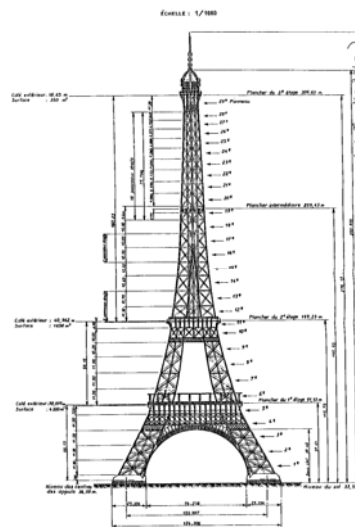


GOVERNMENT 41: EUROPEAN POLITICS

Summer 2013



1:45 – 2:50pm

X-hour: Thursday 1-1:50pm

Room: XX

Prof. Lawrence Ezrow

Office: XX

Phone: XX

E-mail: ezrow@essex.ac.uk

Office hours

Wednesdays 3-5pm or by appointment

SCHEDULE

| Date | Class topic |
|------------|---|
| 6/21, 6/24 | Overview: Democratic Linkages |
| 6/26, 6/28 | Concepts, Variables, Theory, and the Comparative Method |
| 7/1 | Public Opinion |
| 7/3, 7/8 | Political Participation (I): Conventional Modes and Voter Turnout |
| 7/10 | Political Participation (II): Unconventional Modes |
| 7/12, 7/15 | Electoral Systems and their Consequences |
| 7/17 | Party Competition in Multiparty Systems |
| 7/19, 7/22 | Political Cleavages |
| 7/24 | Party Families |
| 7/26 | <i>In-class exam</i> |
| 7/29 | Types of Democracy: Majoritarian and Consensual Systems |
| 7/31 | Evaluating Democracy |
| 8/2 | Germany and France |
| 8/5 | Britain and Italy |
| 8/7 | Nordic Democracies and Consociational Democracies |
| 8/9 | Postcommunist Democracies |
| 8/12 | Parliament, the Executive, and Coalitions |
| 8/14 | Federalism, Interest Groups (Corporatism and Pluralism), Media |
| 8/16 | The Democratic Deficit in the EU |
| 8/19 | The Democratic Deficit and Deliberative Democracy |
| 8/21 | Review for final exam |

Description

This course is about how representative democracy works in Europe. We will examine several topics within the European context, including: public opinion, political participation, political parties, electoral systems, party competition, and how to evaluate democracies. We will also develop specific knowledge about several European countries, by learning how the political institutions (several are mentioned above) function within them. The course also provides an accessible introduction to research design and methods that political scientists have used to address these topics.

Requirements and Grading:

In-class exam: 20%

Essay: 20%

Country Presentations: 15%

Final exam: 35%

Participation: 10%

Details

There is one in-class exam (7/26) and one final exam. The in-class exam will focus on more specific knowledge (e.g. identifying concepts) from the first half of the course, and the final will cover topics more broadly throughout the course. The essay will be up to 1,500 words (roughly six pages), and will be turned in during class on August 12th. I will distribute a list of possible questions to address in the essay during the first week. If you want to develop your own essay topic, please come and see me. With respect to the essays, the important thing is that you develop your own argument, and that you critically evaluate evidence that relates to it. For the country presentations, you will choose a specific country by the end of the first week. Presentations involve applying the topics from the first two-thirds of the course (such as political participation, electoral systems, and party competition) to particular countries. Participation is based on attendance and quality of participation. To prepare for class, there are questions that relate to the readings and lectures for each topic in the syllabus.

Contacting me

Please feel free to contact me if you have questions about specific assignments or the course in general. My office hours are on Wednesday afternoons (3-5pm), and I will have time to talk after most classes. You can also contact me by email or by my office phone, and I can also meet by appointment.

Religious observances

If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please meet with me before the end of the second week of the term to discuss appropriate accommodations.

