

# POSC 3710 EUROPEAN POLITICS

SPRING 2016

Tues/Thurs 11:00am-12:15pm

211 Brackett

**PROFESSOR:** Dr. Amber Curtis

**OFFICE:** 230-C Brackett

**EMAIL:** [acurti2@clemson.edu](mailto:acurti2@clemson.edu)

**OFFICE HOURS:** Tues/Thurs 2:15-4:00pm<sup>1</sup>

**PHONE:** 864-656-0213

& By Appointment

\*\*\*Students are strongly encouraged to have passed POSC 1020 before taking this course\*\*\*

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:** What's not to love about Europe? Its unique context has generated much of comparative political scientists' knowledge of democracy and economic policy, and continues to offer ample puzzles to study. This course surveys the domestic and multilevel politics of Western and Central/Eastern European countries through both an historical and contemporary lens, focusing on the relationship between institutions, identity, ideas, and behavior in the political and economic realms. The class is centered around four main areas: history, domestic politics and economics, European integration, and contemporary issues. Though this course takes a more holistic than country-centered approach, we will draw inferences from several country cases throughout the semester.

**OBJECTIVES:** Through active engagement in class, students will:

- Familiarize themselves with European politics, with which they can then compare political phenomena from other regions of the world
- Develop practical, transferrable skills such as reading comprehension, critical thinking, analytical research, persuasive writing, and public speaking
- Cooperate and communicate with one another to share knowledge and expertise
- Recognize where the course material fits into scholarly dialogue and analyze strengths/weaknesses within an argument
- Identify applicability of course material to personal interests and real-world events

**STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES:** Personal responsibility is imperative. All assigned readings should be done before class on the day they are assigned to facilitate lecture and discussion. Please check Blackboard and your Clemson email regularly for important updates and announcements, as you will be accountable for all information transmitted via these electronic resources. Everyone is expected to pay attention, take good notes, participate actively during class discussions, and be courteous to others. In addition, a fair amount of the course entails group work, requiring you to communicate clearly and often with fellow students.

**REQUIRED READING:**

- Kubicek, Paul. 2012. *European Politics*. First Edition. Pearson Education, Inc. (ISBN No. 978-0-205-56205-3)

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<sup>1</sup> Drop by anytime within these time frames; students are received on a first-come-first-served basis. It's ideal for each student to come to office hours *at least once* during the semester! Lastly, please note that office hours may change some weeks due to faculty meetings and other conflicting obligations.

- Students are required to keep up with current events by purchasing a 12-week subscription to *The Economist* magazine (~\$15) no later than Friday, January 15<sup>th</sup>. See instructions on Blackboard.<sup>2</sup>
- Other assigned readings accessible through Blackboard

**GRADING & REQUIREMENTS:** The course is structured as follows:

***Quizzes (12%)***

Because it is crucial to know where the countries we are studying are located, students will take a map quiz on Tuesday, January 19<sup>th</sup> (worth 2% of your total course grade). There will also be five unannounced quizzes on random dates throughout the term to assess how well students are keeping up with and understanding the reading. There are no make-ups, but I will drop the lowest score so that only the best 4/5 quizzes count (making each worth 2.5% of your total course grade).

***Exams (50%)***

There will be a midterm on Thursday, February 25<sup>th</sup> (worth 20% of your course grade) and a cumulative final exam at the university-scheduled date and time (Wednesday, April 27<sup>th</sup> from 3:00-5:30pm) in our normal classroom (worth 30% of your total course grade). Mark your calendars now: There are NO make-ups!

***Research Paper (20%)***

Students are required to write an analytical research paper; further details to follow. Students are strongly encouraged to meet with me ahead of time to discuss their paper ideas. There are two “Paper Work Days” throughout the semester (Tuesday, February 16<sup>th</sup> and Thursday, April 7<sup>th</sup>) to underscore the importance of and high expectations for this assignment; no class or office hours will be held these days to encourage students to spend time working on their projects instead. Final drafts are due on Thursday, April 14<sup>th</sup> in class; only stapled hard copies will be accepted. An electronic version must also be uploaded to <http://www.turnitin.com> (Class ID: 11399034; Password: GoTigers) no later than 5pm that same day. A 10% per day late penalty will be strictly enforced; no grade will be given until papers have been submitted to Turnitin.com.

