

PSCI 498-303 West European Politics

Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania
(Mondays 2-5 pm, Meyerson Hall B-5)

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Office Hours: Mondays 9:30-11:30 am or by appointment

This seminar is devoted to analysis of the domestic politics and political economy of Western European countries during the post-World War II period. Topics include political parties and party systems; economic regulation, labor relations, and the welfare state; political participation and political culture; and the interaction of subnational, national and supranational politics. 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 course combines a broad overview of developments across the region with assignments that encourage each student to develop a specialization in the politics of one West European country. This seminar is a research seminar, but it is also a field seminar in West European politics, requiring the development of a more generalized knowledge of West European politics than could be attained solely from work on a single highly focused research project. In order to strike a productive balance between contextual and country-specific knowledge, the course combines required readings, research and examination.

Undergraduate students may choose either of the two grading options below. Graduate students must take Option 2.

Option 1:

(15%) Four briefing papers
(35%) Attendance and informed participation in seminar
(50%) Final paper OR Final exam

Option 2:

(15%) Four briefing papers
(25%) Attendance and informed participation in seminar
(35%) Final paper
(25%) Final exam

Incompletes will not be granted for undergraduates except in the case of dire medical emergency. They will be granted, reluctantly, for graduate students who have a good reason to want to complete the final paper ONLY over the summer.

Reading:

Weekly readings are general and/or theoretical in nature. Those readings that do refer to a particular country case have been selected because of their more general implications. Students will be required to do some outside reading in order to gain country-specific knowledge. Students are expected to come to class having read and digested the readings, and prepared to discuss them analytically. Doing the readings in the order in which they appear on the syllabus will often make the analytical thread more clear.

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

- Almond, G. A. and S. Verba (1989). *The Civic Culture Revisited*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism* (Chapters 1-3, 6, 9). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kalyvas, S. N. (1996). *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kitschelt, H. (1996). *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Mair, P. (1990). *The West European Party System*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Moore, B. (1993) [1967]. *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy; lord and peasant in the making of the modern world*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

The remaining readings will be collected in a bulk pack, available at Wharton Reprographics, 3620 Locust Walk, Steinberg Hall- Dietrich Hall.

Country-specific research:

Each participant will conduct outside research throughout the semester on a particular country or pair of countries, to be assigned during the first class meeting based on individuals' interests and the need for representation of all major countries. This outside research will enable each member of the class to serve as an expert on how the week's readings apply to his or her country. The results of this research will be collected in a series of four short (2-5 pages) briefing papers that outline the application of a week's topic to the country in question. For example, a briefing paper for Spain for Week 13 (Regions and Regionalisms) might include an overview of the development of Spain's federal structure, a brief history of Basque and Catalan regionalist movements, and an analysis, informed by the weekly readings, of why regional movements have taken the particular form that they have in these two areas. **Briefing papers must be distributed to the entire seminar via email by 9:30 AM on Monday. Briefing papers may be submitted for any four weeks of the course.**

Research paper and proposal:

Outside research will also be required for a final research paper. Papers will illuminate one or more of the major theoretical debates raised during the course by answering an empirical puzzle related to the experiences of one or more European countries in the post-

War period. Graduate students should expect to submit this paper for presentation at a political science conference or for publication. Each student will submit a **paper proposal on Monday October 10** stating (a) what the central empirical question motivating the paper is, (b) how investigation of this empirical question will contribute to a theoretical debate raised in the course readings, and (c) what research will be necessary to answer the question. The paper proposals will be returned with comments by Friday October 15 (before Fall Break). **The final paper, not to exceed 35 pages double-spaced, will be due on Friday December 9.**

Final exam:

There will be a take-home final examination similar in style to a graduate comprehensive exam. The exam will provide the motivation to integrate the issues raised in the weekly readings with a wider variety of country cases, preparing graduate students for further work in comparative politics and political economy. (It is worth noting, though, that in past years undergraduate students have performed as well as graduate students on this exam.) Exam questions will require students to combine general readings from the course with country-specific knowledge. **The take-home exam may be taken at any time during reading period or exam period (Dec 10-21).** Students may have the exam paper for a period of 24 hours, but will write the exam during a period of no more than four hours.

