

West European Politics
CPO 6107/EUS 6930
Leslie Anderson

Tuesday, 8:30-11:30 Matherly 0005

This course is a doctoral-level seminar in Comparative Politics. It fulfills the area studies requirement for a major in Comparative Politics. The purpose of this course is to introduce you to the current state of West European politics with specific emphasis on Britain, Sweden, France, and Spain. An overview of these four countries will give you a sense of the current state of West European politics and a sense of the contemporary debates inside these countries and in Western Europe more generally.

Course requirements:

- do all the reading
- write a paper that points toward a topic you may study for your dissertation.
- class attendance and participation
- review of the work of your partner, as detailed below

Your term paper will be a central part of the work that you do for this course. Early in this class I will assign you a partner or you can pick your own partner. That person will be responsible for reviewing your work and giving you feedback. That feedback will be done in class after you do your presentation. We will start with a brief thumbnail presentation by each student on their paper topic. This should be no more than a 10 minute presentation. Your partner will then comment on the potential of your project and on any problems they see with the intended project. Later in the semester, you will present your paper more fully to the class followed by a critique from your partner in the same class session. At the end of the semester, you will turn in the paper as your final requirement for the course. Each partner is responsible for reading the work of the other partner and for offering constructive criticism.

Required readings:

1. (article 71 pages) E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present*, # 5, February, 1971, pp 76-136 on canvas or at this link: https://www.jstor.org/stable/650244?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents
2. Hugh Heclo, *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden: From Relief to Income Maintenance*, Yale, 1974 on reserve. This is a classic. Buy it. Keep it. Own it.
- 3) Daniel Ziblatt, *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy*, Cambridge, 2017. on reserve
- 4) Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit and Authoritarian Populism*, Cambridge, 2019. on reserve (relatedly see a recent JOP article on authoritarian personality characteristics and voting for the Republican Party: Matthew D. Luttig: "Reconsidering the Relationship Between Authoritarianism and Republican Support in 2016 and Beyond," *Journal of Politics*, Vol 83, #2, April, 2021, pp 783-787 <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.1086/710145>

- 5) Sam Mejias and Shakuntala Banaji, 40 page **paper** "A Better Brexit for Young People," UK Youth Perspectives and Priorities for Brexit Negotiations, This study was done by two professors at LSE October 2017, published by Parliamentary Group on a Better Brexit for Young People cited in Norris and Inglehart, 2019, note 80 p 405. I have a pdf and will upload to canvas.
- 6) **article**, Lilia Shevtsova, "Russia's Ukraine Obsession," JOD, Vol 31, # 1, January 2020, pp 138-147, esp p 145.
- 7) **article** M Steven Fish, "What is Putinism?" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 28, # 4, October 2017, pp 61-75
- 8) Torbjorn Bergman and Kaare Strom, *The Madisonian Turn: Political Parties and Parliamentary Democracy in Nordic Europe*, Michigan, 2013. Read Chapters 1-2, Chapter 7 and Chapters 8-10. Read the rest of the book if you like. on reserve
- 9) Peter Swenson, *Capitalists against Markets: The Making of Labor Markets and Welfare States in the United States and Sweden*, Oxford, 2002 on reserve
- 10) Richard B. Freeman, Bergitta Swedenborg, and Robert H. Topel, eds., *Reforming the Welfare State: Recovery and Beyond in Sweden*, 2010, Chicago esp Introduction, Chaps 1,2,4,9 on reserve
- 11) Bo Bengtsson, Per Stromblad, Ann-Helen Bay, *Diversity, Inclusion and Citizenship in Scandinavia*, Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010 on reserve
- 12) David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, University of California Press, 2002
- 13) Charles Hauss, *Politics in France*, CQ Press, 2008 on reserve
- 14) Alistair Cole, *Developments in French Politics* 6 2020. Be certain to buy the newest edition and even it does not cover the critical election of May, 2022. I did not put this on reserve because the library usually does not have textbooks like this that are rewritten and updated every few years. This is an expense they usually are not willing to make.
- 15) **article** Emily Laxer, "'We are all republicans': Political Articulation and the Production of Nationhood in France's Face Veil Debate," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2018, Vol 60(4) pp 938-967
- 16). Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero, Joan Botella, *Democracy in Spain*, Yale, 2004
- 17) Christopher Ross, Bill Richardson and Begoa B. Sangradorvegas, *Contemporary Spain*, Routledge, 2016.
- 18) Omar Encarnacion, *Democracy without Justice in Spain: The Politics of Forgetting*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014

Other useful resources on Britain. This is just the tip of the iceberg.

