

**PSCI 518: West European Politics  
Spring 2010**

Department of Political Science  
University of Pennsylvania  
Stiteler Hall B30  
Wednesdays 2-5 pm

Professor Julia Lynch  
243 Stiteler Hall  
jflynch@sas.upenn.edu

Office Hours: Mondays 2-3:30pm

Course description:

This seminar is devoted to analysis of the domestic politics of Western European countries. Topics include political parties and party systems; economic regulation, labor relations, and the welfare state; and various aspects of political culture. Unifying these topics is an analytic emphasis on the historical antecedents of contemporary politics, and on the ways in which political scientists seek to understand continuities and discontinuities in European politics.

The seminar is designed for advanced undergraduates who have some background in European politics or history or who have taken at least two courses in Comparative Politics; and for graduate students in political science or related disciplines. It is run as a discussion seminar, with students taking on progressively greater responsibility as the semester proceeds for structuring the discussion and initiating debate. By the end of the semester, each student will be familiar with a number of the signal works of recent political science research in European politics, and will have completed a significant research project of his/her own.

Course Readings:

This course is organized around the critical reading of classic and more recent scholarly books about West European politics. Students are expected to read the assigned book in its entirety each week, except where specific chapter selections are noted. Reading whole books efficiently -- i.e., maximizing the amount learned while minimizing the time spent doing it -- is an art, and instruction in this art will be given! Each week an additional brief reading that challenges or supplements the premises of the assigned books is also assigned.

I strongly encourage you to form into groups of 2-4 students to share notes and critical summaries and discuss the assigned readings before coming to class. Students who do this generally do very well in the course, while those who attempt to go it alone have more trouble participating effectively and writing high-quality papers.

The following books are required and available for purchase at the Penn Book Center, 130 S. 34th St.

- **Berman**, Sheri. 2006. *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- **Brubaker**, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- **Esping-Andersen**, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- **Hall**, Peter. 1986. *Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- **Kalyvas**, Stathis. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- **Kitschelt**, Herbert. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- **Mudde**, Cas. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- **Putnam**, Robert, Roberto Leonardi, et al. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

The remaining required readings will be posted to the course Blackboard site. Please be sure to bring copies of the readings and your notes to class each week.

The readings listed under "For further reading" are optional, but it is highly recommended that graduate students taking this class do at least some additional readings for the topics in which they are particularly interested. The optional readings are also useful starting points for those interested in writing research papers on topics related to those covered in class.

#### Assignments:

The capstone of the course will be a research paper on a topic of your choosing. The paper must pose and answer an empirical question (1) that bears some relationship to the political science theories discussed in the course, and (2) to which it is *possible to learn the answer* through the research conducted during the course of a semester. The use of primary source material (legislative debates, party manifestos, newspaper coverage, personal interviews, survey data, etc.) and comparative questions (why do some do this, while others do that) are both very strongly encouraged. Papers that are primarily descriptive (what happened) are very strongly discouraged. Papers that are centrally concerned with forecasting or speculating ("What will happen..." or "What would have happened if...") are not permitted, as they fail to meet criterion (2) above.

#### *Research paper planning meeting*

Before submitting the research proposal, each of you should meet with me during my office hours to discuss potential paper topics. I encourage you to do this as early in the semester as you can, but no later than the fourth week of the semester, especially if you are having trouble coming up with a topic.

*Research paper proposal (15%)*

You will submit a detailed research paper proposal due in Week 6 specifying (1) the question to be asked in the paper, (2) the significance of the question for the theoretically-informed study of European politics, (3) your best guess about the answer to the question, (4) how you will evaluate the strength of your own theory versus any obvious competing hypotheses, and (5) where you will get the data that you need to test your argument against others. **You will need to do some research in order to identify your research question, specify hypotheses (both your own and others'), and develop a reasonable research design.** Please start working on this assignment in Week 3 at the latest. *The research proposal that you hand in must explicitly and succinctly (5-8 pages) address all five of these considerations.* The proposals will be graded. You may also be asked to rewrite and resubmit the proposal until it is in good enough shape to proceed with the main research and writing, but the initial grade will be the one recorded.

