

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE:  
PSC 9075 European Politics**

**Instructor:** Marcus Kreuzer

**Office Hours:** W/F 3-4 or by appointment

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**Course Description:** European democracies differ, at times dramatically, from their American counterpart in how their constitutional arrangements translate of societal interests into public policies, how socio-economic divisions structure party politics and how welfare arrangements and industrial relations shape the functioning of markets. To understand these differences, this course introduces you to the political institutions, patterns of party politics and political economies found across European democracies. It also analyzes how the European integration and globalization processes have been transforming the longstanding domestic patterns of politics. Overall, the course will provide you not only with a firm grounding in the nuts and bolts of European politics but also requires to think how the differences across European democracies translates into fundamentally different political outcomes.

**Academic Integrity Notice:** Fair and effective education requires academic honesty and any violation is a very serious matter. Villanova's rules concerning academic integrity are spelled out in the Enchiridion (<http://davinci.vill.edu/enchiridion/>). Note especially the strict prohibition against plagiarism, i.e. submitting as your own or without proper attribution work done wholly or in part by another person. Plagiarism includes unauthorized collaboration on course assignments. Unless otherwise indicated, all assignments in this course are *individual* and no collaboration with any person is permitted. Any academic integrity violation will be punished by a grade penalty up to automatic course failure and will **without exception** be reported to the student's dean for disciplinary action.

**Grading:**

a) *Class Participation* (50%): This class' seminar format has important repercussions for how your performance will be assessed. You are expected to self-participate, that is, you are expected to have the readings done, reflected on them, and prepared questions, comments, criticisms. I will do my best to create and maintain a collegial environment of mutual respect so that everybody is comfortable participating. Students who are afraid to speak up are expected to contact me early on in the semester so that I can assist them or, in exceptional circumstance, arrange for alternative forms of assessment. In all other cases, lack of engagement in class participation will be interpreted as disinterest in the material, deficient preparation and inability to effectively express oneself orally. In other words, it will be judged as a form of academic deficiency on par with poor command of material on written exams, sloppy grammar and writing in essays and spotty class attendance. Given that self-participation is the expected norm, being called on by me is a sign of unsatisfactory (e.g. failing) class performance.

b) *Research Paper* (50%): You are expected to write a 15-18 page research paper which deals with a political phenomenon of your choice. However, the paper has to compare at least two countries or two different points in time in a single country. You will be required to schedule a meeting with me during weeks 5 or 6 and submit a two page proposal and annotated one page bibliography by week ten. The proposal will be graded as pass or fail with an F carrying an automatic 2/3 grade penalty on your final paper grade. (e.g. An A- final paper grade would be counted as a B grade). This grading formula aims to maximize quality of your paper by providing an incentive for early starters. It rests on the simple assumption that a quality research paper requires time and thus can only be written if the research and drafting are started early.

**Readings:** The readings average around 80-100 pages per week. They are neither breezy textbook readings with cartoons and pictures nor are they arcane, jargon ridden academic treatises. They are written for a general, intellectually engaged audience and as such require careful reading.

- Alesina, Alberto and Edward Glaeser. 2004. *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

- T.R. Reid. 2004. *The United States of Europe* (New York: Penguin)
- Purchase of Rational Software at <http://rationale.austhink.com/purchase/coupon>. In the coupon box enter code MKR09J. This brings the price to Aus\$32 which is about US\$29.

