

# CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN POLITICS

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University of Michigan, Spring 2014

LECTURES Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays: 12:00-2:00pm, 1449 Mason Hall

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Office Hours: M, T 2-4pm and by appointment

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This course explores politics of Europe in the post-World War II period. The material is organized by topics, not by countries, though each topic will be illustrated with examples drawn from various European states. We begin with a brief survey of the scientific method and some major historical events crucial to the formation of modern European states. We will then focus the remainder of the Spring semester on the political institutions, processes, and outcomes in modern Europe, with significant emphasis on the role of parliamentary institutions. While much of the course will focus on Western Europe, we will spend several sessions discussing the politics of Central and Eastern European countries, particularly in the post-Cold War era. The role of the European Union in policy making and its relationship to national politics and parties will be explored in some depth. Finally, the class will explore recent and developing political crises in Europe including the Euro Crisis, the rise of far-right and anti-immigrant politics, the Eastern Expansion of the EU, and relations with Russia and the United States in the context of economics and security.

## Course Aims:

By the end of the course, you should be able to:

- 1) Identify important characteristics of European parliamentary regimes;

- 2) Describe the party systems of major European countries and the effects these party systems have on political outcomes;
- 3) Recognize the capacities and constraints politicians face with regards to both institutions and politics;
- 4) Understand how historical legacies affect modern political practices;
- 5) Discuss how European institutions constrain and empower domestic political actors;
- 6) Engage with the tradeoffs politicians face from abroad in their domestic political decisions.

### Mode of Inquiry:

Our learning strategy is to begin with foundational assumptions about the motivations of various political actors in order to understand how they pursue different goals under the various constraints of culture, limited information, rules/institutions, and other conflicting goals across countries and over time.

### Readings:

This class moves quite rapidly. As such, I do not assign a particularly heavy reading load -- typically only about 30-40 pages per class session. The reason for this is that I expect all of you to have thoroughly and critically read each reading before each class session. If you collectively demonstrate that you are engaging with the readings, I will consider implementing daily reading quizzes that will count for 1/3 of that day's participation to encourage you read more closely.

The main source of your readings will come from Gallagher, Laver, and Mair's (abbreviated *GLM* below) *Representative Government in Modern Europe* textbook. Readings from *GLM* will serve as a base upon which we will build basic understandings of European politics. Academic articles and high quality journalism will supplement this base, all of which will be available on cTools.

Because there are often interesting contemporary developments in European politics, from time to time I may distribute short additional readings from current affairs magazines and newspapers such as *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, or *Der Spiegel* (only the English edition). These additional readings will only be added if there is a recent development related to the subject of the day and will be distributed during that class session.

### Class Participation:

This class is only partly a lecture class; half of each class session will be devoted to discussion and in class work. I will begin each class session with an introduction to the day's theme and readings, providing both background and some specific case examples to get us started. Thereafter, you will generally take over. Most sessions will involve some form of student-centered discussion. These discussions will be anything from grappling with discussion questions, to application of theories to current events, to group debates, to games. During discussions, I expect that you will engage with one another politely (e.g., no talking over others, raise your hands). There will likely be times when views are expressed that are in opposition of your own. I encourage you to consider these moments when your assumptions, beliefs, and understandings are challenged as an opportunity to reconsider the issue from another perspective. Engagement with diverse perspectives allows us to reach better, more accurate conclusions than we can typically reach alone or by simply hearing perspectives similar to our own.

25% of your grade will be based on your class participation. I view participation broadly and provide various means of participating; however, you are expected to attend class. You can miss up to **two class sessions** without it harming your grade; thereafter, every absence will reduce your participation grade by 4 percentage points, which means that 5 additional absences will result in a zero for participation.

In addition to opportunities to contribute to your fellow classmates' understandings of the material through class discussion, I expect you to actively participate in the course blog. The blog will be private (access is only available to those enrolled in the course). I expect each student to write two blog posts and

comment on 4 posts during the term, half of your posts and responses occurring before Memorial Day, and half after. This is a compliment to speaking up in front of the class as a whole for those who are not particularly comfortable doing so. If you fall into this category of people, I strongly suggest that you post more than the minimum required above. If you have questions or insights while studying the materials post them here and your classmates can share in them. Further, this allows an additional forum to discuss current events unfolding in Europe. Please note that you are NOT anonymous on the blog. Use the decorum that is acceptable in face-to-face interactions as the level of politeness here. Any harassment or inappropriate online behavior (e.g., snide remarks or rude responses) will result in a significant loss of participation credits. Treat one another as colleagues and scholars and all should be well. This is also an opportunity for you to practice writing skills valued in business: brevity, clarity, and providing value-added content. Consider these traits in your posts, questions, and responses.

