



Political Science 343 Politics of Europe

Syracuse University

2023 Fall Term

Tuesday and Thursday 9:30 - 10:50 am

Hall of Languages 207

Professor: Seth Jolly

Contact Information

Eggers 325

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Contact Information

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Office Hours:

Tuesday 3:30 — 4:30 pm, or by appointment

Student Drop-in Hours:

Thursday 11:00 — 12:00 pm in Eggers Cafe

Office Hours

Wednesday 2:30 — 4 in Eggers Cafe, or by appointment

Course Overview

The purpose of this course is to familiarize you with the politics of Europe, not on a country by country basis, but in a truly comparative way. We will study various aspects of European politics including domestic political and economic institutions, the process of European integration, and current events such as immigration, populism, and the Euro crisis. For each topic we will compare across European countries, and students will have the opportunity to focus on a few European countries in more detail.

Course Expectations and Responsibilities

1. Class participation is necessary and vital to the class. Your primary responsibilities will be to come to class on time and be prepared to engage in discussion and ask questions about the material. In short, attendance is only one component of successful participation. The course generally follows a lecture format, but much of the course will be spent discussing the readings and relevant current events. Your participation grade will be determined by in-class participation and quizzes.
2. During the semester there will be five short, unannounced quizzes. The lowest grade will be dropped. The quizzes will cover reading assignments indicated on the day of the quiz and any significant current events in Europe from that week's *Economist*. An unexcused absence on a quiz day means you get a zero on that quiz.
3. You are expected to complete the readings assigned for each class, about 30-40 pages per session. Your written work for the course needs to demonstrate familiarity with and understanding of the literature by making references to the readings. In addition to the academic literature, you should follow current events in the *Economist*, which is available at the library and, on the SU network, via their website <http://www.economist.com/printedition/>. I will also post PDF versions in Blackboard. Pay particular attention to the Europe and Britain sections.
4. You will complete two out of eight potential data exercises from the FEP textbook. You will choose one from class Days 3-8 and one from Days 11-15. More detailed instructions for the data exercises will be distributed during session 2. Written assignments are due, in hard copy form, at the beginning of the class session listed in the syllabus. Because of the nature of the assignment, no late assignments will be accepted.

5. You will complete one out of the two possible writing assignments. The second two sections of the class—political economy and European integration—will have a paper assignment available. More detailed instructions for each assignment will be distributed during class, at least three weeks prior to the due date. Written assignments are due, in hard copy form, at the beginning of the class session listed in the syllabus. Late assignments will be penalized 1/2 letter grade for each 24 hour delay.

This class will be using Turnitin. Via Blackboard, each student will submit all papers that you write in this class to Turnitin, a service that identifies “matched text.” Using Turnitin, you will be given the opportunity to view your Originality Report and check that all sources you have used are properly acknowledged and cited. Note that all submitted papers will be included as source documents in the [Turnitin.com](https://www.turnitin.com) reference database, solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers in the future.

Note that using artificial intelligence (e.g., ChatGPT) to complete assignments and exams is prohibited because developing your own voice as a writer is a key goal of this course. AI detection tools including Turnitin’s built-in AI writing indicator may be used as one factor in evaluating potential inappropriate use of AI in this course.

6. There will be two in-class exams, a mid-term and a final exam. The final exam will be during the final exam period (Mon, Dec 18, 8am-10am). For both exams, you will receive a study guide covering the course material during the final class session before the exam. Both exams will have an essay and several short answer questions.

Learning Outcomes

This course has three goals:

1. To help you understand European politics, including current events.
2. To help you understand the variety of political and political economic institutions in Europe.
3. To help you develop better analytical, research, and writing skills.

