

POL 207Y Politics in Europe

Carolina de Miguel Moyer
University of Toronto Department of Political Science
2016-2017

Lecture Location and Meeting Time: KP 108, Mondays 12:00 AM - 2:00 PM

Instructor: Carolina de Miguel Moyer (carol.demiguel@utoronto.ca)

Instructor office hours: Tuesdays 3:00 - 4:00 pm (SS 3035)

TAs: Nicolas Conserva (nicolas.conserva@mail.utoronto.ca) & Zain Asaf (zain.asaf@mail.utoronto.ca)

Description

This course introduces students to key questions, theories and methods in comparative politics through an exploration of European politics. We will cover theories of transitions to democracy, formation and development of the nation-state, political institutions and their effects, parties and party systems and elections and electoral behaviour. We will also analyze the major developments and challenges in Europe today such as the formation of the European Union, the eurozone crisis, the challenge to the European social model, the rise of extreme political parties and the recent migrant crisis. The goal is for students to become familiar with the politics and governments of contemporary Europe through the lens of current and classic themes in comparative politics.

Readings

The required readings for this course are based on a series of textbooks and a collection of book chapters, articles and other resources that are listed below. The textbooks are available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstore or through Amazon. **Make sure you get the right edition.** They are also on reserve at Robarts Library. All other required readings are placed under course reserves for you to download and print. You can access your course reserve page through the link on the bottom left-hand menu on your Blackboard page or through the following live link: <http://go.utlib.ca/coursereserves>.

- Clark, William Roberts and Matt Golder and Sona Nadenichek Golder. 2013. *Principles of Comparative Politics*. **Second Edition**. CQPress, Sage. [From here on Clark et al.]
- Desmond Dinan. 2010. *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*. Fourth Edition. Boulder: Lynne Reiner Publishers.

We will regularly refer to European and EU current events so you are expected to devote time to reading European and EU news. Here are a few suggestions of good news sources to follow: The Guardian: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world>, New York Times: <http://www.nytimes.com/pages/world/index.html>, The Financial Times, The Economist: www.economist.com, Der Spiegel (English version): <http://www.spiegel.de/international/>, The European Voice: <http://www.european-voice.com>, The EU observer: <http://euobserver.com>. Other respected sources of analysis in languages you might be familiar with (El Pais, Le Monde...).

Course Evaluation and Requirements

		Due Date	Submission Guidelines
Tutorials	10%		
Map Quiz	2%	Sept 26th	In lecture class
First Midterm Test	20%	Dec 5th	In lecture class (closed book and notes)
Fall Assignments			
Assignment I Country report	8%	Oct 31st	Turnitin – Before lecture class starts AND Hard copy: Beginning of tutorial class
Assignment II Short Paper	15%	Nov 28th	Turnitin – Before lecture class starts AND Hard copy: Beginning of tutorial class
Spring Assignment			
Assignment III Long Research Paper – Proposal	5%	Feb 6th	Turnitin – Before lecture class starts AND Hard copy: Beginning of tutorial class
Assignment IV Long Research Paper – Final Paper	20%	March 27th	Turnitin – Before lecture class starts AND Hard copy: Beginning of tutorial class
Second Midterm Test	20%	TBD	TBD (closed book and notes)

- The course meets for two hours of lecture per week. Students are expected to attend lectures and to complete the assigned weekly readings. Although this is a large class I will encourage in-class participation. I expect participation to be thoughtful and respectful at all times. I expect you to turn off and put your cell phones away when class starts.
- You will have tutorials approximately once every two weeks. Tutorials serve the purpose of delving deeper into topics covered during lecture and in the readings, as well as provide guidance on your writing assignments. Tutorials will be graded based on attendance and, more importantly, informed in-class participation. Attending fewer than 60% of the tutorials, in either semester, could lead to a final tutorial grade of 0%.

