

Government and Politics of Europe

Professor Matt Golder

Course Number: CPO3103

Time: Monday, Wednesday, Friday 1:25-2:15

Place: Bellamy Building 4

Course website: Blackboard

Professor Contact Information:

E-mail: mgolder@fsu.edu (preferred method of contact)

Tel: 850-644-7302

Office: 540 Bellamy Building

Office Hours: Monday 2:30-3:30 pm (and by appointment)

My homepage: <http://www.fsu.edu/~polisci/people/faculty/golder.htm>

Description

This is an upper-level Comparative Politics course that applies the basic concepts of *comparative political science* to the political systems of Europe. In addition to comparisons within Europe (East and West), we will compare European political systems to other advanced democratic nations around the world. We will discuss theories of voting, the development of party systems, political protests, transitions to democracy, the choice of political institutions, representation and accountability, and immigration policy, among other topics.

The course is divided into two sections. In Section I, we focus on the historical development of political systems in Europe since the 1920s. We apply the tools of political science to better understand historical events such as the rise of Nazism, the establishment of the post-war party system, the transitions to democracy in Southern Europe, and the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe. Having obtained an overview of the historical evolution of Europe's political systems, we then turn to an examination of contemporary European institutions and their effects in Section II. We will build on the introduction to different types of democratic institutions that you had in CPO2002, and reconsider the relationship between political actors in light of a principal-agent framework.

Course Goals

Our goal is not to cover three or four European countries in depth, nor is it to amass as many facts as possible about Europe. Rather, the goal is to explore a number of political puzzles that are of particular relevance to Europe. In other words, its goal is to illustrate and explain some of the systematic relationships that exist between certain social, economic and political variables in European countries. In order to do this, we will cover a certain amount of European political history, paying particular attention to issues of representation and accountability. Some of the concepts presented in the readings and in lecture will be straightforward, while others may take a reasonable amount of effort to understand. In some of the political science articles you will read, the methods used to test some of the observable implications of the theories will be entirely new

to you. I do not expect you to familiarize yourself with all of the methodological tools used in the readings. Rather, through discussion and lecture, I hope to give you enough information so that you can evaluate the arguments we read.

Prerequisite

All students must have successfully completed CPO2002.

Requirements

Attendance at lectures is required. In my previous classes, attendance at lectures has been a good predictor of a student's performance on exams. If you do miss class, you are expected to get notes from a fellow student; I will not be conducting private 'make-up lectures'. You should come to class prepared to participate in discussions, and you should bring the relevant readings to class as well. You are encouraged to volunteer questions and observations; please note that I may call on students at random with questions. A tendency on your part to demonstrate a lack of knowledge of the readings or other material under discussion will have a negative effect on your participation grade. There will be three exams and periodic homework assignments. In the interests of fairness, homework assignments that are handed in late will not be graded and exam makeups will only be possible in the most extenuating of circumstances (oversleeping, leaving early for a long weekend, etc., are not suitable excuses). If you are exceedingly ill or have a university-accepted excuse for missing an exam, please notify me *prior* to the test date. I will only consider your request if you make it prior to the exam.

Grades

Your final grade is a weighted average of the following components: Midterm 1 and Midterm 2 are *each* worth 25%. The final exam is worth 30%. Homework and participation are *each* worth 10%.

I will use the following scale to calculate your course grade:

A: 93.0+ — A-: 90.0 - 92.9 — B+: 87.0 - 89.9 — B: 83.0 - 86.9 — B-: 80.0 - 82.9 — C+: 77.0 - 79.9 — C: 73.0 - 76.9 — C-: 70.0 - 72.9 — D+: 67.0 - 69.9 — D: 63.0 - 66.9 — D-: 60.0 - 62.9 — F: Less than 60.0

Note: Your participation grade will be based on (i) lecture attendance and (ii) participation. As stated above, attendance is mandatory. The percentage of classes that you attend will be the baseline for your participation grade. For example, if you attend 31 out of 36 classes, your baseline participation grade will be a 86%. I will then add or subtract points based on your general level of preparation for class discussions. I do not add or subtract a particular set of points for every interaction that we have. Rather, the extent to which I add or subtract points from your baseline grade is based on an overall impression of your work over the course of the semester. Please remember that you are expected to do the reading for each day's class and come prepared to speak.