READING

You are advised to have your own copy of these books:

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 5th edn. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Lijphart, Arend. 2012. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Also: follow online, *The Economist*, “Europe” (<http://www.economist.com/world/europe>)

(optional)

Bale, Tim. 2013. *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, 3rd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave. *There is a companion website:*
<http://www.palgrave.com/politics/bale/guide.htm>

Hay, Colin, and Anand Menon (eds.). 2007. *European Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Overview: The Democratic Process

We discuss linkages in the representative process.

Reading:

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 5th edn. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 1

Bale, Tim. 2013. *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, 3rd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Chapter 1

Class questions

Sketch how political representation (from preferences in the electorate to public policy) occurs under basic ideals of democracy.

Concepts, Variables, Theory, and the Comparative Method

Landman, Todd. 2003. *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics. An Introduction* London: Routledge. Chapters 1-3.

Typical outline of a journal article (to be handed out).

Questions about Theory and Comparative Method:

What is theory?

What are the goals of theory?

How are theories evaluated?

Describe the method of agreement (most different systems design) and the method of difference (most similar systems design). What are their strengths and weaknesses?

What are some examples of studies that use the method of agreement and difference?

Public opinion

Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public*. Chapters 1, 2, 10.

Van der Eijk, Cees, and Mark Franklin. 2009. *Elections and Voters*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Chapter 6 ("The Role of Public Opinion").

(Further reading on public opinion)

John R. Zaller. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (1992), Chapters 1-3 and 7.

Converse, Philip. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David Apter. New York: Free Press.

Galton, Francis. 1907. "Vox Populi." *Nature* 450-51.

Questions for Public Opinion:

What is public opinion?

Is political sophistication amongst citizens important for democracy? What are the implications? Should citizens rely on short-cuts?

Conventional Political Participation with emphasis on Voter Turnout

Franklin, Mark. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies Since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3; 5; 8.

European Politics

Conventional participation:

What are the different modes of conventional participation?

What are the explanations for variation in voter turnout?

Is voter turnout important?

What is the paradox of voting? Is it rational to vote?

What is Franklin's main argument/thesis?

What evidence does Franklin bring to bear on his thesis?

Catalogue all of the possible factors raised by Franklin that affect voter turnout, and formulate the expected relationships between these factors and levels of turnout.

What is election fatigue?

Unconventional participation:

Norris, Pippa. 2002. *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2; 8-11.

Complementary Readings

Gurr, Ted. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Norris, Pippa. 2002. 'Democratic Phoenix.' Paper presented at APSA.

Questions:

What are the different modes of unconventional political participation?

What are the trends with these types of participation, and what are the implications for equality?

Electoral Systems and their Consequences

Topics

Basic concepts related to electoral systems. PR, majoritarian and plurality systems. Variations among PR systems. Forms of mixed electoral systems. Duverger's Law and the consequences of electoral systems.

Objectives

to understand the consequences of electoral systems for the shape of party systems and government formation.

Required reading

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 5th edn. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 11.

Lijphart, Arend. 2012. *Patterns of Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapter 8.

Clark, William, Matt Golder, and Sona Golder. 2008. *Principles of Comparative Politics*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press. Chapter 12.

Carey, John, M., and Simon Hix. 2011. "The Electoral Sweet Spot: Low-Magnitude Proportional Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 383-397.

Class questions

- How are multi-party systems connected to PR electoral systems?
- Are PR systems "more democratic"?
- What are the effects of electoral systems on the number of parties? What is Duverger's Law and Hypothesis? What are the effects of electoral systems on policy, stability and representation? What systems are best for democratizing countries, for plural societies?
- Go to: <http://en.voteforpope.net/>

Elections and the Spatial Model of Voting: Anthony Downs

Required/Recommended Readings

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper. Chapters 1-4; 8.

Adams, James, Samuel Merrill III, and Bernard Grofman. 2005. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition: A Cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3; 13. Appendices 1.1; 2.2; 2.3; 3.1.

Iversen, Torben. 1994. "Political Leadership and Representation in Western European

European Politics

Democracies: A Test of Three Models of Voting.” *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 45-74.

Class questions:

Based on Downs:

What are the assumptions of Downs's spatial model?

-about parties

-about voters

-about the ‘playing field’

Are each of these assumptions valid?

Based on the assumptions, what does Downs predict?

