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### **Political Science 4428: Topics in European Political Development Spring 2019**

This is an upper-level course in postwar European political development with a focus on Western Europe. It is designed for undergraduates who already have some exposure to European history or politics and/or comparative politics, and graduate students. The course will analyze important theoretical works, and debates about critical issues and events in postwar European political development and place the European experience in comparative perspective.

Requirements: Readings are heavy and must be done *before* each class meeting. There is more reading for this class than for a standard undergraduate class, but in line with what is expected in graduate courses. In addition to completing the readings each week, students will write two essay “exams” during the semester and a series of essays at the end. Students will get ample time to digest the material they have read and we have discussed; a week will be given to complete each set of essays. Each of the essay “exams” during the semester will count for 25% of the grade and the final set of essays will count for 35%. Class participation will constitute 15% of the grade. Because you will have ample time to complete these essays, **NO LATE ESSAYS WILL BE ACCEPTED.**

All work is expected to be done in accordance with the Barnard Honor code (info about which can be found here: <https://barnard.edu/dos/honorcode>). Plagiarism in any form will result in a failing grade.

Course Readings: All readings will be available via courseworks except those in Brent Nelson and Alexander Stubbs, The European Union which should be purchased.

Student Learning Outcomes: By the end of this course students should be able to:

1. Demonstrate substantive knowledge of many of the most critical issues and junctures in postwar European political development.
2. Identify and evaluate key scholarly literatures and debates on postwar European political development
3. Evaluate European political development in comparative perspective.
4. Understand the nature and causes of Europe’s current political and economic problems.
5. Construct, both orally and in writing, their own arguments about the key factors, events and dynamics driving postwar European political development.

Disability accommodation: If you have a documented disability and require academic accommodation, you must register with the Office of Disability Services (ODS) and obtain a notification letter from ODS before meeting with your instructor to discuss accommodations. (You must register with ODS each semester.) Because of the nature of this class' exams, extra exam time for these is not necessary. If you require any other sort of accommodation, let me know.

## Week 1 (January 23): Introduction

### Week 2 (January 30): The Domestic Postwar Order

- Charles Maier, "The Two Postwar Eras," in Maier, ed., In Search of Stability (Original: American Historical Review, 86, 2, April 1981).
- Clas Offe, "Comparative Party Democracy and the Welfare State," Policy Sciences, 15, 1983, esp. pp. 225-233.
- Andrew Shonfield, Modern Capitalism, chapter 1 pages 3-10, chapters 4 and then skim 5-12 (pick chapters on *either* Britain, France or Germany to read).
- Gosta Esping-Andersen, Politics Against Markets, chapters 5 (pp. 145-65) and chapter 7, pages 191-193 and 204-5. For the rest of chapter 7 note the key characteristics of Scandinavian social democratic model(s) -- politically and economically-- paying particular attention to the paradigmatic "Swedish model" (pp. 227ff).

### Week 3 (February 6): The Postwar Welfare State

- T. H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," (Especially sections from "The Development of Citizenship to the End of the Nineteenth Century" to "Social Rights in the Twentieth Century" reprinted in T.H. Marshall, Class, Citizenship and Social Development. Essays by T.H. Marshall.)
- Gøsta Esping-Andersen, The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, Introduction and chapters 1, 2, 3 (pages 1-78).
- Ann Orloff, "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship. A Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States," American Sociological Review, 58, 1993.

### Week 4 (February 13): The International Postwar Order

- John Gerard Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," IO, 36, 2, Spring 1982.
- G. John Ikenberry, "A World Economy Restored," IO, 46, 1, Winter 1992.
- Alan Milward, The European Rescue of the Nation State, chapter 2.
- James Dobbins, "History Ended in 1945," The Wall Street Journal, Dec. 10, 2018. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/history-ended-in-1945-1544396463>
- Robert Kagan, "The Cost of American Retreat," The Wall Street Journal, Sept. 7, 2018. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/thecost-of-american-retreat-1536330449>

**Week 5 (February 20): The Origins of European Integration**

- T. R. Reid, The United States of Europe, chapter 2
- Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 23 and 32 in Nelson and Stubbs, eds., The European Union.
- Craig Parsons, Showing Ideas as Causes. The Origins of the European Union,” IO, 56, 1, 2000.
- Sebastian Rosato, “Europe’s Troubles. Power Politics and the State of the European Union,” International Security, 35, 4, 2011.
- Christopher Bickerton, The European Union—A Citizen’s Guide, chapter chap. 2.

Optional background on the development of European Integration:

-John Van Oudenaren, “European Integration: Progress and Uncertainty,” in Ronald Tiersky and Erik Jones, eds., Europe Today.

Optional overview of European Integration theories:

-Antje Wiener and Thomaz Diez, eds., European Integration Theory, chapters 3,4,7,8.

