

# UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

**NUMBER:** INTL 4390  
**TITLE:** European Politics

**INSTRUCTOR:** Dr. Cas Mudde (mudde@uga.edu)  
**OFFICE:** Candler 324  
**OFFICE HOURS:** Wednesdays 10-12, or by appointment

**TERM:** Fall 2017  
**DATE & TIME:** Tuesdays & Thursdays, 11:00-12:15  
**ROOM:** Park Hall 115

## Introduction:

(Western) Europe is the continent most similar to the United States in terms of politics. Although the US has a unique political system, it was heavily influenced by experiences and ideas from “the Old Continent,” most notably from France and the United Kingdom. And yet, most Americans know little about European politics. This has changed somewhat with the rise of Donald Trump, who is often interpreted in terms of contemporary or historical European politics (i.e. 1930s), but much work remains to be done.

European politics is undergoing many shocks in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. The terrorist attacks in the US of 9/11 have been followed by an ongoing stream of terrorist attacks in Europe. The Great Recession has divided the continent on a mostly North-West axis, while the so-called refugee crisis has redefined the older East-West axis. Both have tested the European Union and affected the process of European integration. Political parties that have ruled supreme for half a century, if not more, are being challenged and reduced to political rubble, while new “populist” parties grab the headlines after most European and national elections.

This course aims to introduce you to the essentials of European politics by taking a country- and issue-centered approach. We start with a short historical and comparative overview of the key aspects and institutions of European politics. Then we move to a pure country-centered approach. Each week we will discuss one country in three sessions; the first presents the key political aspects and institutions of that country’s political system, the second discusses the most recent national elections, analyzing the electoral system and main political parties; and the third addresses a specific political issue in that country, which has broader relevance across the European continent.

## Readings:

The class is built around the following textbook, which you are advised to purchase before classes start.

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

In addition to the textbook, various additional reading will be assigned to specific classes. These texts will be made available on Elc, well ahead of the relevant class.

## Course objectives:

- ☛ To introduce student to the key features of the political systems of European countries.
- ☛☐ To provide students with a historical background of European politics and societies.
- ☛☐ To discover and explain the differences and similarities between the politics and political systems of European countries.
- ☛☐ To explore the main political issues in contemporary Europe.

## Teaching Methodology:

- ☛ Lectures
- ☛ Class discussions
- ☛ Movie presentations

## Course Evaluation:

- ☛☐ Class participation (10%)
- ☛☐ Individual journal (10%)
- ☛☐ Short paper (15%)
- ☛☐ Midterm Exam (20%)
- ☛☐ Final paper preparation (10%).
- ☛☐ Final paper (35%).

**Class participation (10%):** includes the preparation, i.e. reading and reflecting on the compulsory readings for each class, and participation in discussion in the classroom and online on the *eLC*-

New course page. You are expected to regularly participate in the class discussions in an active, civilized, and well-informed manner.

**Individual Journal (10%):** you will maintain an online journal to reflect on the issues discussed in the course. You are free to draw on current events or pop-culture to motivate your post, but each post should make an **explicit reference** to at least one course reading (with citation). Students must have **7 journal entries** of at least 200 words with **no more than 1 entry per week and at least 2 entries before the midterm exam.**

**Midterm exam (20%):** the in-class midterm exam will test your knowledge of the key concepts, events, institutions, issues, and theories that have been covered in class until the date of the exam (**September, 19**). The midterm exam will include multiple choice, short answer, and short essay questions.

**Short paper (15%):** you will write **one** short paper (max. 2,000 words) on the theme of **either** '*Ostalgie*' in Germany **or** the multiculturalism in France, based on course readings as well as additional individual research and readings. Illustrative references to the movie *Goodbye Lenin!* **or** *La Haine* are also strongly encouraged. Deadline: **Friday October 27.**

**Final Paper preparation (10%):** You must develop your final paper throughout the course, and preferably in discussion with me. You are graded on whether you put in a decent effort at the required time for the three preparation steps: final paper proposal (**26 September**); final paper annotated bibliography (**24 October**); and final paper outline (**7 November**).

