Western European Politics Spring 2020 – CPO 3103

Professor: Hannah M. Alarian (she/her/hers) Class: Tu 10:40 AM – 11:30 AM;

Email: halarian@ufl.edu
Th 10:40 AM – 12:35 PM

Office: Anderson Hall 317
Location: Turlington 2342

Office Hours: M 3– 5pm or by appointment

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Course Description

This course focuses on the comparative representative democracies of Western Europe. This course stresses party systems and the social bases of politics in industrialized societies. Throughout the course, students will critically examine the structure and operation of Western European institutions and the implications such institutions have for political and policy outcomes. To this end, the course is organized in three themes: Institutions, Cases, and Modern Europe. This knowledge will enable students to think analytically about Western European institutions for present-day European politics, as well as to think critically regarding political and policy issues in Western European states and throughout the wider European Union.

Course Requirements

(1) Weekly class discussion: 10%

(2) Op-ed and review: 20%

(3) Three exams: 40%

(4) A final paper (12-15 pages) accounts for 25% of your final grade.

(5) Final paper presentation: 5%

Weekly discussion – 10%

Students should attend class ready to discuss the reading assigned for that class meeting. Participation may include providing personal insight to the material, outside articles, current events, or responding to classmates. I understand some students may feel uncomfortable speaking in class, the class and I benefit from hearing a wide range of perspectives. I encourage you to step outside your comfort zone to ask, answer, or comment on a question from time to time throughout the course. If you are someone who often is a frequent contributor to class discussion, I urge you be considerate of your fellow classmates and encourage an open conversation for those who wish to speak.

In addition to class participation, there are several special opportunities for discussion within which will take throughout the semester.

- **Debates** will require students to argue for or against a question provided in the syllabus. Roles will be assigned in class and students should come prepared to take either side of the debate.
- **Policy Proposals** will require students to discuss and present a policy proposal for a given actor (e.g., a country or the EU) in response to the question posed in the syllabus. Roles will be assigned in class. Students should be prepared to present to either audience.

Op-ed – 20%

Students will write one brief op-ed on a political event or policy of your choosing (800-1200 words). You may use these op-eds to flesh out ideas for your final paper or engage in a separate topic for each topic module. Students will post their op-ed to Canvas by 11:59pm on February 20th (5%). Students will provide comments to at least two of their fellow classmates op-eds within Canvas. (5%) within the week (e.g., by February 27th at 11:59pm). These responses should be at least 500 words a piece.

Once students receive their peer comments, they will revise their op-ed for final review to Canvas by 11:59pm on March 31st (10%). Students who chose to submit their op-ed to a national or international reputable source for publication will receive extra credit. Those who are successfully published will receive an additional extra credit.

Exams - 40%

These exams will cover material from required readings and lecture. Both exams will consist of multiple-choice and short answer questions. The first exam will constitute 10% and the second will constitute 15% and the third 15% of your total grade.

Final Paper - 25%

The final paper is the main writing activity for the course. In this policy-oriented research paper, students will engage in a detailed analysis of one policy event currently facing modern Western Europe. Students will have the choice of one of four broad topics: the Eurozone crisis, Refugees and involuntary migration, far-right populist movements, or immigrant integration. You may speak to any actor (e.g., the EU, Germany) and involve any other ongoing event (e.g., Brexit) but must primarily discuss your chosen event and include readings from the course in your analysis.

All paper topics must be approved by week three. You are expected to begin working on this project early on in course. We will have multiple opportunities to discuss this paper throughout the course and through your policy op-eds, individually and as a group.

A <u>one-to-two page outline</u> of your paper including relevant sources will make up <u>5%</u> of your paper grade and will serve to help guide toward your final submission. <u>Electronic copies of the final paper must be turned in by the final date and time.</u>

Final Paper Presentations – 5%

This assignment will require students in groups to present on 1) a modern problem facing Europe and 2) the main findings of your final papers. This presentation should be a coherent and collective analysis of your independent research of the same topic. Students will be evaluated on the clarity and content of their presentation as well as their ability to ask and answer questions to and from their fellow classmates.

Grading Scale

	A 93–100%	A-90-92.9%
B+ 87-89.9%	B 83-86.9%	B- 80-82.9%
C+ 77–79.9%	C 73-76.9%	C-70-72.9%
D+ 67-69.9%	D 63-66.9%	D-60-62.9%
E < 60%		

Grade adjustment policy

I do not under any circumstances round or adjust grades. This policy is not an attempt to be harsh but to hold all students in equal standing. I do, however, offer two opportunities for extra credit: 1) submitting your op-ed to a reputable source (2%) for publication and 2) publishing said op-ed (3%).

