Political Science 3344G Western European Politics: States, Nations, and Regimes Winter Term 2019

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Course Description:

This course has two primary aims: (a) to provide students with a detailed understanding of the major political systems and processes in Western Europe, including governmental structures (executive, legislative, judicial and administrative), electoral systems, party systems, and patterns of state-society interaction; and (b) to place these post-WWII democracies within their broader historical context, with an emphasis on the themes of state formation, nations and nationalism, and regime change. We will try to identify the sources of key features of postwar Western Europe by pursuing both historical continuities and important breaks with the past.

This will lead us to many important questions. So, for instance, what are the causes of democratization in Europe? When, how, and how effectively were the key democratic features established in the different cases? What contribution was made by economic change, class struggle, state formation, and war to the democratic trajectories of our cases? Where and why did democratization involve rupture as opposed to compromise? How was 'the people' defined in each case, and was it internally divided on ethnic/national or other bases?

We will also raise a number of questions about the institutional results of political development. So, for instance, is the monarchy still in place? Is there a parliamentary, presidential, or semi-presidential system, and when and how successfully was this established? Is the electoral system majoritarian or proportional, and when was this determined? To what extent is the administration modern and bureaucratic? And how capable of reform are these institutional arrangements? Crucially, what should we make of the substantial trend toward decentralization or devolution in recent years, and will we continue to see secessionist challenges to the states of Western Europe? We will also inquire into the party systems, in order to figure out why conservatism and socialism are far from uniform across our cases, and why we have seen the emergence of such new contenders as the greens and the extreme right. More broadly, the relationship between states and their societies will be taken up in detail.

Learning Outcomes:

This course aims to enable students to: (a) identify the major features of the political order in several Western European countries; (b) locate the sources in history of each country's particular form of executive-legislative relations, administration, judiciary, electoral system, and party system, among other key features of the political landscape;

(c) discern and discuss the extent of continuity and discontinuity in these national historical trajectories, right up to the present;

(d) enhance their understanding through well-structured cross-case comparisons.

Assignments and Grading:

The assignments and grading for the course are as follows:

- (a) One take-home mid-term exam, 6-8 pages in length, worth 35% of your grade;
- (b) One take-home final exam, 10-12 pages in length, worth 50% of your grade;
- (c) Consistent, well-informed participation, grounded in regular attendance, worth 15% of your grade.

NB: While the weekly readings are substantial, there is in exchange no required research paper in this course. The take-home exams will, however, feature a small research component, which will enable you to explore areas of particular interest in somewhat more detail, and thereby strengthen your answers.

**Attendance is required for success in this course. Those failing to attend at least ten sessions without cause may not be permitted to submit the final exam. **Electronic devices will be permissible only for the purpose of note-taking and any other class-related activities. Disruptive use of these devices will not be permitted.

IMPORTANT NOTICE RE PREREQUISITES/ANTIREQUISITES

You are responsible for ensuring that you have successfully completed all course prerequisites, and that you have not taken an antirequisite course. Lack of prerequisites may not be used as a basis for appeal. If you are found to be ineligible for a course, you may be removed from it at any time and you will receive no adjustment to your fees. **This decision cannot be appealed**. If you find that you do not have the course requisites, it is in your best interest to drop the course well before the end of the add/drop period. Your prompt attention to this matter will not only help protect your academic record, but will ensure that spaces become available for students who require the course in question for graduation.

Office of the Dean, Faculty of Social Science

**Note: This course has Political Science 2245E or Political Science 2231E or International Relations 2701E as a prerequisite, and Political Science 248E as an antirequisite.

Required Texts Available for Purchase:

M. Donald Hancock et al., *Politics in Europe*,7th *Edition* (SAGE/CQ Press, 2019). Details on purchasing or renting this textbook will be provided at first class meeting.

WEEKLY SESSIONS AND READINGS

Week One: Introduction (January 9)

No required readings.

Week Two: Economics, Social Classes, and Democracy (January 16)

Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World (Beacon Press, 1966), Part Three, chapter 7.

John D. Stephens and Gerhard Kummel, "Class Structure and Democratization," in Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Jeremy Mitchell, *Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe*, 1919-39: Comparative Analyses (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 39-63 (skim p. 56-59).

Carles Boix, "The Roots of Democracy." *Policy Review* vol. 135 (February/March 2006), pp. 3-21.

Week Three: Democracy's Institutional Foundations

(January 23)

Axel Hadenius, *Institutions and Democratic Citizenship* (Oxford University Press, 2001), chapters 7 and 8 (pp. 176-9, 183-5, 189-213).

Sheri Berman, "How Democracies Emerge: Lessons from Europe." *Journal of Democracy* vol. 18, no. 1 (January 2007).

