

# UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

**NUMBER:** INTL 8300  
**TITLE:** Transformations of European Politics  
**INSTRUCTOR:** Dr. Cas Mudde (mudde@uga.edu)  
**OFFICE:** Candler 324  
**OFFICE HOURS:** Wednesdays 10.00-12.00, or by appointment  
**TERM:** Fall 2018  
**DATE & TIME:** Tuesdays, 14:00-16:45  
**ROOM:** Candler 117

## **Introduction:**

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century few European countries were democratic. At the end of the century, few European countries were still undemocratic. Still, rather than just a century of democratization, the 20<sup>th</sup> century was an “Age of Extremes” (Hobsbawm), defined at least as much by totalitarianism as by democratization. Even after the fall of communism, the famous “End of History” (Fukuyama) never materialized.

After five decades of unprecedented affluence, peace and stability, European politics has experienced several crises in the still young 21<sup>st</sup> century, which have all profoundly affected European politics and societies, albeit in very different ways. Brexit and Trump have amplified the feeling of crisis and change, leading to (inflated) accounts of the “rise of populism” and the “crisis of democracy.”

This course aims to analyze the transformations of European politics, focusing primarily on the 21<sup>st</sup> century. While the main focus is on changes in electoral/party politics, we will also analyze the underlying economic and social transformations, as well as other forms of political mobilization. What is going on and why? And, ultimately, is European politics undergoing a fundamental transformation or are we just experiencing a temporary crisis?

This course differs from many other graduate courses in at least two important ways. First, rather than teaching students about a well-defined body of knowledge, which is broadly accepted within the broader (sub)discipline, we are analyzing ongoing phenomena of which the outcome is not yet certain. Second, the course is mainly based on academic books, several written for a broader audience, rather than academic journal articles.

## **Readings:**

The course is based on a broad variety of readings, including a large number of books. I have done my best to use mainly books that you can read free through the UGA Library (with \*) or that are relatively cheap in paperback or ebook. Remember, many of these books are old(er) and can be bought cheaply second hand online!

**Daniel Cohen, *Three Lectures on Post-Industrial Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009. \***

**Colin Crouch, *Post-Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2004.**

**Rafaela M. Dancygier, *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2017.**

**Anthony Giddens, *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1998.**

**Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977. \***

**Joni Lovenduski, *Feminizing Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2005.**

**Peter Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.**

**Peter Mair, *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy*. London: Verso, 2013.**

**Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox*. London: Verso, 2009.**

**Jan-Werner Mueller, *What is Populism?* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.**

**Wolfgang Streeck, *How Will Capitalism End? Essays on a Failing System*. London: Verso, 2016.**

You are urged to buy the books, as texts from these books will not be made available online. If you loan it from the UGA Library, let other people in the class know you have it and try to share.

All *other* texts will be made available on the Elc course site, well ahead of the relevant class. If you have any problems accessing or locating readings, send me an email at mudde[[@](mailto:mudde@uga.edu)]uga.edu.

### **Course objectives:**

- To introduce you to some of the key characteristic of European political systems.
- To think about contemporary economic, political and social developments in Europe and about the ways in which they interact with each other.
- To analyze some of the most important transformations in European politics.

### **Teaching Methodology:**

The course is primarily discussion based. Students are expected to take the lead and the professor is mainly a facilitator.

### **Classroom Attendance and Activity**

This class meets once a week and attendance is **mandatory**. You can miss up to **two** classes (*no excuses or notes are necessary*, although a heads-up will be appreciated). A third absence will lead to a lower participation grade (-20 points). When you miss **four** classes without a valid excuse, you will **fail** the course!

Obviously, you are expected **read and reflect upon** (at least) the compulsory readings before you come to class. In other words, I expect you to read the books (articles) well in advance of the class, and then reflect upon them in anticipation of the class discussion.

Many of the books are less dense and jargony than the average political science literature, which should make them easier and quicker to read. That said, they don't come with a convenient abstract, summarizing the one main idea of the article, and often include many interesting side notes and thoughts. Take your time to read them, think about them while you read, make notes, connect it to your own are of interest. Be creative!

### **Office Hours:**

I have office hours on Wednesday, 10-12. I devote these two hours exclusively to my students and I always **enjoy meeting with you** individually. It is important to remember that you do not need an appointment, excuse or problem to come to see me during office hours!

I do appreciate students dropping by regularly to discuss their progress or discuss other (academic) issues on their mind. New students are particularly encouraged to come to office hours at the beginning of the semester, as this helps us to get to know each other.