Evaluation

2 Data Exercises (1-2 pages, maximum)	20%
1 Short Paper (4-5 pages, maximum)	20%
Mid-Term Exam	20%
Final Exam	20%
Participation	20%
Quizzes (10%)	
In-class participation (10%)	

Required Books

de Vries, Catherine, Sara Hobolt, Sven-Oliver Proksch, and Jonathan Slapin. 2021. *Foundations of European Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (abbreviated FEP)

McCormick, John. 2020. *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*. 8th edition. Palgrave Macmillan. (ISBN: 978-1-352-01119-7) (abbreviated McC)

The remaining readings are available via Blackboard in the *Documents* tab, as designated in the syllabus.

Meeting and Assignment Schedule

1. Welcome to Europe (Tuesday 8/29)

Supplementary Reading: McC Ch. 2 “The Idea of Europe” (pp. 23-44)

I. Domestic Political Institutions

2. Democratic Politics (Thursday 8/31)

FEP Chs. 1-2 (p. 1-31)

Podcast: *Transformation of European Politics* Podcast with Daniel Ziblatt on *How Democracies Die* (2021): <https://bit.ly/TEPP-Ziblatt>

3. Multilevel Politics (Tuesday 9/5)

FEP Ch. 3 (p. 32-54)

Podcast: *Transformation of European Politics* Podcast with Sara Hobolt on Brexit and Euroscepticism (2020): <https://bit.ly/TEPP-Hobolt>

4. Ideology & Policy Issues in Europe (Thursday 9/7)

FEP Ch. 4 (p. 55-71)

Podcast: *Europe's New Political Economy*: “Prof Mark Blythe on austerity, bad ideas, ‘populism,’ and other perils” (2019): <https://spoti.fi/3a05Lfk>

5. How Citizens Vote (Tuesday 9/12)

FEP Ch. 5 (p. 72-88)

Benedetto, Giacomo, Simon Hix, and Nicola Mastrorocco. 2020. “The Rise and Fall of Social Democracy, 1918–2017.” *American Political Science Review* 114.3: 928–939. [Blackboard]

Rovny, Jan. 2018. “What happened to Europe’s Left? From proletariat to precariat?” LSE EUROPP blog (24 February). [Blackboard]

Podcast: *Transformation of European Politics* Podcast with Jane Gingrich on the transformation of the Left (July 2020): <https://bit.ly/TEPP-gingrich>

Supplementary readings:

Dalton, Russell J. 2014. Ch. 8 “The Social Bases of Party Support” *Citizen Politics*. 6th ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 155-182. [Blackboard]

6. Electoral Systems (Thursday 9/14)

FEP Ch. 6 (p. 89-111)

7. Discussion of European Parliamentary Elections (Tuesday 9/19)

Electoral Studies or West European Politics ' Notes on Elections [Blackboard]

(Choose 2 to read):

Austria 2019	Greece 2019	Portugal 2022
Belgium 2019	Hungary 2014	Romania 2008
Bosnia & Herzegovina 2014	Ireland 2020	Slovakia 2016
Bulgaria 2014	Italy 2022	Slovenia 2011
Czech Republic 2013	Kosovo 2014	Spain 2019
Denmark 2022	Latvia 2010	Sweden 2022
Estonia 2007	Lithuania 2016	Switzerland 2019
Finland 2019	Netherlands 2021	United Kingdom 2019
France 2022	Norway 2021	
Germany 2021	Poland 2019	

8. Representation (Thursday 9/21)

FEP Ch. 7 (p. 112-131)

Podcast: *Transformation of European Politics* with Rafaela Dancygier on dilemmas of inclusion and minority representation (December 2020): <https://bit.ly/Dancygier>

9. Political Parties (Tuesday 9/26)

FEP Ch. 8 (p. 132-152)

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. 5th edition. McGraw-Hill, part of Ch. 9 (pp. 278-290) [Blackboard]

Podcast: *Transformation of European Politics* with Liesbet Hooghe on the transnational cleavage (2021): <https://bit.ly/tepp-hooghe>

10. Party Competition (Thursday 9/28)

FEP Ch. 9 (p. 155-170)

de Vries, Catherine and Sara Hobolt. 2020. "The Rise of Challenger Parties." *Political Insight* (September): 16-19. [Blackboard]