Readings

The bulk of the assigned readings will come from the following text (GLM in the semester schedule).

1. Gallagher, M., Laver, M., & Mair, P. (2011). Representative government in modern Europe. McGraw-Hill.

This book is an excellent introduction to the concepts we will discuss in class as well as a great resource as you consider your final paper. In addition to the assigned textbook, I will post required readings from academic journals or excerpts of larger works to Canvas. Additionally, students are expected to keep abreast of current affairs related to Europe and the EU from reputable news sources, including but not limited to the New York Times, Guardian, BBC, and the Washington Post. As this class covers current and on-going events across Western Europe, the syllabus is subject to change should any new event occur during our semester which requires our in-depth discussion and analysis.

Absences

Absences are factored into participation and presentation grades. I understand that unforeseen events can arise and therefore missing a class will not harm your grade. However, a pattern of absences will result in a low participation score. If for some reason you must miss class outside of two meetings, you must contact me in advance (i.e., prior to class starting).

Technology Policy

Research shows students learn and retain information best taking notes by hand (see <u>Scientific American: A Learning Secret - Don't take Notes with a Laptop</u>). As I want to provide the best learning environment, I prefer your laptops stay in your bag or at home throughout the duration of our class. At times, we may use cell phones to conduct real time polling or quizzes during class. I expect your phone to be put away outside of these times.

Academic Integrity

The University of Florida is an institution of learning, research, and scholarship that is strengthened by the existence of an environment of integrity. It is essential that all members of the University practice academic integrity and accept individual responsibility for their work and actions. Students are responsible for doing their own work, and academic dishonesty of any kind will be subject to sanction and referral to the university's Academic Integrity Committee, which may impose additional sanctions. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied:

"On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment."

The Honor Code also specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions (sccr.dso.ufl.edu/process/student-conduct-code). Violations of the Honor Code is unacceptable and devalues the teaching and learning experience for the entire community. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. Should you have questions regarding academic integrity and honesty, I suggest reviewing the policies found on the University website and/or speaking with me during office hours.

Equality of Respect and Equality of Justice

All class members are expected to treat each other at all times with respect, courtesy, tolerance, fairness, and justice. I strive to assure that students in this class are treated with equal respect and equal justice.

Resources

Accessibility Services

If you have (or suspect you have) a learning or other disability that requires academic accommodations, you should contact the UF Disability Resource Center (DRC) as soon as possible (dso.ufl.edu/drc). Please be sure that necessary accommodations are properly documented by the UFDRC. To obtain a classroom accommodation, you must first pre-register with the DRC (352.392.8565) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter which must be presented to your instructors when requesting an accommodation. I am always happy to make whatever accommodations you may need to be successful in the course.

Crisis Resources

If you or someone you know is struggling with any crisis including but not limited to gender, sexual, racial, or domestic violence, there are many community and University of Florida resources available. Some of these include:

U Matter, We Care (<u>umatter@ufl.edu</u>, 352-392-1575, <u>umatter.ufl.edu</u>)

RESPECT – UF Division of Student Affairs (respect.ufsa.ufl.edu)

Counseling and Wellness Center – available 24/7 (352-392-1575, counseling.ufl.edu)

Student Health Care Center (352-392-1161, shcc.ufl.edu)

Multicultural & Diversity Affairs (352-392-1217, multicultural.ufl.edu)

UFPD Office of Victim Services (352-392-1111, police.ufl.edu)

UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center (352-733-0111)

Gainesville Police Department (non-emergency #: 352-955-1818, gainesvillepd.org)

My office door is also always open to you. Please keep in mind I am a Title IX mandatory reporter.

Academic Resources

There are many other campus, academic resources you should take advantage of throughout the semester. These include:

E-learning technical support: Contact the UF Computing Help Desk at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at helpdesk@ufl.edu.

Library Support: cms.uflib.ufl.edu/ask various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources. teachingcenter.ufl.edu

Teaching Center: Broward Hall, 352-392-2010 or to make an appointment 352- 392-6420. General study skills and tutoring. teachingcenter.ufl.edu

Writing Studio: 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers. <u>writing.ufl.edu/writing-studio</u>

Student Complaints On-Campus: sccr.dso.ufl.edu/policies/student-honor- codestudent-conduct-code

Course Evaluations

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course based on 10 criteria. I take these evaluations very seriously and expect students to provide honest, constructive feedback. These evaluations are conducted online at: evaluations.ufl.edu. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at: evaluations.ufl.edu/results.