***In-Class Simulation (3%)***

We will engage in a role playing game emulating a multiparty parliamentary system. This activity is designed to illustrate important course themes and concepts while helping students better appreciate the complexity of the sociopolitical world in which we live. The simulation will take place in class February 4<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup>. Note that the group nature of this activity makes it impossible to make up. Should you miss the simulation for any reason—excused or not—a lengthier, more tedious alternative assignment will be offered to make up these points. Thus, I highly encourage you to make sure you attend class on these days!

***Article Summaries (5%)***

Given the upper-division nature of this course, students are expected to demonstrate that they comprehend and are critical consumers of academic literature. To that end, they must choose any two of the journal articles designated by the professor and submit a write-up following the given summary format (to be provided). Responses must be typed, stapled, and submitted in lecture

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<sup>2</sup> Note that *The Economist* automatically renews subscriptions at the end of this trial period. Students are responsible for personally canceling their own subscription if they do not wish to be charged for it to continue.

prior to the specified date for which the article was assigned; because we will then cover this material in class, late summaries will not be accepted. Each summary is worth 2.5% of your total course grade.

***Attendance (5%)***

Attendance and preparation are critical as the course builds cumulatively upon all earlier material. The attendance grade is calculated as the percentage of days a student attended divided by the total number of days class was held. It is the student's responsibility to make sure his/her attendance is recorded, to find out what was missed if gone, and to provide sufficient documentation in a timely manner so that legitimately "excused" absences do not count against his/her grade.

***Participation (5%)***

Class format will vary between lecture, discussion, group activities, multimedia presentations, in-class simulations, etc. The participation grade is based primarily on how often one speaks up in class and on the quality of one's comments; it also reflects showing up well-prepared, turning in miscellaneous daily assignments, asking clarifying questions, and engaging with both the Professor and fellow students.

**GRADING POLICY:** This is a letter-graded course. At the very end of the semester, grades ending in .5 to .9 will be rounded up to the nearest whole number; those below .5 will not be.

- 90-100 = A
- 80-89 = B
- 70-79 = C
- 60-69 = D
- 0-59 = F

**CLASSROOM POLICY:** It should go without saying that students are to adhere to proper and respectful conduct during class, particularly if/when sensitive material is presented and/or conflicting opinions arise.

**NO ELECTRONICS POLICY:** Computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices are not allowed during class! Texting, instant messaging, or checking email/Facebook/Twitter/etc. during class is prohibited and will severely affect your participation grade.

**CANCELLATION POLICY:** If, for some reason, I am more than ten minutes late to class, a volunteer student should call the main Political Science office (864-656-3233) for an update or check with the POSC office staff in 232 Brackett. If class or office hours need to be cancelled unexpectedly, I will send an email and post a notice on Blackboard in advance.

**ACADEMIC HONESTY POLICY:** Violations of academic honesty, including cheating or plagiarism, are unacceptable and will be seriously prosecuted. Plagiarism includes—but is not limited to—borrowing ideas and paraphrasing them within a paper without properly citing them, copying passages directly from sources without enclosing them in quotation marks, purchasing or stealing another person's paper to turn in, or having someone else write an assigned paper. Note that I also consider plagiarism to include submitting your own identical work for more than

one assignment or course (aka “double dipping” or “self-plagiarism”) without prior approval from both instructors. I highly recommend that you review the “Plagiarism Packet” posted in the “Resources” folder on Blackboard, as well as the “Avoiding Plagiarism” information on the Clemson University Libraries website.<sup>3</sup> If you have further questions regarding plagiarism, you should consult Clemson University’s current Undergraduate Announcements catalog for information on rules and regulations related to academic integrity. If you have any doubt about what is or is not permissible, ask first.

Clemson University’s official statement on academic integrity is as follows: “As members of the Clemson University community, we have inherited Thomas Green Clemson’s vision of this institution as a ‘high seminary of learning.’ Fundamental to this vision is a mutual commitment to truthfulness, honor, and responsibility, without which we cannot earn the trust and respect of others. Furthermore, we recognize that academic dishonesty detracts from the value of a Clemson degree. Therefore, we shall not tolerate lying, cheating, or stealing in any form.” See <http://www.clemson.edu/academics/academic-integrity/> for more information.

