

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

NUMBER: INTL 4390
TITLE: European Politics

INSTRUCTOR: Dr. Cas Mudde (mudde@uga.edu)
OFFICE: IA Building 324
OFFICE HOURS: Wednesdays, 10-12 (only online)

TERM: Fall 2020
DATE & TIME: M-W-T, 12.40 – 1.30 PM
ROOM: MLC 153 / Online
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Introduction:

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. Yet, most Americans know little about European politics.

European politics is undergoing many shocks in the early 21st 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:

Although we will use several chapters of one textbook – Colin Hay and Anand Menon (eds.), *European Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 – you

are not required to purchase it. All readings 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:

- ✪ Lecture videos
- ✪ Online discussions
- ✪ Group videos

Course Evaluation:

- ✪ Class participation (20%)
- ✪ COVID-19 group video (20%)
- ✪ COVID-19 project (30%)
- ✪ Short essays (30%)

Class participation (20%): includes the preparation, i.e. reading and reflecting on the compulsory readings for each class, and participation in discussion (primarily) **online on the ELC course page**. You are expected to regularly participate in the course Discussion Board discussions in an active, civilized, and well-informed manner.

COVID-19 Group Video (20%): you will make **1** video (in a group of 3-4 students) on a particular aspect of the COVID-19 in which you compare the situation across EU member states – *schedule and topics to be announced in the 3rd or 4th week of the course*. Each video should not be longer than **15 minutes** and be **well-produced and well-researched** – that means, edited to ensure clear sound, include relevant visual clips, and based on research that goes **well beyond** the relevant compulsory course readings. Groups should *discuss* the assignment with each other and with me in separate online meeting at least two weeks before the deadline.

COVID-19 project (20% + 10%): you will track the COVID-19 situation and response in two European countries. During the semester, you will provide basic updates on key data (e.g. number of cases and deaths) and policies (e.g. border

closings, social distancing, face masks) at two different times – by uploading short memo of max. 800 words on eLC (**due by October 1 and November 1**).

For the *final project*, you have to compare and contrast the responses of the two countries and try to explain the differences/similarities between them. The final product can be a *paper* (max. 2.500 words) or a *podcast* (max. 20 minutes). The final project should be based on reliable primary data (i.e. from trustworthy organizations) and solid academic literature. **Deadline: December 10.**

Short essays (30%): you have to write **2** short essays (of max. 1.500 words) on **2** of the discussion questions (see at the end of the syllabus) and upload them to eLC. You should do **1** essay *before* and **1** *after* **October 1**. The essays should be properly referenced and written with reference to *at the very least* the relevant compulsory course readings. **All** short essays must be uploaded by **December 1**.

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

Classroom Attendance and Activity

Technically, this class meets **3** times a week, but because of social distancing measures, only one-third of students is allowed into the classroom at any time. Moreover, students must wear masks in class. Consequently, standard face-to-face instruction will not be possible. Therefore, instruction will be as follows:

On **Monday**, you are expected to watch the **lecture videos** for that week, which will be available on eLC beforehand.

On **Wednesday**, you can sign up to attend class and discuss questions in person with me – with masks and social distancing and *within limits of limited and fair distribution of class access (i.e. once every three weeks)*. These classes are not live streamed, but I will address relevant questions in the following Friday class.

On **Friday**, **all** students attend an **online** Q&A session on Zoom, in which I will answer questions of students – which have to be submitted by the preceding Thursday night. I will answer these questions from the classroom – **without mask**, if I am alone in the classroom, **with mask**, if there is **1** or more student in the classroom. At times, these sessions will last longer than 50 minutes, to accommodate all questions. If you have another class afterwards, you can watch the rest later on eLC.

After Thanksgiving, at the latest, the University of Georgia will go completely online and I will be able to Zoom directly from home.

