

University of Pennsylvania
Spring semester 2012
Tu Th 1:30-2:30

Professor Julia Lynch
243 Stiteler Hall
jflynch@sas.upenn.edu
Office hours: by appointment

PSCI 218

WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS AND SOCIETY

This course provides an in-depth introduction to the politics of Western Europe since World War II, with a focus on the four leading nations: Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. In the postwar period, these nations developed vibrant economies and stable political systems that differ markedly from both the U.S. and one another other. This course examines the sources, manifestations, and limits of cross-national differences. It begins with a very brief look at European history and the aftermath of World War II, and several sessions devoted to understanding the “nuts and bolts” of European political and economic systems (parliamentary government, party families and ideologies, and coordinated market economies and welfare states). The second section of the course addresses the contrasting responses of West European nations to three basic challenges from the mid-1940s to mid-1970s: establishing a legitimate democratic order (the political challenge), balancing the interests of workers and employers (the social challenge), and promoting industrial development (the economic challenge). The next section of the course looks at political developments in the 1980s and 1990s—Thatcher and the subsequent New Labour experience in Britain, the Socialist years in France, reunification in Germany, the *mani pulite* scandal in Italy—with an eye to assessing whether West European politics is converging on a single model, or whether national differences are being reproduced in new ways. We close with an assessment of prospects for European politics in an age of economic austerity and political crisis.

Course Requirements

The course requirements are: i) readings averaging around 100-150 pages per week; ii) active participation in class discussions and activities; (iii) a paper; and (iv) a final exam.

They will be weighted as follows to determine your grade for the course:

- Assignments & class participation (including headscarf debate assignment)—20%
- Midterm exam (in class on February 21. Closed-book, but you may bring one 8.5x11” sheet of paper with notes on both sides into the exam)—20%
- Analytic essay (8-10 pp. on an assigned topic, due April 4) —20%
- Final exam—40%

Make-up midterm and final examinations will not be offered unless in case of documented medical or family emergency. You are responsible for adjusting any other activities or commitments to accommodate the schedule of exams.

Academic integrity

Penn’s code of academic integrity can be found online at http://www.upenn.edu/academicintegrity/ai_codeofacademicintegrity.html. Students who are found to have violated the code by cheating or plagiarizing will receive a failing grade for

the course. Please read through the academic integrity code CAREFULLY to be sure that you understand the definitions of these terms. If you have any questions, please ask.

Course Readings

Most course readings will be available on Blackboard. In addition, the following books are available for purchase at Penn Book Center at 130 South 34th St:

Michael Gallagher, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair, eds., *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2006), 4th ed.

**Abbreviated GLM on the syllabus

Mark Kesselman, Joel Krieger *et al.*, eds., *European Politics in Transition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2008), 6th ed.

**Abbreviated KK on the syllabus

Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

The readings for this course average around 100-150 pages per week. They are frontloaded in roughly the first half of the course, with the reading load lightening later in the semester.

The “Background reading” present factual overview material on the countries and political institutions we are studying, and/or recapitulate in laypersons’ terms themes that are covered in the scholarly works we read. You must know what is in these readings in order to do well in the course, but factual content will not be explicitly tested on the exams. If you have extensive background knowledge you may be able to get away with skimming some of these readings.

The scholarly selections often contain conflicting interpretations of both theory and history. It is important that you read actively and critically. There is no single accepted “truth” in many of the topics we explore (even my lectures are simply my own informed interpretations!) Your job is to learn to identify, and then to compare and evaluate, competing arguments. The exams and assignments will ask you to form your own opinions and arguments, drawing on facts presented in the readings and lecture.

The readings for this course complement lectures and class discussion. Neither can substitute for the other. You will learn the most for this class if you do the reading on each topic before coming to class. Readings reinforce the material from lecture, and reading difficult materials helps you become better readers. Study questions will be posted on the course Blackboard site to help guide you through the more difficult readings.

Accommodations for students with disabilities

Students with disabilities that have been certified by Penn’s Student Disability Services (<http://www.vpul.upenn.edu/lrc/sds/>) will be appropriately accommodated. SDS contacts us in the event that accommodations are necessary, but if you have additional needs or questions, please let me know as soon as possible.

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES AND REQUIRED READINGS

PART I: INTRODUCTION

SOURCES OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND THE POSTWAR SETTLEMENT (Jan 12, 17, 19)

Introduction

Tony Judt, "Europe vs. America." *The New York Review of Books*, January 12 2005.

Peter Baldwin, *The Narcissism of Minor Differences: How America and Europe are Alike* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 1-11.

Background reading:

KK pp. 1-9

The historical construction of modern Europe

Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignment," in Peter Mair, ed. *The West European Party System* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 91-139.

Alexander Gerschenkron, "Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective," in *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 5-30.

Background reading:

GLM pp. 263-276.

Postwar challenges

Derek Urwin, *Western Europe Since 1945: A Short Political History* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1968), pp. 27-50.

Charles Maier, "The Two Postwar Eras and Conditions for Stability in Twentieth Century Europe." *American Historical Review*. 86(2, 1981), pp. 327-52.

***** Assignment due in recitation following Jan 19 lecture:** Briefing an Article.

CRASH COURSE IN NUTS AND BOLTS (Jan 24, 26, 31, Feb 2)

Governments and elections

[video] Søren Kragh-Jacobsen, "Count to 90," Season 1, Episode 2 of *Borgen* (The *Government*), Warner DVD.

** This DVD is in PAL Region 2 format, and cannot be played by an ordinary American DVD player. It is on reserve at Rosengarten and can be viewed using one of the library's multi-format DVD players located in Rosengarten and in the Vitale Digital Media Lab (Van Pelt Room 121, 1st floor West).