Supplementary reading:

Krause, Werner, Denis Cohen, and Tarik Abou-Chadi. 2022. "Copying the far right doesn't help mainstream parties. But it can boost the far right." *The Guardian* (13 April): <https://bit.ly/3ytNTTc> [Blackboard]

11. Political Systems & Government Formation (Tuesday 10/3)

FEP Ch. 10 (p. 171-191)

12. Law-Making in Governments & Parliaments (Thursday 10/5)

FEP Ch. 11 (p. 192-210)

Podcast: *Guardian's* "Leaded petrol, acid rain, CFCs: why the green movement can overcome the climate crisis" (2020): <https://bit.ly/guardiangreen>

Fall Break (No Class Tuesday 10/10)

13. Immigration in Europe (Thursday 10/12)

Bale, Tim. 2017. *European Politics. A Comparative Introduction*. 4th Edition. Palgrave Macmillan, Ch. 10 (pp. 327-361) [Blackboard]

Adida, Claire, David Laitin, and Marie-Anne Valfort. 2014. "The Muslim Effect on immigrant integration in France." *Washington Post's Monkey Cage* blog (30 September) <http://wapo.st/1NSze6i> [Blackboard].

Supplementary readings:

Burscher, Bjorn. 2015. "Exposure to news about immigration and crime is positively associated with support for anti-immigration parties." LSE EUROPP Blog (21 July) <http://bit.ly/1OEljvA> [Blackboard]

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2020. "Another Progressive's Dilemma: Immigration, the Radical Right & Threats to Gender Equality." *Daedalus* 149.1 (Winter): 56-71 [Blackboard]

Goodman, Sara Wallace. 2011. "Controlling Immigration through Language and Country Knowledge Requirements" *West European Politics* 34:2: 235-255. [Blackboard]

14. Right-wing Populism in Europe (Tuesday 10/17)

Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." *Government and Opposition* 39.4: 541-563. [Blackboard]

Sheri Berman. 2021. "The Causes of Populism in the West." *Annual Review of Political Science*. [Blackboard]

Podcast: *Democracy Paradox* with Jan-Werner Müller (July 2021):

<https://bit.ly/demparadox-muller>

Podcast: *The New York Times Daily*: "Italy's Giorgia Meloni Charts a Path for the Far Right." (July 2023): nyti.ms/3OHBqn0

Supplementary reading:

Golder, Matt. 2016. "Far Right Parties in Europe." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19.1: 477- 497. [Blackboard]

15. Do Institutions Matter? (Thursday 10/19)

FEP Ch. 12 (p. 211-234)

Supplementary reading:

FEP Ch. 13

16. Mid-Term (Tuesday 10/24)

II. Political Economy

17. Political Economy (Thursday 10/26)

O'Neill, Patrick H. 2010. Ch. 4 "Political Economy." In *Essentials of Comparative Politics*, 3rd ed. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, pp. 77-108. [Blackboard]

Video: Peter Hall on "The Shifting Relationship between Postwar Capitalism and Democracy" (February 2021): <https://bit.ly/peterhall>

Supplementary reading

Gilpin, Robert. 2001. part of Ch. 7 "National Systems of Political Economy." In *Global Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 148-183. [Blackboard]

Hall, Peter. 2021. "The Shifting Relationship between Post-War Capitalism and Democracy." *Government and Opposition*, 1-30. doi:10.1017/gov.2021.35

18. Political Economies of UK, France, Germany and Italy (Tuesday 10/31)

"Political Economy and Development" chapters from Mark Kesselman et al. 2009. *European Politics in Transition*. 6th ed. New York: Houghton Mifflin [Blackboard].