**DISABILITY POLICY:** Students needing accommodations for disabilities should make an appointment with the office of Student Disability Services ASAP to discuss their specific needs. (See contact info below.) Qualified students must then provide me with an Academic Accommodation Letter from Student Disability Services within the first three weeks of classes to ensure your needs are met in a timely manner. I cannot guarantee accommodations for students who notify me of a disability request after this date! Please be aware that accommodations are not retroactive and that new Academic Accommodation Letters must be presented to each instructor each semester. Please also note that if you require extended time on exams, it is your responsibility to complete the online request to do so through the Test Proctoring Center a minimum of 7 days in advance of the test date specified on the class schedule below.<sup>4</sup>

Student Disability Services  
Suite 239  
Academic Success Center Building  
836 McMillan Rd.  
Box 344060  
Clemson, South Carolina 29634-4060  
Phone: 864-656-6848  
Fax: 864-656-6849  
E-mail: [sds-l@clemson.edu](mailto:sds-l@clemson.edu)  
Website: <http://www.clemson.edu/campus-life/campus-services/sds/index.html>

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<sup>3</sup> <http://libguides.clemson.edu/friendly.php?action=82&s=AvoidingPlagiarism>

<sup>4</sup> <https://sds.app.clemson.edu/tpc/>

## CLASS SCHEDULE & ASSIGNMENTS

Subject to change. Please check Blackboard & your Clemson email regularly for important updates! Make sure to come to class having already done the readings indicated for that day. And remember article summaries (chosen from eligible readings designated on the separate list provided) are due no later than the start of class on the date for which the article was originally assigned.)

### PART I: CONTEXT

#### INTRODUCTION

Thurs 1/7: Course Introduction

- Review syllabus, Blackboard webpage, Plagiarism Packet
- Ponder:
  - How do scholars approach the study of Europe (and, more broadly, comparative politics)? Is one approach better than the others?

#### SETTING THE STAGE

Tues 1/12: Who Counts as “Europe”?

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 1: “Introduction: What Is Europe?” (p. 3-23)
- Ponder:
  - What are the geographical and cultural boundaries of Europe? What aspects distinguish Western Europe from Central and Eastern Europe?

#### FORMATIVE EVENTS

Thurs 1/14: Major Events in West European History

- REMINDER: NOTIFY ME OF YOUR *ECONOMIST* SUBSCRIPTION PURCHASE NO LATER THAN 5PM ON FRIDAY, 1/15
- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 2: “Political and Economic Development in Western and Eastern Europe” (p. 25-63)
- Ponder:
  - How have historical events shaped the Europe we see today?

Tues 1/19: Major Events in Central/Eastern European History

- MAP QUIZ
- Read:
  - Wolchik & Curry (2015): “Twenty-Five Years after 1989: Issues in Postcommunist Europe” (on Blackboard)
  - Dalton & Weldon (2010): “Germans Divided? Political Culture in a United Germany” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - How has the historical experience of Central and Eastern Europe diverged from that of Western Europe? What implications does this have for its present-day politics and economics?

## **PART II: DOMESTIC POLITICS & ECONOMICS**

### **ECONOMIC THEORY**

Thurs 1/21: Capitalism v. Communism

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 10: “Lessons from Eastern Europe” (p. 293-297)
  - Friedman (1982): “Capitalism and Freedom” (on Blackboard)
  - “Principles of Communism” excerpt (pg. 41-54) from Marx, Karl, and Frederick Engels. 1848. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.<sup>5</sup> (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - How can/do societies organize their economies? Why is this important?

Tues 1/26: Capitalism v. Communism, Cont’d

- Read:
  - Brunk, Caldeira, & Lewis-Beck (1987): “Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy...” (on Blackboard)
  - Burkhart (2000): “Economic Freedom and Democracy: Post-Cold War Tests” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - How are politics and economics related? In what ways do they influence each other?

### **VARIATION IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS**

Thurs 1/28: Presidential v. Parliamentary Democracy

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 6: “Executive Authority in Europe” (p. 153-170)
  - Horowitz (1990): “Comparing Democratic Systems” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - What are the main tenets of democracy? How do presidential and parliamentary systems differ? Why did most of Europe choose the latter type?

### **ELECTORAL POLITICS & PARTIES**

Tues 2/2: Electoral Systems

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 5: “How Are Parliaments Elected” (p. 137-149)
  - Boix (1999): “Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - Why do electoral systems matter? What other features of a political system do they shape? Which system did most West European democracies choose and why?

Thurs 2/4: Political Parties & Party Families

- PARTY PLATFORM SUMMARIES DUE IN PREPARATION FOR SIMULATION
- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 8: “Functions of Political Parties (p. 203-206) and “Party Families” (p. 206-218)

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<sup>5</sup> Accessed from <http://www.marxists.org> on 1/4/16.

