

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

NUMBER: INTL 8300
TITLE: Transformations of European Politics
INSTRUCTOR: Dr. Cas Mudde (mudde@uga.edu)
OFFICE: IA Building 324
OFFICE HOURS: Wednesdays 10.00-12.00 (only online)
TERM: Fall 2020
DATE & TIME: Mondays, 4:10-7:20
ROOM: IA Building 117

Introduction:

At the beginning of the 20th 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 20th 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 21st 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 21st 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 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!

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. *

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.

You are urged to buy the books, as texts from these books will not be made available online. If you borrow 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\[@\]uga.edu](mailto:mudde[@]uga.edu).

Course objectives:

- To introduce you to some of the key characteristics 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 because of COVID-19 attendance is **NOT** mandatory. I do expect you to participate in the online parts of the course, as much as you can. *If you cannot attend the online discussion, please let me know in advance.*

You are expected to **read and reflect upon** (at least) the compulsory readings before each 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 area of interest. Be creative!

Office Hours:

I have office hours on Wednesday, 10-12 – because of COVID-19, the office hours will be **online**. I devote these two hours exclusively to my students and I always enjoy talking to you individually. You can sign up online for the Wednesday office hours, in 15 minute intervals. If you need more time, or cannot make the regular office hours, we can schedule individual office hours by email.

I do appreciate students checking in regularly to discuss their progress or discuss other (academic) issues on their mind. New students are particularly encouraged to attend office hours at the beginning of the semester, as this helps us to get to know each other better and will help you during the rest of the course.

Course Evaluation:

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

Participation (20%): You are expected to actively participate in each (online) class, which is based almost exclusively on student discussion. Your grade is based on the *quality and quantity* of your participation in the discussions.

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 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 (which can be for other IA courses).

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

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.

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:

08/24 – Introduction (1)

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 \(Part 1\)*](#)

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

08/31 – The West European Party System I (2)

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 20th century.

Compulsory Reading:

WEP, Parts I & II.

09/07 – LABOR DAY – NO CLASS

09/14 – The West European Party System II (3)

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 20th century, which is essentially the start period for our course.

Compulsory Reading:

WEP, Parts III & IV.

09/21 – The Silent Revolution (4)

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 21st century.

Compulsory Reading:

Inglehart, Ronald, "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies", *American Political Science Review*, Vol.65, No.4, 1971, pp. 991-1017.

Flanagan, Scott C., "Measuring Value Change in Advanced Industrial Societies: A Rejoinder to Inglehart", *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol.15, No.1, 1982, 99-128.

Ignazi, Piero, "The Silent Counter-Revolution: Hypotheses on the Emergence of Extreme Right-Wing Parties in Europe", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol.22, No.1, 1992, pp. 3-34.

Inglehart, Ronald, "Changing Values among Western Publics from 1970 to 2006", *West European Politics*, Vol., No.1-2, 2008, 130-146.

09/28 – The Third Way (5)

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.

10/05 – Radical Democracy (6)

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:

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

10/12 – Feminizing Politics (7)

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. How have sex and gender changed European politics?

Compulsory Reading:

Lovenduski, Jodi, "Gendering Research in Political Science", *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol.1, 1998, pp. 333-356.

Childs, Sarah and Rainbow Murray, "Feminizing Political Parties", in Rosie Campbell and Sarah Childs (eds.), *Deeds and Words: Gendering Politics after Joni Lovenduski*. Colchester: ECPR Press, 2014, pp. 73-92.

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, pp. 1313-1340.

Celis, Karen and Joni Lovenduski, "Power Struggles: Gender Equality in Political Representation", *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, Vol.1, Nos.1-2, 2018, pp. 149-166.

Verge, Tania, Political Party Gender Action Plans: Pushing Gender Change Forward Beyond Quotas", *Party Politics*, Vol.26, No.2, 2020, pp. 238-248.

10/19 – Multiculturalism (8)

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.

10/26 – The Hollowing of Western Democracy (9)

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.

11/02 – The Rise of Populism (10)

Populism is the political buzzword of the 21st 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.

11/09 – The Great Recession (11)

The Great Recession was the most serious economic and financial crisis of the postwar period, including in Europe. From the outset, the Great Recession was likened to the Great Depression, which led to speculations about a new rise of extremism and a profound change to European politics. But what has been the Great recession's impact on European politics?

Compulsory Reading:

Hobolt, Sara B. and Catherine de Vries, "Turning Against the Union? The Impact of the Crisis on the Eurosceptic Vote in the 2014 European Parliament Elections", *Election Studies*, Vol.44, 2016, pp. 504-514.

Bremer, Björn, Swen Hutter and Hanspeter Kriesi, "Dynamics of Protest and Electoral Politics in the Great Recession", *European Journal of Political Research*, forthcoming in 2020.

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.

Roberts, Kenneth M., "Party Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Perspectives on the European and Latin American Economic Crises", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol.56, No.2, 2017, pp. 218-233.

Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal and Lisa Zanotti, "The Comparative (Party) Politics of the Great Recession: Causes, Consequences and Future Research", *Comparative European Politics*, Vol.16, No.3, 2018, pp. 535-548.

11/16 – Brexit (12)

The most anticipated referendum of the 21st century was undoubtedly the one on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union (EU). On 23 June 2016 52 percent of Brits voters took the world by surprise by supporting a Brexit. What explains this unexpected decision? And what are the consequences for both the UK and the EU?

Compulsory Reading:

- 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.
- 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.
- Hix, Simon, "Brexit: Where Is the EU-UK Relationship Heading?", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.56, No.S1, 2018, pp. 1-17.
- Matthijs, Matthias, Craig Parsons and Christina Toenshoff, "Ever Tighter Union? Brexit, Grexit, and Frustrated Differentiation in the Single Market and Eurozone", *Comparative European Politics*, Vol.17, No.2, pp. 209-230.
- Menon, Anand and Alan Wagner, "Taking Back Control: Sovereignty as Strategy in Brexit Politics", *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Vol.8, No.2, 2020, pp. 279-284.

11/23 – New Paradigms (13)

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.
- 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.

11/30 – Post-Democracy? (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.

12/07 – A Crisis of Democracy? (15)

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](#).

Fukuyama, Francis. “Against Identity Politics: The New Tribalism and the Crisis of Democracy”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.97, No.5, 2018, pp. 90-115.

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

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!

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.