**Final paper (35%):** the main test of the course is an original final paper of max. 4,000 words, in which you discuss a specific issue of European politics from a comparative perspective – comparing the issue in two European countries. The topic should be relevant to the course and the paper should be based on **both** the compulsory readings and independent research (*including at least eight additional academic readings!*). The final paper should be well-written, spell-checked, and properly referenced (if not, points will be deducted!). The deadline is **Tuesday December 3, 3:00 PM.**

### **Classroom Attendance and Activity**

This class meets twice a week and attendance is **mandatory**. You can miss a maximum of **three** classes (no excuses or notes are

necessary, although a heads-up will be appreciated). Each further absence will lead to a deduction of *one point off your final grade*.

You are expected to have **read and reflected upon** *at least* the compulsory readings before the relevant class, *to follow key events in European politics* in the media, and to **participate actively** in the class and in online discussions.

### **Grading:**

Letter Grade	Points
A	93 – 100 points
A-	90 – 92 points
B+	87 – 89 points
B	83 – 86 points
B-	80 – 82 points
C+	77 – 79 points
C	73 – 76 points
C-	70 – 72 points
D+	67 – 69 points
D	63 – 66 points
D-	60 – 62 points
F	59 and below

### **Academic Integrity:**

As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in "A Culture of Honesty" found at: <http://www.uga.edu/honesty>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.

### **Disability Statement:**

UGA is committed to the success of all learners, and we strive to create an inclusive and accessible online environment. In collaboration with the [Disability Resource Center](#), we work with students who have documented disabilities to access reasonable accommodations and academic supports. For more information or to speak with a Disability coordinator, please call the Disability Resource Center at (706) 542-8719, TTY only phone (706) 542-8778.

### **Third-Party Software and FERPA:**

During this course you might have the opportunity to use public online services and/or software applications sometimes called third-party software such as a blog or wiki. While some of these are required assignments, you need **not** make any personally identifying information on a public site. Do not post or provide any private information about yourself or your classmates. Where appropriate you may use a pseudonym or nickname. Some written assignments posted publicly may require personal reflection/comments, but the assignments will not require you to disclose any personally identifiable/sensitive information. If you have any concerns about this, please contact your instructor.

### **Some Ground Rules:**

1. This is a **more writing intensive course** than most ones that you will take. To do well, students must put in a great deal of effort. Please be certain that you are prepared to work hard! If not, another course might be more appropriate for you. As an upper division class, this class requires a somewhat firm grounding in the central concepts of political science.
2. **Late papers are not acceptable.** They are a burden for me and are unfair to your fellow students who do their work on time. Therefore, I will deduct **5 points** for each day a paper is late. Extensions may be given, but only if they are requested *well in advance* of the deadline, and if there is a compelling reason.
3. **It is not my practice to give incompletes.** However, if there is suitable reason – subject to my approval and supported with appropriate written documentation – an exception to the “no incompletes” rule may be possible. With respect to these first ground rules, *if you have problems in completing assigned work, please let me know about it.*

4. **Plagiarism will not be tolerated.** Any student turning in a written assignment that is not your own work will receive a failing grade for the course, and may have further implications. *UGA makes available to its faculty several software programs that compare submitted material to previously written papers at a central database.*
5. **The use of academic sources is essential.** In the group presentation paper and in the final paper, you must make reference to the (academic) sources from which you drew your information. The accepted format is: (Alvarez 1990: 35) in case of quotations, or (Moore 1966) in case of more general references.
6. **Laptops, tablets, phones, etc. are not allowed!** Be ready with pen and paper to make notes during the class. If you use any of these banned devices in class, you will be punished with a deduction of **10 points** of your *final grade!*
7. I do not expect that your views on and perceptions of the often controversial themes discussed in class are identical with those of your classmates or me, either now or at the completion of the course. This course is a place for the free (and perhaps even heated) exchange of ideas. Thus I expect you to **challenge viewpoints** that differ from your own, but I also expect you to **substantiate your arguments** on the basis of the readings, lectures and discussions.
8. If you need to use outside **reference works**, please consult Joel Krieger, et. al., *Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) as a place to start for political terms or concepts – do **not** use Webster or other dictionaries for political science definitions. For outside research sources, please use Galileo. Please do **not** use the notoriously unreliable Wikipedia until or unless this source emphasizes accuracy as much as it does volume and speed.
9. If you believe that you should have received a better grade, please provide **an explanation** to me *in writing* and *within a week* of receiving the grade. I will then grade your *whole* exam/paper again and issue a “new” grade, which will be either the same, a higher, or a lower grade.
10. Please use proper etiquette when emailing me (see *eLC-New* course page). **Emails with questions that can be answered by reading the syllabus will not be answered.** Remember, I am also a human being, and only work **Monday to Friday, 9-5** (excluding holidays). Hence, I will respond to your emails (only) during this period, irrespective when *you* send your email!