How would one actually go about testing his model?

Based on Iversen:

What are the competitors to the spatial model?

What are the assumptions of the competing models?

Which model do you find the most compelling?

How would you test the spatial model in the real world?

Adams et al. (2005)

What is their ‘puzzle’? What is candidate convergence? Candidate divergence? What factors do the authors highlight that would explain divergence? What is valence? What are nonpolicy factors? Examples? What is the responsible party model? What is a nash equilibrium? What is parsimony? What is the policy discounting model?

Cleavages and Party Families

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 5th edn. New York: McGraw-Hill. **Chapters 7-10.**

Bale, Tim. 2013. *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, 3rd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Chapter 5

European Politics

Complementary Readings

Meguid, Bonnie. 2008. *Competition between Unequals*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Adams James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2006. "Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976-1998." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 513-529.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1988. "Organization and Strategy of Belgian and West German Ecology Parties: A New Dynamic of Party Politics in Western Europe?" *Comparative Politics* 20(2) 127-154.

Przeworski, Adam, and John Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lipset, Seymour M. and Stein Rokkan (1967) 'Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: An Introduction' in Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*, pp. 9-56 OR: in Peter Mair, ed. (1990) *The West European Party System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 91-138.

Class Questions:

On party families:

- What are the major party families of Western Europe? For each party family answer the following questions:
- What are their policy stances?
- Has their electoral support been increasing/decreasing?
- To which social groups do the supporters belong?
- Countries where the party family is strong or in governing coalition?
- What are the well-known parties within the party families?

On cleavages:

- What are cleavage structures?
- Why are they important?
- How do cleavage structures relate directly to European democracies?
- Why do cleavages persist?
- How do cleavage structures change?

Types of Democracy (Majoritarian and Consensual Systems) and Evaluating Democracy

European Politics

Define the features of majoritarian and proportional systems. What are the advantages and disadvantages of majority rule compared to proportionality? Define 'quality of democracy'. Does one system outperform another in terms of quality of democracy?

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (with emphasis on chapters 1-4 and 15-17)

Anderson, Christopher J., and Christine A. Guillory. 1997. "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems." *American Political Science Review* 91(1): 66-82.

McDonald, Michael, and Ian Budge. 2005. *Elections, Parties, and Democracy: Conferring the Median Mandate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Powell, G. Bingham. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Germany and France

Hay, Colin, and Anand Menon (eds.). 2007. *European Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 2-3.

Class questions

Germany:

- Why is Germany the only West European state with an explicitly federal structure?
- Has the unification of Germany 'succeeded'?
- Who paid what price for German unification? Why did Kohl's career, as Chancellor, go from triumph to ignominy?

France:

- France is a 'strong state'; Germany, a federal state. Why the difference?
- What is 'normal' and what is 'odd' about party competition in France?

Italy, The Netherlands, and Belgium

Topics

Institutions and practices; stable politics—unstable governments. Party proliferation; party system fragmentation; two-party dominance. Government without *alternance*; the 'opening to the left'; 'ungovernability'; corruption; formal vs informal politics. Crises of 1992; post-1992 elections and referendums; institutional reform. 'New' parties and party system transformation.

Objectives

(i) knowledge of the constitutional and institutional structure of the Italian state; and understanding of (ii) institutional problems; and (iii) knowledge of the 'crisis' in the Italian state

Required reading

Hay, Colin, and Anand Menon (eds.). 2007. *European Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 3 and 6.

Class questions

Italy:

- Why is Italy marked by a proliferation of parties?
- Why has corruption been such a distinctive feature of Italian politics?

Consociational Systems (Netherlands and Belgium):

- What is *strictly* distinctive about consociational politics?
- How might 'consociational politics' be understood in terms of the Lipset-Rokkan model?
- Do other polities exhibit 'consociational' features?

The Nordic Social Democratic 'Model', Spain, and Portugal

Hay, Colin, and Anand Menon (eds.). 2007. *European Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 5 and 7.

Topics

Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland: constitutions and institutions; social democratic, 'bourgeois' parties; and left splinter parties. From class compromise and corporatism to 'conflict with consensus'; from social democratic dominance to *alternance*.