### READINGS:

<p><b>Week 1</b> (8/24)</p>	<p><b>Introduction: Comparing Europe and America</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes. 2006. <i>America Against the World</i> (New York: Henry Holt): 41-67; 120-37.</li> <li>▪ T.R. Reid. 2004. <i>The United States of Europe</i> (New York: Penguin): 1-26.</li> <li>▪ Robert Dahl. 2003. <i>How Democratic Is the American Constitution ?</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press): 7-39, 41-72.</li> <li>▪ Van Gelder, T. J. (2005). "Teaching Critical Thinking: Some Lessons from Cognitive Science," <i>College Teaching</i>, 45, 1-6</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 2</b> (8/31)</p>	<p><b>Democratic Theory &amp; Electoral Systems</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Joseph Schumpeter. 1943. <i>Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy</i> (London: Unwin): 250-73</li> <li>▪ Zakaria, Fareed. 1997. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy." <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 76/6 (Nov.-Dec.): 22-34.</li> <li>▪ Arend Lijphart, 1999. <i>Patterns of Democracy</i> (New Haven: Yale): 8-47.</li> <li>▪ Jürg Steiner and Markus Crepaz. 2007. <i>European Democracies (5<sup>th</sup> Edition)</i> (New York: Pearson): 49-77.</li> <li>▪ Karl Popper, "The Open Society and Its Enemies Revisited," <i>Economist</i> April. 23, 1988, pp. 19-22.</li> <li>▪ Richie, Robert and Steven Hill. 1991. <i>Whose Vote Counts ?</i> (Boston: Beacon Press): 3-20.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 3</b> (9/7)</p>	<p><b>Labor Day</b></p>
<p><b>Week 4</b> (9/14)</p>	<p><b>Parliamentary versus Presidentialism:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Jürg Steiner and Markus Crepaz. 2007. <i>European Democracies (5<sup>th</sup> Edition)</i> (New York: Pearson): 78-110.</li> <li>▪ Linz, Juan. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 1/1 (Winter): 118-27.</li> <li>▪ Kaare Strom. 1984. "Minority Governments in Parliamentary Democracies," <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> vol. 17/2 (July): 199-227.</li> <li>▪ Hans-Peter Kriesi, Alexander Techsel. 2008. <i>The Politics of Switzerland</i> (Cambridge: CUP): 69-83.</li> <li>▪ Ezra Suleiman, 1994. "Presidentialism and Political Stability in France," <i>The Failure of Presidential Democracy</i> Juan Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins): 138-60.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 5</b> (9/21)</p>	<p><b>Bicameralism, Federalism, Judicial Review</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Arend Lijphart, 1999. <i>Patterns of Democracy</i> (New Haven: Yale): 200-215.</li> <li>▪ Alfred Stepan. 1999. "Federalism and Democracy; Beyond the US Model," <i>Journal of</i></li> </ul>