Special Note regarding EU Studies students

This course is applicable for the EU Studies minor and certificate. To receive credit for the minor, students must receive permission from me in advance and indicate their participation in the course with CES. CES also asks students to submit their final paper to the Academic Programs Coordinator for confirmation of appropriate content. Students may choose any of the paper topics but must write with the paper with a strong emphasis on the EU.

Semester Schedule

I. Institutions of Western Europe

Week 1: Introduction

January 7

Syllabus

January 9 – CANCELED –SOUTHERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCATION CONFERENCE

Week 2: The European State

January 14 – Introducing Western Europe

- GLM Ch 1 & 2
- Lijphart, A. (1969) Consocational democracy. World Politics, 21 (02), 207-225.

January 16 – Parliaments and Constitutions

Debate: Parliamentary systems are better than presidential ones.

• GLM Ch 3 & 4

Week 3: Europeanization

January 21 – The European Union

- GLM Ch 5
- Pollack, M. A. (2005). Theorizing the European Union: international organization, domestic polity, or experiment in new governance? *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 8, 357-398.

January 23 – European Integration

Policy proposal: When should the EU 'integrate' or 'de-integrate'?

- Dinan, D. (1999). 'Introduction.' Ever closer union: an introduction to European integration. Boulder: London.
- Majone, G. (1998). Europe's 'democratic deficit': The question of standards. *European law journal*, 4(1), 5-28.

Week 4: Party Politics and Elections

January 28 – Party Systems

• GLM Ch 7 & 8

January 30 – Elections and Governmental Formation

Debate: Political parties doomed to extinction.

• GLM Ch 9 & 11

Week 5: A Europe of Regions

FINAL PAPER PROPOSAL DUE BY MIDNIGHT

February 4 – Devolution

- GLM Ch 6
- Gould, A. C., & Messina, A. M. (Eds.). (2014). Europe's Contending Identities:
 Supranationalism, Ethnoregionalism, Religion, and New Nationalism. Cambridge University
 Press. Introduction

February 6 - EXAM I

Week 6: Germany: Who leads a Continent?

February 11 – Political Legacy and Leadership

- "Europe's reluctant hegemon." *The Economist*, June 14, 2013.
- Boyer, D. 2006. Ostalgie and the Politics of the Future in Eastern Germany. *Public Culture* 18(2), 361-381.
- Matthijs, M. (2016). The three faces of German leadership. Survival, 58(2), 135-154.

February 13 – Identity and Nationality

Policy proposal: What should be done to prevent democratic backsliding?

- Dalton, R. J. (2014). Interpreting partisan dealignment in Germany. *German Politics*, 23(1-2), 134-144.
- Alarian, H. *In press*. Cause or Consequence? The AfD and Attitudes toward Migration Policy. *German Politics and Society*.

Week 7: Spain and France - Violence, Protest, and Democratization

February 18 – France

- Giry, S. (2006). 'France and its Muslims.' Foreign Affairs, 85(5), 87-104.
- Fukuyama, F. (2006). Identity, immigration, and liberal democracy. *Journal of democracy*, 17(2), 5-20
- Lewis-Beck, M. S., & Nadeau, R. (2000). French electoral institutions and the economic vote. *Electoral Studies*, 19(2-3), 171-182.

February 20 - Spain

OP-ED DUE BY MIDNIGHT

- Tamkin, E. (2017). Catalonia to hold its own independence referendum this October. *Foreign Policy*.
- Fishman, R. (2019). "How democratic Practice Varies by Country: Legacies of Historical Pathways to Democracy" in Democratic Practices: Origins of the Iberian Divide in Political Inclusion.

Week 8: United Kingdom – Independence and Referendums

February 25 - Brexit

- Hobolt, S. B. (2016). The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23(9), 1259-1277.
- Goodwin, M., & Heath, O. (2016). The 2016 Referendum, Brexit, and the Left Behind: An Aggregate-Level Analysis of the Result. *The Political Quarterly*, 87(3), 323-332.
- Curtice, J. (2016). Brexit: Behind the referendum. *Political Insight*, 7(2), 4-7.

February 27 – Identity and Power in the UK

OP-ED COMMENTS DUE BY MIDNIGHT

Debate: Scotland should vote in a 2nd independence referendum regardless of the U.K.