- Van Biezen, Mair, and Poguntke (2012): “Going, Going, ...Gone? The Decline of Party Membership in Contemporary Europe” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - What do political parties *do*? What do European political parties look like? Why is this important?

#### Tues 2/9: IN-CLASS SIMULATION OF A MULTIPARTY PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

#### Thurs 2/11: Radical Right Voting

- SIMULATION RESPONSES DUE
- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 7: “Sub-National Governance” (p. 185-189)
  - Bale (2003): “Cinderella and Her Ugly Sisters” (on Blackboard)
  - Mudde (2013): “Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What?” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - Why have radical right parties become successful? What institutional features make it possible for them to gain representation & affect policy? What effect(s) have they had on Europe’s ‘people, parties, policies, and polities’?

#### Tues 2/16: NO CLASS OR OFFICE HOURS (Paper Work Day #1)

- Read:
  - Curtis: “How to Generate A Good Research Question” (on Blackboard)
  - Lijphart (1971): “Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - What is the best research question and appropriate case study design to investigate what I’m most interested in?

#### Thurs 2/18: Regionalism

- Read:
  - DeWinter (1998): “A Comparative Analysis of the Electoral, Office, and Policy Success of Ethnoregionalist Parties” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - Is regionalism solely a European phenomenon? What classifies a political party as ‘ethnoregionalist’?

### **POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

#### Tues 2/23: Political Attitudes and Behavior Toward Government

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 8: “Campaigns and Voter Turnout” (p. 218-221)
  - Lijphart (1997): “Unequal Participation: Democracy’s Unresolved Dilemma” (on Blackboard)
  - Anderson & Guillory (1997): “Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems” (on Blackboard)

- Ponder:
  - Why do individuals' attitudes and behavior matter for politics—particularly European politics? How do institutions affect individuals' attitudes and behavior?
  - How/why do citizens get involved in politics? Is Europe unique in the way citizens can voice their concerns? How?

Thurs 2/25: MIDTERM EXAM

### **EUROPEAN VALUES**

Tues 3/1: Political Culture

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 9: “Political Culture and Political Behavior” (p. 235-254)
  - Gesthuizen, Van Der Meer, and Scheepers (2009): “Ethnic Diversity and Social Capital in Europe: Tests of Putnam's Thesis in European Countries” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - What are the major values that define European politics? What is “social capital”? Are certain values/dispositions really necessary for democracy to work?

### **MODERN-DAY ECONOMICS**

Thurs 3/3: The Welfare State

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 10: “Is the Social Welfare State Dead?” (p. 271-285)
  - Kuhnle (1999): “Survival of the European Welfare State” (on Blackboard)
  - The Economist* (2013): “Northern Lights: The Nordic Countries are Reinventing Their Model of Capitalism” (taken from Dickovick & Eastwood 2015, on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - What is a “welfare state”? Is the welfare state on the decline? How? Why?

## **PART III: THE EUROPEAN UNION**

### **INTRODUCTION TO THE EU**

Tues 3/8: History of European Integration

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 3: “The Development of the European Union” (p. 65-95)
- Ponder:
  - What events led to the creation of a common market? What was the original intent of the ECSC? How and when did the ECSC eventually become the EU?

### **POST-MAASTRICHT POLITICS & MONETARY UNION**

Thurs 3/10: The European Union

- Read:
  - The European Union: A Guide for Americans Chp. 1 & 2 (on Blackboard)
  - Mayhew: “The Costs and Benefits of Enlargement” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:



- How does the EU operate? What are its main institutions? What major EU events have occurred since the Maastricht Treaty? What is EMU? How has enlargement affected EU politics? Is there a breadth-versus-depth tradeoff to integration?

Tues 3/15: NO CLASS OR OFFICE HOURS (Spring Break)

Thurs 3/17: NO CLASS OR OFFICE HOURS (Spring Break)

### **DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT**

Tues 3/22: The European Union, Cont'd

- Read:
  - Follesdal & Hix (2006): "Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik" (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - Is the EU a democratic polity? Should it be?

### **ONGOING FINANCIAL CRISIS**

Thurs 3/24: Globalization & the Current Financial Crisis

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 10: "Globalization" (p. 285-292) and "2008 Economic Meltdown" (p. 297-299)
- Ponder:
  - How has globalization affected European economies and politics? What caused the current financial crisis?

