

The Politics of Western Europe

Political Science 240Z

Summer 2003

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1 Course Objectives

This course introduces students to the politics of Western Europe, beginning with a comparative study of national politics and then moving on to the supra-national level: the European Union. The course addresses two key questions. (1) At the national level, what factors explain the different political and economic outcomes we observe in Western European states? (2) At the supra-national level, what is the European Union and how will it affect these differences? To answer the first question, the course will examine topics such as social cleavages, political institutions (e.g., electoral systems, regime types, and federalism), party systems, and interest groups. The United Kingdom, Italy, France, Germany, and the Netherlands will be used as the primary case studies. To answer the second, the course will investigate both the development of European integration in historical perspective and the political institutions and processes of the EU. Important issues raised will include the democratic deficit and regulatory and distributive issues (such as the common agricultural policy). Current events will be emphasized throughout the course.

2 Course Requirements

Students are expected to attend lectures and to do the assigned weekly readings. There will be an in-class final on Saturday, 16 August (8.30 a.m. - 10.30 a.m.), as listed in the university time schedule. Note that lecture and readings will complement each other; in order to do well in the course, you will need to both attend lecture and do the readings. Course grades will be calculated as follows:

- A short (5–6 page) paper. The paper will be on either an assigned topic or, if you desire, a topic of your own choosing. (25%)
- Two homework assignments. (15% each)
- A midterm examination. (15%)
- A final examination. (30%)

3 Required Reading Materials

The following books are required. They are available for purchase at the Stanford Bookstore or may be checked out from the reserve desk at Green Library.

- Michael Gallagher, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2001. *Representative Government in Modern Europe: Institutions, Parties, and Governments*. 3rd Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Desmond Dinan. 1999. *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*. 2nd Edition. Boulder: Lynne Reiner Publishers.

Readings on the syllabus marked [EJ] are available on-line through the Stanford library's E-Journals resource page. Other readings, marked [R], are available from the Green Library reserve desk.

4 Syllabus

Note: topics correspond to class meetings.

Introduction: Variation in Political and Economic Outcomes across Europe

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair. Chapter 1, p. 1–13.

Manin, Bernard, Adam Przeworski, and Susan C. Stokes. 1999. Introduction. In Bernard Manin, Adam Przeworski, and Susan C. Stokes, *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press (p. 1-25).

PART I: NATIONAL COMPARISONS

Party Families in Historical Perspective

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair. Chapters 7, p. 171-176, 178-192, 195-99; 8, p. 202-231; and 10, p. 271-297.

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. University of Chicago Press.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1997. *The Radical Right in Western Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Party Systems

Laver, Michael and Norman Shofield. 1990. *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. p. 245-252, skim tables on p. 252-265. [R]

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press. p. 62-77. [R]

Sartori, Giovanni. 1990. A Typology of Party Systems. In Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 316-349. [R]

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Budge, Ian, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara, and Eric Tanenbaum. 2001. *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments 1948-1998*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mair, Peter, ed. 1990. *The West European Party System*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Social Cleavages and Party Systems

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair. Chapter 9, p. 234-267.

Economist articles on immigration in Europe [R]

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and Post-Modernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: An Introduction. In Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds., *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: The Free Press.

Electoral Systems and Party Systems

(Assignment #1 Due)

Dunleavy, Patrick, Helen Margetts and Stuart Weir. 1998. *The Politico's Guide to Electoral Reform in Britain*. London: Politico's Publishing, p. 6-19.

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair. Chapter 11, p. 300-335.

Riker, William. 1982. "The Two-Party System and Duverger's Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 76, no. 4: 753-766. [EJ]

Selection of Economist articles on recent elections in Europe [R]

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Bros.

Duverger, Maurice. 1963. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. New York: Wiley.

Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Political Regimes: Parliamentary Government

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair. Chapters 3, p. 41-66, and 4, p. 68-93.

Political Regimes: Coalition Formation

Churchill, Winston S. 1959. *Memoirs of the Second World War: An Abridgement of the Six Volumes of the Second World War (Book I, Milestones to Disaster)*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. p. 220-227.

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair. Chapter 12, p. 339-372.

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Laver, Michael and Norman Schofield. 1990. *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Political Regimes: Parliamentarism to Presidentialism

Elgie, Robert. 1999. France. In Robert Elgie, ed., *Semi-Presidentialism in Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press (p. 67-85).

