

# PL SC 455: Government and Politics of Europe

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## Course Information

Class Time: Tuesdays, Thursdays 9.45-11.00

Place: 110 [Borland Building](#)

Course Website: [Angel](#)

## Contact Information for Professor

Name: Matt Golder

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## Course Description

*Prerequisite:* All students must have successfully completed PL SC 003 ([Introduction to Comparative Politics](#)).

*Overview:* This is an upper-level Comparative Politics course that applies the basic concepts of comparative political science to the political systems of Europe. We will use comparisons within Europe (East and West) as well as comparisons between European political systems and other advanced democratic nations around the world to explore issues of political representation and accountability. We will discuss theories of voting, the development of party systems, political protests, transitions to democracy, the choice of political institutions, and immigration policy, among other topics. Some of these topics will be familiar from PL SC 003 (or other political science classes). In this class we will re-examine these theories in the specific context of European politics.

The course is divided into three sections.

1. We first focus on the historical development of political systems in Europe since the 1920s. We apply the tools of political science to better understand historical events such as the rise of Nazism, the establishment of the post-war party system, the transitions to democracy in Southern Europe, and the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe.
2. Having obtained an overview of the historical evolution of Europe's political systems, we then turn to an examination of contemporary European institutions and their effects. We will build on the introduction to types of democratic institutions that you received in PL SC 003, and will reconsider

the relationship between political actors in light of a principal-agent (delegation) framework. For example, when voters delegate political authority to members of parliament, what kinds of institutional arrangements are most likely to ensure that these representatives are held accountable?

3. Finally, we examine a particular policy area: immigration policy. This allows us to reexamine party systems, voting patterns, the relationship between European and non-European countries (particularly those based on prior colonial relations), and European identity in a particular policy context.

*Course Objectives:* Our goal is not to cover three or four European countries in depth, nor is it to amass as many facts as possible about Europe. Rather, the goal is to explore a number of political puzzles that are of particular relevance to Europe. In other words, its goal is to illustrate and explain some of the systematic relationships that exist between certain social, economic and political variables in European countries so that you can better understand European domestic politics, foreign policy, business and legal environments, etc.. In so doing, you will also gain a different perspective on politics in the United States. Some of the concepts presented in the readings and in lecture will be straightforward, while others may take a reasonable amount of effort to understand. In some of the political science articles you will read, the methods used to test some of the observable implications of the theories will be entirely new to you. I do not expect you to familiarize yourself with all of the methodological tools used in the readings. Rather, through discussion and lecture, I hope to give you enough information so that you can evaluate the arguments we read. After you leave the class at the end of the semester, the material will give you a much deeper understanding of developments in European politics in particular, and of developments in advanced industrialized democracies generally.

## **Course Requirements**

*Attendance:* Attendance at lectures is both recommended and required. In my previous classes, attendance at lectures has been a good predictor of a student's performance on homework and exams. You will find it difficult to pass this class if you do not attend regularly. If you do miss class, you are expected to get notes from a fellow student – 'private make-up lectures' with the professor will not take place.

*Readings:* You should come to class prepared to participate in discussions, and you should bring the relevant readings to class as well. You are encouraged to volunteer questions and observations; please note that I may call on students at random with questions. A tendency on your part to demonstrate a lack of knowledge of the readings or other material under discussion will have a negative effect on your participation grade.

*Assignments:* There will be almost weekly homework assignments, in addition to periodic in-class assignments (some of which will be announced in advance). Most of the homeworks will be submitted on Angel. In the interests of fairness, homework assignments that are handed in late will not be graded.

*Final Paper:* There will be a short final paper (6-8 pages) dealing with immigration and citizenship rules in particular European countries.

*Exams:* There will be three exams – two midterms and a final. Exam makeups will only be possible in the most extenuating of circumstances (oversleeping, leaving early for Spring Break etc. are not suitable

excuses). If you are extremely ill or have a university-accepted excuse for missing an exam, please notify me *prior* to the test date. I will only consider your request if you make it prior to the exam. Material covered on the exams will come from lectures, the assigned readings, and homework assignments.

