Introduction

Europe is in a period of transition. The deepening and widening of the European Union, the globalization of the international economy, the aging of populations and declining birthrates, the activity of extremist groups, and the rising tide of immigration are creating new challenges for national governments and changing the nature of European politics. In this upper-level seminar, students will analyze some of the major issues facing western European countries, their impact on those countries, and the response of governments to these new challenges. In doing so, we will seek to understand the various forces for convergence of politics and policies as well as seek to explain the differences across countries.

We begin the seminar by using historical analysis to examine why nation states in Europe developed as they did and to explain the similarities and differences across countries. We then explore the continuities and changes in electoral and party systems, patterns of state-economy relations, welfare states, and citizenship and immigration issues. Finally, we examine the impact of European integration on the European nation-states. We will explore the challenges nation-states face in these areas and the variety of responses across states. We focus in particular on Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany, with some attention to Sweden.

Course Requirements and Grading

There are several major requirements for this class:

Three short analytical papers 15%
Fifteen page research paper 30%
Final Exam 35%
Class participation 20%

The short analytical papers will be assigned on the first day of class. These are two to three page papers based on the week’s reading. They must be e-mailed to the entire class and the professor by 9 a.m. on the day of class or they will receive a zero. All students should read the analytical papers before class. Students who write analytical papers will be expected to help lead discussion on that week’s readings. The papers should not simply recount the week’s readings since we will all have done the readings. Instead, students should pick out one or two major arguments to discuss and react to those arguments or discuss their implications.

The research paper will be on a topic of your choosing related to European politics and subject to my approval. It should be 15 pages in length – about 5,000 words – and must include footnotes.
and a bibliography. It must be double-spaced, 12 point font, with one inch margins. I encourage you to see me early and often to discuss possible paper topics. Browsing journals such as the *Journal of Common Market Studies* or *West European Politics* will help you in selecting a topic. By **February 22**, you must hand in a one page paper that states clearly what your topic is, why this is an important issue, what your key analytical questions are, and how you will go about answering them, as well as a one page preliminary bibliography. A seminar length research paper must include both primary (government documents and speeches, for example) and secondary sources and should have a minimum of 20 sources, not including the books used in class. The research paper is due on **Monday, May 1 at 4:30 p.m.** in my office (Acland 04). The paper grade will be based on the originality and clarity of the thesis, the logic, persuasiveness and depth of the argument, the evidence provided, and the organization and style. All papers must include footnotes and a bibliography. Failure to attribute and identify sources, words and ideas properly (including the page numbers) will result in a non-negotiable grade of F for the paper grade. When in doubt, cite and do so extremely accurately. Use the MLA Handbook or Chicago Manual of Style. I expect to see considerable use of scholarly journal articles, books, and reputable news sources, as well as EU or government documents and speeches, many of which are available on the web. If you can read foreign language sources, you should do so. Late papers will be penalized one full letter grade per day and no papers will be accepted a week after the due date. Failure to complete any assignment for the seminar will result in a failing grade.

There will also be a comprehensive take-home final exam, which will be given out during the last class period. It is due by **May 10 at 4:30 p.m.** in my office. The exam should be 2500 words (8 pages) and must be typed and double-spaced. Your answer must cite information from the class materials. Any cheating or copying on exams will result in a grade of zero for the exam.

Students are required to attend every seminar meeting and be prepared to discuss the material assigned for that session. Informed class participation will constitute 20% of the final grade. Active and thoughtful class participation based on having read and thought about the material is crucial to the success of this seminar. Participation is not the same as attendance. It means speaking up and adding to the general understanding of the material under consideration. It will be based on the quality, rather than the quantity, of your contributions. Students who miss a seminar will be penalized.

As a courtesy to others, please do not come late to class, do not eat in class, and do not leave during the class period except during the break.

**Books and Articles**

There are five required books for this class. They are available for purchase in the bookstore:


Many of the readings will be journal articles and book chapters. These will be either on electronic reserve or available through Academic Search Premier or JSTOR. Students are required to make a binder in which they put a copy of each of the articles we read for class and bring it to class so that they can refer to the articles during discussion.

**Information sources:** Students are expected to keep up with developments in European politics. To do so, they should read a major national or international newspaper or news magazine. A subscription to *The Economist* is highly recommended. It is an excellent source of information on the countries in Europe and the European Union. If you can read a European newspaper such as *Die Zeit,* or *Le Monde,* you should do so. Otherwise, you can read *The Financial Times,* *The New York Times,* or *The International Herald Tribune.* Many of these are available for free on the world wide web. Current events are likely to come up in class. For further on-line sources on European politics, check out the European Union on-line at [www.eurunion.org](http://www.eurunion.org) or [http://european-voice.com](http://european-voice.com).

**Academic Honesty:** Academic dishonesty is a serious offense. All students must follow the College's policies regarding academic honesty as outlined in the Student Handbook. Please consult with me before submitting work if you have any questions regarding this issue.

**Disabilities:** Students with learning disabilities need to discuss their concerns in private with me AND contact Erin Salva, Kenyon's Coordinator of Disability Services (ext. 5145; e-mail salvae@kenyon.edu). No accommodations for this course will be granted without notification from Ms. Salva's office.
PSCI 445: Selected Topics in European Politics
Professor Camera-Rowe

Note: It is advisable to read the readings in the order in which they appear on the syllabus. Articles are found on Jstor or through the database Academic Search Premier unless otherwise noted. Book chapters that are not in the required texts are found on e-res.