Fall Semester: Sept-Nov		Spring Semester: Jan-March	
Tutorial # 1	September 26th Week	Tutorial # 6	January 16th Week
Tutorial # 2	October 17th Week	Tutorial # 7	January 30th Week
Tutorial # 3	October 31st Week	Tutorial # 8	February 13th Week
Tutorial # 4	November 21st Week	Tutorial # 9	March 6th Week
Tutorial # 5	November 28th Week	Tutorial # 10	March 20th Week
		Tutorial # 11	April 3rd Week

- There is a midterm test at the end of each semester that is closed book and closed notes. Students are responsible for all materials covered in the readings, the lectures and the tutorials. My lectures will not always cover everything in the readings but those readings could still appear in the midterm tests. The first midterm test will cover everything up to the date of the test. The second mid-term test will mostly cover the material taught in the second half of the course (winter term), but will have some limited cumulative dimension.
- There are two written assignments in the fall semester (a country report and a short paper) and a longer paper in the spring semester (divided into proposal and final paper). Guidelines for both assignments will be distributed in class.

Course Policies

- **Due Dates, Submission Procedures and Late Penalties:** Please refer to the table above for deadlines and different submission formats for each assignment. Note that for the papers (and paper proposal) you will need to submit an electronic copy through Turnitin (in addition to a hard copy in lecture class). *“Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a*

review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

All work must be submitted on time. **Late assignments will receive a 5% penalty for each late day or fraction of a day (weekends and holidays included).** Late assignments should be submitted to the main office of the Political Science Department (3rd floor of Sidney Smith Hall), and should obtain a time stamp at the main office.¹ **Emailed or faxed copies of on-time or late assignments will not be accepted.**

- **Extensions for Assignments and Make-Up Tests:** Extensions for assignments and make-up tests will only be granted in extenuating circumstances and with appropriate supporting documentation. According to the Faculty of Arts & Science Academic Handbook you can submit a written request for special consideration within one week of the missed test, attaching appropriate documentation, such as a medical certificate [...] or a College Registrar's note." If your extenuating circumstance is medical you must submit the original copy of a University of Toronto student medical certificate (<http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca>). Extensions and make-up tests are at my discretion and assignments in other courses are not grounds for an extension.
- **Grade Appeal Policy:** The final grade in the course cannot be appealed. You can appeal the grade for an individual assignment and/or test. Students have up to one month from the date of return of the item of term work to query the marking. The appeal must be made in writing to the TA that graded the work explaining the reasons of your dissatisfaction, making explicit references to the grading criteria and to the course and lecture materials. Such re-marking may involve the entire piece of work, and may raise or lower the mark. If the student is not satisfied with this re-evaluation, he or she may appeal to the instructor in charge of the course. According to the Faculty of Arts & Science Academic Handbook "any appeal of a mark beyond the instructor in the course may only be made for an item worth at least 20% of the course mark."
- **Contacting the Instructor:** Please feel free to stop by my office (SS 3035) during office hours (Tuesdays 3:00 pm - 4:00 pm). I expect all lengthy and substantial conversations to happen during office hours rather than by email. For non-substantive questions you can e-mail me at carol.demiguel@utoronto.ca including "POL 207Y" in the subject line. I will respond within 2 working days during weekdays. The TAs for this course – Nicolas Conserva and Zain Asaf– will also hold office hours (TBD) and I encourage you to attend them if you need extra assistance on writing assignments or clarifications on course material.
- **Blackboard, Announcements and Lecture Outlines:** I will use Blackboard to manage this course and to communicate with you outside of class time. It is your responsibility to have an active U of T e-mail address and to access Blackboard regularly. I will post announcements through Blackboard as well as any new resource or reading material that I consider important for the course. I will post my lecture outlines after class. The outlines point out the structure of the lecture, and the topics and central concepts it covers. As such, they can assist in reviewing the lecture material afterwards. Note, however, that the outlines are 'bare-bone' and cannot be used as a substitute for attendance and detailed lecture notes.
- **Academic Integrity and Plagiarism:** Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. While I don't expect to encounter instances of cheating in this class, you should be aware that I take academic integrity very seriously, and that there are significant consequences if you are caught cheating or engaging in academic misconduct. You are expected to know what constitutes Academic Integrity and familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

¹Please note that the Political Science main office is not open on weekends and closes at 5:00 pm during weekdays. If the office is closed, there is a dropbox and your assignments will be considered as turned in that day, but note that in the weekends your assignment will be considered as turned in the following Monday.