Weeks Four and Five: The British 'Old Regime' Democracy

(January 30, February 6)

Philip Harling and Peter Mandler, "From 'Fiscal-Military' State to Laissez-Faire State, 1760-1850." *Journal of British Studies* vol. 32, no. 1 (January 1993).

Bruce D. Porter, *War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics* (The Free Press, 1994), pp. 151-58, 170-79.

Carles Boix, "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* vol. 93, no. 3 (Sept. 1999).

Christopher J. Carman and Kathleen Volk Miller, "Part 1: The United Kingdom," in Hancock, *Politics in Europe* (section 1.4 recommended rather than required).

Weeks Six and Seven: France From Revolution to Republic (February 13, 27)

Bruce D. Porter, *War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics* (The Free Press, 1994), pp. 121-45.

Alan S. Kahan, *Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe: The Political Culture of Limited Suffrage* (Palgrave, 2003), chapter 1 (pp. 21-50, the rest recommended rather than required).

Robert Tombs, "Was There a French *Sonderweg*?" *European Review of History* vol. 1, no. 2 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 169-77.

William Safran and Michelle Hale Williams, "Part 2: France," in Hancock, *Politics in Europe* (section 2.4 recommended rather than required).

***The mid-term take-home exam is due at 5 pm, Monday, March 2nd.

Weeks Eight and Nine: Imperialism and Democracy in Germany (March 5, 12)

Theodore S. Hamerow, "The Origins of Mass Politics in Germany 1866-67," in Immanuel Geiss and Bernd Jurgen Wendt (eds.), *Deutschland in der Weltpolitik des 19. Und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bertelsmann Universitatsverlag, 1973).

Thomas Ertman, "Liberalization and Democratization in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany in Comparative Perspective," in Carl Lankowski (ed.), *Breakdown, Breakup, Breakthrough: Germany's Difficult Passage to Modernity* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1999).

Mark Mazower, *The Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (Vintage Books, 1998), chapter 1 (skim pp. 3-17).

David P. Conradt, "Part 3: Germany," in Hancock, Politics in Europe.

Weeks Ten and Eleven: Making Democracy and the Nation-State Work in Italy (March 19, 26)

Sheri Berman, *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe: From the Ancien Regime to the Present Day* (Oxford University Press, 2019), chapter 7.

Daniel Ziblatt, "Rethinking the Origins of Federalism: Puzzle, Theory, and Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Europe." *World Politics* vol. 57, no. 1 (Oct. 2004).

Gustavo Corni, "State and Society: Italy and Germany Compared," in RJB Bosworth, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

Raffaella Y. Nanetti and Robert Leonardi, "Part 4: Italy," in Hancock, *Politics in Europe* (sections 4.3, pp. 403-13, and 4.4, pp. 414-20, recommended rather than required).

Week Twelve: Social Democratic Sweden, the Other 'Third Way' (April 2)

Sheri Berman, *The Social Democratic Moment: Ideas and Politics in the Making of Interwar Europe* (Harvard University Press, 1998), chapters 3 (pp. 38-44) and 5.

M. Donald Hancock, "Part 5: Sweden," in Hancock, Politics in Europe.

***The final take-home exam is due at 5 pm on Tuesday, April 21st.

APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning.

Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade: • the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,

• the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

Security and Confidentiality of Student Work (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/

"Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

Duplication of work

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

Grade adjustments

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

Academic Offences

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site: http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/scholastic_discipline_undergrad.pdf

Submission of Course Requirements

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS MUST BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Attendance Regulations for Examinations

EXAMINATIONS/ATTENDANCE (Sen. Min. Feb.4/49, May 23/58, S.94, S.3538, S.3632, S.04-097) A student is entitled to be examined in courses in which registration is maintained, subject to the following limitations: 1) A student may be debarred from writing the final examination for failure to maintain satisfactory academic standing throughout the year. 2) Any student who, in the opinion of the instructor, is absent too frequently from class or laboratory periods in any course will be reported to the Dean of the Faculty offering the course (after due warning has been given). On the recommendation of the Department concerned, and with the permission of the Dean of that Faculty, the student will be debarred from taking the regular examination in the course. The Dean of the Faculty offering the course will communicate that decision to the Dean of the Faculty of registration.

Medical Policy, Late Assignments, etc.

Students registered in Social Science should refer to

https://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/medical_accommodation.html for information on Medical Policy, Term Tests, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

University Policy on Cheating and Academic Misconduct

Plagiarism: Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

Plagiarism Checking: "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (http://www.turnitin.com)."