- Midterm 1: Thursday, February 20
- Midterm 2: Thursday, April 3
- Final Exam: TBA

## Grading:

Your final grade is a weighted average of the following components: Midterm 1 and Midterm 2 are *each* worth 18%. The final exam is worth 24%. Short assignments (homework and in-class assignments) are worth 20%. Participation is worth 10%. The final paper is also worth 10%.

I will use the following scale to calculate your course grade:

A	93-100	C+	77-79.9
A-	90-92.9	C	70-76.9
B+	87-89.9	D	60-69.9
B	83-86.9	F	59.9 and below
B-	80-82.9		

*Note:* Your participation grade will be based on (i) lecture attendance and (ii) participation. As stated above, attendance is mandatory. The percentage of classes that you attend will be the baseline for your participation grade. For example, if you attend 21 out of 28 classes, your baseline participation grade will be a 75%. I will then add or subtract points based on your general level of preparation for class discussions. I do not add or subtract a particular set of points for every interaction that we have. Rather, the extent to which I add or subtract points from your baseline grade is based on an overall impression of your work over the course of the semester. Please remember that you are expected to do the reading for each day's class and come prepared to speak.

## Required Text/Materials

- William I. Hitchcock. 2004. *The Struggle For Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe (Fifth Edition)*. New York: McGraw Hill

The Hitchcock book should be at the *Penn State Bookstore*. The fifth edition of the Gallagher, Laver, & Mair book is not available at the bookstore because they were unable to provide it. It is, however, available

via the usual online book sellers (the link above goes to [amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com)). All other readings will be available on the course Angel site.

## **News**

I encourage you to read national and international newspapers online, paying particular attention to the sections on Europe. Going directly to European sources is recommended - I suggest you begin with the [BBC online](https://www.bbc.com) or the weekly magazine *The Economist*. If you search, you are likely to find English-language versions of other European newspapers as well. If you can read European languages other than English, check media sources in the relevant countries as well. Please feel free to bring interesting articles to the attention of the class.

## **Academic Dishonesty**

The Department of Political Science, along with the College of the Liberal Arts and the University, takes violations of academic dishonesty seriously. Observing basic honesty in one's work, words, ideas, and actions is a principle to which all members of the community are required to subscribe.

All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless an instructor clearly states that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. Students uncertain about proper citation are responsible for checking with their instructor.

In an examination setting, unless the instructor gives explicit prior instructions to the contrary, whether the examination is in class or take home, violations of academic integrity shall consist but are not limited to any attempt to receive assistance from written or printed aids, or from any person or papers or electronic devices, or of any attempt to give assistance, whether the one so doing has completed his or her own work or not.

Lying to the instructor or purposely misleading any Penn State administrator shall also constitute a violation of academic integrity.

In cases of any violation of academic integrity it is the policy of the Department of Political Science to follow procedures established by the College of the Liberal Arts. More information on academic integrity and procedures followed for violation can be found [here](#).

## **Disabilities**

Penn State welcomes students with disabilities into the University's educational programs. If you have a disability-related need for reasonable academic adjustments in this course, contact the Office for Disability Services. For further information regarding policies, rights and responsibilities please visit the [Office for Disability Services \(ODS\) Web site](#). Instructors should be notified as early in the semester as possible regarding the need for reasonable accommodations.

## Tentative Schedule

This schedule should be treated as tentative and flexible. It may be the case that it takes us more or less time for a particular topic than I have allotted here. We will adapt accordingly. Note, however, that *I will not alter the exam dates.*

### Section I: Historical Development of European Political Systems

**Week 1: January 13-17** – Course introduction: approaches and topics. Who counts as European? Relevance (or lack thereof) of the distinction between Western and Eastern Europe. European history as conflict between democracy, communism, and fascism.

*Required:*

Jakobs, Frank. “Where is Europe?” *New York Times*, January 9, 2012.