- 1) Richard Davis, *A Political History of the House of Lords*, Stanford, 2008
- 2) Robert Leach, *British Politics*, Palgrave, 2006 or new edition if you can find one.
- 3) Dawn Langan Teele, *Forging the Franchise: The Political Origins of the Women's Vote*, Princeton, 2018, on women's suffrage in Britain, the US and France.
- 4) Daniel Ziblatt, "How Did Europe Democratize?" *World Politics*, 58, January, 2006, pp 311-38
- 5) Gerhard Lowenberg, *On Legislatures: The Puzzle of Representation*, Paradigm Press, Boulder, Co, 2011
- 6) Eric Evans, *Britain Before the Reform Act, 1815-1832*, Longman, 1995
- 7) Michael Brock, *The Great Reform Act*, London, Hutchinson and Co., 1973
- 8) Stephen Green, *Brexit and the British: Who Do We Think We Are?* Chicago, 2017. The title on this book is not the one given above but is *Brexit and the British: Who Are We Now?* so I don't know why they advertise it under the title above.

- 9) Josh Chapek, *Congress's Constitution: Legislative Authority and the Separation of Powers*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2017
- 10) Diane Bolet, "Drinking Alone: Local Socio-Cultural Degradation and Radical Right Support – The Case of British Pub Closures," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol 4, # 9, 2021, pp 1653-1692.

More generally on the question of what and what to do about it see Eric Rauchway, *Why the New Deal Matters*, Yale, 2021

Recommended on Sweden

- 1) Sheri Berman, *The Primacy of Politics*, Cambridge, 2006
- 2) Ake Daun, *Swedish Mentality*, Penn State, 1996
- 3) I also recommend that you read Torbjorn and Strom, Chapters 3-6 on Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway
- 4) Mona Morgan Collins and Grace Natusch, "At the Intersection of Gender and Class: How Were Newly Enfranchised Women Mobilized in Sweden?" *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol 55, # 7, 2022, pp 1063-1094.
- 5) Sirus H. Dehdari, "Economic Distress and Support for Radical Right Parties – Evidence from Sweden," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol 55, # 2, 2022, pp 191-221

Recommended on France

- 1) Kelly Ricciardi Colvin, *Gender and French Identity after the Second World War, 1944-1954: Engendering Frenchness*, London, Bloomsbury Press, 2017

Recommended on Spain

- 1) Felipe Aguero, *Soldiers, Civilians and Democracy: Post-Franco Spain in Comparative Perspective*, Johns Hopkins, 1995
- 2) Victor M. Perez Diaz, *The Return of Civil Society: The Emergence of Democratic Spain*, Harvard, 1993
- 3) George Esenwein and Adrian Schubert, *Spain at War: The Spanish Civil War in Context 1931-39*, Longman Ltd, 1995
- 4) Adam Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39*, Houghton-Mifflin 2016.
- 5) Francisco Ferrándiz, "Francisco Franco is Back: The Contested Reemergence of a Fascist Moral Exemplar," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol 64, # 1, 2022, pp 208-237.

August 30: First class: pass out syllabus and discuss schedule of topics for the semester. Also in this class, we will discuss your research assignment for the semester. What country do you want to write on? Is it one of these 4 or another country entirely? Or do you have a topic that reaches across more than one country. You do not need to make any decisions today. Also on this first day, I would like to discuss the role of your reviewer and your role as a reviewer. For those of you who have taken my courses before, you know how this works and you can share your experience with classmates. Also in this class, I would like to discuss September 27, see below on syllabus. On September 27, we will finish the reading for Britain with the 40 page lengthy article on Brexit. That will be the first half of class. After the break, we will move into a more generalized discussion of the

broader implications of the Brexit vote and of the Trump phenomenon in the US. One or two students will read these two extra articles and guide discussion on this day. On this day, we rub shoulders with IR, briefly. These authors believe that politics inside the US and UK has an impact on politics globally. What do you think of their perspectives?