Week 1 (Sept 12) Course Introduction

Week 2 (Sept 19) Historical Roots of European Politics and Economies

READ THE COURSE SYLLABUS carefully for this week.

Moore, B. (1967). *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy; lord and peasant in the making of the modern world* (Chapters 1-2, 7-8) [book]

Luebbert, G. (1987). "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe," *World Politics*, 39,4: 449-78. [bulk pack]

Gerschenkron, A. (1965). *Economic backwardness in historical perspective, a book of essays* (Chapter 1). [bulk pack]

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

Week 3 (Sept 26) Development of Party Systems

Lipset, S. M. and S. Rokkan (1990). "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments." In Mair, P. (1990). *The West European Party System*. [book]

Sartori, G. (1990). "A Typology of Party Systems." In Mair, P. (1990). *The West European Party System*. [book]

Lijphart, A. (1979) "Religious vs. Linguistic vs. Class Voting," *American Political Science Review* 73,2: 442-458. [bulk pack]

Kirchheimer, O. (1966). "The Transformation of the Western European Party System." In Mair, P. (1990). *The West European Party System*. [book]

Week 4 (Oct 3) Christian Democracy

Kalyvas, S. N. (1996). *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (Introduction, Chapters 1,2,5, Conclusion). [book]

Kersbergen, K. v. (1995). *Social Capitalism: A Study of Christian Democracy and the Welfare State* (Chapters 1, 8). [bulk pack]

Week 5 (Oct 10) Social Democracy and Labor

Przeworski, A. and J. D. Sprague (1986). *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism* (Prologue, Chapter 2). [bulk pack]

Moene, K. O. and M. Wallerstein (1995). "How Social Democracy Worked: Labor-Market Institutions." *Politics and Society* 23,2:185-211. [bulk pack]

Esping-Andersen, G. (1985). *Politics Against Markets: The Social Democratic Road to Power* (pp. 3-38). [bulk pack]

Pizzorno, A. (1978). "Political Exchange and Collective Identity in Industrial Conflict," In C. Crouch and A. Pizzorno, eds. *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*. [bulk pack]

**** FALL BREAK ****

Week 6 (Oct 24) Political Culture and Institutional Performance

**** Proposals for final papers due in class today**

Almond, G. A. and S. Verba (1989). *The Civic Culture Revisited* (Chapters 1, and TWO OF THE FOLLOWING: Chapter 5 [UK], Chapter 7 [Germany], or Chapter 8 [Italy]. [book]

Putnam, R. D., R. Leonardi, et al. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Chapters 5,6). [bulk pack]

Shefter, Martin (1994). "Party and Patronage: Germany, England, and Italy." In J. Hall, ed., *The State: Critical Concepts*. Volume III, pp.103-143. [bulk pack]

Week 7 (Oct 31) Governing the Economy I: Government

Karl Polanyi (2001) *The Great Transformation* (Chapters 6, 12) [bulk pack]

Heilbroner, R. (1986). *The Worldly Philosophers* (Chapter 9: The Heresies of John Maynard Keynes) [bulk pack]

Shonfield, A. (1965). *Modern Capitalism* (Chapter 4) [bulk pack]

Hall, P. A. (1986). *Governing the economy: the politics of state intervention in Britain and France* (Chapters 1, 9) [bulk pack]

Week 8 (Nov 7) Governing the Economy II: The Social Partners

Olson, M. (1982). *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities* (Chapter 3, plus pp. from Chapter 4). [bulk pack]

Katzenstein, P (1985) *Small States in World Markets* (Chapter 1) [bulk pack]

Streeck, W. (1991) "On the Institutional Preconditions of Diversified Quality Production." In Matzner, E. and W. Streeck (1991) *Beyond Keynesianism: The Socio-Economics of Production and Full Employment*. [bulk pack]

Hall, P. and D. Soskice, eds. (2001) *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (Chapter 1) [bulk pack]

Week 9 (Nov 14) Welfare States

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism* (Chapters 1-3, 6, 9). [book]

Mares, I. (2001). "Firms and the Welfare State: When, Why and How Does Social Policy Matter to Employers?" In P. Hall and D. Soskice, eds. *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. [bulk pack]

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

Ferrera, M. (1996). "The 'Southern Model' of Welfare in Social Europe." *Journal of European Social Policy* 6,1: 17-37. [bulk pack]

Week 10 (Nov 21) Challenges of Economic Change

Pierson, P. (2001). "Post-Industrial Pressures on Mature Welfare States." In Pierson, P. ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (pp. 80-104) [bulk pack]

Garrett, G. (1998) *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy* (Chapter 1). [bulk pack]

Boix, C. (1998). *Political Parties, Growth and Equality* (Chapters 9,10). [bulk pack]

Hassel, A. (2003) "The Politics of Social Pacts." *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, Dec 2003. [bulk pack]

Week 11 (Nov 28) What's Left for the Left?