Obviously, attendance is **NOT** mandatory – not even online, although you are strongly advised to attend the Friday classes. You are expected to have **read and reflected upon** the compulsory readings before the relevant class, **to follow key events in European politics** in the media, and to **participate actively** in the course, most notably in online discussions on eLC.

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.

Coronavirus Information for Students

Face Coverings:

Effective July 15, 2020, the University of Georgia—along with all University System of Georgia (USG) institutions—requires all faculty, staff, students and visitors to wear an appropriate face covering while inside campus facilities/buildings where six feet social distancing may not always be possible. Face covering use is in addition to and is not a substitute for social distancing. Anyone not using a face covering when required will be asked to wear one or must leave the area. Reasonable accommodations may be made for those who are unable to wear a face covering for documented health reasons. Students seeking an accommodation related to face coverings should contact Disability Services at <https://drc.uga.edu/>.

DawgCheck:

Please perform a quick symptom check each weekday on DawgCheck—on the UGA app or website—whether you feel sick or not. It will help health providers monitor the health situation on campus: <https://dawgcheck.uga.edu/>

What do I do if I have symptoms?

Students showing symptoms should self-isolate and schedule an appointment with the University Health Center by calling 706-542-1162 (Monday-Friday, 8 a.m.-5 p.m.). Please DO NOT walk-in. For emergencies and after-hours care, see <https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>.

What do I do if I am notified that I have been exposed?

Students who learn they have been directly exposed to COVID-19 but are not showing symptoms should self-quarantine for 14 days consistent with Department of Public Health (DPH) and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) guidelines. Please correspond with your instructor via email, with a cc: to Student Care & Outreach at sco@uga.edu, to coordinate continuing your coursework while self-quarantined. If you develop symptoms, you should contact the University Health Center to make an appointment to be tested. You should continue to monitor your symptoms daily on DawgCheck.

How do I get a test?

Students who are demonstrating symptoms of COVID-19 should call the University Health Center. UHC is offering testing by appointment for students; appointments may be booked by calling 706-542-1162.

UGA will also be recruiting asymptomatic students to participate in surveillance tests. Students living in residence halls, Greek housing and off-campus apartment complexes are encouraged to participate.

What do I do if I test positive?

Any student with a positive COVID-19 test is **required** to report the test in DawgCheck and should self-isolate immediately. Students should not attend classes in-person until the isolation period is completed. Once you report the

positive test through DawgCheck, UGA Student Care and Outreach will follow up with you.

Other Important Resources for Students

UGA has a vast array of resources to support students facing a variety of challenges. Please don't hesitate to come speak with me or contact these resources directly:

Office of Student Care & Outreach (coordinate assistance for students experiencing hardship/unforeseen circumstances): T: 706-542-7774 or by email sco@uga.edu

Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS): T: 706-542-2273 (during regular business hours) *After Hour Mental Health Crisis:* 706-542-2200 (UGA Police—ask to speak to the CAPS on-call clinician).

Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention: T: 706-542-SAFE (Please note, faculty and staff are obligated to report any knowledge of sexual assault/relationship violence to UGA's Equal Opportunity Office. The advocates at RSVP can provide student confidentially).

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.

Important Dates:

September, 7	Labor Day (no class)
October, 1	First update COVID-19 project due
November, 1	Second update COVID-19 project due
December, 1	All short essays due
December, 4	One-page memo due

December, 10

Final COVID-19 project due

Finally:

THE COURSE SYLLABUS IS AN UPDATED PLAN FOR THE COURSE, BECAUSE OF THE CORNOAVIRUS PANDEMIC AND THE CONSEQUENT MOVE TO ONLINE TEACHING.

THEMATIC OUTLINE

Week 0 – Introduction (21 August)

I will go through the syllabus, discuss the layout of the course, explain the expectations, and solicit feedback (verbal in online meeting or written afterwards) on how to accommodate everyone as good as I can during the trying Fall semester.