### **Important Dates:**

August, 15

First Class

September, 19	Midterm Exam
September, 26	Final Paper Proposal
October, 3	Movie: Goodbye Lenin! ( <b>7-9 PM</b> )
October, 17	Movie: La Haine ( <b>7-9 PM</b> )
October, 24	Final Paper Annotated Bibliography
October, 27	Short Paper
November, 7	Final Paper Outline
November, 20-24	Thanksgiving Break
November, 30	Last Class
December, 3	Final Paper Due (@ 3:00 PM)
December 12	Last Date to Post Journal Entry

**Finally:**

*THE COURSE SYLLABUS IS A GENERAL PLAN FOR THE COURSE;  
DEVIATIONS ANNOUNCED TO THE CLASS BY THE INSTRUCTOR  
MAY (AND MOST PROBABLY WILL) BE NECESSARY!*

## THEMATIC OUTLINE

### 08/15 – Introduction

*We will discuss the intentions and outline of the course as well as our mutual expectations. We will further assess your 'general' background in post-industrial politics in general, and European politics in particular, and identify the best sources to follow current European political events.*

## PART I – HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

### 08/17 – European Integration

*Although we focus primarily on national political systems in this course, contemporary European politics cannot be understood without the proper international context, most notably that of the European Union. To understand the EU, however, one has to understand the history of European integration.*

**Discussion question:** What are the most important consequences of EU membership for national states?

Movie: [The Big Picture: The Making and Breaking of Europe \(Part 1\)](#)

#### Compulsory Reading:

Pinder, John and Simon Usherwood. *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, chapter 2.

### 08/22 – Europe Today: Unity in Diversity

*Europe is the most politically integrated continent in the world. The vast majority of European countries is a member of the EU and shares a comprehensive legal and political framework. Notwithstanding this political integration, Europe remains a continent with significant cultural, linguistic, religious, and social divisions.*

**Discussion question:** What are the possible political consequences of the key distinctions within Europe?

#### Compulsory Reading:

Almond, Gabriel A., Russell J. Dalton, G. Bingham Power, Jr. and Kaare Strøm (eds.), *European Politics Today*. New York, etc: Longman, 2010, 4th edition, chapter 1.  
[The Big Picture: The Making and Breaking of Europe \(Part 2\)](#)

### 08/24 – Executives and Courts

*Politics is essentially about power, and power is most notably exercised through the implementation of policies. However, the power relationships between the various*

*political institutions differ among post-industrial democracies. Here we look in particular at the different systems of executive power and the role of the courts.*

**Discussion Question:** How do the executives and courts in Europe compare to those in the United States?

Compulsory Reading:

Conant (15) and Peters (14) in *European Politics*.

### **08/29 – Political Parties**

*The famous American political scientist E. E. Schattschneider once said that democracy is impossible without political parties. Indeed, although the character and role of political parties differ between post-industrial democracies, they are always the most important political institution. In this class we look at the various types of parties and party systems within post-industrial democracies.*

**Discussion Question:** How do the political parties in Europe compare to those in the United States?

Compulsory Reading:

Ladrech (12) in *European Politics*.

### **08/31 – How to Write an Original Paper**

*Given that this is a writing-intensive course, we will discuss what it takes to write a good and original (final) paper in this class. It would help if you come to class prepared with some concrete questions relating to issues of academic writing, referencing, or research design.*

Compulsory Reading:

Gerring, John, “Some General Advice on Social Science Writing”, unpublished document 9 pp.

Van der Veen, Maurits, “Tips for Writing in Political Science”, unpublished document, 4 pp.

### **09/05 – Lijphart’s Models**

*The Dutch-American political scientist Arend Lijphart has developed the most influential typology of democratic regimes today. Although his typology has received much criticism over the years, it is still broadly used in studies of European politics and can function as a good comparative tool for this course.*

**Discussion Question:** Are Lijphart’s models still useful in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

Compulsory Reading:

Lijphart, Arend. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2012, second edition, chapters 1-3.

Task A: Compare the political systems of two European democracies on the basis of Lijphart's models.