Kitschelt, H. (1994). *The Transformation of European Social Democracy* (Introduction, Chapter 1). [old bulk pack]

Muller-Rommel, F. (2002). "The Lifespan and the Political Performances of Green Parties in Western Europe." *Environmental Politics*, pp.1-17. [bulk pack]

ECPR Greens report [bulk pack]

Wood, S. Third way article [bulk pack]

Levy, J. (1999). "Vice into Virtue? Progressive Politics and Welfare Reform in Continental Europe." *Politics and Society* 27(2):239-73. [bulk pack]

Week 12 (Dec 5) Immigration, National Identity and the Far Right

Brubaker, R.(1992). *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. (Introduction, Chapter 1) [bulk pack]

Kitschelt, H. (1996). *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis* (Chapters 1, 8, Conclusion). [book]

Minkenberg, M. (2000). "The Renewal of the Radical Right: Between Modernity and Anti-Modernity," *Government and Opposition* 35(2):170-188. [bulk pack]

Minkenberg, M. (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. [bulk pack]

Week 13 (Dec 12) Regions and Regionalisms

Rokkan, S., D. W. Urwin, et al. (1983). *Economy, Territory, Identity: Politics of West European Peripheries* (Chapter 4). [bulk pack]

Keating, M., J. Loughlin, K. Deschouwer (2003). *Culture, Institutions and Economic Development. A Study of Eight European Regions*. (selection - Chapter 1 or 2) [bulk pack]

Fearon, J. and P. van Houten, P. (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. [bulk pack]

Miodownik, D. (2005) paper TBA

Week 14 (Dec 19) Comparative Politics and European Integration

Green Cowles, M., J. A. Caporaso, et al. (2001). *Transforming Europe : Europeanization and domestic change* (Chapter 1). [bulk pack]

Mair, P. (2000). "The Limited Impact of Europe on National Party Systems." *West European Politics* 23(4):27-51. [bulk pack]

Streeck, W. and Schmitter, P. (1992). "From National Corporatism to Transnational Pluralism: Organized Interests in the Single European Market." In Streeck, W. (1992). *Social Institutions and Economic Performance: Studies of Industrial Relations in Advanced Capitalist Economies*. [bulk pack]

Final reading TBA

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Basic References for the Comparative Study of Western Europe

(Most of these are on reserve in Van Pelt)

Bartolini, S. (2000). The political mobilization of the European left, 1860-1980 : the class cleavage. Cambridge, UK ; New York, Cambridge University Press.

Caramani, D. (2000). Elections in Western Europe since 1815 : electoral results by constituencies. London, Macmillan Reference.

Ebbinghaus, B. and J. Visser (2000). Trade unions in Western Europe since 1945. London, Macmillan Reference.

Flora, P. (1986). Growth to limits : the western European welfare states since World War II. Berlin ; New York, W. de Gruyter.

Hall, P. A. (1986). Governing the economy: the politics of state intervention in Britain and France. Cambridge, Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell Oxford.

Hall, P. A. and D. W. Soskice (2001). Varieties of capitalism : the institutional foundations of comparative advantage. New York, Oxford University Press.

Kesselman, M. and Krieger, J., eds. (2002) European Politics in Transition (Fourth Edition). New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Lijphart, A. (1999). Patterns of democracy : government forms and performance in thirty-six countries. New Haven, CT ; London, Yale University Press.

Mair, P. (1990). The West European party system. New York, Oxford University Press.

Pierson, P (ed). (2001). The New Politics of the Welfare State. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 80-104.

Urwin, D. W. (1997). A political history of Western Europe since 1945. New York, Longman.

Winter, L. d. and H. Tursan (1998). Regionalist parties in Western Europe. London ; New York, Routledge.