

PSCI 3206A
The Government and Politics of Western Europe

Lecture: Monday 6:05- 8:55

Please confirm location on Carleton Central

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Course Description and Objectives:

The goals of this course are two-fold: (i) to familiarize students with the political institutions and processes of Western Europe (ii) to provide students the theoretical and historical background that will allow them to understand the rapid transformations in Western European politics over the last 60 years. As the 'Politics and Government' of Western Europe is such a wide topic, this course will focus on select themes that have been integral to the political development of the region (for example, the changing relationship between state, society and economy). During these weeks, insights from historical and sociological sources will be used to explore the political development of Western Europe, as well the social cleavages and contemporary problems that result from an increasingly de-industrial and integrated Western Europe. Drawing on a more traditional comparative approach, the course also examines the institutions, political economies and electoral politics of three large and influential EU states; the United Kingdom, France and Germany. By utilizing two approaches throughout the class – comparative political science and historical/political sociology - it is expected that students will be equipped with multiple tools for interpreting the rapid transformations of European politics over the past century.

The course is divided into three sections. The first section examines the historical background of the modern state in Western Europe. Under what conditions did the centralized – yet predominately liberal – European state come into being? How has the underlying relationship between the state and its citizenry changed since the time of initial industrialisation, and again after WWII? (Furthermore, how is it now altering again under conditions of 'neoliberalism'?) The second section of the course explores the government and politics of three large and influential states (mentioned above). This section of the course is heavily empirical and stresses the importance of institutional, processual and electoral difference in Western Europe. In the third section we will explore recent transformations in European politics that have (or may) upset the political order created after WWII. This thematic section is arranged via four distinct cases; the

rise of a populist and often 'extreme' radical right, forms of resistance to bourgeois liberalism from the late 1960s to current, 'neoliberal' political and economic shifts, and lastly, the consequences of 'Europeanization' for the territorial nation-state.

Readings:

There are two **required texts** for the course:
(available for purchase in the Carleton Bookstore)

Kesselman (ed). 2006. *European Politics in Transition* 5th ed. Houghton Mifflin

Judt, Tony. 2005. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. Penguin

Note: The texts will be referred to as "Kesselman" and "Judt" in the course outline.

Note: all other readings will be placed on reserve in MacOdrum Library or will be otherwise made available by the instructor

Assignments and Evaluation:

Mid-term Exam	35%	(in class on November 3)
Final Exam	40%	(to be scheduled during formal exam period)
Reflection paper	15%	(due November 17)
Attendance	10%	(recorded every class)

Mid-Term Examination:

A mid-term exam will be given in class on November 3rd. The exam will consist of a combination of short answers and one essay question. It will cover topics from readings and lectures from the first half of the course. If attendance on this day poses a problem, you should contact the instructor **immediately**.

Final Exam:

The final exam will be held during the scheduled examination period (Dec 4-20). **The final exam will be cumulative** and will consist of two essays. Your answers should draw from both readings and lectures. During preparation for the final it is recommended that students pay particular attention to one of the countries covered in the course. At a minimum, one essay question will require students to apply detailed knowledge on a specific country. Because this class covers historical developments **and** current themes/problems, it is highly recommended students follow political developments through print or web media. The following is a list of (English) daily newspapers weekly periodicals and websites that offer extensive coverage of Western European politics:

The New York Times www.nyt.com (registration free, paper edition also available around Ottawa)

Washington Post www.washingtonpost.com (registration free)

Christian Science Monitor www.csmonitor.com

Economist (find at library or newsstands)

BBC www.bbc.co.uk

EUobserver www.euobserver.com (great site for current news on EU)
The Guardian www.guardian.co.uk.

Critical Reflection Essay:

This essay is not intended as a research paper. Rather, it is an opportunity for students to engage critically with one of the readings from the course. The premise is quite simple; choose one reading, describe the main points of the reading, and present evidence that either supports or contests the central claims of the reading. For example: Does the essay/chapter represent the problem accurately? Are the arguments logical and consistent? Could the central argument of the piece be contested by drawing on specific cases from Western Europe? Would a different theoretical approach provide a more convincing analysis of the phenomena under investigation? While outside sources should be used, they should be selectively deployed. The stress here is on using a few outside sources to engage one course reading in a substantive/analytical manner. The essay must go beyond mere description, though around 30-40% of the essay may be used to provide a summary of the reading. The paper should be between 6-8 pages in length. Papers are due on November 17th. Late papers will be penalized 5% per day.

Attendance:

It is expected students attend lectures. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to receive satisfactory marks on exams without attending class. The final mark for this course is mostly determined by mastery of course material, not independent student research. Please note: Exams will cover material from both the readings and lectures. Lectures will be (partially) used to explain and discuss readings but will not duplicate the readings. Therefore, some information will be presented in lecture that may not be found in the readings (and vice versa). Attendance will be recorded at the end of each course.

Returning Assignments:

All assignments (including attendance) will be given a numerical mark and a corresponding letter grade. Students will have both their mid-term exams and critical essays returned to them in class. Papers should be handed in on the due date, or before, in class. Late papers may be put in the drop box outside the Political Science office. Note: Anything that arrives in the drop box later than 4 p.m is stamped with the **next day's date**.