*Oral presentation (15%) and response (10%)*

Parts of the last three class meetings will be devoted to presentations of your research, with commentary and feedback from the class. Each student will present his or her own research to the class to receive informed commentary and feedback; and each student will be assigned to comment on another student's research project.

Presentations of your research should inform the audience of: the main question animating the research; the justification for the project (why should we care, what does this tell us about political science and/or the real world?); your main argument/answer to the question; a summary of the evidence that you use to defend your answer against other plausible alternatives; and any problem areas that you see with the paper as it stands. Presentations should last *ten to fifteen minutes* (please practice them to be sure of the timing), and should use some kind of visual aid (PowerPoint slides, handouts, blackboard) to assist listeners in following the presentation. You will be required to submit a draft of the research paper and a preview of the presentation to your commentator at least five days before your presentation.

Commentators are responsible for fashioning a constructive critique of the research project as it stands at the date of the presentation. The critique should focus on the research design and argumentation rather than on the quality of prose, which will not necessarily be polished at this point. Does the author highlight the most important implications of her research? Has he anticipated all plausible alternative hypotheses? Does the argument flow logically from the evidence? Are there other sources that need to be consulted? Could other case studies be added to shed additional light on the question? Commentators may wish to use PowerPoint or other visual aids in their responses, which should last *no more than ten minutes*.

Presenters and commentators will be paired where possible according to overlapping research interests.

*Final paper (40%)*

The final research paper will be 15 to 25 pages in length, double-spaced (graduate student papers may be up to 35 pages double-spaced, including all references and figures). Final papers are due via email and in hard copy in my mailbox in the Political Science department office (210 Stiteler Hall) on Tuesday May 11th by 4:30pm. This is the last day of exam period, and an absolute drop-dead deadline. No papers will be accepted after May 11<sup>th</sup> unless in case of a dire, documented medical or family emergency.

*Seminar participation (20%)*

Informed, active participation in seminar is a requirement of the course. While a variety of lesson formats offer opportunities for different kinds of participation (oral and written, individual and collaborative, large and small group), *you will be graded on both the quality and quantity of your required contributions to the seminar*. I encourage you to request an evaluation of your seminar participation at an early stage during the semester.

**Academic integrity:**

The University of Pennsylvania's Code of Academic Integrity states: "Since the University is an academic community, its fundamental purpose is the pursuit of knowledge. Essential to the success of this educational mission is a commitment to the principles of academic integrity. Every member of the University community is responsible for upholding the highest standards of honesty at all times. Students, as members of the community, are also responsible for adhering to the principles and spirit of the [...] Code of Academic Integrity." The seven points of this code (on cheating, plagiarism, fabrication, multiple submission, misrepresentation, facilitating dishonesty, and unfair advantage) can be found at <http://www.vpul.upenn.edu/osl/acadint.html>.

### **Week 1 (Jan 13) -- Course Introduction**

Lichbach, Mark and Alan Zuckerman. 1997. Research Traditions and Theory in Comparative Politics: An Introduction. In Lichbach Mark and Alan Zuckerman, eds. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### **Week 2 (Jan 20) -- Paradigms and Patterns**

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Ch 2 (pp. 9-21 only), Ch 3 (entire).

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1990. Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments. In Mair, Peter, ed., *The West European Party System*. New York: Oxford University Press.

#### Reflection questions:

What distinguishes the three main types of research traditions (institutional, ideational, and interest-based) in political science?

What are the important similarities and differences that characterize the political and government structures of the main Western European countries?

What is a critical juncture, and why is it critical?

### **Week 3 (Jan 27) -- From Pre-War to Post-War**

*If you have not already begun working on finding a researchable topic and developing preliminary hypotheses, start now!*

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

Heilbroner, Robert. 1986. The Heresies of John Maynard Keynes. In Idem., *The Worldly Philosophers*. New York, Simon & Schuster. Pages 265-285.

Neumann, Sigmund. 1990 [1956]. The Party of Democratic Integration. In Mair, Peter, ed., *The West European Party System*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kirchheimer, Otto. 1990 [1966]. The Catch-All Party. In Mair, Peter, ed., *The West European Party System*. New York: Oxford University Press.