- In papers and assignments: Using someone else’s ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement. Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks. Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor. Making up sources or facts. Including references to sources that you did not use. Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment.
 - On tests and exams: Using or possessing unauthorized aids. Looking at someone else’s answers during an exam or test. Misrepresenting your identity. Submitting an altered test for re-grading.
 - In academic work: Falsifying institutional documents or grades. Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor’s notes.
- **Academic Integrity Checklist:** To remind you of these expectations, and help you avoid accidental offences, **you must include a printed and signed Academic Integrity Checklist with all assignments** (the academic integrity check list is posted on Blackboard). **If you do not include the Academic Integrity Checklist with your assignments, your work will not be graded.** If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from me, or from other available campus resources like the U of T Writing Website <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>. Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their research paper and other assignments.
 - **Accessibility Needs:** The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please let me know and contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible at disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.
 - **Alteration of the Syllabus:** The course schedule and readings may be subject to revision over the course of the semester. Any change in the grading scheme (which I do not expect will happen) will have to be approved by the students of this course in accordance to university regulations.

Course Schedule

September 12th – Introduction

- Clark et al. “Chapter 2. What is Science?” pp. 19-30; 43.
- Almond et al. “Chapter 1. The European Context,” pp. 1-21 in *European Politics Today* 4th edition, Pearson 2010.

September 19th – Origins of the modern state

Questions: How can we think about the creation of states? How does it help us understand contemporary events in Europe (especially in the context of the EU)?

- Clark et al. Chapter 4, pp. 87-91; 100-119 (skip “A Brief History of a Failed State”)
- Tilly, Charles. 1985. “War Making as Organized Crime.” in P. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol (eds), *Bringing the State Back*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

September 26th – Nationalism, secessionism and state break-up in Europe – **In class: Map Quiz**

Questions: What is a nation? How do nations relate to states? What explains violent versus peaceful state breakup? What explains the recent rise in minority nationalisms in Europe?

- Valerie Bunce. 1999. "Peaceful versus Violent State Dismemberment: A Comparison of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia." *Politics & Society*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 217-237.
- Balcells, Laia. 2013. "Mass Schooling and Catalan Nationalism" in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 19 (4): 467-486.
- Jason Sorens. 2005. "The Cross-Sectional Determinants of Secessionism in Advanced Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 304-326.
- Watch: Simon Hix on the results of the Scottish independence referendum, September 2014: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tQaRfJ7sx0g>
- "Nationalism and Independence Movements in Scotland and Catalonia: Five Minutes with Charles King": <http://journal.georgetown.edu/nationalism-and-independence-movements-in-scotland-and-catalonia-five-minutes-with-charles-king/>

October 3rd – **Revolutions and democratic transitions in Eastern Europe**

- Clark et al. "Chapter 8. Democratic Transitions"
- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now our of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989". *World Politics*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 7-48.

October 10th – **THANKSGIVING – NO CLASS**

October 17th – **Making and breaking governments in European democracies**

- Clark et al. "Chapter 12. Parliamentary, presidential, and semi-presidential democracies," pp. 457-499; 506-512 (**not the entire chapter**).
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver & Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. New York: McGraw Hill. pp. 400-419.
- Financial Times: "Fresh elections may suit Spain's political heavyweights just fine": <https://www.ft.com/content/e8e46b26-744e-11e6-b60a-de4532d5ea35>

October 24th – **Veto players: federalism, bicameralism, constitutionalism**

- Clark et al. "Chapter 15. Institutional Veto Players"

October 31st – **Elections and electoral systems**

Question: What are the major trade-offs between different electoral systems?