## **PART II – COUNTRY PERSPECTIVES**

### **09/07 – The British Political System**

*The United Kingdom, often erroneously referred to as England, is the European country most familiar to North Americans. This notwithstanding, its society and political system differ in many important aspects from the US. This class provides an overview of the key elements of the British political system.*

**Discussion Question:** What are the defining features of the British political system?

Compulsory Reading:

Rosamond (4) in *European Politics*.

### **09/12 – The 2015 and 2017 British Elections**

*British politics has been dominated by just one issue in the last years: EU membership. Reflecting the impression that there was a pre-Brexit and there is a post-Brexit UK, the Brits went to the polls just before the EU Referendum and a good year after. Both elections surprised most observers, but for very different reasons. Is British politics changing for good?*

**Discussion Question:** Is the British two-party system coming to an end?

Compulsory Reading:

Green, Jane and Christopher Prossner, "Party System Fragmentation and Single-Party Government: The British General Election of 2015", *West European Politics*, Vol.39, No.6, 2016, pp.1299-1310.

Jennings, Will and Gerry Stoker, "Tilting Toward the Cosmopolitan Axis? Political Change in England and the 2017 General Election", *The Political Quarterly*, forthcoming.

### **09/14 – Brexit**

*The issue of EU membership has always been divisive within the United Kingdom. While initially Labour was opposed to EU membership, increasingly*

*Euroscepticism moved to the Tories. Confronted with an ever more vocal anti-EU wing within his own party, and a resurgent UKIP outside of it, British PM David Cameron called for a referendum on EU membership. But against his, and most other people's, expectations, Brits did not vote to remain but rather leave the EU.*

**Discussion Question:** What are the causes and consequences of Brexit?

Compulsory Reading:

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, Charlotte Gilpin and Ben Rosamond, "Performing Brexit: How a Post-Brexit World Is Imagined Outside the United Kingdom", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol.19, No.3, 2017, pp.573-591.

Hobolt, Sara B., "The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, A Divided Continent", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.23, No.9, 2016, pp.1259-1277.

## **09/19 – MIDTERM EXAM**

### **09/21 – The German Political System**

*Still wrestling with the shadows of the past, the Federal Republic of Germany has been a stable democracy despite recent fundamental changes. Germany's political system is interesting for (at least) two reasons: (1) it was mostly the construction of the Allied Forces, which occupied Germany in the late 1940s; (2) various aspects have proven very popular among new democracies.*

**Discussion Question:** In what way is the German political system shaped by Germany's history?

Compulsory Reading:

Bendix in *European Politics*.

### **09/26 – The 2017 Federal Elections**

*Last Sunday the biggest and most powerful country in the EU will go to the polls to elect a new Bundestag and government. While European politics is increasingly defined by change and upstarts, the German elections are a classic, almost 20<sup>th</sup> century, contest between a center-right (CDU) and a center-left party (SPD). Moreover, it is almost certain that Angela Merkel will return as Chancellor, a position she has held for over a decade.*

Compulsory Reading:

Faas, Thorsten. "The German Federal Election of 2013: Merkel's Triumph, the Disappearance of the Liberal Party, and Yet Another Grand Coalition", *West European Politics*, Vol.38, No.1, 2015, pp.238-247.

Muschaben, Joyce Marie. "the Best of Times, The Worst of Times: Angela Merkel, The Grand Coalition, and 'Majority Rule' in Germany", *German Politics and Society*, Vol.34, No.1, 2016, pp.1-25.

**Discussion Question:** What explains the tremendous popularity of Angela Merkel?

**Task B:** Write a short reflection on the 2017 Bundestag elections: what explains the outcome and what will be the likely political consequences?

Optional Readings:

Detterback, Klaus, "Party Inertia Amid Federal Change? Stability and Adaptation in German Parties", *German Politics*, Vol.25, No.2, 2016, pp.265-285.

Mannowitz, Tom, "Really 'Two Deeply Divided Electorates'? German Federal Elections 1990-2013", *German Politics*, Vol.26, No.1, 2017, pp.219-234.