#### Reflection questions:

Was the fact that Western Europe became rich and politically stable after WWII an accident or historical contingency, or an outcome with deeper roots?

Does the development of the catch-all party reflect a new "critical juncture" in West European politics? If so, what is the cause of this critical juncture?

For further reading:

Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy; lord and peasant in the making of the modern world*. Boston: Beacon Press. Chapters 1-2, 7-8.

Judt, Tony. 2005. Part One: Post-War: 1945-1953. In Idem, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin.

Luebbert, Gregory. 1987. Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe. *World Politics* 39(4): 449-78.

Lijphart, Arend. 1979. Religious vs. Linguistic vs. Class Voting. *American Political Science Review* 73(2): 442-458.

**Week 4 (Feb 3) -- Social Democracy**

*Schedule meeting with me during office hours to discuss your research topic.*

Berman, Sheri. 2006. *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Przeworski, Adam and John D. Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2.

Reflection question:

Imagine a conversation between Lipset and Rokkan and Berman about the causes of cross-national variation in social democratic electoral success in the post-war period. How would this conversation go?

For further reading:

Lynch, Julia. 2008. Review of The Primacy of Politics. *Comparative Political Studies* 41(20): 250-253.

Bartolini, Stefano. 2000. *The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980: The Class Cleavage*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. 1985. *Politics Against Markets: The Social Democratic Road to Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pizzorno, Alessandro. 1978. Political Exchange and Collective Identity in Industrial Conflict. In Crouch, Colin and Alessandro Pizzorno, eds. *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*. New York: Holmes & Meier.

Moene, Karl Ove and Michael Wallerstein. 1995. How Social Democracy Worked: Labor-Market Institutions. *Politics and Society* 23(2):185-211.

### **Week 5 (Feb 10) -- Christian Democracy**

*By the end of this week you should have met with me during office hours to discuss your research topic.*

Kersbergen, Kees van. 1995. *Social Capitalism: A Study of Christian Democracy and the Welfare State*. New York: Routledge. Chapter 8.

Kalyvas, Stathis. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

#### Reflection question:

Through what mechanisms has Christian Democracy influenced politics and/or policy? Which of these mechanisms is most important in the *contemporary* period, and why?

#### For further reading:

Kees van Kersbergen and Philip Manow, eds. 2009. *Religion, Class Coalitions and Welfare States* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

### **Week 6 (Feb 17) – Welfare States**

*Research proposals due in the Blackboard electronic drop box by 4:30 pm on Friday this week.*

Polanyi, Karl. 2001 [1944]. *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon Press. Chapters 6, 12.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

#### Reflection question:

Is the development of European welfare states a result of "ideas," "institutions," or "interests"?

#### For further reading:

Orloff, Ann Shola. 1993. Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States. *American Sociological Review* 58(3): 303-28.

Mares, Isabela. 2001. Firms and the Welfare State: When, Why and How Does Social Policy Matter to Employers? In Hall, Peter and David Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pierson, Paul. 2001. Post-Industrial Pressures on the Mature Welfare States. In Idem, ed., *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. New York: Oxford University Press.

### **Week 7 (Feb 24) -- Governing the Economy**

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

#### Reflection question:

To what extent could European economic policy-makers shape the functioning of their political economies in the "Golden Age" of European capitalism, and to what extent were they constrained by either legacies of the past or the complex of societal and political institutions within which they operated?

#### For further reading:

Gerschenkron, Alexander. 1965. *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays*. Boston: Harvard University Press. Chapter 1.

Shonfield, Arnold. 1965. *Modern Capitalism: The Changing Balance of Public and Private Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peter Hall and David Soskice, eds. 2001. *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Katzenstein, Peter. 1985. *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Streeck, Wolfgang. 1991. On the Institutional Preconditions of Diversified Quality Production. In Matzner, Egon and Wolfgang Streeck, eds., *Beyond Keynesianism: The Socio-Economics of Production and Full Employment*. Worcester: Edward Elgar.