Week 1: Introduction: Diversity and Convergence in Europe - January 18
What are the major challenges facing Europe in the 21st century?


Week 2: The Political Development of Modern Europe - January 25
How can you explain the different historical trajectories in Western Europe? Why did some countries have authoritarian leaders while others did not? What accounts for the emergence of democracy in western European countries? What are the most important reasons for gradualism and reformism in Britain? What leads individuals and groups to compromise rather than fight over their political differences? How does Germany’s historical development compare with that of Britain? What are the historical foundations of democracy in France? How do they differ from that of Britain? What are the legacies of Italy’s political development?

Kesselman et al., Chapters 6, 11, 16, 21
Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Chs. 7&8 - e-res


Week 3: Constitutions and Political Institutions - February 1
How did historical developments affect the constitutions and political institutions of various European countries? What are the major differences in executive-legislative relations among European nations? What accounts for those differences? How do they affect stability and political legitimacy? How would you compare France’s semi-presidential system with Britain’s parliamentary system? What is the difference between the power of executives and legislatures across European countries? Have legislatures or executives become more powerful or less powerful over time? How and why have political institutions in these countries changed over time and what implications does this have for politics and policy-making?


*Article on Italian electoral system change – on e-res*

**Week 4: Cleavages, Political Parties, and Party Systems - February 8**

How have voters traditionally been tied to the parties? Are these cleavage structures frozen? Why or why not? Does class cleavage still divide the electorate? If not, what divides the electorate? What is distinctive about the Left in western Europe and how does it differ from the Left in the U.S.? What is liberalism in Europe and how is it different from liberalism in the U.S.? What is Christian democracy? How and why do the parties and party systems differ across Britain, France, Germany and Italy? How do the electoral systems affect the party system and government stability?


**Week 5: Political Culture and Institutional Performance - February 15**

What impact does political culture have on institutional performance? On political attitudes? Where do these cultural traits and attitudes come from? To what extent can political culture change over time? How can it change?

Putnam, Robert. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* – all

Week 6: Governing The Economy - February 22
How does the organization of labor and capital differ across countries? What accounts for differences in the organization of labor and capital? How do institutions and politics affect how the economy works? What is the difference between a coordinated and a market economy? What accounts for the fact that many small European democracies are corporatist?

Kesselman, Chs. 7, 12, 17, 22


Cameron, David, “Social Democracy, Corporatism and Labor Quiescence,” in John Goldthorpe, Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism, 1984 - on e-res


Week 7: Development and Types of Welfare State Regimes - March 1
How do welfare state traditions differ and what explains the differences? What are the key characteristics of the Scandinavian, Conservative and Liberal Welfare States? What are universalism, decommodification and solidarity? How do the welfare states in Britain, Germany, and Sweden differ? What are the advantages and disadvantages of a strong safety net? Which aspects of the Scandinavian welfare state are linked with the traditions and institutions in Scandinavian society and politics?


“The Health Care System in Sweden” available at www.sweden.se

Week 8: Challenges of Economic Change - March 22
How has globalization affected advanced industrialized democracies? How has it affected labor and capital? What are the differences in the countries' responses? To what extent have their systems converged? What is the impact of globalization and demographic change on the welfare state? Is a welfare state necessary? How have the reform efforts of countries differed? To what extent have they converged? What are the prospects for further reform? What is the impact of reform? What is the relationship between labor markets and welfare states?


Week 9: What’s Left for the Left? - March 29
Has there been a convergence of political parties and their policies? What challenges do socialist and social democratic parties face and how might they deal with them? What is the Third Way? Can we talk about a politics of the new middle? Which policy stances are connected to these new developments in Left parties in Europe?


Herbert Kitschelt, “European Social Democracy Between Political Economy and Electoral Competition,” in Kitschelt et al., Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism, Ch. 11, pp. 317-345 - on e-res


Muller-Rommel, F. 2002. The Lifespan and Political Performance of Green Parties in Western Europe,” Environmental Politics, pp. 1-17.- JStor

Week 10: Citizenship and Nationhood in Europe - April 5
What does it mean to be a citizen of a country? Is assimilation required? How do France and Germany define citizenship and what accounts for the differences? What implications do these definitions of citizenship have for immigrants and minorities in the two countries?


**Week 11: The Rise of the Far Right - April 12**

How can the rise of radical right wing parties be explained? How are the radical right parties different from other conservative parties and from fascist parties? Why have they formed? Do they pose a threat to democracy in Europe?


**Week 12: European Economic and Political Integration and Its Domestic Impact - April 19**

What is the EU? How and why did the EU develop? What conflicts does the EU face? What were the most powerful reasons for the creation of a supranational body in western Europe? What impact has economic integration had on domestic economies? On domestic politics? How has monetary union affected the economies of western Europe?

Kesselman, Chs. 1-4


One additional article – TBA
Week 13: Enlargement and Institutional Reform in the EU - April 26

What challenges does enlargement pose for the EU? Should the EU focus on deepening or widening? Can it achieve both? Why was a constitution written for the EU? Was it necessary? Why was it defeated and what implications does this have for Europe? What is the democratic deficit and how should it be addressed?

Tsoukalis, *What Kind of Europe?* - Parts One and Two.

Kesselman, Ch. 5


Week 14: The Future of Europe - May 3

Tsoukalis, Loukas. *What Kind of Europe?* - Part 3

Kesselman, Ch. 10, 15, 20, 25


**Research Paper Due: Monday, May 1, 4:30 p.m. my office Acland 04**

**Take Home Final Due: Wednesday, May 10, 4:30 p.m., my office, Acland 04**