Background reading:

GLM Ch 2, 3, 11, 12, pp. 400-419

Ideologies and parties

Sheri Berman, *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the making of Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-8, 12-18, 177-199.

Stathis N. Kalyvas and Kees van Kersbergen, "Christian Democracy" in *Annual Review of Political Science* (2010), pp. 183-203.

Background reading:

GLM pp. 307-330, 230-256.

Political economy

Gøsta Esping-Andersen, "The Three Political Economies of the Welfare State," Chapter 1 in *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 9-34.

Philip Manow, "Electoral rules, class coalitions and welfare state regimes, or how to explain Esping-Andersen with Stein Rokkan." *Socio-Economic Review* 7 (1, 2009), pp. 101-121.

Background reading:

GLM pp. 441-449

Linda Hantrais, "Welfare Policy" in Colin Hay and Anand Menon, eds. *European Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 292-303.

PART II: POST-WAR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SETTLEMENTS

CONSENSUS POLITICS IN BRITAIN

(Feb 7, 9)

Samuel Beer, *Modern British Politics: Parties and Pressure Groups in the Collectivist Age* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), pp. 69-102, 352-385.

Peter Hall, *Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), Ch. 3.

Ben Pimlott, "The Myth of Consensus," in Lesley M. Smith ed., *The Making of Britain: Echoes of Greatness* (Houndsmills, Basingstokes, Hampshire: Macmillan Education, 1988).

Background Reading:

KK pp. 35-43, 51-66

***** Assignment due in recitation following lecture on Feb 9: Arguing with Evidence**

MODERNIZATION FROM ABOVE IN FRANCE (Feb 14, 16)

Stanley Hoffmann, "Paradoxes of the French Political Community," in *idem*, ed., *In Search of France* (New York: Harper, 1963), pp. 1-60.

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Institutions of the Fifth Republic," in James Hollifield and George Ross eds., *Searching for the New France* (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 43-56.

Peter Hall, *Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), Ch. 6.

Background Reading

KK Ch 6, pp. 119-121, Ch 8

FEB 21: IN-CLASS MIDTERM EXAM

FROM THE "GERMAN QUESTION" TO THE "GERMAN MODEL" (Feb 23, 28)

Peter Katzenstein, *Policy and Politics in West Germany: the Semi-Sovereign State* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), Ch 1.

Andrew Shonfield, *Modern Capitalism: The Changing Balance of Public and Private Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 239-264.

Peter Hall, *Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), Ch. 9.

Background Reading:

KK Ch 11, 13, 14

ITALY'S PARTY STATE (Mar 1)

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

Maurizio Ferrera and Elisabetta Gualmini, "The Scene in the 1970s: Light, Shadow, and Thunder," in *Rescued by Europe? Social and Labour Market Reforms in Italy from Maastricht to Berlusconi* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), pp. 31—55.

Background Reading

KK Ch 16, 18, 19

PART III: UNSETTLING THE SETTLEMENTS: THE EVOLUTION OF POSTWAR NATIONAL MODELS

THE UNSETTLING

(Mar 13)

Anthony H. Birch, "Overload, Ungovernability and Delegitimation: The Theories and the British Case." *British Journal of Political Science* 14 (2, 1984), pp. 135-148 only.

Paul Pierson, "Post-industrial Pressures on Mature Welfare States." in Paul Pierson, ed., *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 80-104.

Herbert Kitschelt, "Class Structure and Social Democratic Party Strategy." *British Journal of Political Science* 23 (3, 1993), pp. 299-313 only.

Herbert Kitschelt, "Growth and Persistence of the Radical Right in Postindustrial Democracies: Advances and Challenges in Comparative Research." *West European Politics* 30 (5, 2007), pp. 1176-1206.

FRENCH STATISM IN TRANSITION

(Mar 15, 20, 22, 27)

Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007). Entire.

Background reading:
KK pp. 122-130, Ch 10

***** No class MARCH 22 -- Prepare for MARCH 27 IN-CLASS DEBATE.**

Topic: Is the French government justified in banning the headscarf and/or veil?

THE THATCHER SOLUTION AND NEW LABOUR IN BRITAIN

(Mar 29, Apr 3, April 5)

Andrew Gamble, *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism* (Houndsmills, UK: Macmillan, 1994), Ch 2.

David Coates, *Prolonged Labour: The Slow Birth of New Labour Britain* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), Ch 2, 7.

Background Reading:
KK Ch 2, 5

GERMANY'S RE-UNIFICATION

(April 10)

Charles Maier, *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), Ch 6.

Christopher Flockton, "Economic Management and the Challenge of Reunification," in Gordon Smith et al (eds.), *Developments in German Politics 2* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), pp. 211-232.

Background reading:

KK Ch 15

MANI PULITE & ITALY'S SECOND REPUBLIC

(April 12)

Roberto Saviano, "The Port," Chapter 1 in *Gomorra* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), pp. 3-16.

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.

[film] *Gomorra* (2008), directed by Matteo Garrone, based on the book by Roberto Saviano. We will watch the first part of this together in class on March 29.

Background reading:

KK Ch 20

***** ANALYTIC ESSAY DUE APRIL 16 at 4:30 PM****

PART IV: SOVEREIGN DEBT AND DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT: EUROPEAN POLITICS IN CRISIS?

NEW POLITICS IN THE EUROZONE

(April 17, 19, 24)

Andrew Gamble, "British politics and the financial crisis." *British Politics* 4 (4, 2009), pp. 450-462.

Selections from Voxeu.org and other sources TBD

Background reading:

KK Conclusion, pp. 536-542.

Grahame F. Thompson. 2007. "Economic Management in the Eurozone." Chapter 16 in Colin Hay and Anand Menon, eds. *European Politics*. Oxford University Press. Pp. 273-291.