Exam Dates

Midterm 1: Wednesday, October 3.

Midterm 2: Friday, November 16.

Final Exam: Tuesday, December 11, 10:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.

Required Texts

William I. Hitchcock. 2004. *The Struggle For Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*. New York: Anchor Books.

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2005. *Representative Government in Modern Europe (Fourth Edition)*. New York: McGraw Hill.

You should order these books online as soon as possible. All other readings for the class will be available on the course Blackboard site; you are expected to *print them out* so that you can make notes and refer back to them as required.

News

I encourage you to read national and international newspapers online, paying particular attention to the sections on Europe. Going directly to European sources is recommended - I suggest you begin with the BBC online (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/>) or the weekly magazine *The Economist*. If you search, you are likely to find English-language versions of other European newspapers as well. If you can read European languages other than English, check media sources in the relevant countries as well. Please feel free to bring interesting articles to the attention of the class.

Schedule

This schedule should be treated as tentative and flexible. It may be the case that it takes us more or less time for a particular topic than I have allotted here. We will adapt accordingly. Note, however, that I will not alter the exam dates.

Section I: Historical Development of European Political Systems

Weeks 1-2: January 7-18 – Course introduction. European history as conflict between democracy, communism, and fascism. Political science and understanding the Nazi vote. Ecological inference and retrospective voting. The end of WWII, the division of Europe, the onset of the Cold War, and the emergence of the post-war party systems in eastern and western Europe.

REQUIRED:

- Mazower, Mark. 1998. *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Vintage Books. pp. 3-40. [BLACKBOARD]

- King, Gary, Ori Rosen, Martin Tanner, Alexander Wagner. 2004. 'Ordinary Voting Behavior in the Extraordinary Election of Adolf Hitler.' Unpublished manuscript, Harvard University. [BLACKBOARD]
- Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*. New York: Anchor Books. pp. 69-97. [REQUIRED BOOK]
- Schöpflin, George. 1993. *Politics in Eastern Europe 1945-1992*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc. pp. 57-74. [BLACKBOARD]

RECOMMENDED:

- Documentary: *The World at War, Vol 9 (Reckoning: 1945 and after)*. 1975. [Available in the FSU library.]
- Movie: *Le chagrin et la pitié: chronique d'une ville française sous l'occupation* [The sorrow and the pity: chronicle of a French city under the Occupation]. 1969. [Available in the FSU library.]

Martin Luther King, Jr. Day (No Classes): January 21

Weeks 3-4: January 21 - February 1 – Collective Action: Protests and Revolutions. Failed uprisings in Eastern Europe (Berlin 1953, Budapest 1956, Prague 1968). Political protests and terrorism in Western Europe. Transitions from dictatorship to democracy in Southern Europe and Eastern Europe.

REQUIRED:

- Hitchcock, William. 2004. *The Struggle For Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*. New York: Anchor Books. pp. 193-220, 247-310, 347-379. [REQUIRED BOOK]
- Documentary: *Justice Pursued*. 1998. [Excerpts shown in class.]
- Kuran, Timur. 1991. 'Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989.' *World Politics* 44: 7-48. [BLACKBOARD]
- Documentary: *When the Wall Came Tumbling Down*. 1999. [Excerpts shown in class.]

RECOMMENDED:

- Garton Ash, Timothy. 1993. *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague*. Journalist's eyewitness account of the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe.
- Rosenberg, Tina. 1996. *The Haunted Land: Facing Europe's Ghosts After Communism*. Journalist's account of the dilemma facing new democracies: what is to be done with the former elite and those who collaborated with the dictatorial regime?

- Hainmueller, Jens and Holger Kern. 2007. “Opium for the Masses: How Foreign Free Media Can Stabilize Authoritarian Regimes”. Unpublished manuscript, Harvard.
- Movie: *Goodbye Lenin*. 2003. Entertaining look at life in East Germany in the aftermath of German reunification. [Available in the FSU library.]
- Movie: *The Lives of Others*. 2006. More serious look at life in East Germany, focusing on *Stasi* informants. [Available in the FSU library.]
- Movie: *Z*. 1969. Fictionalized account of the assassination of a Greek politician. [Available in the FSU library.]
- Movie: *La Battaglia di Algeri (The Battle of Algiers)*. 1965. Reconstruction of the struggle of Algerians for independence from French rule. [Available in the FSU library.]
- Movie: *The Eye of Vichy*. 1993. Compilation of film footage and newsreels from the Vichy period produced by the Nazis and French collaborators. [Available in the FSU library.]
- Movie: *Tito and Me*. 1993. Political comedy about a young boy’s obsession with the Communist ruler of Yugoslavia, Josip Tito.
- Movie: *Przesluchanie (Interrogation)*. 1982 (1990). Grim look at prison life in communist Poland in the 1950s. [Available in the FSU library.]

