

# CPO3103.01: Government and Politics of Europe

## Professor Sona N. Golder

Time: Monday, Wednesday, Friday 10:10 - 11:00.  
Place: Bellamy Building 4

### Professor Contact Information:

E-mail: [sgolder@fsu.edu](mailto:sgolder@fsu.edu)  
Tel: 850-644-3676  
Office: 553 Bellamy Building  
Office Hours: Wednesday and Friday, 11:05 am - 12:00 pm (and by appointment)

### Prerequisite

All students must have successfully completed CPO2002 (Introduction to Comparative Politics).

### Description

This is an upper-level Comparative Politics course that applies the basic concepts of comparative political science to the political systems of Europe. We will use comparisons within Europe (East and West) as well as comparisons between European political systems and other advanced democratic nations around the world to explore issues of political representation and accountability. We will discuss theories of voting, the development of party systems, political protests, transitions to democracy, the choice of political institutions, and immigration policy, among other topics. Some of these topics will be familiar from CPO2002 (or other political science classes). In this class we will re-examine these theories in the specific context of European politics.

The course is divided into three 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. We will build on the introduction to types of democratic institutions that you received in CPO2002, and will reconsider the relationship between political actors in light of a principal-agent (delegation) framework. For example, when voters delegate political authority to members of parliament, what kinds of institutional arrangements are most likely to ensure that these representatives are held accountable?
- Finally, in Section III we examine a particular policy area: immigration policy. This allows us to reexamine party systems, voting patterns, the relationship between European and non-European countries (particularly those based on prior colonial relations), and European identity in a particular policy context.

## 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. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe (Fourth Edition)*. New York: McGraw Hill

The required books are available at the Florida State Bookstore. All other readings will be available on the course Blackboard site.

## 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 so that you can better understand European domestic politics, foreign policy, business and legal environments, etc.. In so doing, you will also gain a different perspective on politics in the United States. 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. After you leave the class at the end of the semester, the material you will give you a much deeper understanding of developments in European politics in particular, and of developments in advanced industrialized democracies generally.

## 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' during office hours. 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 weekly homework assignments, in addition to periodic in-class assignments (some of which will be announced in advance). Most of the homework assignments will be submitted on Blackboard. In the interests of fairness, homework assignments that are handed in late will not be graded and exam makeups will only be possible in extenuating 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 21 out of 28 classes, your baseline participation grade will be a 75%. 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: Friday, October 2.

Midterm 2: Friday, November 13.

Final Exam: Thursday, December 10, 7:30 am - 9:30 am.

## 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*. A regularly-updated schedule that includes due dates for homework assignments will be available on the course Blackboard site. You are expected to check this schedule regularly so that you are aware of all reading and other assignments.

## Section I: Historical Development of European Political Systems

**Week 1: August 24 - 28** – Course introduction: approaches and topics. Who counts as European? Relevance (or lack thereof) of the distinction between Western and Eastern Europe. European history as conflict between democracy, communism, and fascism.

REQUIRED:

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. pp. 1-23 (chapter 1). [REQUIRED BOOK]

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

**Week 2: August 31 - September 4** – Theory of retrospective voting applied to the Nazi vote. The political aftermath of the Second World War: 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:

King, Gary, Ori Rosen, Martin Tanner, Alexander Wagner. 2008. 'Ordinary Economic Voting Behavior in the Extraordinary Election of Adolf Hitler.' *Journal of Economic History* 68(4): 951-996. [BLACKBOARD]

Judt, Tony. 2005. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: Penguin Books. Excerpts from Chapter 1 ("The Legacy of War"), pp. 27-40 and from Chapter 3 ("The Rehabilitation of Europe"), pp. 72-77. [BLACKBOARD]

RECOMMENDED:

- Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*. New York: Anchor Books. pp. 13-39 (Chapter 1) and 40-68 (Chapter 2) [REQUIRED BOOK].
- 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.]

**No Class on Monday, September 7 (Labor Day)**

**Week 3: September 9 - 11** – The division of Europe, the onset of the Cold War, and the emer-

gence of the post-war party systems in eastern and western Europe.