Tues 3/29: Globalization & the Current Financial Crisis, Cont'd

- Read:
  - Harari (2014): "Causes of the Eurozone Crisis: A Summary" (on Blackboard)
  - ~~TBA: other articles (on Blackboard)~~
- Ponder:
  - What does Europe's economic situation look like today? Are things getting better or worse? What's the EU's economic role in the financial crisis? What will it take to "solve" things?

## **PART IV: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES**

### **IDENTITY POLITICS**

Thurs 3/31: European Identities & Identity Conflict

- Read:
  - Jenkins & Sofos (2003): "Nation and Nationalism in Contemporary Europe: A Theoretical Perspective" (on Blackboard)
  - Tan & Draeger (2004): "Europe: Integrated Separation" (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - How do we define and measure "identity"? Why is identity important? How can we classify identities in Europe? What is the difference between patriotism and nationalism? Why are identities so contentious?

## **IMMIGRATION ISSUES**

Tues 4/5: Immigration & Multiculturalism

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 12: "Immigration and Multi-Culturalism in Europe" (p. 341-359)
  - Arango: "Immigrants in Europe: Between Integration and Exclusion" (on Blackboard)
  - Pettigrew (1998): "Reactions toward the New Minorities of Western Europe" (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - Why has immigration spiked in the last 20 years? Where are immigrants coming from? What new issues has immigration brought to European politics? What types of policy challenges do European governments face to reconcile cultural differences?

Thurs 4/7: NO CLASS OR OFFICE HOURS (Paper Work Day #2)

- Read:
  - "How to Write a Good Paper in Political Science"  
<https://facultystaff.richmond.edu/~vwang/Paperwriting.html>
  - "How to Write a Political Science Research Paper"  
<http://www.uvm.edu/~cbeer/ps174/ResearchPaper.htm>
- Ponder:
  - How can I improve my writing and research skills for the purposes of this class, my undergraduate education, and my future career?

Tues 4/12: Immigration & Multiculturalism, Cont'd

- Read:
  - Curtis (2014): "Inclusive versus Exclusive: A Cross-National Comparison of the Effects of Subnational, National, and Supranational Identity" (on Blackboard)
  - Toshkov and Kortenska (2015): "Does Immigration Undermine Public Support for Integration in the European Union?" (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - Can identity conflict(s) be reconciled? How? How is immigration affecting prospects for European unification, and vice versa? How can/should Europe resolve the recent 'Migrant Crisis'?

## **A CHANGED/CHANGING EUROPE**

Thurs 4/14: The Decline of Religion/Demographic Shift

- RESEARCH PAPERS DUE
  - Hard copy due in class
  - Electronic copy uploaded to <http://www.turnitin.com> by 5:00pm (Class ID: 11399034; Password: GoTigers)
- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 12: "The Declining Importance of Religion" (p. 360-368)
  - Michaels (2009): "Muslim Europe: The Demographic Time Bomb Transforming Our Continent" (on Blackboard)
  - Kotkin (2012): "What's Really Behind Europe's Decline?" (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:

- How is the face of “traditional” European society changing in recent years? What implications does this have for Europe’s future, especially in terms of who and what “Europe” is considered to be?

**FOREIGN POLICY & WRAP-UP**

Tues 4/19: Terrorism

- Read:
  - Kubicek Chp. 11: “Security Issues in Europe” (p. 311-319) and “European Use of ‘Soft Power’” (p. 328-330)
  - Laqueur: “The Terrorism to Come” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - Why is Europe a major target for terrorism? What do terrorists want? How are nationalism, secularism, and terrorism related?

Thurs 4/21: Pulling It All Together

- LAST DAY OF CLASS
- Read:
  - Grant (2009): “Is Europe Doomed to Fail as a Power?” (on Blackboard)
- Ponder:
  - In what ways is the EU a model for regional integration efforts worldwide? Is Europe still a major player in world affairs? Why/why not? Is integration at a standstill? Could the EU ever fall apart?
  - How do all the pieces of the semester (readings, activities, lectures, themes, etc.) fit together? How can we connect the various pieces of Europe’s past, present, and future?

**FINAL EXAM:**

- Wednesday, April 27<sup>th</sup> from 3:00–5:30pm

**PLEASE REMEMBER TO EMAIL ME ASAP  
WITH ANY QUESTIONS OR CONCERNS!**

Looking forward to a great semester,  
Dr. Curtis