Britain

So I'll work the whole day and on Sundays I'll seek
At Church how to bear all the wants of the week.
The gentlefolks, too, will afford us supplies
They'll subscribe...and give up their puddings and pies
Derry-down

Derry down, indeed. And tra la boom deay! However, the nature of gentlefolks being what it is, a thundering good riot in the next parish was more likely to oil the wheels of charity than the site of Jack Anvil on his knees in church.

From E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd" *Past and Present*, 1971

The question of want. What to do about it. Whose fault is it? Whose responsibility is it? Do those in need and those most vulnerable deserve special care from society? Does caring for those who are vulnerable make us a better society? The collective underlying values of any society provide the answers to these questions. What is the relationship between want, need, fear, and democracy? These are the key issues of Europe and the rest of the world as well.

September 6: Thompson and Heclo

September 13: Ziblatt

September 20: Norris/Inglehart

September 27: First half of class: Better Brexit Mejias and Banaji

September 27: Second half of class: Discussion of the global impact of politics inside the US and UK

After reading "A Better Brexit" and Norris/Inglehart I want to pause for a moment before we move on to Sweden. Brexit and Trump. Are these phenomenon confined to the UK and the US? Or do these decisions and leaders have a global impact? The following two authors think they do. One or two students to lead the discussion of two articles by Shevtsova and Fish for extra credit.

On Brexit, some scholars think that Brexit has weakened the EU and democracy globally, contributing to Russia's conclusion that it could invade Ukraine. We need part of a class discussion on this guided by the following article Lilia Shevtsova, "Russia's Ukraine

Obsession,” JOD, Vol 31, # 1, January 2020, pp 138-147, esp p 145. I need one student to read this article and lead a brief discussion on this topic for extra credit.

On Trump, some scholars think the vote for Trump strengthened Putin, leading ultimately to the attack on Ukraine. Please read M Steven Fish, “What is Putinism?” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 28, # 4, October 2017, pp 61-7

Sweden

(with some attention to the rest of Scandinavia and the Nordic countries more generally)

October 4 Heclo again this time on Sweden
also Bergman and Strom

October 11: Swenson

October 18 Freeman et al

October 26: Bengtsson et al

France

With respect to France, I’d like you to understand the profound influence that the French Revolution had on everything about French politics and culture. There is a lot written on the French Revolution. I have chosen only one book, Garrioch, because I find it exciting to read and it shows you how a new kind of civil society emerged with the coming of revolution. This matters for democracy in France.

Beyond the understanding of the Revolution, I would like you to understand that France is in a long-standing argument with itself over whether or not it can afford itself, its welfare state and its expense. Within that conversation is additional disagreement over whether or not the trappings of the welfare state should be extended to include new arrivals and immigrants. In the background of our study of France, let us not forget the close call in the runoff election in May, 2022 while the eyes of the world watched.

November 1: Garrioch

November 8 Hauss

November 15 Cole; Laxer (article)

Spain

Spain is the newest democracy on the syllabus and the newest democracy among the major European powers. Spain has been deeply troubled and is still, in many ways, democratizing and not yet fully consolidated in its democracy. Many of the issues Spain confronts are also those confronted by new democracies in Latin America. Relatedly, since scholars do not like to study fascism, the literature on Spain is poor. We need more work on modern Spain. I require three books as listed below.

Key to remember here is that the left won in Spain in April 2019. Here is a link. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/04/pedro-sanchez-won-spain-election-but-right-remains/588298/> But the PSOE won only 29%. The good thing is that it still won more than twice what the far right won. The bad thing is that this is not a majority and is even less than what Allende won in Chile so the left has to tread carefully.

November 22: Gunther

November 9 Ross et al

December 6 Encarnacion

Final Assignment Due: TBD