

University of Rochester – Political Science 351/551
Fall 2004
Tuesdays 12:30-3:15 pm
Harkness 329

Western European Politics

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Office Hours: Mondays 1-2pm and Tuesdays 3:30-4:30pm or by appointment

Course Description

The goal of this seminar is to familiarize students with the politics of Western Europe. During the course of the semester, we will be exploring the critical dimensions which have shaped political life in this region since World War II. This thematic and comparative approach will allow us to understand why, for example, some countries have benefited from continuous and stable democratic governments and regimes whereas others have been plagued by instability and change; why unions and interest groups are critical bargaining players in only some countries; how certain countries have avoided the conflict associated with deep ethnic cleavages; and how greater European regionalization has created new and different political winners and losers across Western European states.

Course Requirements

This advanced seminar is open to graduate students; interested undergraduates may attend at the discretion of the instructor. The course grade will be based on three criteria: attendance and participation in class discussions, short response papers and a regularly scheduled final exam.

Informed participation in class: Students are expected to attend and participate in all class meetings. This seminar places an emphasis on discussion and debate, and thus, active participation is essential and expected. Many of the readings are challenging, and therefore, students should carefully read and take notes on the readings prior to attending class.

In addition, as part of the participation grade, each student will be responsible for knowing about one country in the region. We will choose countries on the first day of class. Before each class, the student will need to find out the characteristics of that country with regard to the topic at hand. At the last session

of the semester (Dec. 7), each student will turn in an information sheet(s) which details the characteristics of the country.

Short (4 page) Response Papers: Students will be asked to write reaction papers which critically discuss one major theme or debate present in the week's readings. No additional, outside research should be undertaken for these assignments. **At least two of the papers must be completed before October 24. These papers are due at the start of class.** No late papers will be accepted. *By September 21, students need to give me a list of the dates on which they plan to submit a paper; these dates may be changed with **sufficient** prior notice.*

The goal of these papers is to identify the central issues raised in the assigned readings, to locate the principal author's positions on those issues, and to comment critically on the state of the debate and the value of the individual contributions to it. Some of the questions that these papers should address include: What are the major theoretical or empirical strengths and weaknesses of the readings? How valuable or viable is the theory that each proposes? How effectively does it marshal evidence in support of the argument? Basically, you are writing a brief review essay. It should not be a summary of the readings, but a critical commentary and discussion of the issues that arise in the works. The readings should be carefully cited (with parenthetical citation or footnotes); an additional bibliography is not required.

Final Exam: A cumulative final exam will be given during the final exam period.

Grading for the course will be determined as follows:

For Graduate Students:

Participation:	20%
5 short papers:	50%
Final Exam:	30%

For Undergraduate Students:

Participation:	20%
4 short papers:	40%
Final Exam	40%

Readings

In this course, we will read a combination of books, book chapters and journal articles. Articles and book chapters that are not available on the web (through JSTOR, etc) will be made available for you to copy. The following texts are available for purchase at the Bookstore:

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

Lijphart, Arend. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1999.

Moore, Barrington, Jr., *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.

Recommended for an Overview of Western European Politics:

Gallagher, Michael Laver and Peter Mair, eds. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

Class Schedule:

Sept. 7: Orientation and Overview

Paul Pennings, *Doing Research in Political Science*, (London: Sage Publications, 1999): Chapters 2-3.

Gallagher, Michael Laver and Peter Mair, eds. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995. Chapter 1.

Sept. 14: What is Europe? The Development of Modern Europe

Barrington Moore, Jr., *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964): Chapters 1, 2, 7, 8.

Stephens, John D. "Democratic Transitions and Breakdown in Western Europe, 1870-1939: A Test of the Moore Thesis," *American Journal of Sociology* 94.5(1989): 1019-1077.

Tilly, Charles. "Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation," in *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Tilly (ed), (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1975): 601-638.

Sept. 21: European Societies and Cleavages

Lijphart, Arend. *Patterns of Democracy*, Chapters 1-4.

Lipset, Seymour and Stein Rokkan. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction." In Peter Mair (ed) *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990. 91-138.

Kirchheimer, Otto. "The Transformation of European Party Systems," in Joseph LaPalombaro and Myron Weiner, eds, *Political Parties and Political Development*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1966)

Lijphart, Arend. "Religious vs. Linguistic vs. Class Voting," *APSR* 73.2(1979): 442-458.

Inglehart, Ronald, "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Changes in Post-Industrial Societies," *APSR* 66(1971): 991-1017.

Recommended:

Gallagher, Michael Laver and Peter Mair, eds. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. Chapter 9.

Sept. 28: Interest Articulation: Interest Groups and Political Parties

Pizzorno, Alessandro. "Interests and Parties in Pluralism." in *Organizing Interests in Western Europe*. Ed. Suzanne Berger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981. 249-286.

Schlesinger, J. "On the Theory of Party Organization." *Journal of Politics*. 46.2 (1984): 369-400.

Lijphart, Arend. *Patterns of Democracy*, Chapter 9.

Katzenstein, Peter. *Small States in World Markets*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985. 17-38.

Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957. Chapter 2.

Recommended:

Gallagher, Michael Laver and Peter Mair, eds. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. Chapter 14.

Oct. 5: Party Politics

Lijphart, Arend. *Patterns of Democracy*, Chapter 5.

Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957. Chapters 7 and 8.

Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague. *Paper Stones*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986. Introduction and Chapters 1-4 (excluding the appendices to Chapters 3 and 4).

Kitschelt, Herbert. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. Chapter 4.

Recommended:

Gallagher, Michael Laver and Peter Mair, eds. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. Chapters 7, 8, 10, 11.

Institutions

Oct. 12: Electoral Institutions

Lijphart, Arend. *Patterns of Democracy*, Chapter 8.

Grofman, Bernard and Arend Lijphart. *Electoral Laws and their Political Consequences*. (New York: Agathon Press, 1986): Chapters 1 (Riker) and 3 (Duverger).

Octavio Neto and Gary Cox. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science*. 41.1(1997): 149-174.

Boix, Carles, "Setting the Rules of the Game." *APSR* 93.3(1999).

Lijphart, Arend. "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma." *APSR* 91.1(1997).

Oct. 19: Governmental Institutions

Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, Chapters 7 and 11.

Stepan, Alfred and Cindy Skach, "Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Parliamentarism versus Presidentialism," *World Politics*, 46.1(1993): 1-22.

Huber, John. *Rationalizing Parliament: Legislative Institutions and Party Politics in France*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996: 1-63.

Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle, eds, *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Governments*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. Introduction and Conclusion plus one chapter from the "Coalition Systems" section and either Chapter 13 or Chapter 16.

Recommended:

Gallagher, Michael Laver and Peter Mair, eds. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. Chapters 2, 3.

Oct. 26: The Formation of Governments and Their Policy Implications

Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, Chapters 14-17.

Strom, Kaare. "Minority Government in Parliamentary Democracies: The Rationality on Non-Winning Cabinet Solutions." *Comparative Political Studies*, 17(1984): 199-227.

Grofman, Bernard. "Modelling Cabinet Durability and Termination." *BJPS* 27(1997): 491-451.

Mershon, Carol. "The Costs of Coalition: Coalition Theories and Italian Governments." *APSR* 90.3(1996): 534-554.

Budge, Ian and Hans Keman. *Parties and Democracy: Coalition Formation and Government Functioning in Twenty States*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990. Chapters 4 and 5.

Recommended:

Gallagher, Michael Laver and Peter Mair, eds. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. Chapters 12 and 13.

Nov. 2: Ethnicity and Citizenship

Marshall, T.H. and Tom Bottomore, *Citizenship and Social Class*. Pluto Press, 1992. 9-17.

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

Gourevitch, Peter. "The Re-emergence of 'Peripheral Nationalisms': Some Comparative Speculations on the Spatial Distribution of Political Leadership and Economic Growth." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21.3 (July 1979). 303-322.

Lijphart, Arend. *Democracy in Plural Societies*, New Haven: Yale UP, 1977: Chapters 1 and 2.

Kenneth McCrae (ed), *Consociational Democracies: Political Accommodation in Segmented Democracies*, (1974): 2-27, 70-97.

Nov. 9: Federalism and Regionalism

Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, Chapter 10.

Elazar, Daniel, "Contrasting Unitary and Federal Systems," *IPSR* 18.3(1997): 237-251.

Heller, William B. "Regional Parties and National Politics in Europe." *Comparative Political Studies*. 35.6(2002): 657-685.

van Houten, Pieter. "Globalization and Demands for Regional Autonomy in Europe." In *Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition*. Eds. Kahler and Lake. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003.

Ziblatt, Daniel and Conor O'Dwyer. "Does Decentralization Make Government More Efficient and Effective?" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2003.

Nov. 16: New Parties and Political Challenges

Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy." *Party Politics*. 1.1(1995): 5-18.

Response by Koole, Ruud. "Cadre, Catch-All or Cartel?" *Party Politics*. 2.4(1996): 507-523.

Dalton, Russell and Martin Wattenberg (eds). *Parties without Partisans*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000. Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, 11.

Nov. 23: Beyond the Nation-State: The European Union and EU Integration

Moravcsik, Andrew. *The Choice for Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1996. Introduction and Chapter 1.

Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe and Kermit Blank, "European Integration from the 1980s: State-centric versus Multi-Level Governance." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34(1996): 341-378.

Pierson, Paul. "The Path to European Integration: A Historical-Institutionalist Analysis." In *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet (eds). Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998.

Other Articles TBA

Recommended:

Gallagher, Michael Laver and Peter Mair, eds. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. Chapters 5.

Nov. 30: European Union: European Parliament and Domestic Politics

***Please note that students must turn in newspaper/journal articles for discussion in class Dec. 7.*

Kreppel, Amie, *The European Parliament and Supranational Party System*, Cambridge UP, 2002. Chapter 4

Hix, Simon. "Parliamentary Behavior with Two Principals: Preferences, Parties, and Voting in the European Parliament." *AJPS*. 46.3(2002).

McElroy, Gail. "Committees and Party Cohesion in the European Parliament." EPRG Working Paper No. 8, www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/eprg/working-papers.htm

Hix, Simon, Amie Kreppel and Abdul Noury. "Party System in the European Parliament: Collusive or Competitive?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 41.2(2003)

Dec. 7: New Challenges for Europe in the 21st Century

Readings for this week will include recent newspaper clippings or journal articles on the new problems facing Western Europe as chosen by Professor Meguid and students.