Objectives

(I) knowledge of the distinctive structuring of politics in Nordic countries; (ii) recent shifts; and (iii) broader understanding of variation in liberal-democratic polities.

Class questions

Scandinavia:

- Why is class the dominant cleavage in Nordic politics?

European Politics

- Why was *alternance* not a major issue in Nordic polities (*cf.* France & Italy)?
- Is Nordic politics distinctive - or only historically different?

Spain, Portugal, and Greece:

- What enabled Spain and Greece to establish democratic politics so quickly?
- What conditions are necessary for successful democratisation?

Institutions of Government: Parliaments and Cabinets

Topics

Parliamentary and presidential systems of government. Types of parliaments: working parliaments and debating parliaments; unicameral and bicameral parliaments. One-party and coalition governments.

Objectives

to understand the varying roles of head of state, head of government, cabinet and parliament;
to understand variations in the stability of governments and the activity of parliaments

Required reading

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 5th edn. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 2 and 3.

Bale, Tim. 2013. *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, 3rd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Chapter 4.

Further reading

King, Anthony (1976) 'Modes of Executive-Legislative Relations: Great Britain, France and West Germany.' *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 1(1): 11-34.

Strøm, Kaare, Ian Budge, and Michael Laver (1994) 'Constraints on Cabinet Formation in Parliamentary Democracies' *American Journal of Political Science* 38(2): 303-335.

Class questions

- Is the popular election of the head of government preferable to his/her parliamentary investiture?
- Are coalition governments always unstable?
- Why are some parliaments more active than others?
- What factors affect the balance of power between government and parliament?
- How do 'continental' systems of government differ from the 'Westminster system'?
- Describe several theories of coalition.

Unitary States, Federal States, and Devolution

Objectives

to understand the differences between unitary and federal systems of government; to assess the potential consequences of devolution.

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 5th edn. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 6.

Bale, Tim. 2013. *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, 3rd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Chapter 2.

Further reading

John, Peter (2001) *Local Governance in Western Europe* (London: Sage). Chapter 2 & 9.

Class questions

- Unitary and federal states – which are more “democratic”?
- Are federal states governed less efficiently?

Non-institutional Politics: Interest Groups and the Media

Required reading

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 5th edn. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 13.

Bale, Tim. 2013. *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, 3rd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Chapters 7 & 8.

Class questions

- How much influence do interest groups have on government policy and how legitimate is this influence?
- To what degree should governments listen to opinion polls?
- Are the media really a “fourth branch of power” as asserted by some authors?

The European Union, Democratic Deficit, and Deliberative Democracy

- Hix, Simon. 2008. *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix it*. London: Polity. Chapter 5.
- Luskin, Fishkin and Jowell. 2002. "Considered Opinions: Deliberative Polling in Britain." *British Journal of Political Science* 32: 455-487.
- Rohrschneider, Robert. 2002. "The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-wide Government." *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 463-75.
- Carrubba, Clifford. 2001. "The Electoral Connection in European Union Politics." *Journal of Politics* 63(1): 141-158.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2005. "Calculation, Community and Cues. Explaining Public Opinion on European Integration." *European Union Politics* 6(4) 419-43.
- Van Kersbergen, Kees. 2000. "Political Allegiance and European Integration." *European Journal of Political Research* 37: 1-17.

Optional:

- Evans, Geoffrey, and Stephen Whitefield. 1995. "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment: Support for Democracy in Transitional Societies." *British Journal of Political Science* 24: 507-534.
- Gabel, Matthew. 1998. "Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories." *Journal of Politics* 60(2): 333-354.
- Hix, Simon. 1998. "Elections, Parties, and Institutional Design: A Comparative Perspective on European Union Democracy." *West European Politics* 21(3): 19-52

Questions:

- Is there a democratic deficit in the EU?
- Summarize at least three arguments for why the EU is democratic and undemocratic.
- Is it useful to export the 'national' model of democracy to the EU?
- What are the factors that affect support for the EU?
- What is the role of identity?
- What is deliberative democracy?
- What are some of the weaknesses that deliberative democracy may encounter in practice?