- Henderson, A., Jeffery, C., Liñeira, R., Scully, R., Wincott, D., & Wyn Jones, R. (2016). England, Englishness and Brexit. *Political Quarterly*, 87(2), 187-199.
- Colley, L. (2014). 'Scotland was never a colony. The Economist.
- Cairney, P. (2015). The Scottish independence referendum: what are the implications of a No Vote?. *Political Quarterly*, 86(2), 186-191.

Spring Break: February 29 – March 7

Week 9: Belgium and the Netherlands – Governing without Government?

March 10 – Representation in Belgium

- Devos, C., & Sinardet, D. (2012). Governing without a government: The Belgian experiment. *Governance*, 25(2), 167-171.
- Farrell, D. M., & Scully, R. (2007). Representing Europe's citizens?: electoral institutions and the failure of parliamentary representation. Oxford University Press. Introduction.

March 12 – Netherlands – Multiculturalism and Electoral Volatility

- Mair, P. (2008). Electoral volatility and the Dutch party system: A comparative perspective. *Acta Politica*, 43(2-3), 235-253.
- Kuru, A. (2007). Passive and assertive secularism: Historical conditions, ideological struggles and state policies toward religion. *World Politics*, 59(4), 568-594.
- Yukleyen, A. (2010). State policies and Islam in Europe: Milli Gorus in Germany and the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(3), 445-463.

Week 10: Spotlight on Statelessness – Who is responsible? March 17

- Osborn, L and Russell, Ruby. 2015. "Stateless in Europe: 'We are no people with no nation." The Guardian.
- Lynch, M. and Blitz, B. "Summary and conclusions" in *Statelessness and Citizenship: A Comparative Study of the Benefits of Nationality*
- Nagel, K. "Dilemmas of stateless nations in the European Union." In Democracy, Nationalism and Multiculturalism.

March 19 - EXAM II

III. Modern Issues of Western Europe

Week 11: Eurozone Crisis

March 24 – Setting the stage

- Matthijs, M., & McNamara, K. (2015). The euro crisis' theory effect: northern saints, southern sinners, and the demise of the eurobond. *Journal of European Integration*, 37(2), 229-245.
- Greenspan, A. (2011), 'Europe's Crisis is All about the North-South Split', Financial Times.
- Blyth, M. (2013). The austerity delusion: why a bad idea won over the west. *Foreign Affairs*, 92, 41.

March 26 - Moving forward

Debate: The Greenspan plan was the right choice for Europe.

Presentation Group 1

- Hoynes, H., Miller, D. L., & Schaller, J. (2012). Who suffers during recessions? *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 26(3), 27-47.
- Hobolt, S. B., & Tilley, J. (2016). Fleeing the centre: the rise of challenger parties in the aftermath of the euro crisis. *West European Politics*, 39(5), 971-991.

Week 12: Refugee Crisis *FINAL OP-ED DUE*

March 31 – Defining the crisis

• UNHCR. (2016). Forced Displacement Report.

April 2 – Europe's Response

Presentation Group 2

- Börzel, T. A., & Risse, T. (2017). From the euro to the Schengen crises: European integration theories, politicization, and identity politics. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1-26.
- Esses, V. M., Hamilton, L. K., & Gaucher, D. (2017). The global refugee crisis: empirical evidence and policy implications for improving public attitudes and facilitating refugee resettlement. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 11(1), 78-123.

Week 13: Far -right Populism

April 7

- Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2016). Trump, Brexit, and the rise of populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash.
- Kitschelt, H. (2007). "Growth and persistence of the radical right in postindustrial democracies: Advances and challenges in comparative research." West European Politics, 30(5), 1176-1206.
- Iversen, T., & Soskice, D. (2006). Electoral institutions and the politics of coalitions: Why some democracies redistribute more than others. American Political Science Review, 100(2), 165-181.

April 9

Presentation Group 3

- Palyakova, A., and Skethovtsov, A. (2016). On the rise: Europe's fringe right." *World Affairs*, 179(1), 70-80
- Boomgaarden, H. G., & Vliegenthart, R. (2007). Explaining the rise of anti-immigrant parties: The role of news media content. *Electoral studies*, 26(2), 404-417.

Week 14: Politics of Immigration and Integration and Predicting Europe's future April 14

- Brubaker, R. (2001). The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 24(4), 531-548.
- Dronkers, Jaap and Maarten Vink. 2012. "Explaining access to citizenship in Europe: How citizenship policies affect naturalization rates," European Union Politics, 13(3): 390-412.
- Alarian, H. 2020. Local Suffrage Increases Citizenship Acquisition: Evidence from the European Union. *Working paper*.

April 16

Presentation Group 4

• GLM Ch 14

Week 15: EXAM III April 21