, referenda, and Brexit.

Tuesday

Kaminski, Marek. 1999. ‘How Communism Could Have Been Saved: Formal Analysis of Electoral Bargaining in Poland in 1989.’ *Public Choice* 98: 83-109. [Download using Penn State library access.]

Bawn, Kathleen. 1993. ‘The Logic of Institutional Preferences: The German Electoral Law as a Social Choice Outcome.’ *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 965-989. [Download using Penn State library access.]

Thursday

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics*. Chapter 6 excerpt, pp. 200-221. [REQUIRED BOOK]

Goodwin, Matthew and Oliver Heath. 2016. “Brexit, Populism, and the 2016 UK Referendum to Leave the EU”, in Matt Golder and Sona Golder (eds.) “Symposium: Populism in Comparative Perspective.” *CP: Newsletter of the Comparative Politics Organized Section of the American Political Science Association* 26(2): 113-116. [Canvas]

Rickard, Stephanie. 2016. “Populism and the Brexit Vote” in Matt Golder and Sona Golder (eds.) “Symposium: Populism in Comparative Perspective.” *CP: Newsletter of the Comparative Politics Organized Section of the American Political Science Association* 26(2): 120-122. [Canvas]

Menon, Anand. 2017. “Brexit: A Tale of Two Cities”, on BBC Radio 4, Friday 23 Jun 2017 at 11:00 (28 minutes). (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08v8ssb>)

Tuesday – No new reading.

2nd Midterm Exam: March 28

Week 12: April 2 - 4 – Politics in practice: Delegation and accountability with respect to bureaucracy, politics and the market.

Tuesday

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics*. Chapter 3 excerpt, pp. 72-92. [REQUIRED BOOK]

Golden, Miriam A. 2003. “Electoral Connections: The Effects of the Personal Vote on Political Patronage, Bureaucracy and Legislation in Postwar Italy.” *British Journal of Political Science* 33: 189-212. [Download using Penn State library access.]

RECOMMENDED:

- Lynn, Jonathan and Antony Jay. 1989. *The Complete Yes Minister*. London: BBC Books.
- Lynn, Jonathan and Antony Jay. 1989. *The Complete Yes Prime Minister*. London: BBC Books.

Thursday

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics*. Chapter 9. [REQUIRED BOOK]

Week 13: April 9 - 11 – Immigration, Identity, and Citizenship Rules.

Tuesday

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. pp. 162-192 (Chapter 6) **and** pp. 410-434 (Chapter 15). [REQUIRED BOOK]

Thursday

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics*. Chapter 2 excerpt, pp. 39-52, and Chapter 10. [REQUIRED BOOK]

RECOMMENDED:

- Soysal, Yasemin. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Week 14 : April 16 - 18 – Immigration, Integration, and Conflict.

Tuesday

Hirsi Ali, Ayaan. 2007. *Infidel*. New York: Free Press. Excerpts. [Canvas]

Adida, Claire L., David D. Laitin, and Marie-Anne Valfort. 2010. "Identifying Barriers to Muslim Integration in France." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 107 (52): 22384-22390. [Download using Penn State library access.]

Maxwell, Rahsaan and Erik Bleich. 2014. "What Makes Muslims Feel French?" *Social Forces* 93(1): 155-179. [Download using Penn State library access.]

Dionne, Kim Y. It's still not easy being Muslim in Europe, particularly in France. The Monkey Cage Blog; The Washington Post (July 24, 2014).

Thursday

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2010. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. Cambridge University Press. Excerpts from Chapter 1, Chapter 2, and the introduction to Part III. Pp. 1-11, 21-58, 129-137. [Canvas]

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2017. *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Princeton University Press. Excerpt from Chapter 1, pp. 1-8. [Canvas]

RECOMMENDED:

- Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. pp. 380-409 (Chapter 14). [REQUIRED BOOK]
- Maxwell, Rahsaan and Jonathan Laurence. 2012. "Political Parties and Diversity in Western Europe." In Terri Givens and Rahsaan Maxwell (eds.) *Immigrant Politics: Race and Representation in Western Europe*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Week 15: April 23 - 25 – The European Union & Beyond.

Tuesday

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics*. Chapter 2 excerpts, pp. 53-68, **and** Chapter 11. [REQUIRED BOOK]

Thursday

RESEARCH PAPER DUE.

RECOMMENDED:

- Frieden, Jeffry and Stefanie Walter. 2017. "Understanding the Political Economy of the Eurozone Crisis." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 371-390.
- Charnysh, Volha. 2015. "Historical Legacies of Interethnic Competition: Anti-Semitism and the EU Referendum in Poland." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(13): 1711-1745.
- Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. pp. 435-464 (Chapter 16).