### **Course Evaluation:**

- Participation (20%)
- Presentations (15%)
- Book review (15%)
- Analytical papers (30%)
- Final analytical paper (20%)

**Participation (20%):** You are expected to actively participate in each class, which is based almost exclusively on student discussion. Your grade is based on the *quality and quantity* of your participation in the discussions. If you attend all classes but never participate in the discussions, you will receive a **D!**

**Presentation (15%):** You will be assigned to introduce one book for a class (max. 15 minutes per presentation) and take the lead in the class discussion of that day. It is your task to present the most important points in your own words and clarify them (if necessary) with **original** examples, i.e. that go beyond the ones presented in the reading(s).

**Book review (15%):** You have to write a book review of *Dilemmas of Inclusion* (Dancygier). It should be written as an official book review, set for publication in an academic journal (like *Perspective of Politics*). The review should be max. 1,500 words and shortly summarize the main points, discuss the strengths and weaknesses, and provide an overall judgment. Due in class on **October 9**.

**Analytical papers (30%):** You have to write **three** analytical papers on the compulsory readings for a specific week during the course – I will draw up schedules for each student individually. The paper should be max. 1,000 words and discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the article(s)/book by drawing on some other academic literature.

**Final analytical paper (20%):** You have to write **one** final analytical paper for the last class, addressing the question: “Is Europe facing a crisis of democracy?” The essay should be max. 2,000 words and should discuss the compulsory readings for the last class as well as relevant previous readings.

**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.

**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    |

**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:**

### **1. Introduction (08/14)**

*We will start out by mutual introductions and an assessment of your 'general' background with regard to European politics in general, and party politics in particular. We will then discuss the intentions of the course and go through the syllabus to address the outline of the course as well as our mutual expectations. Finally, we will watch the first part of a two-part al-Jazeera documentary on the transformation of postwar European politics.*

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

### **2. The West European Party System I (08/21)**

*European politics is party politics! Political parties are the prime political organizations in the region and the way they interact, i.e. in their respective party systems, is one of the key factors of their political system. In the first two substantial classes, we will discuss the characteristics and origins of political parties and party systems on the basis of a collection of (excerpts of) classic texts from the 20<sup>th</sup> century.*

Compulsory Reading:

*WEP, Parts I & II.*

[\*The Big Picture: The Making and Breaking of Europe \(Part 2\)\*](#)

### **3. The West European Party System II (08/28)**

*In this second foundational class, we focus on the transformation and typology of West European party systems. These texts describe the developments up until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, which is essentially the start period for our course.*

Compulsory Reading:

*WEP, Parts III & IV.*

### **4. The Silent Revolution (09/04)**

*Building upon the seminal cleavage theory framework of Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, the US political sociologist Ronald Inglehart developed one of the most influential concepts and theories in political science, "postmaterialism" and "the silent revolution". While developed to explain the emergence of the "New Left" in the 1970s, i.e. the so-called "new social movements" and the Green parties, it also offers insights into the transformations that are characterizing the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.*

Compulsory Reading:

Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977. \*

## **5. Post-Industrial Society (09/11)**

*Modernization holds that economic changes lead to social changes, which lead to political changes. The so-called “Post-Industrial Revolution” transformed western societies from primarily industrial societies into primarily post-industrial societies, in which the services sector dominates. What caused the post-industrial revolution? What are the main features of the post-industrial society? And what are the consequences for the “European Social Model”?*

Compulsory Reading:

Daniel Cohen, *Three Lectures on Post-Industrial Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009. \*

## **6. Feminizing Politics (09/18)**

*The Post-Industrial Revolution changed the economic emphasis on services, which required and rewarded different skillsets, several traditionally associated more with women than men (e.g. communication and teamwork). As more women entered the job market, and made better careers, social norms shifted, and women became more active and visible in politics.*

Compulsory Reading:

Lovenduski, Joni. *Feminizing Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2005 (all but ch.5).

Optional Reading:

Inglehart, Ronald F., Eduard Ponarin, and Ronald C. Inglehart, “Cultural Change, Slow and Fast: The Distinctive Trajectory of Norms Governing Gender Equality and Sexual Orientation”, *Social Forces*, Vol.95, No.4, 2017, 1313-1340.

## **7. The Third Way (09/25)**

*One of the most debated transformations in European politics is the right-wing turn of center-left parties, most notably Social Democratic parties adopting neoliberal economic ideas and policies. In Europe, it was Tony Blair who transformed the left-wing Labour Party into the centrist New Labour. While he copied much of his strategies from Bill Clinton in the US, his ideological*

*inspiration was one of the most prominent British sociologists, Anthony Giddens.*

Compulsory Reading:

Giddens, Anthony. *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1998.

## **8. Radical Democracy (10/02)**

*In the wake of the Great Recession left-wing grassroots movements like the Indignados and Occupy protested in the streets of cities across the globe. Several of these movements were followed by new “radical left” parties, such as and Podemos in Western Europe, who were profoundly influenced by the work of the Belgian philosopher Chantal Mouffe and her late husband, Argentinian political philosopher Ernesto Laclau.*

Compulsory Reading:

Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox*. London: Verso, 2009.