**First exam handed out at the end of class** (due 5pm March 1 to courseworks and me via email)

**Week 6: (February 27) First Exam****Week 7 (March 6): Conceptualizing the European Union**

- David Held, “The Development of the Modern State,” pages 57-73, in Stuart Hall et al, eds., Modernity
- Chapter 31 in Nelson and Stubbs, eds., The European Union.
- James Caparoso, “The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory, Post-Modern,” Journal of Common Market Studies, 34, 1, 1996.
- Gary Marks, A Third Lens. Comparing European Integration and State Building,” in Jytte Klausen and L. Tilly, eds., European Integration in Social and Historical Perspective.
- Kathleen McNamara, The Politics of Everyday Europe, preface, chapters 1 and 8.

**Week 8 (March 13): The Decline of the Postwar Order**

- Gosta Esping-Andersen, Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies, chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 (5 is a review and is optional).
- Wolfgang Streeck, "The Crisis of Democratic Capitalism," New Left Review, Sept-Oct 2011.
- Randall Hansen and Joshua Gordon, "Deficits, Democracy and Demographics: Europe's Three Crises," West European Politics, 37,6, 2014.
- Martin Sandbu, "Greater risk is as much a scourge as stagnant incomes," <https://www.ft.com/content/a657cb04-63da-11e8-90c2-9563a0613e56>

## Optional:

- Bruno Palier and Colin Hay, "The Reconfiguration of the Welfare State In Europe," in King and Le Gales, eds., Reconfiguring European States in Crisis.
- Armin Schäfer and Wolfgang Streeck, "Introduction" in Armin Schäfer and Wolfgang Streeck, eds., Politics in the Age of Austerity.

**[March 20: Spring Break]****Week 9 (March 27): The Decline of the Postwar Order**

- Peter Mair, "Ruling the Void," New Left Review, 42, Nov.-Dec. 2006.
- Clas Offe, "Participatory Inequality in the Austerity State." in Armin Schäfer and Wolfgang Streeck, eds., Politics in the Age of Austerity.
- Christopher Bickerton, European Integration, chaps. 2 and 3.
- Christopher Bickerton, "Nation-State to Member State," Philipp Genschel and Bernhard Zangl, "The Rise of Non-State Authority" and Henrik Spruyt, "Unbundling Sovereign Rights," in Desmond King and Patrick Le Gales, eds., Reconfiguring European States in Crisis.

### Week 10 (April 3): Populism Definitions and Nature

**Data:** [https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2018/nov/20/revealed-one-in-four-europeans-vote-populist?CMP=Share\\_iOSApp\\_Other](https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2018/nov/20/revealed-one-in-four-europeans-vote-populist?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other)

- Cas Mudde, "Populism: An Ideational Approach," in The Oxford Handbook of Populism.
- Kurt Weyland, "Populism: A Sociocultural Approach," in The Oxford Handbook.
- Margaret Canovan, "Trust the People: Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy," Political Studies, 47, 1999.
- Yascha Mounk, The People vs. Democracy, chapter 1.

-"Interview with Marine Le Pen"

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/interviews/2016-10-17/france-s-next-revolution>

-"Why Ernesto Laclau is the Intellectual Figurehead for Syriza and Podemos," The Guardian February 9, 2015.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/09/ernesto-laclau-intellectual-figurehead-syriza-podemos>

-Chantal Mouffe, "Populism is a Necessity," The European Magazine.

<http://www.theeuropean-magazine.com/chantal-mouffe--4/8420-why-the-eu-needs-populism>

-John Judis, "Us vs. Them," The Guardian, October 2016.

[https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/birth-of-populism-donald-trump?utm\\_term=RWRpdG9yaWFsX1RoZUZxbmdSZWFkLTE4MTEyNA%3D%3D&utm\\_source=esp&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_campaign=TheLongRead&CMP=longread\\_email](https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/birth-of-populism-donald-trump?utm_term=RWRpdG9yaWFsX1RoZUZxbmdSZWFkLTE4MTEyNA%3D%3D&utm_source=esp&utm_medium=Email&utm_campaign=TheLongRead&CMP=longread_email)

Optional:

-Jan-Werner Müller, "The Attractions of Populism," The Guardian, Sept 2016.

<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/sep/02/trump-erdogan-farage-the-attractions-of-populism-for-politicians-the-dangers-for-democracy>

-Ivan Krastev, "The Populist Moment," <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2007-09-18-krastev-en.html>

**Second Exam handed out in class (due 5pm April 12 to courseworks and me via email)**

### Week 11 (April 10): Second Exam

## Week 12 (April 17): Populism's Causes

### Data:

[http://www.pewglobal.org/2018/07/12/in-western-europe-populist-parties-tap-anti-establishment-frustration-but-have-little-appeal-across-ideological-divide/?utm\\_source=Pew+Research+Center&utm\\_campaign=ae470ffaad-EMAIL\\_CAMPAIGN\\_2018\\_07\\_12\\_01\\_09&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_3e953b9b70-ae470ffaad-400431161](http://www.pewglobal.org/2018/07/12/in-western-europe-populist-parties-tap-anti-establishment-frustration-but-have-little-appeal-across-ideological-divide/?utm_source=Pew+Research+Center&utm_campaign=ae470ffaad-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_07_12_01_09&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_3e953b9b70-ae470ffaad-400431161)

<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/07/19/populist-views-in-europe-its-not-just-the-economy/>

<http://www.pewglobal.org/2018/09/18/a-decade-after-the-financial-crisis-economic-confidence-rebounds-in-many-countries/>

-Noam Gidron and Peter Hall, "The Politics of Social Status: Economic and Cultural Roots of the Populist Right," The British Journal of Sociology, 2017, 68, S1.

-Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties," Perspective on Politics, 15, 2, June 2017.

-Yascha Mounk, The People vs. Democracy, part 2.

-Martin Sandbu, "The economic problem tearing countries apart,"

<https://www.ft.com/content/ab2f8a30-f47c-11e8-ae55-df4bf40f9d0d>

-Martin Wolf, "Inequality is a threat to our democracies"

<https://www.ft.com/content/47e3e014-e3ea-11e7-97e2-916d4fbac0da>

-Peter Beinart, "The new authoritarians are waging war on women"

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/01/authoritarian-sexism-trump-duterte/576382/>

-Edourd Louis, "Why My Father Votes for Marine Le Pen"

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/04/opinion/sunday/why-my-father-votes-for-marine-le-pen.html>

-Martin Eiermann, "Confronting Populist Anxieties" [Good summary of various views of populist voters]

<https://institute.global/insight/renewing-centre/populist-anxieties>

### Optional

-Matt Golder, "Far Right Parties in Europe," Annual Review of Political Science, 2016.

-Silvio Waisbrod, "The Elective Affinity Between Post-Truth Communication and Populism," Communication Research and Practice, January 2018.

**Week 13 (April 24): The European Union and the Crisis of Democracy**

- Peter Hall, "Varieties of Capitalism and the Euro Crisis," West European Politics, 37, 6, 2014.
- Clas Offe, "Europe Entrapped," European Law Journal, 19, 5, 2013.
- Matthias Matthijs, "Mediterranean Blues," Journal of Democracy, 25, 1, January 2014.
- Sheri Berman, "Warnings from History." Journal of Democracy, 23, 4, October 2012.
- Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca, "From a Deficit of Democracy to a Technocratic Order." Annual Review of Political Science, 2017.
- Kyriaki Nanou and Han Dorussen, "European Integration and Electoral Democracy," European Journal of Political Research, 52, 2013.
  
- Ashoka Mody, "The IMF abetted the European Union's subversion of Greek democracy." <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/ashoka-mody/imf-abetted-european-union-s-subversion-of-greek-democracy>
- Barry Eichengreen, "The Euro at 20: An enduring success, but a fundamental failure," The Conversation, January 4, 2019.  
<https://theconversation.com/the-euro-at-20-an-enduring-success-but-a-fundamental-failure-108149>

**Optional:**

- Ivan Krastev, "A Fraying Union," Journal of Democracy, 23, 4, October 2012.



### Week 14 (May 1): Democratic Decline in Eastern Europe

- Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, How Democracies Die, Intro., chaps. 4 and 5.
- Grzegorz Ekiert, How to Deal with Poland and Hungary,” Social Europe, 13, August 2017. <https://www.socialeurope.eu/book-author/grzegorz-ekiert>
- Kim Lane Scheppele, “Not Your Father’s Authoritarianism,” European Politics and Society Newsletter, Winter 2013.
- R. Daniel Keleman, “Europe’s Other Democratic Deficit,” Government and Opposition, 52, 2, 2017.
- Jacques Rupnik, “Surging Illiberalism in the East,” Journal of Democracy, 27, 4 October 2016.
- James Dawson, Sean Hanley, “The Fading Mirage of the ‘Liberal Consensus,’” Journal of Democracy, 27,1, January 2016.
- Ivan Krastev, “The Unraveling of the Post-1989 Order,” Journal of Democracy, 27, 4, 2016.
  
- Ivan Krastev, “Central Europe is a lesson to Liberals: Don’t be anti-nationalist.” [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jul/11/central-europe-lesson-liberals-anti-nationalist-yugoslavia-poland-hungary?CMP=Share\\_iOSApp\\_Other](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jul/11/central-europe-lesson-liberals-anti-nationalist-yugoslavia-poland-hungary?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other)
- Anne Applebaum, “Why Neo-Fascists are Making a Shocking Surge in Poland,” Washington Post, November 13, 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/11/13/why-neo-fascists-are-making-a-shocking-surge-in-poland/?utm\\_term=.ae7396daf3e7](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/11/13/why-neo-fascists-are-making-a-shocking-surge-in-poland/?utm_term=.ae7396daf3e7)
- Lucan Way and Steve Levitsky, “How autocrats can rig the game and damage Democracy,” Washington Post, Monkey Cage, January 4, 2019. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2019/01/04/how-do-you-know-when-a-democracy-has-slipped-over-into-autocracy/?utm\\_term=.78bb21c4c874&wpisrc=nl\\_cage&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2019/01/04/how-do-you-know-when-a-democracy-has-slipped-over-into-autocracy/?utm_term=.78bb21c4c874&wpisrc=nl_cage&wpmm=1)