**Paper Deadline I: Paper Proposal**

*Describe in max. 250 words what you want to study and why? What is your research question? Why is this question interesting/relevant (to the topic of the class)? How are you going to answer this question?*

**09/28 – German (Re-)Unification**

*The End of Communism slowly but steadily erased the boundaries between Eastern and Western Europe. Nowhere was this more apparent than in Germany. The Fall of the Berlin Wall was followed by a hastened (re-)unification, which effects can still be felt with both parts of the (re-)unified Federal Republic of Germany.*

**Discussion Question:** Is Germany finally unified?

Compulsory Reading:

Conradt, David P, "The Civic Culture and Unified Germany: An Overview", *German Politics*, Vol.24, No.3, 2015, pp.249-270.

Optional Readings:

Dalton, Russell. "Germans Divided? Political Culture in a United Germany", *German Politics*, Vol.19, No.1, 2010, pp.9-23.

Kopstein, Jeffrey and Daniel Ziblatt. "Honecker's Revenge: The Enduring Legacy of German Unification in the 2005 Elections", *German Politics and Society*, Vol.24, No.1, 2006, pp.134-147.

Thomanek, J.K.A. and Bill Nevin. *Dividing and Uniting Germany*. New York: Routledge, 2001, pp.1-10, 68-94.

**10/03 – Movie: Goodbye Lenin! (EVENING!)**

*"In 1990, to protect his fragile mother from a fatal shock after a long coma, a young man must keep her from learning that her beloved nation of East Germany*

*as she knew it has disappeared.” In a highly absurd way this German movie (2003) deals with the topic of ‘Ostalgie,’ a combination of the German words Ost (East) and Nostalgie (nostalgia), referring to a nostalgia for the Communist German Democratic Republic (GDR) that exists among parts of the population of contemporary East Germany.”*

**!!! TBA, 7.00 – 9.00 PM !!!**

Compulsory Reading:

Dalton, Russell. “Germans Divided? Political Culture in a United Germany”, *German Politics*, Vol.19, No.1, 2010, pp.9-23.

Short Paper A:

Write an original paper of max. 2.000 words on the theme of ‘*Ostalgie*’ based on course readings and additional individual research and readings. Refer to *Goodbye Lenin!* for illustration of some of your points. **DEADLINE: Friday October, 27.** You can email it to me, but remember that **you** are solely responsible that I receive it by the deadline!

**!!! 10/05 – No Class !!!**

**10/10 – The French Political System**

*One of the two powerhouses of continental European politics is France. Contemporary France, also known as the Fifth Republic, has a peculiar political system, i.e. a semi-presidential system, which has been adopted by various new democracies around the globe (though often significantly amended shortly after).*

**Discussion Question:** Is the semi-presidential system the best political system for France?

Compulsory Reading:

Elgie (2) in *European Politics*.

**10/12 – How to Use the Library**

*You will meet librarian Elizabeth White, who is responsible for International Affairs within the UGA Library Services, in the **Instruction Lab in the Main Library!** Ms. White will teach you how to make best use of the rich library facilities at UGA. This meeting is **essential** to writing a good research paper, so you are not only expected to attend but also to pay attention and makes notes.*

**10/17 – Movie: *La Haine* (EVENING!)**

*Filmmaker Mathieu Kassovitz takes an unblinking look at a racially diverse group of young people trapped in the Parisian economic and social underclass. Vinz, who*

*is Jewish, Hubert, who is Black, and Said, who is Arabic, are young men from the lower rungs of the French economic ladder; they have no jobs, few prospects, and no productive way to spend their time. They hang out and wander the streets as a way of filling their days and are sometimes caught up in frequent skirmishes between the police and other disaffected youth. One day, a street riot breaks out after police seriously injure an Arab student; the three friends are arrested and questioned, and it is learned that a policeman lost a gun in the chaos. However, what they don't know is that Vinz picked it up and has it in his possession, and when Vinz, Hubert, and Said get into a scuffle with a group of racist skinheads, the circumstances seem poised for tragedy.*

**!!! TBA, 7.00 – 9.00 PM !!!**

Short Paper B:

Write an original paper of 2,000 words on the issue of multiculturalism and its political backlash in France based on course readings and additional individual research and readings. Refer to *La Haine* for illustration of some of your points. **DEADLINE: Friday October, 27.** You can email it to me, but **you** are solely responsible that I receive it by the deadline!