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. Chapter 1. [Although this book is required, this particular chapter is available on Angel].

Mazower, Mark. 1998. *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century*. New York: Vintage Books. pp. 3-40.

**Week 2: January 20-24** – Theory of retrospective voting applied to the Nazi vote. The political aftermath of the Second World War (I): the division of Europe and the onset of the Cold War.

*Required:*

King, Gary, Ori Rosen, Martin Tanner, Alexander Wagner. 2008. “Ordinary Economic Voting Behavior in the Extraordinary Election of Adolf Hitler.” *Journal of Economic History* 68(4): 951-996.

Judt, Tony. 2005. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: Penguin Books. Excerpt from Chapter 1 (“The Legacy of War”), pp. 27-40.

*Recommended:*

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*. New York: Anchor Books. pp. 13-39 (Chapter 1).

Documentary: *The World at War, Vol 9 (Reckoning: 1945 and after)*. 1975.

Movie: *Le chagrin et la pitié: chronique d’une ville française sous l’occupation*. [The sorrow and the pity: chronicle of a French city under the Occupation]. 1969.

**Week 3: January 27-31** – The political aftermath of the Second World War (II): The emergence of the post-war party systems in eastern and western Europe.

*Required:*

Judt, Tony. 2005. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: Penguin Books. Excerpt from Chapter 3 (“The Rehabilitation of Europe”), pp. 72-77.

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. New York: Anchor Books. Chapter 2, pp. 40-68; Chapter 3, pp. 69-97; Chapter 4, pp. 98-125.

Schöpflin, George. 1993. *Politics in Eastern Europe 1945-1992..* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc. pp. 57-74.

**Week 4: February 3-7** – Collective Action: Protests. Political protests and terrorism in Western Europe (Berlin 1953, Budapest 1956, Prague 1968).

*Required:*

Hitchcock, William. 2004. *The Struggle For Europe*. New York: Anchor Books. Chapter 9, pp. 247-268; Chapter 12, 311-341; Chapter 7, pp. 193-220; Chapter 11, pp. 288-310.

**Weeks 5 and 6: February 10-21** – Transitions from dictatorship to democracy in Southern Europe and Eastern Europe.

*Required:*

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. New York: Anchor Books. Chapter 10, pp. 269-287; Chapter 13, pp. 347-379.

Kuran, Timur. 1991. “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989.” *World Politics* 44: 7-48.

*Recommended:*

Documentary: *When the Wall Came Tumbling Down*. 1999.

Movie: *Z*. 1969. Fictionalized account of the assassination of a Greek politician, set shortly before the military coup. In French. Banned in Spain until 1976.

Garton Ash, Timothy. 1993. *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague*. Journalist’s eyewitness account of the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe.

Rosenberg, Tina. 1996. *The Haunted Land: Facing Europe’s Ghosts After Communism*. Journalist’s account of the dilemma facing new democracies: what is to be done with the former elite and those who collaborated

with the dictatorial regime?

Movie: *Goodbye Lenin*. 2003. Entertaining look at life in East Germany in the aftermath of German reunification. In German.

Movie: *The Lives of Others*. 2006. More serious look at life in East Germany, focusing on *Stasi* informants. In German.

### **1<sup>st</sup> Midterm Exam on Thursday, February 20**

## **Section II: Political Institutions and Their Effects**

**Week 7: February 24-28** – Delegation and Accountability in parliamentary democracies. Introduction to principal-agent framework. Review of executive-legislative relations in parliamentary, presidential, and semi-presidential regimes. Government formation overview - formateurs, votes of no-confidence, investiture etc..

*Required reading:*

Lupia, Arthur. 2003. "Delegation and its Perils", in *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*. (eds. Kaare Strom, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman). New York: Oxford. pp. 33-54.

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. Chapters 2-3.

**Week 8: March 3-7** – Minority, minimal winning, and surplus majority governments. More on government formation - cabinet portfolio allocation, government survival and political experience.