Multiple-choice tests/exams: "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <u>https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic_policies/index.html</u>

PLAGIARISM*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History August 13, 1991

Accessibility at Western: Please contact poliscie@uwo.ca if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.

SUPPORT SERVICES

- The Registrar's office can be accessed for Student Support Services at <u>www.registrar.uwo.ca</u>
- Student Support Services (including the services provided by the USC listed here) can be reached at: <u>https://westernusc.ca/your-services/</u>
- Student Development Services can be reached at: <u>http://sdc.uwo.ca/</u>
- Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western <u>https://www.uwo.ca/health/</u> for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

Procedures for Requesting Academic Consideration

Students who experience an extenuating circumstance (illness, injury, or other extenuating circumstance) sufficiently significant to temporarily render them unable to meet academic requirements may submit a request for academic consideration through the following routes:

Submitting a Self-Reported Absence form provided that the conditions for submission are met;

- For medical absences, submitting a Student Medical Certificate (SMC) signed by a licensed medical or mental health practitioner in order to be eligible for Academic Consideration; or
- For non-medical absences, submitting appropriate documentation (e.g., obituary, police report, accident report, court order, etc.) to Academic Counselling in their Faculty of registration in order to be eligible for academic consideration. Students are encouraged to contact their Academic Counselling unit to clarify what documentation is appropriate.

Students seeking academic consideration:

- are advised to consider carefully the implications of postponing tests or midterm exams or delaying handing in work;
- are encouraged to make appropriate decisions based on their specific circumstances, recognizing that minor ailments (upset stomach) or upsets (argument with a friend) are **not** an appropriate basis for a self-reported absence;
- must communicate with their instructors **no later than 24 hours** after the end of the period covered by either the self-reported absence or SMC, or immediately upon their return following a documented absence.

Academic consideration **is not** normally intended for students who require academic accommodation based on an ongoing physical or mental illness (recurring or chronic) or an existing disability. These students are expected to seek and arrange reasonable accommodations with Student Accessibility Services (SAS) as soon as possible in accordance with the Policy on Academic

Accommodation for Students with Disability.

Students who experience high levels of stress related to academic performance (including completing assignments, taking part in presentations, or writing tests or examinations). These students should access support through Student Health and Wellness and Learning Skills Services in order to deal with this stress in a proactive and constructive manner.

Requests for Academic Consideration Using the Self-Reported Absence Form

Students who experience an unexpected illness or injury or an extenuating circumstance (48 hours or less) that is sufficiently severe to temporarily render them unable to meet academic requirements (e.g., attending lectures or labs, writing tests or midterm exams, completing and submitting assignments, participating in presentations) should self-declare using the **online Self-Reported Absence portal.** This option should be used in situations where the student expects to resume academic responsibilities **within 48 hours or less.**

The following conditions are in place for self-reporting of medical or extenuating circumstances:

Students will be allowed:

- a maximum of two self-reported absences between September and April;
- a maximum of one self-reported absence between May and August.

Any absences in excess of the number designated above, regardless of duration, will require students to present a Student Medical Certificate (SMC) no later than two business days after the date specified for resuming responsibilities.

- The duration of the excused absence will be for a maximum of 48 hours from the time the Self-Reported Absence form is completed through the online portal, or from 8:30 am the following morning if the form is submitted after 4:30 pm;
- The duration of the excused absence will terminate prior to the end of the 48 hour period should the student undertake significant academic responsibilities (write a test, submit a paper) during that time;
- The duration of an excused absence will terminate at 8:30 am on the day following the last day of classes each semester regardless of how many days of absence have elapsed;
- Self-reported absences **will not be** allowed for scheduled final examinations; for midterm examinations scheduled during the December examination period;
- Self-reporting **may not be** used for assessments (e.g. midterm exams, tests, reports, presentations, or essays) worth more than 30% of any given course.
- students must be in touch with their instructors **no later than 24 hours** after the end of the period covered by the Self-Reported Absence form, to clarify how they will be expected to fulfil the academic expectations they may have missed during the absence.

Request for Academic Consideration for a Medical Absence

Students seeking academic consideration for a medical absence not covered by existing Student Accessibility Services (SAS) accommodation, will be required to provide documentation in person to Academic Counselling in their Faculty of registration in the form of a completed, signed Student Medical Certificate (SMC) where the conditions for a Self-Reported Absence have not been met, including where the student has exceeded the maximum number of permissible Self-Reported Absences.

Request for Academic Consideration for a Non-Medical Absence

Students seeking academic consideration for a non-medical absence will be required to provide appropriate documentation to Academic Counselling in their Faculty of registration where the conditions for a Self-Reported Absence have not been met, including where the student has exceeded the maximum number of permissible Self-Reported Absences.