Week 1 – Europe (24 – 28 August)

Contemporary European Politics is profoundly affected by the 20th century, which the British historian Eric Hobsbawm called “The Age of Extremes”. This first week we discuss the mutual expectations of the course as well as the “diversity in unity” of the European continent.

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

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.

Viewing:

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

Week 2 – European Integration (31 August – 4 September)

It was the enormous destruction of the two world wars in the first half of the 20th century that gave rise to process of European integration in the second half of that same century. This week we discuss the history and institutions of the European Union (EU), which have a profound impact on the national politics of all EU member states (and many surrounding them).

Discussion question: What are the major (ideological) forces shaping the process of European integration?

Reading:

Pinder, John and Simon Usherwood. *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, chapter 2 and 3.

Week 3 – Executives & Courts (9 – 11 September)

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 European 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?

Readings:

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

Week 4 – Political Parties (14 – 18 September)

The famous American political scientist E. E. Schattschneider once said that democracy is impossible without political parties. In this week, we look at the various types of parties, party families, and party systems within European democracies.

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

Reading:

Ladrech (12) in *European Politics*.

Mair, Peter and Cas Mudde. “The Party Family and Its Study”, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1, 1998, 211-229.

Week 5 – Welfare State(s) & Lijphart’s Models (21 – 25 September)

In this week we look at welfare policies, which constitute the core of the so-called welfare state, a crucial aspect of European democracies. We also discuss the most influential typology of democratic regimes, which was developed by the Dutch-American political scientist Arend Lijphart.

Discussion Question: What are the main effects of globalization on Europe’s welfare states?

Reading:

Hantrais in *European Politics*.

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.

Home work: Compare two European democracies on the basis of Lijphart’s models.

Week 6 – The United Kingdom (28 September – 2 October)

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. We will look at the key elements of the British political system, analyze the most recent

elections, and discuss the most important political development of the last years: Brexit.

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

Reading:

Rosamond (4) in *European Politics*.

Jennings, Will and Gerry Stoker, "Tilting Toward the Cosmopolitan Axis? Political Change in England and the 2017 General Election", *The Political Quarterly*, Vol.88, No.3, 2017, pp.359-369.

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.

Week 7 – France (5 – 9 October)

One of the two powerhouses of continental European politics is France. We will look at contemporary France, also known as the Fifth Republic, its peculiar political system, i.e. a semi-presidential system, and analyze its most recent elections. Finally, we focus on the challenge of multiculturalism and the rise of the far right.

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

Reading:

Elgie (2) in *European Politics*.

Evans, Jocelyn and Gilles Ivaldi. "An Atypical Honeymoon Election? Contextual and Strategic Opportunities in the 2017 French Legislative Elections", *French Politics*, Vol.15, No.3, 2017, pp.322-339.

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.

Week 8 – Germany (12 – 16 October)

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?

Reading:

Bendix in *European Politics*.

Patton, David F., "The Race for Third: Small Parties in the 2017 Bundestag Election", *German Politics and Society*, Vol.36, No.1, 2018, pp.52-69.
Conradt, David P., "The Civic Culture and Unified Germany: An Overview", *German Politics*, Vol.24, No.3, 2015, pp.249-270.

Week 9 – Italy (2 – 6 November)

Italy became a democracy after the defeat of Fascism in the Second World War. A relatively recent state, at least in a West European context, Italy has a tumultuous history, including a long record of regional strife. Just over two decades ago the Italian political system exploded again, after years of corruption, and from the rumbles an alleged new 'Second Republic' was built.

Discussion Question: Is corruption still politically relevant in Italy today?

Readings:

Hine in Hay & Menon

Chiaramonte, Alessandro, Vincenzo Emanuele, Nicola Maggini and Aldo Paparo, "Populist Success in a Hung Parliament: The 2018 General Election in Italy", *South European Society and Politics*, Vol.23, No.4, 2018, pp.479-501.

Della Porta, Donatella and Alberto Vannuci, "Corruption and Anti-Corruption: The Political Defeat of 'Clean Hands' in Italy", *West European Politics*, Vol.30, No.4, 2007, pp.830-853.