These blog posts constitute 10% of your total grade, with your in-class participation constituting the remaining 15%.

### Exams and Grading:

Your performance in this course will be evaluated in four ways:

General class participation	25%
Paper 1	20%
Paper 2	25%
European Politics Memes	15%
Final exam	15%

The final exam will be a combination of multiple choice, identification, and short answer questions covering material from the entire semester

### European Politics Memes:

As we move through the course, you will be learning about institutions, actors, and outcomes in European politics. To demonstrate what you have learned about these aspects of European political systems, a final project will involve the creation of a series of at least 3 memes. These memes ought to convey some information about political actors, implications or outcomes of institutions, etc. in a very brief (and hopefully humorous) way. In addition to the production of your memes, you will turn in a 1-page, single spaced memo explaining your memes and how they follow from what you've learned in the class. You may work in groups of up to three people or you can work individually. The memes and memo will be due to me by email before meeting for our final class on 19 June at noon.

### Papers:

Everyone will write two papers: one to be turned in during the third week of the course, the other in the 6th week. Each paper will be 750 words. (~3 pages, double-spaced, 12 pt. font, 1-inch margins) You will have a buffer of 100 words, and papers outside of that range will be penalized 3 points for every 50 words. (i.e., any papers shorter than 650 words or more 850 words are penalized, so an 907 or an 494 word paper would be marked down 6 points.) My goal in assigning short papers is to allow you to practice making a well-reasoned argument in a concise manner. Papers will respond to one of three prompts that will be provided to you at least 1 week before the paper's due date. You can choose which of the three prompts you want to write about. You are to provide an argument, drawing on course readings and up to 3 additional academic sources you choose to use. You will be graded on the strength and clarity of your argument, use of evidence, and writing style. Papers will be due at noon on the due date in both electronic (uploaded to cTools) and hard copy. Additional instructions will be provided with the assignments.

### Grading Questions:

After the papers or exams are returned, you may have questions about how you can improve or why you earned the grade you did. I encourage you to come talk to me in office hours after a 24 hour cooling off period. If you think that a paper was unfairly graded, please send me an email with a paragraph explaining the strengths of the paper that were overlooked prior to visiting me in office hours. I will reconsider your paper in light of the arguments you provide, but note that it is possible that a close re-reading could result in a lower grade.

Extensions, late assignments, and special accommodations:

I will grant extensions on papers for a very limited set of circumstances. These are:

1. A medical issue that severely impedes your ability to complete the assignment — meaning that you are entirely out of action for multiple days in the week prior to handing in the assignment or taking the exam. A doctor's certificate will be required.
2. A death or severe illness in the family that requires you to travel. Proof of travel will be required.

I will also consider giving make-up exams based on criteria (1) and (2). Should you miss a class meeting for one of these reasons, you can write a current affairs make-up assignment after consultation with the instructor. This must be turned in no more than 5 days following your return to class.

Late assignments will be penalized 5% if they are turned in after the noon deadline and an additional 5% if they are more than 24 hours late.

Special accommodations If you think you need an accommodation for a disability, please let me know at your earliest convenience. Some aspects of this course, the assignments, the in-class activities, and the way the course is usually taught may be modified to facilitate your participation and progress. As soon as you make me aware of your needs, we can work with the [Office of Services for Students with Disabilities \(SSD\)](#) to help us determine appropriate academic accommodations. SSD (734-763-3000; <http://www.umich.edu/sswd>) typically recommends accommodations through a Verified Individualized Services and Accommodations (VISA) form. Any information you provide is private and confidential and will be treated as such.

I hold office hours twice weekly following lecture. If you cannot attend during this time, I encourage you to set up an appointment with me at a mutually agreeable time. Failure to attend a scheduled meeting without 2 hours notice via email will count as an absence from class. Arriving more than 20 minutes late for scheduled meeting will result in its cancellation and will count as an absence from class.

My email policy is that I will respond within 24 hours on weekdays. I check email sometime between 8 and 10am and 6 and 8pm on weekdays and sporadically on weekends. If I have failed to respond within 24 hours please do send a reminder. Also, please write PS 389 in the subject line of the email so that I am easily alerted to your inquiry.

Note that it is your responsibility to have read and understood the expectations laid out in this syllabus. If you have any questions about it, please ask me. Also, the instructor reserves the right to make changes to the syllabus during the semester as needed. Should changes be made, there will be announcements both verbally in class and through email correspondence.