### **Week 8 (Mar 3) -- Political Culture and Institutional Performance**

Putnam, Robert, Roberto Leonardi, et al. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Shefter, Martin. 1994. "Party and Patronage: Germany, England, and Italy." In John Hall, ed., *The State: Critical Concepts*, Vol III. London: Routledge.

#### Reflection question:

How much leeway do political actors have to choose how their institutions perform?

#### For further reading:

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. 1989. *The Civic Culture Revisited*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.

Banfield, Edward. 1958. *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. New York: The Free Press.



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

## **SPRING BREAK**

### **Week 9 (Mar 17) -- Citizenship and Identity**

Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Boston: Harvard University Press.

#### Reflection question:

Are national identities deeply rooted or of recent invention? Are they fixed or malleable?

#### For further reading:

Rokkan, Stein, Derek Urwin, et al. 1983. *Economy, Territory, Identity: Politics of West European Peripheries*. Beverly hills, CA: SAGE Publications.

Fearon, James and Pieter van Houten. 2002. The Politicization of Cultural and Economic Difference: A Return to the Theory of Regional Autonomy Movements. Laboratory in Comparative Ethnic Processes (LiCEP), Fifth Meeting. Stanford University, 10-11 May, 2002.

Gagnon, V.P.. 2004. *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

### **Week 10 (Mar 24) -- The Left after Socialism**

White, Stuart. 1998. Interpreting the 'Third Way.' Not One Road, But Many. *Renewal* 6(2): 17-30.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

#### Reflection question:

What are the most important constraints on the policies that the Left may pursue in the current environment? Are these constraints imposed from the outside, or a part of the historical cleavage structure, institutional and/or ideational heritage of a nation?

#### For further reading:

Levy, Jonah. 1999. Vice into Virtue? Progressive Politics and Welfare Reform in Continental Europe. *Politics and Society* 27(2): 239-273.

Muller-Rommel, Ferdinand. 2002. The Lifespan and the Political Performances of Green Parties in Western Europe. *Environmental Politics* 11(1): 1-16.

Garrett, Geoffrey. 1998. *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

## MARCH 31 – NO CLASS

### **Week 11 (Apr 7) -- The New Radical Right**

*Week 12 presenters: Please give a draft of your paper to your commentator by Friday this week.*

Mudde, Cas. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Berman, Sheri. 2004. The Three Faces of Fascism. *World Policy Journal* 2004 (Fall): 95-100.

#### Reflection question:

What theories about European politics can explain why there is not more continuity between the Old Right and the New Right?

#### For further reading:

Betz, Hans-Georg. 1994. *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*. New York: St. Martins.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1996. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Minkenberg, Michael. 2001. The Radical Right in Public Office. Agenda-Setting and Policy Effects in Germany, France, Italy, and Austria. *West European Politics* 24(4): 1-21.

### **Week 12 (Apr 14) -- The Domestic Politics of European Union, Paper Presentations**

*Week 13 presenters: Please give a draft of your paper to your commentator by Friday this week.*

Streeck, Wolfgang and Philippe Schmitter. 1992. From National Corporatism to Transnational Pluralism: Organized Interests in the Single European Market. In Streeck, W., ed., *Social Institutions and Economic Performance: Studies of Industrial Relations in Advanced Capitalist Economies*. Newbury park, CA: Sage Publications.

Mair, Peter. 2000. The Limited Impact of Europe on National Party Systems. *West European Politics* 23(4): 27-51.

Ferrera, Maurizio. 2005. *The Boundaries of Welfare: European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social Protection*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 4.

#### Reflection question:

Is it completely unreasonable to design a course on West European politics with only a week on the European Union?

For further reading:

Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, and Carole J. Wilson. 2002. Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration? *Comparative Political Studies* 35(8): 95-989.

Green Cowles, Maria, James Caporaso, and Thomas Risse, eds. 2001. *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

**Week 13 (Apr 21) -- Paper Presentations**

**Final Papers Due Tuesday, May 11<sup>th</sup> (last day of exam period)**

*Via email AND hard copy in my mailbox in the Political Science main office (210 Stiteler Hall) by 4:30 pm.*