	<p><i>Democracy</i> vol. 10/4: 19-32.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ William Riker. 1993. "Federalism," <i>A Contemporary Companion to Political Philosophy</i> Robert Goodin and Philip Pettit, eds. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993): 508-13.</li> <li>▪ John Uhr. 2007. "Bicameralism," <i>Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions</i> R.A.W. Rhodes, Sarah Binder and Bert Rockman, eds. (OUP): 474-94.</li> <li>▪ Alec Stone. 1990. "The Birth and Development of Abstract Review: Constitutional Courts and Policymaking in Western Europe," <i>Policy Studies Journal</i> vol. 19/1 (Fall): 81-95.</li> <li>▪ <i>Economist</i>. "The Gavel and the Robe," (August 7, 1999)</li> <li>▪ Ran Hirschl. 2004. "Political Origins of the New Constitutionalism," <i>Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies</i> vol. 11/1: 71-108.</li> <li>▪ Sheri Berman and Kathleen McNamara. 1999. "Bank on Democracy. Why Central Banks Need Public Oversight," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> vol. 78/2 (March/April): 2-8.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 6</b> (9/28)</p>	<p><b>Markets and Competing Welfare Conceptions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ T.R. Reid. 2004. <i>The United States of Europe</i> (New York: Penguin): 144-76.</li> <li>▪ Milton Friedman. 1962. <i>Capitalism and Freedom</i> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press): 161-76.</li> <li>▪ Robert Goodin et al. 1999. <i>The Real World of Welfare Capitalism</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 41-55.</li> <li>▪ <i>Economic Justice for All</i>: 31-33, 40-52.</li> <li>▪ Alesina, Alberto and Edward Glaeser. 2004. <i>Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 15-38, 44-47.</li> <li>▪ Beiner, Ronald. 1995. "Social Democracy," <i>Encyclopedia of Democracy</i> S. M. Lipset, ed. (Washington: C.Q. Press): 1139-42.</li> <li>▪ Barry Schwartz. Paradox of Choice Lecture. [<a href="http://www.ted.com/talks/barry_schwartz_on_the_paradox_of_choice.html">http://www.ted.com/talks/barry_schwartz_on_the_paradox_of_choice.html</a>]</li> <li>▪ Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. 2007. "Social Preferences, Homo Economicus, and Zoon Politikon," in <i>Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis</i> Robert Goodin and Charles Tilly, eds. (OUP): 172-85.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 7</b> (10/5)</p>	<p><b>Labor Market</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Lawrence Mishel et. al. 2003. <i>The State of Working American</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press): 395-432.</li> <li>▪ Robert Kuttner. 1996. <i>Everything for Sale</i> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press): 68-77.</li> <li>▪ Gallie, Duncan and Serge Paugam. 2000. "The Experience of Unemployment in Europe," In <i>Welfare Regimes and the Experience of Unemployment in Europe</i> Gallie and Paugam (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 1-15.</li> <li>▪ Alberto Alesina and Francesco Giavazzi. 2006. <i>The Future of Europe. Reform or Decline</i>. (Cambridge: MIT Press): 57-64.</li> <li>▪ Bruce Western and Katherine Beckett. 1999. "How Unregulated Is the US Labor Market ? The Penal system as a Labor Market Institutions," <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> vol. 104/4 (January): 1030-60.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Week 8</b> (10/12)</p>	<p><b>Fall Break</b></p>
<p><b>Week 9</b> (10/19)</p>	<p><b>Social Policy:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ James Surowicki. 2005. "No Work and No Play," <i>The New Yorker</i> (November, 28): 68</li> <li>▪ Schor, Juliet. 1991. <i>The Overworked American</i> (New York Basic Books) 1-15.</li> <li>▪ Janet Gornick and Marcia Meyers. 2002. "Support for Working Families," In <i>Making Work Pay</i> Robert Kuttner, ed. (New York: New Press): 90-107.</li> <li>▪ Jeremy Rifkin. 2005. "The European Dream," <i>E Magazine</i> (March/April): 35-39</li> <li>▪ Russell Shorto. 2009. "Going Dutch. How I Learned to Love the European Welfare State," <i>New York Times Magazine</i> (May 3): 40-47..</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Brain Burgoon and Phineas Baxandall. 2004. "Three World of Working Time: The Partisan and Welfare Politics of Work Hours in Industrialized Countries," <i>Politics and Society</i> vol. 32/4 (December): 439-473.</li> </ul>
<b>Week 10</b> (10/26)	<b>Explaining Welfare Outcomes: Institutions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Alesina, Alberto and Edward Glaeser. 2004. <i>Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 77-132.</li> <li>Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks. 2000. <i>It Did Not Happen Here. Why Socialism Failed in the US</i> (New York: Norton): 85-124.</li> </ul>
<b>Week 11</b> (11/2)	<b>Explaining Welfare Outcomes; Ideology and Race</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Alesina, Alberto and Edward Glaeser. 2004. <i>Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 133-216</li> <li>Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks. 2000. <i>It Did Not Happen Here. Why Socialism Failed in the US</i> (New York: Norton): 125-66.</li> </ul>
<b>Week 12</b> (11/9)	<b>Origins of EU</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>John Pinder. 2001. <i>The European Union. A Very Short Introduction</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 1-8.</li> <li>T. R. Reid. 2004. <i>The United States of Europe</i> (New York: Penguin): 26-62, 63-88, 272-85.</li> </ul>
<b>Week 13</b> (11/16)	<b>Will Europe Run the 21<sup>st</sup> Century ?</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Paul Kagan. 2002. "Power and Weakness," <i>Policy Review</i> (June/July): 3-10, 15-22.</li> <li>Josef Joffe. 2006. <i>Überpower. The Imperial Temptation of America</i> (New York: Norton): 169-79.</li> <li>T. R. Reid. 2004. <i>The United States of Europe</i> (New York: Penguin): 176-96</li> <li>Mark Leonard. 2005. <i>Why Europe Will Run the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> (London: Fourth Estate): 21-36, 43-68, 121-33.</li> </ul>
<b>Week 14</b> (11/23)	<b>EU and National Identities</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Juan Diez Medrano. 2003. <i>Framing Europe. Attitudes to European Integration in Germany and the UK</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press): 21-22, 26-55.</li> <li>Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida. 2003. "February 15, or, What Binds Europeans Together," in <i>Old Europe, New Europe, Core Europe</i> (London: Verso): 3-13.</li> <li>Anthony D. Smith. 1993. "A Europe of Nations. Or the Nation of Europe," <i>Journal of Peace Research</i>, 30/2. (May): 129-135.</li> <li>Alberto Alesina and Francesco Giavazzi. 2006. <i>The Future of Europe. Reform or Decline</i>. (Cambridge: MIT Press): 31-41.</li> <li>Randall Hansen. 2008. "Work, Welfare, and Wanderlust: Immigration and Integration in Europe and North America," in <i>Growing Apart ? America and Europe in the Twenty-First Century</i> Jeffrey Kopstein and Sven Steinmo, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 170-190.</li> <li><b>Optional:</b> T. R. Reid. 2004. <i>The United States of Europe</i> (New York: Penguin): 176-96</li> </ul>
<b>Week 15</b> (11/30)	<b>Paper Discussion</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<b>Week 16</b> (12/30)	<b>Paper Discussion</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>