(Choose 2 to read):

- Britain (pp. 51-69)
- France (pp. 119-130)
- Germany (pp. 193-208)
- Italy (pp. 267-280)
- East-Central Europe (pp. 417-430)

19. Cross-National Differences: Three Worlds of Welfare (Thursday 11/2)

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1999. *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford UP, Ch. 5 "Comparative Welfare Regimes Re-examined" pp. 73-94. [Blackboard]

The Economist. 2013. "Northern lights." February 2. [Blackboard]

The Economist. 2021. "Covid-19 has transformed the welfare state. Which changes will endure?" March 4. [Blackboard]

Supplementary reading (especially regarding welfare state retrenchment):

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, pp. 9-34. [Blackboard]

Ferrera, Maurizio, Anton Hemerijck, and Martin Rhodes. 2003. "Recasting European Welfare States." In *Governing Europe*. New York: Oxford UP, pp. 346-366. [Blackboard]

Ferrera, Maurizio. 1996. "The 'Southern Model' of Welfare in Social Europe." *Journal of European Social Policy* 6: 17-37. [Blackboard]

Garrett, Geoffrey. 1998. "Global Markets and National Politics: Collision Course or Virtuous Circle?" *International Organization* 52.4 (Autumn): pp. 787-824. [Blackboard]

Gilpin, Robert. 2001. part of Ch. 7 "National Systems of Political Economy." In *Global Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 183-195. [Blackboard]

Pierson, Paul. 1996. "The New Politics of the Welfare State." *World Politics* 48 (January): pp. 143-179. [Blackboard]

20. Comparing U.S. and European Welfare States(Tuesday 11/7)

Alesina, Alberto and Edward Glaeser. 2004. *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference*. New York: Oxford University Press, Ch. 1 (pp. 1-13) and Ch. 7 (pp. 183-216). [Blackboard]

Podcast: *EconTalk* with Alberto Alesina on Immigration and Redistribution (30 July 2018): <https://bit.ly/econtalkalesina>

21. Europe's Economic Crisis (Short-Run and Long-Run) (Thursday 11/9)

Economist. 2009. "A Slow-Burning Fuse." June 25, 2009. *The Economist*. [Blackboard]

Lewis, Michael. 2010. "Beware of Greeks Bearing Bonds." *Vanity Fair* October. [Blackboard]

Kashyap, Anil. 2015. "A Primer on the Greek Crisis: the things you need to know from the start until now." bit.ly/greekprimer629 [Blackboard].

Podcast: *This American Life* (January 2012) thisamericanlife.org/455/continental-breakup

CHOOSE at least one of the following:

Lewis, Michael. 2009. "Wall Street on the Tundra." *Vanity Fair* April. [Blackboard]

Lewis, Michael. 2011. "When Irish Eyes Are Crying." *Vanity Fair* March. [Blackboard]

Lewis, Michael. 2011. "It's the Economy, Dummkopf!" *Vanity Fair* September. [Blackboard]

Political Economy Paper Due 11/14**III. European Union****22. Regional Integration(Tuesday 11/14)**

McC Ch. 1 "What is the European Union?" (pp. 1-21)

Supplementary:

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1996. "The Choice for Europe." From Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, eds. *The European Union. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. 3rd ed. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 239-253 [Blackboard]

23. Origins of the European Union (Thursday 11/16)

McC Ch. 3 "The Evolution of the EU" (pp. 45-66)

Selections from Nelsen and Stubb, eds. 2003. [Blackboard]

-Winston S. Churchill. "The Tragedy of Europe." (pp. 7-12)

-Jean Monnet. "A Ferment of Change." (pp. 19-26)

-Margaret Thatcher. "A Family of Nations." (pp. 49-54)

-Jacques Delors. "A Necessary Union." (pp. 55-64)

Video: "The Origins: Why is there an EU?" with Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (October 2020): <https://bit.ly/EUorigins>

*****Thanksgiving Break (Week of November 20)*****

24. Institutions (Tuesday 11/28)

McC Ch. 4 “The European Institutions” (pp. 67-87)

Supplementary reading:

McC Ch. 6 “The EU Policy Process” (pp. 110-132)