Lijphart, Arend. 1992. Introduction. In Arend Lijphart, ed., *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*. New York: Oxford University Press. (p. 1-27.) [R]

Tsebelis, George. 1995. "Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multicameralism, and Multipartyism." *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 289-325. [EJ]

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Duverger, Maurice. 1980. "A New Political System Model: Semi-Presidential Government." *European Journal of Political Research* 8, no. 2: 165-87.

Sartori, Giovanni. 1994. *Comparative Constitutional Engineering*. New York: New York University Press.

Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John M. Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Federalism, Devolution, and Regionalism

(Assignment #2 Due)

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair. Chapter 6, p. 135-167.

Inman, Robert P. and Daniel L. Rubinfeld. "Rethinking Federalism." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 11, no. 4: 43-64. [EJ]

Newhouse, John. 1997. "Europe's Rising Regionalism." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 1: 67-84.

Selection of Economist articles on Belgium, Spain, and the UK [R]

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy*. p. 185-199.

Ordeshook, Peter C. and Olga Shvetsova. 1997. "Federalism and Constitutional Design." *Journal of Democracy* 8.

Riker, William. 1964. *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Interest Groups: Pluralism vs. Corporatism

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair. Chapter 14, p. 398-420.

Economist special report on trade unions [R]

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Cameron, David R. 1984. Social Democracy, Corporatism, Labour Quiescence and the Representation of Economic Interest in Advanced Capitalist Society. In John H. Goldthorpe, ed., *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lange, Peter and Geoffrey Garrett. 1985. "The Politics of Growth: Strategic Interaction and Economic Performance in Advanced Industrial Democracies, 1974-1980." *Journal of Politics* 47, no. 3: 792-827.

Schmitter, Phillippe. 1979. Still the Century of Corporatism? In Phillippe Schmitter and Gerhard Lehbruch, eds., *Trends Towards Corporatist Intermediation*. New York: Sage Publishers.

Policy Outcomes: The Welfare State, etc.

Gallagher, Laver, and Mair. Chapter 13, p. 375-395.

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy*. p. 258-300. [R]

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Gary Marks. 2000. *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. p. 278-94. [R]

Economist special report on the sustainability of the welfare state and the population implosion of Europe [R]

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Boix, Carles. 1998. *Political Parties, Growth and Equality: Conservative and Social Democratic Economic Strategies in the World Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Esping-Andersen, Gosta. 1990. *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Iversen, Torben and Anne Wren. 1998. "Equality, Employment and Budgetary Restraint: The Trilemma of the Service Economy." *World Politics* 50: 507-546.

Conclusion: Explaining Cross-National Variation

PART II: SUPRA-NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

History of European Integration

Dinan. Chapter 1, p. 1-6.

McCormick, John. 1999. *The European Union. 2nd Edition*. Boulder: Westview Press. p. 43-77. [R]

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Dinan. Chapters 2-7, p. 9-199

Institutions of the European Union I & II

Dinan. Chapters 8-11 (in part), p. 205-323.

The Democratic Deficit Debate Hix, Simon. 1998. "Elections, Parties and Institutional Design: A Comparative Perspective on European Union Democracy." *West European Politics* 21, no. 3: 19-52. [EJ]

Scharpf, Fritz W. 1997. "Economic Integration, Democracy and the Welfare State." *Journal of European Public Policy* 4, no. 1: 18-36. [EJ]

Selection of Economist commentaries by Charlemagne [R]

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Scharpf, Fritz W. 1999. *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* New York: Oxford University Press.

EU Policy Outcomes I: Regulatory Policies

Dinan. Chapters 13, p. 353-377, 14, p. 379-404 (skim), and 16, p. 453-479.

Further (Recommended) Reading:

Hall, Peter A. and Robert Franzese. 1998. "Mixed Signals: Central Bank Independence, Coordinated Wage-Bargaining, and European Monetary Union." *International Organization* 52, no. 3: 505-535.

Wallace, Helen and William Wallace, eds. 2000. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. 4th Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

EU Policy Outcomes II: Distributive Policies

(Paper Due)

Dinan. Chapters 12, p. 333-350; 15, p. 407-450; and 17, p. 483-92, 508-527.

The Future of Europe?

Laitin, David. 1997. "The Cultural Identities of a European State." *Politics and Society* 25, no. 3: 277 - 303.

Economist article on Turkey's role in Europe [R]

Conclusion/Review