Schedule: (both the reading list and the dates are subject to change. Any changes will be announced in class)

Section I – The Making of the Modern Western European State

September 8: Introduction to Course

- No required readings
- Distribution of course outline

September 15: Creation of the Modern State in Western Europe

- Tilly, Charles (ed). 1975. “Reflections on the History of European State-making” in *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, pp. 3-48.
- Weber, Eugen. 1976. “France, One and Indivisible” in *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France*”, pp. 95-114.

September 22: Interwar Period and Postwar (WWII) Recovery

- Halperin, Sandra. 2004. “The Polarization of European Society, 1918-1939” in *War and Social Change in Modern Europe*, pp. 175-199.
- Polanyi, Karl. 2001. Introduction and Chapters 1-2, in *The Great Transformation*, pp. xviii-xxxviii, pp. 3-32.
- Judt. Chapter 3: “The Rehabilitation of Europe” pp. 63-99.

September 29: The Rise of ‘Social’ Liberalism

- Judt. Chapters 10 and 11: “The Age of Affluence” and “The Social Democratic Moment” pp. 324-389
- Mazower, Mark. 1998. Chapter 6: “Blueprints for the Golden Age” in *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century*”, pp. 182-211.
- Foucault, Michel. 1994 {1978-79}. “The Birth of Biopolitics” in *Michel Foucault: Ethics Subjectivity and Truth*, pp. 73-79.
*for an additional reading on the history of ‘social’ governance see Rose, Nikolas, *The Powers of Freedom*, 1999 (chapter 3, “The Social”)

Section II – The Comparative Approach

October 6: Varieties of State Intervention and ‘Welfare’

- Esping Anderson. 1990. Chapters 1 and 2, in *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. pp. 1-54.
- Kesselman pp. (UK) 151-168, (France) 234-247, (Germany) 331-346

October 20: Comparing States I: Institutions

- Kesselman pp. (UK) 135- 150, 171-184 (France) 215-232, 249- 267 (Germany) 303-329, 348-365.

October 27: Comparing States II: Parties and Elections

- Kesselman pp. (UK) 186-201 (France) 268-287 (Germany) 366-368.
- *lecture will include additional information on party formation and party/system evolution not covered in readings

November 3: Mid-Term Examination (in class)

- No assigned readings. Please Study.

Section III – Current Themes in Western European Politics

November 10: Political and Economic Neoliberalism in Western Europe

- Judt. “Chapter 17: The New Realism” pp. 535-558.

- Bastow, Steve. 2003. Chapters 1 and 2: “Ideology in Crisis” and “New Labour’s Third Way”, in *Third Way Discourse*, pp. 21-71
- Colin Hay and Matthew Watson. 2003. “Diminishing Expectations: The Strategic Discourse of Globalization in the Political Economy of New Labour”, in *A Ruined Fortress*, pp. 147-172.
- Edward Page and Vincent Wright. 2007. “Introduction: From the Active to the Enabling State” in *From the Active to the Enabling State*, pp. 1-14 and (same book) Philippe Bezes and Patrick Le Lidac. “French Top Civil Servants Within Changing Configurations: From Monopolization to Contested Places and Roles”, pp. 121-163
- * lecture involves a discussion of social and economic aspects of neoliberalism not covered in readings

November 17: The Populist Radical Right in Western Europe

- John Lloyd. 2003. “The Closing of the European Gates? The New Populist Parties of Europe” *Political Quarterly* 74(4): 88-99.
- Paul Taggart. 2004. “Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 9(3): 269-288.
- Mark Neocleous and Nick Startin. 2003. “‘Protest’ and Fail to Survive: Le Pen and the Great Moving Right Show” *Politics* 23(3): 145-55.
- Thijl Sunier and Rob van Ginkel. 2006. “At Your Service! Reflections on the rise of Neo-nationalism in the Netherlands” in *Neo-Nationalism in Europe and Beyond*, pp. 107-124.

November 24: ‘Resistance’ to the state in Western Europe

- Judt. “Chapter 12: The Spectre of Revolution” pp. 390-421.
- *The New York Times*. November 5, 2005. “Angry Immigrants Embroil France in Wider Riots” Section A(2) (available through LexisNexis or NTY.com - archives)
- *The New York Times*. November 6, 2005. “France has an Underclass, But its Roots are Still Shallow” Section 1(1).
- Cathy Lisa Schneider. 2008. “Police Power and Race Riots in Paris” *Politics and Society* 36(1): 133-59.
- *The New York Times Magazine*. Noah Feldman. June 22, 2008. “The New Pariahs?”
- *The New York Times*. October 11, 2006. “Across Europe, Worries on Islam Spread to Center”.
- John Grey. 2000. “Liberal Toleration” in *Two Faces of Liberalism*, pp. 1-33.

December 1: The ‘Europe’ factor: identity, integration and welfare

- Judt “Chapter 24: Europe as a Way of Life” pp. 777-800.
- Kesselman Chapters 3 and 4: “European Union Institutions” and “The EU and its Policies”, pp. 72-111.

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Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 6th, 2006** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 9th, 2007** for winter term courses.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure B No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with

100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.