**10/19 – The 2017 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections**

*Few national elections have been followed with such anticipation and anxiety as the 2017 French presidential elections. After coming third in 2012, and polling first for most of the past years, radical right candidate Marine Le Pen was broadly seen as the frontrunner. Instead, a “newcomer”, Emmanuel Macron, easily defeated Le Pen in the second round and, much more surprising, destroyed her and all others in the parliamentary elections.*

**Discussion Question:** *What explains the explosive rise of Macron and what are the consequences of his victories?*

Compulsory Reading:

Evans, Jocelyn and Gilles Ivaldi. “An Atypical Honeymoon Election? Contextual and Strategic Opportunities in the 2017 French Legislative Elections”, *French Politics*, forthcoming.

Optional Reading:

Hewlett, Nick. “Voting in the Shadow of the Crisis. The French Presidential and Parliamentary Elections of 2012”, *Modern & Contemporary France*, Vol.20, No.4, 2012, pp.403-420.

Kuhn, Raymond and Rainbow Murray. “France’s Left Turn: Mapping the 2012 Elections”, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol.66, No.1, 2013, pp.1-16.

**10/24 – Multiculturalism and the Radical Right Backlash**

*France's Front National (National Front) has been the prototype of the contemporary 'third wave' of radical right parties in Europe. It has been linked to the issue of multiculturalism, another relatively recent and broader European phenomenon, and has had a profound effect on politics in France.*

**Discussion Question:** In which ways do multiculturalism influence support for the Front National and vice versa?

Compulsory Reading:

Hansen (19) in *European Politics*.

Schain, Martin. "The Extreme-Right and Immigration Policy-Making: Measuring Direct and Indirect Effects", *West European Politics*, Vol.29, No.2, 2006, pp.270-289.

Optional Readings:

Mitra, Subrata. "The National Front in France – A Single Issue Movement?", *West European Politics*, Vol.11, No.2, 1988, pp.47-64.

Mudde, Cas. "The Single-Issue Party Thesis: Extreme Right Parties and the Immigration Issue", *West European Politics*, Vol.22, No.3, 1999, pp.182-197.

**Paper Deadline II: Annotated Bibliography**

*Submit an annotated bibliography for your final paper with at least 6 different academic sources, of which at least 4 are not compulsory reading and including a minimum of 2 books. Provide a short (2-5 line) summary of each source and its relevance to your paper.*

**10/26 – The Greek Political System**

*Greece is the birthplace of democracy, but modern Greece is a relatively new democracy. The country shed its military junta only in 1974. Greek politics has always been different from that of other West European democracies, reflecting in part cultural and economic differences.*

**Discussion Question:** What are the key characteristics of the Greek political system?

Compulsory Reading:

Tocci (8) in *European Politics*.

Pappas, Takis, "Why Greece Failed", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.24, No.2, 2014, pp.31-45.

**10/31 – The (Two) 2015 Parliamentary Elections**

*The (two) 2012 Greek parliamentary elections were a political earthquake, reflecting both the internal division and anti-establishment frustration of the Greek people. The established parties both lost big, but held on to power despite insurgent extremist and populist parties on the left and right. Still, two-and-a-half years later the Greeks went*

*to the polls again, bringing into power a populist coalition, which, after a turbulent referendum, got re-elected half a year later.*

Video: Thug Politics (16 min)

**Discussion Question:** Is contemporary Greece comparable to Weimar Germany?

Compulsory Reading:

Rori, Lamprini, “The 2015 Greek Parliamentary Elections: From Great Expectations To No Expectations”, *West European Politics*, Vol.39, No.6, 2016, pp.1323-1343.

Ellinas, Antonis A., “The Rise of Golden Dawn: The New Face of the Far Right”, *South European Society and Politics*, Vol.18, No.4, 2013, pp.543-565.

Further Reading:

Dinas, Elias and Lamprini Rori, “The 2012 Greek Parliamentary Elections: Fear and Loathing in the Polls”, *West European Politics*, Vol.36, No.1, 2013, pp.270-282.

**11/02 – The Economic Crisis**

*European countries have been hard-hit by the Grand Recession, the economic crisis that started in 2008. While (initially) mostly South European countries were affected – the so-called PIGS (Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain), the crisis soon spread through the whole Union, not in the least the Eurozone.*

Video: This World: Michael Portillo’s Great Euro Crisis

**Discussion Question:** Why did the economic crisis hit Southern Europe so hard?

Compulsory Reading:

Featherstone, Kevin. “The Greek Sovereign Debt Crisis and EMU: A Failing State in a Skewed Regime”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.49, No.2, 2011, pp.193-217.