- Clark et al. "Chapter 13. Elections and Electoral systems," pp. 536-546; 564-574; 583-597 (**not the entire chapter**).
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver & Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Western Europe*, New York: McGraw Hill, fourth edition. Table 11.1 (pp. 344-345) and Table 11.4 (pp. 352-353).
- Crepaz, Markus & Jurg Steiner. "Chapter 3. The Most Specific Manipulative Instrument of Politics," pp. 80-88 in *European Democracies*, 2013.
- "Nick Clegg says PR is essential to preserve smaller partners in coalitions," *The Guardian*, Sunday July 12th
<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/jul/12/nick-clegg-gives-first-tv-interview-since-lib-dems-disastrous-general-election>

November 7th – **FALL BREAK – NO CLASS**

November 14th – **Parties and party systems in Europe**

Questions: What are political parties? Where do they come from? How do we explain the type and number of parties? What factors have contributed to the recent rise of extreme right parties Europe? Are they the same factors that explain the rise of extreme left parties? Are all extremist parties the same?

- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver & Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative Government in Western Europe*, New York: McGraw Hill, fourth edition. Chapter 8 “Party Families.”
- Golder et al. “Chapter 14. Social Cleavages and Party Systems”
- Inglehart, Ronald. F. “Changing Values Among Western Publics: 1970-2006.” *West European Politics*, 31:1-2, 2008, pp. 130-146.
- “The Guardian view of Europe’s populists: left or right, they are united by a worrying xenophobia,” Guardian, February 1st, 2015: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/01/guardian-view-europe-populists-left-right-united-worrying-xenophobia>
- “How the Nordic far-right has stolen the left’s ground on welfare,” *The Guardian*, July 26th, 2015: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/26/scandinavia-far-right-stolen-left-ground-welfare>
- “The winds are changing: a new left populism for Europe”, *LSE*, February 16th, 2015: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/eurocrisispress/2015/02/16/the-winds-are-changing-a-new-left-populism-for-europe/>

November 21st – **Effect of political institutions: representation and accountability**

- Clark et al. “Chapter 16 Consequences of Democratic Institutions,” pp. 743-765.
- Norris, Pippa. “The Impact of Electoral Reform on Women’s Representation” in *Acta Politica*, July 2006, Volume 41, Number 2, pp. 197-213.

November 28th – **Effect of political institutions: economic and social outcomes**

- Clark et al. “Chapter 16 Consequences of Democratic Institutions,” pp. 766-788.
- Pontusson, Jonas & David Rueda. 2010. “The Politics of Inequality: Voter Mobilization and Left Parties in Advanced Industrial States”

December 5th – **Mid-Term Test I: In Class**

January 9th – **Origins of European integration**

Questions: What explains the process of European Integration? How and why did European states decide to give up sovereignty to a supranational organization?

- Winston S. Churchill. 1946 Speech: “The Tragedy of Europe.” <http://www.cfr.org/europe/churchills-united-states-europe-speech-zurich/p32536>
- Dinan, Desmond. *Ever Closer Union*, pp. 9-27; 29-52; 53-72 (skim).
- Hix, Simon & Bjorn Hoyland. 2011. Chapter 1. Introduction: Explaining the EU Political System, pp. 12-18 (**not entire chapter**).
- Optional: Watch: A German Europe? (Empire-The Debate: Al Jazeera English) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XksZYV3-6eg>

January 16th – **Towards an ever closer union**

- Dinan, Desmond. *Ever Closer Union*, 73-102.
- Carsten Stroyby Jensen “Chapter 5. Neofunctionalism” in Michelle Cini et al. *European Union Politics*, pp. 59-69.
- Michelle Cini “Chapter 6. Intergovernmentalism” in Michelle Cini et al. *European Union Politics*, pp. 71-83.

January 23rd – **Towards an ever wider union**

Questions: Why did the EU decide to enlarge eastward? What were the consequences of that enlargement? What are the politics of enlargement today? What is the view on Turkey?