Week 5, Part I: February 4-6 – Review and midterm.

Review for Midterm 1 (Monday, February 4).

1st Midterm Exam (Wednesday, February 6)

Section II: Institutions and Their Effects

Week 5, Part II: February 8 – Delegation and accountability in parliamentary democracies. Introduction to principal-agent framework (Friday).

REQUIRED READING: None.

Week 6: February 11-15 – Parliamentary, presidential, semi-presidential regimes. Executive-Legislative relations. Government formation overview - formateurs, votes of no-confidence, investiture etc..

REQUIRED READING:

- Lupia, Arthur. 2003. “Delegation and its Perils”, in *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies* (eds. Kaare Strom, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman). New York: Oxford. pp. 33-54. [BLACKBOARD]

- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. pp. 24-85 (chapters 2-3). [REQUIRED BOOK]
- Excerpts from *Prime Minister's Question Time*, United Kingdom

Week 7: February 18-22 – Minority, minimal winning, and surplus governments. More on government formation - cabinet portfolio allocation, government survival and political experience.

REQUIRED READING:

- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. pp. 381-421 (chapter 12). [REQUIRED BOOK]

Week 8: February 25-29 – Parties and party families. Social cleavages. Extreme right parties and greens.

REQUIRED READING:

- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. pp. 230-272 (chapter 8 and part of chapter 9). [REQUIRED BOOK]
- Golder, Matt. 2003. "Explaining Variation in the Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 36: 432-466.

Week 9: March 3-7 – Electoral rules - majoritarian, proportional, and mixed. Turnout. Effect of electoral rules on party system size. Strategic voting, mechanical effect of electoral rules, and Duverger's theory.

REQUIRED READING:

- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. pp. 187-229, 340-380 (chapters 7 and 11). [REQUIRED BOOK]

Spring Break (March 10-14)

Week 11: March 17-21 – Rules of the Game. Choice of electoral institutions.

REQUIRED READING:

- Kaminski, Marek. 1999. ‘How Communism Could Have Been Saved: Formal Analysis of Electoral Bargaining in Poland in 1989.’ *Public Choice* 98: 83-109. [BLACKBOARD]
- Bawn, Kathleen. 1993. ‘The Logic of Institutional Preferences: The German Electoral Law as a Social Choice Outcome.’ *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 965-989. [BLACKBOARD]

Week 12: March 24-28 – Review and midterm.

Review for Midterm 2 (Monday, March 24).

2nd Midterm Exam (Wednesday, March 26)

Week 13: March 31 - April 4 – Delegation and accountability with respect to bureaucracy.

REQUIRED READING:

- Review Lupia reading from Week 6.
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. pp. 154-163 (part of chapter 6). [REQUIRED BOOK]
- “Yes, Prime Minister”. [Excerpt shown in class.]

Weeks 14-15: April 7-18 – Policy-making in corporatist and pluralist systems. Immigration and citizenship rules.

REQUIRED READING:

- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. pp. 441-465 (chapter 14). [REQUIRED BOOK]
- Soysal, Yasemin. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago. pp. 84-135 (chapters 6 - 7). [BLACKBOARD]
- Hirsi Ali, Ayaan. 2007. *Infidel*. New York: Free Press. Excerpts. [BLACKBOARD]

RECOMMENDED:

- Jens Hainmueller and Michael Hiscox. 2007. “Educated Preferences: Explaining Individual Attitudes Toward Immigration in Europe”, *International Organization*. Forthcoming.
- Documentary: *Europe Next Door*. 2004. ‘Semi-documentary’ about life on the border of the European Union.
- Movie: *Last Resort*. 2000. Young Russian woman and son who declare political asylum in England.
- Movie: *Ghosts*. 2006. Chinese illegal immigrants in England. Note: Be sure not to rent the 1990 film (“Ghost”) with Patrick Swayze and Demi Moore by mistake...
- Movie: *East is East*. 1999. Life in a mixed Pakistani-English household. British comedy.
- Movie: *My Son the Fanatic*. 1999. Westernized Pakistani immigrant in England who is forced to reexamine his life when his son becomes a religious fundamentalist.
- Movie: *My Beautiful Laundrette*. 1985. Young Asian runs a laundrette. Tackles issues of homosexuality and racism in Thatcherite Britain.
- Movie: *Bhaji on the Beach*. 1993. British women of South Asian descent spend at day at Blackpool’s beach.
- Movie: *Wild West*. 1992. Pakistanis trying to be accepted as a country/western music band.
- Movie: *Brothers in Trouble*. 1995. Story about an illegal Pakistani immigrant smuggled into England in the 1960s.
- Movie: *Last Resort*. 2000. Love story involved asylum seeker from Russia.
- Movie: *The Buddha of Suburbia*. 1993. Life of a man born to an Indian father and an English mother.

Final Exam (Tuesday, April 22 at 5:30pm - 7:30pm)

Additional Information

Students with Disabilities

Instructors will make reasonable accommodations for students with physical, mental or learning disabilities. Students with disabilities which may require some modification of seating, testing, or other class requirements are to inform the instructor (after class or during the instructor’s office hours) so that appropriate arrangements may be made. Students should register with the Student Disability Resource Center, 97 Woodward Avenue (644-9546) and bring a letter to the instructor from the SDRC indicating the required accommodations in the first week of class.

Department/Collegiate Complaint Procedures

A student who has a complaint against any member of the college’s teaching staff is responsible for following the procedures described in the Student Handbook at the following website: www.fsu.edu/Books/Student-Handbook/. The student should attempt to resolve the issue with the faculty member or teaching assistant involved. Lacking a satisfactory outcome, the student can turn to the department chair. (If the complaint

concerns a teaching assistant, the student should contact the supervising faculty member first). If a satisfactory outcome still is not obtained, the student can turn to the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Complaints may concern inappropriate faculty conduct (including inappropriate course materials), incompetence in oral communications, inequities in assignments, scheduling of examinations at other than authorized and published times, failure to provide disability accommodations, or grading grievances. FSU has a specific policy regarding sexual harassment - this can be found at <http://www.auditservices.fsu.edu/>.

Plagiarism and Cheating

All students are bound by the Academic Honor Policy (<http://www.fsu.edu/~dof/academics.htm>). You are expected to be honest and honorable in your fulfillment of assignments and in test-taking situations. Plagiarism and cheating are serious forms of academic misconduct. Examples of them are given in the Student Handbook: <http://www.fsu.edu/Books/Student-Handbook/2003codes/honor.html>. The department of Political Science works with individual instructors to detect plagiarism and cheating and to ensure that appropriately serious punishments are applied. An instructor who suspects a student of plagiarism or cheating must inform the student (preferably in writing) as soon as possible after the incident has been observed or discovered. Instructors who detect cheating or plagiarism may decide to reduce the student's grade on the assignment or course, even to assign an F. The instructor will discuss the matter with the student, put any agreement regarding academic penalty in writing signed by both the instructor and the student, and report the infraction to the Chair and the University judicial office. If no agreement can be reached, the instructor refers the matter to the Academic Honer system Hearing Panel.

Your Responsibilities

Your responsibilities to this class - and to your education as a whole - include attendance and participation. This syllabus details specific expectations the instructor may have about attendance and participation. You have a responsibility to help create a classroom environment where all may learn. At the most basic level, this means you will respect the other members of the class and the instructor and treat them with the courtesy you hope to receive in turn.

Plus-Minus Grading

All the department's instructors can append plus or minus grades to the letter grades they assign for the course. If the instructor does not specifically indicate in the syllabus that he or she will not assign plusses or minuses, students should assume that this form of grading will be used.

Please visit the Political Science Department's website: <http://www.fsu.edu/~polisci/>. It is frequently updated with new events and procedures in our department, changes in the Schedule of Courses, plus TA and faculty office hours when available. You also may find current information on pre-advising and registration.