## **9. Multiculturalism (10/09)**

*Unlike the US, which has been multicultural (or “multiracial”) since its foundation, Western Europe has a relatively recent history of “multiculturalism.” Dating back to mass immigration in the 1950s and 1960s, relatively homogeneous societies transformed fairly rapidly into heterogeneous ones – particularly in cities and industrial areas – but this was not without problems. Moreover, with the largest portion of immigrations being Muslims, 9/11 has had a profound effect on the debate about inclusion.*

Compulsory Reading:

Rafaela M. Dancygier, *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2017.

**Deadline book review:** You have to write a book review of max. 1,500 words of Dancygier’s book, in which you shortly summarize the main points, discuss the strengths and weaknesses, and provide an overall judgment.

## **10. The Hollowing of Western Democracy (10/16)**

*For a long time scholars have been debating the so-called “democratic deficit” within the European Union, but only recently have they started to argue that European integration is weakening democracy within EU member states too. The late Peter Mair argued in his last book, which was still work-in-progress at*

*his untimely death, that western democracy was being hollowed out by global and regional forces. Was he too pessimistic?*

Compulsory Reading:

Mair, Peter. *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy*. London: Verso, 2013.

## **11. The Rise of Populism (10/23)**

*Populism is the political buzzword of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. But its success is in part a consequence of its conceptual confusion. What is populism? And what is its relevance for European politics? Are we living in a populist era? Is populism the future of Europe?*

Compulsory Reading:

Mueller, Jan-Werner. *What is Populism?* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

## **12. New Paradigms (10/30)**

*One of the biggest challenges in political science research is establishing causation. As the dictum goes: correlation is not the same as causation. An historical approach can be an excellent way to establish causal patterns. This class discusses two different historical approaches: comparative-historical analysis and process-tracing.*

Compulsory Reading:

Bakker, Ryan, Catherine de Vries, Erica Edwards et al. "Measuring Party Positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, 1999-2010", *Party Politics*, Vol.21, No.1, 2012, pp. 143-152.

Caramani, Daniele. "Will vs. Reason: The Populist and Technocratic Forms of Political Representation and Their Critique to Party Government", *American Political Science Review*, Vol.111, No.1, 2017, pp.54-67.

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.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus", *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol.39, No.1, 2009, pp. 1-23.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, et al. "Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol.45, 1996, pp. 921-956.

## **13. The End of Capitalism? (11/07)**

*The Great Recession is undoubtedly the most important event in European politics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In fact, Europe is still trying to overcome it and assess its impact. The economic crisis has not only led to political critique of austerity policies, but has also given rise to new proclamations of the end of capitalism. The German Marxist sociologist Wolfgang Streeck is one of the most prominent voices in this debate.*

Compulsory Reading:

Streeck, Wolfgang. *How Will Capitalism End? Essays on a Failing System*. London: Verso, 2016 (chapters 1-5 and 7).

#### **14. Post-Democracy? (11/14)**

*Well before the Great Recession, as many people still believed in the European model, the British social scientist Colin Crouch argued that democracy had had its moment and we were entering a period of “post-democracy.” How does his argument hold up 15 years later?*

Compulsory Reading:

Crouch, Colin, *Post-Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity, 2004.

#### **15. A Crisis of Democracy? (11/28)**

*In the wake of Brexit, and particularly the victory of Donald Trump, there has been an explosion of “crisis of democracy” literature. While several became (academic) bestsellers, receiving massive media attention, most mainly speculate what would happen if this or that would happen. Few actually analyze the state of democracy at this point in time. Are we in crisis?*

Compulsory Reading:

McCoy, Jennifer, Tahmina Rahman and Murat Somer. “Polarization and the Global Crisis of Democracy: Common Patterns, Dynamics, and Pernicious Consequences for Democratic Polities”, *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol.62, No.1, 2018, pp. 3-15.

Foa, Robert Stefan and Yasha Mounk. “The Signs of Deconsolidation”, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.28, No.1, 2017, pp. 5-15.

- read also the responses by Amy Alexander and Christian Welzel, Pippa Norris and Erik Voeten as well as Foa and Mounk’s response [here](#).

Merkel, Wolfgang. “Is There a Crisis of Democracy?”, *Democratic Theory*, Vol.1, No.2, 2014, pp. 11-25.

Morlino, Leonardo and Mario Quaranta. “What is the Impact of the Economic Crisis on Democracy? Evidence from Europe”, *International Political Science Review*, Vol.37, No.5, 2016, 618-633.

**Final analytical paper:** “Is Europe facing a crisis of democracy?” Your final analytical paper should address this question on the basis of the compulsory readings for this class as well as relevant previous readings. Max 2,000 words!