- Dinan, Desmond, pp. 133-143; pp. 484-493.
- Watch: “What is the EU’s Future?” (on enlargement) (Watson Institute, Brown University): **only the presentation of the two speakers (not the QA), from minute 7:40 to 49:18**.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UeoulpKB2zE>

January 30th – **The institutions of the EU**

Questions: How does the EU compare to existing political systems? What type of regime does the EU have? How is policy made in the EU?

- McCormick, John. “Chapter 4. The Institutions of the EU” in *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*, third edition.

February 6th – **The Constitutional Treaty and the democratic deficit in the EU**

Questions: What does it mean to have a political union? Why did the Constitutional Treaty fail to be ratified? Does the EU have a democratic deficit? If so, does it matter?

- Dinan, Desmond. *Ever Closer Union*, 143-156.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. “A Too Perfect Union? Why Europe Said ‘No.’” *Current History*, November 2005

February 13th – **Monetary union and the eurozone crisis**

Questions: Is the current crisis in Europe a financial problem, a political problem or a moral problem? What is the best way forward?

- Hix, Simon & Bjorn Hoyland. 2011. “Chapter 10: Economic and Monetary Union”, pp. 245-272 in *The Political System of the European Union*.
- Paul Krugman. “Can Europe be Saved?” *New York Times*, January 12th, 2011:
<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/16/magazine/16Europe-t.html?pagewanted=all>
- “Jurgen Habermas’s verdict on the EU/Greece debt deal”:
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/16/jurgen-habermas-eu-greece-debt-deal?CMP=share_btn_tw

February 20th – **FAMILY DAY – NO CLASS**

February 27th – **EU and its citizens**

- Hix, Simon & Bjorn Hoyland. 2011. “Chapter 5. Public Opinion.”

March 6th – **EU parties and elections**

- Hix, Simon & Bjorn Hoyland. 2011. “Chapter 6. Democracy, Parties and Elections.”
- Browse: European Parliament information: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/20150201PVL00036/Elec>
- Browse: “European Elections at a Glance” *BBC*: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-27575869>
- Browse: European Parliament Elections: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/election-results-2014.html>

March 13th – **Europe in crisis: Brexit**

Questions: What factors (long-term and short-term) led to Brexit referendum? What explains the outcome of the referendum? Why was it hard to predict? What is the path forward for the UK?

- Browse: BBC referendum results: http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results

- Browse: BBC “Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU”: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887>
- Matthias, M. 2013. “David Cameron’s Dangerous Games: The Folly of Flirting With an EU Exit” in *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2013, Vol. 91, Num. 5, p. 10-16.
- More readings TBD

March 20th – **Europe in crisis: the end of the European social model?**

Questions: What is a welfare state? What are the origins of the welfare state? What are the types of welfare state? Is the European social model in crisis? Why or why not?

- Caramani, Daniele eds. “Chapter 21: The Welfare State” in *Comparative Politics* (third edition).
- Kuttner, Robert. “The Copenhagen Consensus: Reading Adam Smith in Denmark,” *Foreign Affairs*, 87, 2 (March/April 2008):
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2008-03-01/copenhagen-consensus>
- Pontusson, Jonas. *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe vs. Liberal American*, chapters 1-2.

March 27th – **Europe in crisis: refugees, immigration, and terrorism**

- Bale, Tim. “Chapter 10. Not wanted but needed - migrants and minorities” in *European Politics*
- Dancygier, Rafaela & Michael Donnelly. “Attitudes toward Immigration in Good Times and Bad” in Nancy Bermeo and Larry Bartels, eds. *Mass Politics in Tough Times: Opinion, Votes and Protest in the Great Recession*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Interview with Joe Carens: What gives us the right to deport people?
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/11/29/what-gives-us-a-right-to-deport-people-joseph-carens-on-the-ethics-of-immigration/>

April 3rd – **Topic TBD and review for final exam**

FINAL EXAM – DATE AND LOCATION TBD