*Required reading:*

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. Chapter 12.

Roberts, Andrew. 2008. "Hyperaccountability: Economic Voting in Eastern Europe." *Electoral Studies* 27(3): 553-546.

**\*\* Spring Break (No Class): March 10-14 \*\***

**Week 9: March 17-21** – Parties and party families. Social cleavages. Extreme right parties and greens.

*Required reading:*

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

Golder, Matt. 2004. “Explaining Variation in the Electoral Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe.” *Comparative Political Studies* 36: 432-466.

*Recommended:*

Messina, Anthony M. 2007. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3, pp. 54-96 (“The Organized Nativist Backlash: The Surge of Anti-Immigrant Groups.”)

**Weeks 10-11: March 24 - April 4** – Electoral rules and their effect on party system size. Strategic voting, mechanical effect of electoral rules, and Duverger’s theory. Choice of electoral institutions.

*Required reading:*

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. Chapter 7, pp. 187-229, and Chapter 11, 340-380.

Kaminski, Marek. 1999. “How Communism Could Have Been Saved: Formal Analysis of Electoral Bargaining in Poland in 1989.” *Public Choice* 98: 83-109.

Bawn, Kathleen. 1993. “The Logic of Institutional Preferences: The German Electoral Law as a Social Choice Outcome.” *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 965-989.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> Midterm Exam on Thursday, April 3**

**Week 12: April 7-11** – Delegation and accountability with respect to bureaucracy.

*Required reading:*

Golden, Miriam A. 2003. “Electoral Connections: The Effects of the Personal Vote on Political Patronage, Bureaucracy and Legislation in Postwar Italy.” *British Journal of Political Science* 33: 189-212.

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. Chapter 6.

*Recommended:*

Lynn, Jonathan & Antony Jay. 1989. *The Complete Yes Minister*. London: BBC Books.



Lynn, Jonathan & Antony Jay. 1989. *The Complete Yes Prime Minister*. London: BBC Books.

**Week 13: April 14-18** – Policy-making in corporatist and pluralist systems.

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, & Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. Chapter 13.

Soysal, Yasemin. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago. Chapters 6-7, pp. 84-135.

Messina, Anthony M. 2007. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6, pp. 54-96 (“The Domestic Legacies of Postwar Immigration.”)

**Week 14-15: April 21 - May 2** – Immigration and citizenship rules.

*Required reading:*

Messina, Anthony M. 2007. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7, pp. 194-2236 (“The Logics and Politics of Immigrant Political Incorporation.”)

Hainmueller, Jens & Dominik Hangartner. 2013. “Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination.” *American Political Science Review* 107: 159-187.

Cesarini, David & Mary Fullbrook (eds.) 1996. *Citizenship, Nationality, and Migration in Europe*. New York: Routledge. Excerpts.

Hirsi Ali, Ayaan. 2007. *Infidel*. New York: Free Press. Excerpts.

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2008. ‘Fighting Neighbors or Fighting the State: Subnational Variation in Immigrant Conflict Outcomes.’ Unpublished manuscript, Princeton University.

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. New York: Anchor Books. Chapter 15, pp. 410-434.

*Recommended:*

Hainmueller, Jens & Michael J. Hiscox. 2007. “Educated Preferences: Explaining Attitudes Towards Immigration in Europe.” *International Organization* 61: 399-442.

Hitchcock, William. 2003. *The Struggle For Europe*. New York: Anchor Books. Chapter 6, pp. 162-192, and chapter 14, pp. 380-409.

Documentary: *Europe Next Door*. 2004. ‘Semi-documentary’ about life on the border of the EU.

Movie: *Last Resort*. 2000. Young Russian woman and son who declare political asylum in England.

Movie: *Ghosts*. 2006. Chinese illegal immigrants in England.

Movie: *East is East*. 1999. Comedic look at assimilation of Pakistani immigrants in 1970s England.

**Research Paper Due on May 1**

**Final Exam, TBA**