Final Exam Date & Time TBA

Additional Information

Academic Dishonesty:

Academic integrity is the pursuit of scholarly activity in an open, honest and responsible manner. Academic integrity is a basic guiding principle for all academic activity at The Pennsylvania State University, and all members of the University community are expected to act in accordance with this principle. Consistent with this expectation, the University's Code of Conduct states that all students should act with personal integrity, respect other students' dignity, rights and property, and help create and maintain an environment in which all can succeed through the fruits of their efforts. Academic integrity includes a commitment by all members of the University community not to engage in or tolerate acts of falsification, misrepresentation or deception. Such acts of dishonesty violate the fundamental ethical principles of the University community and compromise the worth of work completed by others.

The Department of Political Science, along with the College of the Liberal Arts and the University, takes violations of academic dishonesty seriously. Observing basic honesty in one's work, words, ideas, and actions is a principle to which all members of the community are required to subscribe. All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless an instructor clearly states that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. Students uncertain about proper citation are responsible for checking with their instructor. In an examination setting, unless the instructor gives explicit prior instructions to the contrary, whether the examination is in-class or take-home, violations of academic integrity shall consist but are not limited to any attempt to receive assistance from written or printed aids, or from any person or papers or electronic devices, or of any attempt to give assistance, whether the one so doing has completed his or her own work or not. Lying to the instructor or purposely misleading any Penn State administrator shall also constitute a violation of academic integrity. In cases of any violation of academic integrity it is the policy of the Department of Political Science to follow procedures established by the College of the Liberal Arts. Students with questions about academic integrity should visit <http://www.la.psu.edu/> and then click on 'Academic Integrity.'

Penn State defines academic integrity as "the pursuit of scholarly activity in an open, honest and responsible manner" (Senate Policy 49-20). Dishonesty of any kind will not be tolerated in this course. Dishonesty includes, but is not limited to, cheating, plagiarizing, fabricating information or citations, facilitating acts of academic dishonesty by others, having unauthorized possession of examinations, submitting work of another person or work previously used without permission from the instructor, or tampering with the academic work of other students. Students facing allegations of academic misconduct should not drop the course; those who do will be added to the course again and will be expected to complete course work and meet course deadlines. If the allegations are dismissed, then the drop will be permitted. Students found responsible for academic misconduct often receive academic sanctions, which can be severe, and put themselves at risk for disciplinary sanctions assigned by the University's Office of Student Conduct (see Senate Policy G-9).

Disabilities:

Penn State welcomes students with disabilities into the University's educational programs. Every Penn State campus has an office for students with disabilities. Student Disability Resources (SDR) website provides contact information for every Penn State campus (<http://equity.psu.edu/sdr/disability-coordinator>). For further information, please visit the Student Disability Resources website (<http://equity.psu.edu/sdr/>).

In order to receive consideration for reasonable accommodations, you must contact the appropriate disability services office at the campus where you are officially enrolled, participate in an intake interview, and pro-

vide documentation: See documentation guidelines at (<http://equity.psu.edu/sdr/guidelines>). If the documentation supports your request for reasonable accommodations, your campus disability services office will provide you with an accommodation letter. Please share this letter with your instructors and discuss the accommodations with them as early as possible. You must follow this process for every semester that you request accommodations.

Counseling and Psychological Services:

Many students at Penn State face personal challenges or have psychological needs that may interfere with their academic progress, social development, or emotional wellbeing. The university offers a variety of confidential services to help you through difficult times, including individual and group counseling, crisis intervention, consultations, online chats, and mental health screenings. These services are provided by staff who welcome all students and embrace a philosophy respectful of clients' cultural and religious backgrounds, and sensitive to differences in race, ability, gender identity and sexual orientation.

Counseling and Psychological Services at University Park (CAPS): 814-863-0395 or <http://studentaffairs.psu.edu/counseling/>; Penn State Crisis Line (24 hours/7 days/week): 877-229-6400; Crisis Text Line (24 hours/7 days/week): Text LIONS to 741741

Extended or long-term absences:

During your enrollment at Penn State, unforeseen challenges may arise. If you ever need to miss an extended amount of class in such a circumstance, please notify your professor so you can determine the best course of action to make up missed work. If your situation rises to a level of difficulty you cannot manage on your own with faculty support, reach out to the Student Care & Advocacy office by phone at (814-863-2020) or email them at StudentCare@psu.edu. Office hours are Monday-Friday, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Educational Equity:

Penn State takes great pride to foster a diverse and inclusive environment for students, faculty, and staff. Acts of intolerance, discrimination, or harassment due to age, ancestry, color, disability, gender, gender identity, national origin, race, religious belief, sexual orientation, or veteran status are not tolerated and can be reported through Educational Equity via the Report Bias webpage, (<http://equity.psu.edu/reportbias/>).