



Political Science 136

Comparative Politics in Western Europe

Duke University

Fall 2005

Tuesday and Thursday 4:25 PM-5:40 PM

West Duke 202

Instructor: Seth Jolly

Office: Perkins Library; most appointments will be held in the Perk, the coffee shop adjacent to the Gothic Reading Room.

Office Hours: T/TH 2.30-3.30pm

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Teaching Assistant: Cristina Corduneanu-Huci (cc97@duke.edu)

Office Hours: M 2.30-3.30pm

Course Website

Blackboard (<https://courses.duke.edu>). Many of the course readings are available at this site. Please check the site frequently for announcements and information.

Course Overview

The purpose of this course is to familiarize you with the politics of Western Europe, not on a country by country basis, but in a truly comparative way. We will study various aspects of European politics including domestic political and political economic institutions and the process of European integration. For each topic we will compare a range of European countries, but, following the textbook, we will focus on seven countries: France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

There are no formal prerequisites but an introductory course in Political Science (PS 91,92,93, or 94) is recommended. The course has a Writing (W) designation. As a consequence, the majority of the graded work will be written assignments.

Course Expectations and Responsibilities

1. Attendance is required, but is only one component of successful participation. Your primary responsibilities will be to come to class on time and be prepared to engage in discussion and ask questions over the material. The course follows a lecture format, but much of the course time will be spent discussing the readings and any relevant current events. To facilitate discussion, I will often circulate discussion questions in advance that you should consider while reading the material.
2. Reading the required assignments, about 50-80 pages per session. Your written work for the course needs to demonstrate familiarity with and understanding of the literature by making references to the readings. In addition to the academic literature, you should follow current events in the *Economist*, which is available at the library and, on the Duke network, via Economist.com (http://www.eiu.com/site_info.asp?info_name=corporate_landing_duke_university). We will also discuss current events during class.
3. During the semester there will be five short, unannounced quizzes. The lowest grade will be dropped. The quizzes will cover reading assignments indicated on the day of the quiz and any

- significant current events in Western Europe from that week's *Economist*. An unexcused absence on a quiz day means you get a zero on that quiz.
4. You will complete three short writing assignments, one during each of the three sections of class (political institutions, political economy, and European integration). More detailed instructions for each assignment will be distributed during class, at least one week prior to the due date. Written assignments are due at the beginning of the class session listed in the syllabus, including a hard copy turned in during class and electronic copies emailed to the instructor and the teaching assistant. Late assignments will be penalized one-half letter grade for each 24 hour delay.
 5. As a Writing course, paper revisions are an integral component. Except for the final paper, you will receive an initial grade and then revise and resubmit the paper within one week of its return. The overall paper grade will be based on the initial grade (75%) and the quality of the revisions and final draft (25%).
 6. There will be an in-class final exam on 18 December at 2pm. You will receive a set of study questions covering the course material during the final class session. The exam essay questions will be drawn from this list and there will be several short answer questions as well.

Evaluation

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|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Quizzes | 10% |
| 3 Short Papers (5 pages, maximum) | 60% |
| Final Exam (cumulative) | 20% |
| Participation | 10% |

Required Books

- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2005. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill. ISBN: 007297706X (abbreviated GLM)
- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press. ISBN: 0300078935 (abbreviated L)
- McCormick, John. 2005. *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*. 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave. ISBN: 1403944512 (abbreviated McC)

The remaining readings are either available via e-journals or blackboard, as designated in the syllabus.