25. Economic Integration & the Euro Crisis (Thursday 11/30)

McC Ch. 7 “Economic Policy” (pp. 133-155)

Hall, Peter. 2012. “The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis.” *German Politics* 21.4: 355-371. [Blackboard]

McNamara, Kathleen. 2015. “The euro is an experiment in making a currency without a government. That’s why it’s in trouble.” *Washington Post* 28 June.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/06/28/the-euro-is-an-experiment-in-making-a-currency-without-a-government-thats-why-its-in-trouble/>
 [Blackboard]

Mazow, Mark. 2015. “Why the eurozone crisis is just part of our long struggle for peace.” *The Guardian* 11 July.
<http://bit.ly/118HGgU> [Blackboard]

Supplementary reading:

Glazer, Sarah. 2011. “Future of the Euro.” *CQ Researcher* (May 17): 305-332.

Verdun, Amy. 2013. “Economic and Monetary Union.” In *European Union Politics*, eds. Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 296-307. [Blackboard]

26. Beyond the Open Market (Tuesday 12/5)

McC Ch. 8 “Internal Policies” (pp. 156-177)

McNamara, Kathleen R. and R. Daniel Kelemen. 2022. “Russia’s invasion of Ukraine is remaking Europe.” *Washington Post’s Monkey Cage* 28 February.
<https://wapo.st/3R0qqAg> [Blackboard]

Video: *European Politics Online Workshop* (22 June 2021) on a European Green New Deal with Marc Debus, Neil Carter, and Jale Tosun:
https://video.syr.edu/media/t/1_xmb12k8u

Supplementary reading:

McC Ch. 9 “External Policies” (pp. 178-198)

Birol, Yeşilada A. and David M. Wood. 2010. Ch. 6 “Enlargement of the European Union.” In *The Emerging European Union*. 5th ed. New York: Longman, pp. 71-87.
 [Blackboard]

FEP Ch. 12 (p. 211-230)

European Integration Paper Due 12/7**27. Democratic Deficit (Thursday 12/7)**

McC Ch. 5 “The EU and its Citizens” (pp. 96-119)

Schneider, Christina. 2018. “People think that the E.U. is run by unelected technocrats. They’re wrong.” *Washington Post’s Monkey Cage* 28 June. <https://wapo.st/35unVNZ> [Blackboard]

de Vries, Catherine and Kathleen R. McNamara. 2018. “How Choice Can Save Europe. The EU Needs Less Technocracy and More Democracy.” *Foreign Affairs* (May 14). <https://fam.ag/2NgGIWP> [Blackboard]

Supplementary reading:

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2002. “In Defence of the ‘Democratic Deficit’: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40.4: 603-624. [Blackboard]

Follesdal, Andreas and Hix, Simon. 2006. “Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44.3 (September): 533–562. [Blackboard]

28. The Future of the EU (Tuesday 12/12)

FEP Ch. 14 (p. 256-270)

Video: *European Politics Online Workshop* (4 August 2020) on Democratic Backsliding with Anna Grzymala-Busse, Daniel Ziblatt, Daniel Kelemen: https://video.syr.edu/media/t/1_2810mgyq

Video: *European Politics Online Workshop* (16 September 2020) on the Future of European Integration with Tanja Börzel, Liesbet Hooghe, and Christina Schneider: https://video.syr.edu/media/t/1_bppq72xj

Supplementary reading:

Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2019. “How Populists Rule: The Consequences for Democratic Governance.” *Polity* 51.4 (October): 707–717. [Blackboard]

Kelemen, R. Daniel. 2020. “The European Union’s authoritarian equilibrium.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 27.3: 481-499. [Blackboard]

Final Exam: Monday, December 18, 8am-10am

Policies

Academic Integrity

Syracuse University's Academic Integrity Policy reflects the high value that we, as a university community, place on honesty in academic work. The policy holds students accountable for the integrity of all work they submit and for upholding course-specific, as well as university-wide, academic integrity expectations. The policy governs citation and use of sources, the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments, and truthfulness in all academic matters, including course attendance and participation. The policy states that any work a student submits for a course must be solely their own unless the instructor explicitly allows collaboration or editing. The policy also requires students to acknowledge their use of other peoples' language, images or other original creative or scholarly work through appropriate citation. These expectations extend to the new, fast-growing realm of artificial intelligence (AI) as well as to the use of websites that charge fees or require uploading of course materials to obtain exam solutions or assignments. For more information and the complete policy, see <https://class.syr.edu/academic-integrity/>.

Academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. If I suspect academic dishonesty or plagiarism, I will submit formal reports to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Also, <http://www.plagiarism.org> is a useful website for tips on citations and other writing resources.

Statement Regarding Disability-Related Accommodation

Syracuse University values diversity and inclusion; we are committed to a climate of mutual respect and full participation. There may be aspects of the instruction or design of this course that result in barriers to your inclusion and full participation in this course. I invite any student to contact me to discuss strategies and/or accommodations (academic adjustments) that may be essential to your success and to collaborate with the Center for Disability Resources (CDR) in this process.

If you would like to discuss disability-accommodations or register with CDR, please visit Center for Disability Resources. Call (315) 443-4498 or email disabilityresources@syr.edu for more information.

The CDR is responsible for coordinating disability-related academic accommodations and will work with the student to develop an access plan. Since academic accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact CDR as soon as possible to begin this process.

Religious Observances Policy

[Syracuse University's Religious Observances Policy](#) recognizes the diversity of faiths represented in the campus community and protects the rights of students, faculty, and staff to observe religious holy days according to their traditions. Under the policy, students are given an opportunity to make up any examination, study, or work requirements that may be missed due to a religious observance, provided they notify their instructors no later than the academic drop deadline. For observances occurring before the drop deadline, notification is required at least two academic days in advance. Students may enter their observances in MySlice under Student Services/Enrollment/My Religious Observances/Add a Notification..

Campus Resources

There may be times during the semester that you need assistance, academically or otherwise. There are a wide variety of campus resources that may be able to help. Please consider using help when you need it. If you don't know what type of help you need, you can ask me or other faculty in PSC.

- Counseling Center: <http://counselingcenter.syr.edu/faculty-staff/helping-students-in-distress.html>
- Writing Center: <https://thecollege.syr.edu/writing-center/>
- Tutoring Services: Center for Learning and Student Success: <https://class.syr.edu>
- Financial Counseling: <http://financialaid.syr.edu/financialliteracy/>
- Career Services: <https://thecollege.syr.edu/student-success>
- Other personal health resources: <http://dailyorange.com/2018/08/heres-breakdown-personal-health-resources-available-su-students/>

Harassment

Federal and state law, and University policy prohibit discrimination and harassment based on sex or gender (including sexual harassment, sexual assault, domestic/dating violence, stalking, sexual exploitation, and retaliation). If a student has been harassed or assaulted, they can obtain confidential counseling support, 24-hours a day, 7 days a week, from the Sexual and Relationship Violence Response Team at the Counseling Center (315-443-8000, Barnes Center at The Arch, 150 Sims Drive, Syracuse, New York 13244). Incidents of sexual violence or harassment can be reported non-confidentially to the University's Title IX Officer (Sheila Johnson Willis, 315-443-0211, titleix@syr.edu, 005 Steele Hall). Reports to law enforcement can be made to the University's Department of Public Safety (315-443-2224, 005 Sims Hall), the Syracuse Police Department (511 South State Street, Syracuse, New York, 911 in case of emergency or 315-435-3016 to speak with the Abused Persons Unit), or the State Police (844-845-7269). I will seek to keep information you share with me private to the greatest extent possible, but as a professor I have mandatory reporting responsibilities to share information regarding sexual misconduct, harassment, and crimes I learn about with the University's Title IX Officer to help make our campus a safer place for all.