Week 10 – COVID-19 VIDEOS (19-23 October)

In this week we discuss the first half of the group videos. On Monday we watch all the videos and on Friday we can ask questions to the video makers – all questions must be submitted to me by Wednesday, October 21.

Week 11 – COVID-19 VIDEOS (26 – 30 October)

In this week we discuss the second half of the group videos. On Monday we watch all the videos and on Friday we can ask questions to the video makers – all questions must be submitted to me by Wednesday, October 21.

Week 12 – Poland (9 – 13 November)

Poland is the largest and most well-known countries in East Central Europe. We look at its tumultuous history, its current political system, the last elections, and the role that religion plays within Polish politics and society.

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

Readings:

Haughton in *European Politics*.

Szczerbiak, Aleks, "An Anti-Establishment Backlash that Shook Up the Party System? The October 2015 Polish Parliamentary Election", *European Politics and Society*, Vol.18, No.4, 2017, pp.404-427.

Szelewa, Dorota, "Killing 'Unborn Children'? The Catholic Church and Abortion Law in Poland Since 1989", *Social & Legal Studies*, Vol.25, No.6, 2016, pp.741-764.

WEEK 13 – Greece (16-23 November)

The Greeks had no less than 5 parliamentary elections in the 2010s, which created the implosion of one of the founding parties of the country, PASOK, and the meteoric rise of a new left populist party, SYRIZA. Obviously, this electoral volatility was largely the result of the Great Recession, the economic crisis that hit Greece harder than any other European country.

Discussion Question: How did the Great Recession change the Greek party system?

Readings:

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

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

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.

Viewing (23 November):

[This World: Michael Portillo's Great Euro Crisis](#)

WEEK 14 – Hungary (30 November - 4 December)

In 1989, Hungary was one of the most promising countries of the "post-communist space", having had a mild form of communism, so-called "Gulash socialism" for much of the 1980s, which allowed minor political freedom and some form of capitalism. The country was a front-runner for EU membership, but after it joined, in 2004, things went very different as expected. When Viktor Orbán returned to power in 2010, he used his "constitutional majority" to fundamentally change the political system, to the extent that its democratic status is now openly debated.

Discussion Question: Were the 2018 elections "free and fair"?

Readings:

Haughton in *European Politics*.

ODIHR, *Hungary: Parliamentary Elections 8 April 2018*. Warsaw: OSCE ODIHR.

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

Krekó, Péter and Zsolt Enyedi, "Orbán's Laboratory of Illiberalism", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.29, No.3, 2018, pp.39-51.

WEEK 15 – Quo Vadis, Europe? (7 – 9 December)

*In the final week of the semester, we will discuss what post-COVID-19 Europe will look like. Each student should submit a **1-page memo** on the topic by Friday (**December 4 at midnight**) at the latest.*

Short Essay Questions

You have to write **2** short essays (of max. 1.500 words) on **two** of the questions below and upload them to eLC. One of the essays should be on a topic from before and one from after **October 1**.

The essays should be properly referenced and written with at the very least reference to the relevant compulsory course readings. **All** short essays have to be uploaded by **December 1**.

- What are the most important consequences of EU membership for national states? (Week 2)
- Does the concept of “party family” still make sense in today’s world? If so, what is the best criterion to define party families? (Week 4)
- Are Lijphart’s models still useful in the 21st century? (week 5)
- What are the causes and consequences of Brexit? (week 6)
- In which ways do multiculturalism influence support for the radical right and vice versa? (week 7)
- Is Germany finally unified? (week 8)
- Has the Second Republic come to an end in Italy? (week 9)
- Are religion and the (Catholic) Church still major factors in Polish politics? (week 12)
- Why did the economic crisis hit Greece so hard? (week 13)
- Is Hungary still a democracy? (week 14)

Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

- If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.
- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.