Meeting and Assignment Schedule

1. Introduction and Overview (Tuesday 8/30)

Introduction to Writing Studio (<http://uwp.aas.duke.edu/wstudio/>)

No class 9/1 (American Political Science Association meeting)

2. Welcome to Europe (Tuesday 9/6)

GLM Ch. 1 (pages 1-22)
McC Ch. 2 (pp. 27-51)

I. Domestic Political Institutions

3. Parliamentary vs. Presidential (Thursday 9/8)

GLM Ch. 2 (pp. 24-56)
L pp. 116-129

4. Legislatures (Tuesday 9/13)

GLM Ch. 3 (pp. 57-85)
L Ch. 11 (pp. 200-215)

5. Electoral Systems I (Thursday 9/15)

GLM Ch. 11 (pp. 340-380)
L Ch. 8 (143-170)

6. Electoral Systems II (Tuesday 9/20)

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*. New York, Cambridge UP, 37-68 (Ch. 3 "On Electoral Systems") [BLACKBOARD]
Blais, André and Louis Massicotte. 2002. "Electoral Systems." In *Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting*, eds. Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi, and Pippa Norris. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 40-69. [BLACKBOARD]

7. Parties as Organizations (Thursday 9/22)

GLM Ch. 10 (pp. 307-339)
Smith, Gordon. 2003. "The Decline of Party." In *Governing Europe*, eds. Jack Hayward and Anand Menon. New York: Oxford UP, 179-191.[BLACKBOARD]

8. European Party Systems (Tuesday 9/27)

GLM Ch. 7 (pp. 187-229)
L Ch. 5 (pp. 62-89)
Dalton, Russell J. 2005. *Citizen Politics*. 4th ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
Ch. 7 (pp. 125-147) [BLACKBOARD]

9. Political Cleavages and Electoral Competition (Thursday 9/29)

GLM Ch. 8 (pp. 230-262) & parts of Ch. 9 (pp. 263-271)
Dalton Ch. 8 (pp. 148-176) [BLACKBOARD]

Institutions Paper Due 10/4

10. Party System Change (Tuesday 10/4)

GLM remainder of Ch. 9 (pp. 272-306)
Dalton Ch. 9 (pp. 177-200)

11. Governments and Coalitions (Thursday 10/6)

GLM Ch. 12 (pp. 381-421)
L Ch. 6 (pp. 90-115)

No class 10/11 (Fall break)

12. Federalism (Thursday 10/13)

GLM Ch. 6 (pp. 154-186)
L Ch. 10 (pp. 185-199)

13. Political and Economic Effects of Political Institutions (Tuesday 10/18)

L Ch. 15 & 16 (pp. 258-300)
Hechter, Michael. 2000. "Nationalism and Rationality." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35.1 (Spring):3-19. [E-Journal (ABI/INFORM Complete)]

II. Political Economy

14. Politics Inside and Outside Parliament (Thursday 10/20)

GLM Ch. 13-14 (pp. 422-465)
L Ch. 9 (pp. 171-184)

15. National Political Economic Institutions (Tuesday 10/25)

Selections from Kesselman, Mark, Joel Krieger, Christopher S. Allen, Stephen Hellman, David Ost, and George Ross. 2005. *European Politics in Transition*. 5th ed. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, chapters on Political Economy and Development (pp. 151-170, 234-248, 331-347, and 426-444). [BLACKBOARD]

16. Cross-National Differences I: Varieties of Capitalism (Thursday 10/27)

Hall, Peter A. and David Soskice. 2001. "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism." In *Varieties of Capitalism. The Institutional Advantages of Comparative Advantage*, eds. Peter Hall and David Soskice. New York: Oxford UP, 1-68. [BLACKBOARD]

17. Cross-National Differences II: Three Worlds of Welfare (Tuesday 11/1)

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 9-34. [BLACKBOARD]

Ferrera, Maurizio, Anton Hemerijck, and Martin Rhodes. 2003. "Recasting European Welfare States." In *Governing Europe*, eds. Jack Hayward and Anand Menon. New York: Oxford UP, 346-366. [BLACKBOARD]

18. Comparing U.S. and European Welfare States (Thursday 11/3)

Alesina, Alberto, Edward Glaser, and Bruce Sacerdote. 2001. "Why doesn't the United States Have a European-Style Welfare State?" *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* No. 2, 187-254. Discussion (pp. 255-272) is optional. [E-JOURNAL (JSTOR)]

Political Economy Paper Due 11/8

19. Macro-Economic Performance of Democracies (Tuesday 11/8)

Scruggs, Lyle. 2001. "The Politics of Growth Revisited." *Journal of Politics* 63.1 (Feb.): 120-140. [E-JOURNAL (JSTOR)]