<b>Week</b>	<b>Day</b>	<b>Topic and Readings</b>
1	6-May	Introductions and European History <i>GLM pp. 6-20</i>
	8-May	Social Scientific Method <i>Powner. 2014. "From Research Topic to Research Question" in Practicing Social Inquiry: A Pragmatic Approach;</i>
2	12-May	Rules of the Game <i>North and Weingast 1989. "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth Century England." The Journal of Economic History.</i>
	13-May	Parliamentary Politics and "Government" <i>GLM Ch. 2 and 3</i>
	15-May	The Split Executive, or Why are France, Finland, and Central Europe Odd? <i>Duverge, Maurice. 1980. "A New Political System Model: Semi-Presidential Government" EJPR</i>
3	19-May	Electoral Systems <i>GLM Ch. 11;</i> <i>Boix. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." APSR</i>
	20-May	Cleavages and Political Parties <i>GLM Ch. 8 and 9</i>
	22-May	Government Formation, Maintenance, and Failure <i>GLM Ch. 12</i> <b>Paper 1 Due</b>
4	26-May	<b>Memorial Day</b>
	27-May	Election Timing <i>Smith. 1996. "Endogenous Election Timing in Majoritarian Parliamentary Systems." Economics and Politics</i> <i>Kayser. 2006. "Trade and the Timing of Elections." British Journal of Political Science</i>
	29-May	Fighting and Winning Elections <i>Grafstrom and Salmond. 2012. "Moments of Clarity" Working Paper</i>
5	2-Jun	The Welfare State: Origins, Diversity, and Looming Challenges <i>Koven and Michel. 1990. "Womanly Duties: Maternalistic Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920." The American Historical Review;</i> <i>"More for Less: A generous welfare state that does not cost the earth" The Economist. 2 Feb 2013</i>
	3-Jun	The European Union: Evolution <i>GLM Ch. 5;</i> <i>McCormick and Olsen. 2013. The European Union: Politics and Policies. Ch. 1.</i>
	5-Jun	EU Institutions and the Democratic Deficit <i>Moravcsik. 2002. "Reassessing legitimacy in the European Union." JCMS;</i> <i>Follesdal and Hix. 2006. "Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik." JCMS</i>

- 6      9-Jun      The Common Market  
*McCormick and Olsen. 2013. The European Union: Politics and Policies. Ch. 3*
- 10-Jun      Playing Mean with Others? The EU and International Trade  
"Exploring links between EU agricultural policy and world poverty" *Trinity College of Dublin. 25 Aug 2010*  
*Dür. 2007. "EU Trade Policy as Protection for Exporters: The Agreements with Mexico and Chile." JCMS;*
- 12-Jun      Eurozone in Crisis      **Paper 2 Due**  
*Mead and Blight. "Eurozone Crisis: A timeline of key events" The Guardian. 14 Aug 2013;*  
*Pisani-Ferry. 2012. "The Euro crisis and the new impossible trinity" Breugel Policy Contribution, No. 201/2012;*
- 7      16-Jun      Expanding the Union: South, North, and finally East  
*Deardorff and Stern. 2002. "EU Expansion and EU Growth" IAE Conference;*  
*Gstöhl "Scandinavia and Switzerland: small, successful, and stubborn towards the EU" in The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches. ed. Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier;*  
*"Ever-expanding Union?" The Economist. 29 Apr 2004;*  
*Verheugen. 2001. "EU Eastern Enlargement: Challenges and Perspectives of EU Enlargement" CESifo Forum*
- 17-Jun      Free Movement of Peoples and the Rise of Anti-Immigrant Politics: Is There a Connection?  
*Van Der Brug, Fennema, and Tille. 2000. "Anti-Immigrant Parties in Europe: Ideological or Protest Vote?" EJPR;*  
*Favell and Hansen. 2002. "Markets against politics: Migration, EU enlargement and the idea of Europe." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies;*  
*Christidis. "Neo-Nazi Murder: Greeks Protest Rise of the Far-Right" Der Spiegel. 19 Sep 2013*
- 19-Jun      Butting Up Against Russia's Sphere of Influence      **Memes Project Due**  
*King. "Clarity in the Caucasus? The Facts and Future of the 2008 Russian-Georgian War" Foreign Affairs. 11 Oct 2009*  
*"Paying the piper" The Economist. 4 Jan 2014;*  
*"Ukraine Crisis: EU Concerned about Cost of Sanctions on Russia" Der Spiegel. 5 Mar 2014;*  
*Neef. "EU vs. Moscow: Russia Tries to Woo Back Moldova" Der Spiegel. 4 Mar 2014.*
- 23-Jun      **Final Exam 8-10am**