REQUIRED:

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 (Chapter 3), 98-125 (Chapter 4). [REQUIRED BOOK]

Schöpflin, George. 1993. *Politics in Eastern Europe 1945-1992*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc. pp. 57-74. [BLACKBOARD]

**Week 4: September 14 - 18** – Collective Action I: Protests. Political protests and terrorism in Western 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. 247-268 (Chapter 9), 193-220 (Chapter 7), 311-341 (Chapter 12). [REQUIRED BOOK]

**Weeks 5 and 6: September 21 - October 2** – Collective Action II: Revolutions. Failed uprisings in Eastern Europe (Berlin 1953, Budapest 1956, Prague 1968). Transitions from dictatorship to democracy in Southern Europe and Eastern Europe.

REQUIRED:

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*. New York: Anchor Books. pp. 288-310 (Chapter 11), 269-287 (Chapter 10), 347-379 (Chapter 13). [REQUIRED BOOK]

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:

- Movie: *Z*. 1969. Fictionalized account of the assassination of a Greek politician, set shortly before the military coup. In French. Banned in Spain until 1976. [Available in the FSU library.]
- 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?
- Movie: *Goodbye Lenin*. 2003. Entertaining look at life in East Germany in the aftermath of German

reunification. In German. [Available in the FSU library.]

- Movie: *The Lives of Others*. 2006. More serious look at life in East Germany, focusing on *Stasi* informants. In German.

## Review for 1<sup>st</sup> Midterm Exam, September 30

### 1<sup>st</sup> Midterm Exam on Friday, October 2

## Section II: Political Institutions and Their Effects

**Week 7: October 5 - 9** – Delegation and Accountability in parliamentary democracies. Introduction to principal-agent framework. Review of executive-legislative relations in parliamentary, presidential, semi-presidential regimes. 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] Note that there will be an in-class assignment.

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. pp. 24-85 (chapters 2-3). [REQUIRED BOOK]

**Week 8: October 12 - 16** – 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]

Schleiter, Petra & Edward Morgan-Jones. 2009. “Party Government in Europe? Semi-presidential Democracies Compared.” *European Journal of Political Research*. 48(5) 665-693. [BLACKBOARD]

Roberts, Andrew. 2008. “Hyperaccountability: Economic Voting in Eastern Europe.” *Electoral Studies* 27(3): 553-546. [BLACKBOARD]

**Week 9: October 19 - 23** – Electoral rules - majoritarian, proportional, multi-tier 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]

**Week 10: October 26 - 30** – 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]

**Week 11: November 2 - 6** – 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: November 9 - 13** – Review, Holiday, Midterm.

**Veterans' Day (No Classes): Wednesday, November 11**

**2<sup>nd</sup> Midterm Exam on Friday, November 13**

**Week 13: November 16 - 20** – Delegation and accountability with respect to bureaucracy. Policy-making in corporatist and pluralist systems.

REQUIRED READING:

Golden, Miriam A. 2003. "Electoral Connections: The Effects of the Personal Vote on Political Patronage, Bureaucracy and Legislation in Postwar Italy." *British Journal of Political Science* 33: 189-212. [BLACKBOARD]

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]

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]

### **Thanksgiving Holiday (No Classes) on Friday, November 27**

**Weeks 14-15: November 23 - December 4** – Immigration and citizenship rules.

#### REQUIRED READING:

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*. New York: Anchor Books. pp. 380-409 (Chapter 14). [REQUIRED BOOK]

Koopmans, Ruud, Paul Stathan, Marco Guigni, and Florence Passey. 2005. *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Excerpts. [BLACKBOARD]

Hirsi Ali, Ayaan. 2007. *Infidel*. New York: Free Press. Excerpts. [BLACKBOARD]

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2008. 'Fighting Neighbors or Fighting the State: Subnational Variation in Immigrant Conflict Outcomes.' Unpublished manuscript, Princeton 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. 410-434 (Chapter 15). [REQUIRED BOOK]

#### RECOMMENDED:

- Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*. New York: Anchor Books. pp. 162-192 (Chapter 6). [REQUIRED BOOK]
- Documentary: *Europe Next Door*. 2004. 'Semi-documentary' about life on the border of the EU.
- 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. Comedic look at assimilation of Pakistani immigrants in 1970s England.

**Final Exam on Thursday, December 11 at 7:30 am - 9:30 am**

## **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/](http://www.fsu.edu/Books/Student-Handbook/). 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 - see <http://www.auditservices.fsu.edu/>.

### **Plagiarism and Cheating**

All students are bound by the Academic Honor Policy (<http://dof.fsu.edu/honorpolicy.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://newnole.fsu.edu/handbook.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.

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