Blanchard, Olivier. 2004. *The Economic Future of Europe*. National Bureau of Economic Research, February. Working Paper 10310 <<http://www.nber.org/papers/w10310>>

Optional: Kitschelt, Herbert and Wolfgang Streeck. 2003. "From Stability to Stagnation: Germany at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century." *West European Politics* 26.4: 1-34. [E-JOURNAL (Academic Search Elite)]

III. European Union

20. Regional Integration (Thursday 11/10)

McC Ch. 1 (pp. 1-26)

Selections from Nelsen, Brent F. and Alexander Stubb, eds. 2003. *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. [BLACKBOARD]

- Ernst B. Haas. "The Uniting of Europe." (pp. 145-149)
- Stanley Hoffman. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe." (pp. 163-177)
- Bela Balassa. "The Theory of Economic Integration." (pp. 179-191)
- Andrew Moravcsik. "The Choice for Europe." (pp. 239-253)

21. Origins of the European Union (Tuesday 11/15)

McC Ch. 3 (pp. 52-78)

Selections from Nelsen and Stubb, eds. 2003. [BLACKBOARD]

- Winston S. Churchill. "The Tragedy of Europe." (pp. 7-12)
- Jean Monnet. "A Ferment of Change." (pp. 19-26)
- Margaret Thatcher. "A Family of Nations." (pp. 49-54)
- Jacques Delors. "A Necessary Union." (pp. 55-64)

Optional: Treaty Texts, especially preambles <http://europa.eu.int/abc/treaties_en.htm>

22. Institutions (Thursday 11/17)

McC Ch. 4 (pp. 79-107)
GLM part of Ch. 5 (pp. 115-135)

23. Economic Integration (Tuesday 11/22)

McC Ch. 7 (pp. 157-180)
GLM part of Ch. 5 (pp. 136-142)
Tsoukalis, Loukas. 2003. "Monetary Policy and the Euro." In *Governing Europe*, eds. Jack Hayward and Anand Menon. New York: Oxford UP, 330-345. [BLACKBOARD]

No class 11/24 (Thanksgiving break)

24. Beyond the Open Market (Thursday 11/29)

McC Ch. 8 & 9 (pp. 181-232)

25. Effects of Integration on Member States (Tuesday 12/1)

McC Ch. 5 (pp. 108-130)
Ray, Leonard. 2004. "Don't Rock the Boat: Expectations, Fears and Opposition to EU-level Policy-Making." In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 51-61. [BLACKBOARD]
Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, and Carole J. Wilson. 2004. "Does Left-Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 120-140. [BLACKBOARD]
Brinegar, Adam and Seth Jolly. 2005. "Location, Location, Location: National Contextual Factors and Public Support for European Integration." *European Union Politics* 6.2: 155-180. <<http://eup.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/6/2/155>>

26. Democratic Deficit (Tuesday 12/6)

McC Ch. 6 (pp. 131-156)
Moravcsik, Andrew. 2002. "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40.4: 603-624. [E-JOURNAL (SYNERGY)]

European Integration Paper Due 12/8 (No Rewrites for Paper #3)

27. The Future of the EU (Thursday 12/8)

McC "Conclusions" (pp. 233-236)
GLM part of Ch. 5 (pp. 143-153)
Fischer, Joschka, Jacques Chirac, Tony Blair, and Paavo Lipponen. 2003. "Reflections on a Constitution for Europe." In *The European Union*, eds. Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 69-88. [BLACKBOARD]
European Parliament Delegation to the European Convention. 2004. "Summary of the Constitution adopted by the European Council in Brussels on 17/18 June 2004." <<http://www.europarl.eu.int/europe2004/textes/2004-07-25-sum-const-en.pdf>>
"Overview on the European Constitution." Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Constitution
Moravcsik, Andrew et al. 2005. "Europe Without Illusions." *Prospect* 112 (July). [BLACKBOARD]

Final Exam (18 December from 2:00 PM - 5:00 PM)