Matthijs, Mattias, “Mediterranean Blues: The Crisis in Southern Europe”, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.25, No.1, 2014, 101-115.

**11/07 – The Polish Political System**

*Poland is the largest and most well-known country in Eastern Europe – excluding the post-Soviet space. For a long time, it was considered as the prime model for post-communist success, providing hope for others in the region.*

**Discussion Question:** What are the key characteristics of the Polish political system?

Compulsory Reading:

Haughton in *European Politics*.

Zubek, Radoslaw, “A Core in Check: The Transformation of the Polish Core Executive”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.8, No.6, 2001, pp.911-932.

### **Paper Deadline III: Outline**

*Provide an outline of minimum 5 pages of your final paper, which includes at least short discussions of the following elements: (1) research question; (2) case selection; (3) data selection; (4) first (or expected) findings.*

### **11/09 – The 2015 Parliamentary Elections**

*On 25 October 2015 the Poles elected 460 members of the Sejm, the important lower house, and 100 members of the Senat (Senate), the less important upper house of parliament. Once again it was a story of the “Two Polands,” geographically, ideologically, and politically divided.*

**Discussion Question:** Are the 2015 elections more of the same or has Poland moved beyond the “Two Polands”?

#### Compulsory Reading:

Szczerbiak, Aleks, “An anti-establishment backlash that shook up the party system? The October 2015 Polish parliamentary election”, *European Politics and Society*, forthcoming.

#### Optional Reading:

Markowski, Radosław, “The Polish parliamentary election of 2015: a free and fair election that results in unfair political consequences”, *West European Politics*, Vol.39, No.6, 2016, pp.1311-1322.

Sokołowski, Jacek K., “The 2011 Elections in Poland: Defining a New Cleavage”, *Representation*, Vol.48, No.4, 2012, pp.461-473.

### **11/14 – Religion and Politics**

*Europe is a highly secularized continent where religion plays little role in day-to-day politics. While secularization in Western Europe was mostly gradual and spontaneous, in Eastern Europe it was a consequence of the anti-religious nature of the communist regimes. Still, religion did survive under communism and nowhere more so than in Poland, which remains a heavily Catholic country, where religion is often evoked in political struggles.*

**Discussion Question:** Are religion and the (Catholic) Church still major factors in Polish politics?

#### Compulsory Reading:

Borowik, Irena. “Religion and Politics in Poland”, *Eurotopics*, at: [http://www.eurotopics.net/print/en/magazin/magazin\\_aktuell/religion/religion\\_polen](http://www.eurotopics.net/print/en/magazin/magazin_aktuell/religion/religion_polen)

Heinen, Jacqueline and Stéphane Portet. “Reproductive Rights in Poland: When Politicians Fear the Wrath of the Church”, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.31, No.6, 2010, pp.1007-1021.

### **11/16 – The Hungarian Political System**

*Hungary entered the post-communist period as a frontrunner, based on its history of so-called ‘Gulash communism’, which allowed for some economic and political freedoms. Unlike its neighbors, Hungary went through the 1990s without much political unrest, developing a relatively stable political system.*

**Discussion Question:** What are the key characteristics of the Hungarian political system?

#### Compulsory Reading:

Haughton in *European Politics*.

Ilonszki, Gabriella and Zsófia Papp, “The Paradoxes of Parliament–Citizen Connections in Hungary: A Window on the Political System”, *Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol.18, No.3-4, 2012, pp.334-350.

### **!!! 20-24 NOVEMBER IS THANKGIVING BREAK !!!**

### **11/28 – The 2014 Parliamentary Elections**

*On 6 April 2014 Hungarians elected the 199 members of the Országgyűlés, the National Assembly. The elections were held under a new electoral system, which the ruling coalition had introduced despite considerable domestic opposition.*

**Discussion Question:** Why was Fidesz-KDNP able to maintain its constitutional majority?

#### Compulsory Reading:

Ágh, Attila. “De-Europeanization and De-Democratization Trends in ECE: From the Potemkin Democracy to the Elected Autocracy in Hungary”, *Journal of Comparative Politics*, Vol.8, No.2, 2015, pp.4-26.

Ilonski, Gabriela and Réka Várnagy, “Parliamentary Elections in Hungary, 2014”, *Electoral Studies*, No.43, 2016, pp.169-172.

### **11/30 – The Illiberal Backlash**

*In 2014 Premier Viktor Orbán and his Fidesz-KDNP coalition were convincingly re-elected to power in Hungary. They were even able to keep their constitutional majority in parliament. Despite mounting critique from within Hungary and abroad, Orbán continues his ambition to transform the country into an ‘illiberal democracy.’*

**Discussion Question:** Is Hungary today still a democracy?

#### Compulsory Reading:

Bánkuti, Miklós, Gábor Halmai and Kim-Lane Scheppele, “Disabling the Constitution”, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.23, No.3, 2013, pp.121-131.

Jenne, Erin and Cas Mudde, “Can Outsiders Help”, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.23, No.3, 2013, pp.147-155.

Rupnik, Jacques, “How Things Went Wrong”, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.23, No.3, 2013, pp.132-137.

Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s Speech at the 25th Bálványos Summer Free University and Student Camp, available at: <http://www.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-speech-at-the-25th-balvanyos-summer-free-university-and-student-camp>.

## **OTHER TEXTBOOKS ON POLITICS OF POST-INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES**

Students who want to buy additional books for this course, for a broader comparative basis and/or deeper discussion of particular institutions and themes, are best served with (one of) the following books (unfortunately, virtually all cover only Europe):

- Almond, Gabriel A., Russell J. Dalton, G. Bingham Powell Jr and Kaare Strøm (eds.), *European Politics Today*. New York et al.: Pearson Longman, 2006, third edition.
- Bale, Tim, *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction*. London: Palgrave, 2008, second edition.
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver and Peter Mair, *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2006, fourth edition.
- Kesselman, Mark et al. *European Politics in Transition*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2008, sixth edition.

## **ACADEMIC JOURNALS ON EUROPEAN POLITICS**

*Acta Politica*

*American Politics Research*

*Australian Journal of Politics and History*

*Comparative European Politics*

*Comparative Political Studies*

*Comparative Politics*

*East European Politics (formerly Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics)*

*East European Politics and Societies*

*Electoral Studies*

*European Journal of Political Research*

*European Political Science*

*European Union Politics*

*Government & Opposition*

*Israel Affairs*

*Journal of Common Market Studies*

*Journal of Democracy*

*Political Studies*

*West European Politics*

*World Politics*

## **NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES**

*ABC* (Australian public television: [www.abc.net.au/news](http://www.abc.net.au/news))

*Al Jazeera* (Middle Eastern world service: [www.aljazeera.com](http://www.aljazeera.com))

*BBC* (British public television: [news.bbc.co.uk](http://news.bbc.co.uk))

*Bloomberg* (Business news agency: [www.bloomberg.com](http://www.bloomberg.com))

*Deutsche Welle* (German world service: [www.dw-world.de](http://www.dw-world.de))  
*Die Zeit* (German liberal weekly: [www.zeit.de](http://www.zeit.de))  
*Economist* (British-based weekly: [www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com))  
*Euronews* (EU-backed tv station: [www.euronews.net](http://www.euronews.net))  
*Financial Times* (strong on business and EU: [www.ft.com](http://www.ft.com))  
*France24* (French world service: [www.france24.com](http://www.france24.com))  
*Guardian* (British left-wing newspaper: [www.guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk))  
*Haaretz* (Israeli left-wing newspaper: [www.haaretz.com](http://www.haaretz.com))  
*Jerusalem Post* (Israeli right-wing newspaper)  
*Le Monde Diplomatique* ([mondediplo.com](http://mondediplo.com) – also in English)  
*New Europe* (special focus on Eastern Europe: [www.neurope.eu](http://www.neurope.eu))  
*New York Times* (US liberal newspaper: [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com))  
*PBS* (US Public Broadcasting Service: [www.pbs.org](http://www.pbs.org))  
*Radio Netherlands Worldwide* (Dutch world service: [www.rnw.nl/english](http://www.rnw.nl/english))  
*The Times* (British Eurosceptic newspaper: [www.timesonline.co.uk](http://www.timesonline.co.uk))  
*Washington Post* (US liberal newspaper: [www.wapo.com](http://www.wapo.com))  
*Wall Street Journal* (US conservative newspaper: [www.wsj.com](http://www.wsj.com))