

Political Science 410
Western European Politics
Spring 2012

Meeting Times: MWF 3:00pm – 3:50

Office: 1606 Patterson Office Tower

Location: Oliver H Raymond-Building Rm.C226

Office Hours: Tuesday 12pm - 4pm

Instructor: Ralph Schoellhammer

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Phone: 859-327-4603

Course Objectives

The idea of this course is to create an understanding of contemporary politics in Western Europe. It is not a course about the European Union, although it will be part of some of the lectures. The approach of the course is in a comparative fashion, trying to outline the unique geographical, political, historical and social circumstances that formed and form Western Europe.

We will start with a more theoretical approach that inquires the formation of nation states in Western Europe. What were the decisive factors that this small peninsula on the Western end of the European landmass was not integrated into a larger empire, but remained a fractured place of different political entities – and yet managed to become the most influential region in the contemporary world? We then turn to the major nations in Europe (Great Britain, Germany and France), looking at how they differ in culture and politics, but still comprise parts of the bigger European picture. Why did they fight so much in the past and why are they now on a path to intertwine their politics ever more under the umbrella of the European Union.

In the final part of the course we turn to contemporary problems of the European nations including competition with the United States, demographic developments and the potential for a “Clash of Civilizations” between Muslims and non-Muslims in Europe.

Course Requirements

Your course grade is based on class participation, quizzes, two exams and a country diary.

This course is not a history class! Even though we will cover some history to create a backdrop for our political analysis, the main focus of the course lies with the political development of Western Europe. This means that the exams will not only focus on specific events that happened in Europe, but the broader implications of it (e.g. what is Charles Tilly’s argument for the formation of nation states? Can you outline Barrington Moore’s idea of economic development?)

Class Attendance and Participation (20%)

This is a higher level course, and each class period will involve a discussion of the readings assigned for that week. Readings are assigned per week and not for a specific day, but I expect you to have done all the readings for the week by Friday. The reading amount in this course is substantial, and if you do not keep up with your assignments during the week, you will have a hard time participating in the class-discussion or to prepare for potential quizzes. In regards to attendance, I expect you to come to every session to get full participation points. I will pass

around an attendance sheet daily, which you'll have to sign. You will lose 20% of your attendance grade for each unexcused absence (i.e. after 5 absences, the best you can do in this course is an 80%). Just to attend class, however, will also not assure you to get full participation points – you will also need to actively participate during class discussions. If I should have the impression that participation and attendance is dropping under an acceptable minimum, I reserve for myself the right to give unannounced quizzes during class.

Midterm Exam (Friday, February 24th) – 35%

The midterm exam will be covering the readings, lectures, and class discussions, EXCLUDING Week 7. The format will be Identification Questions and short essays. There will be no multiple choice questions, so make sure you understand the material we are covering. Make up exams will be given only to students with medical or personal emergencies. You should make every reasonable effort to contact me before the exam or you will receive zero credit.

Country Diary – 10%

Each participant will conduct outside research throughout the semester on a particular country or pair of countries, to be assigned during the first class meeting based on individuals' interests and the need for representation of all major countries. The focus of this diary is for you to show me that you can keep up and produce a concise report on political, social and economic developments in a given country. The final product of this should be a 4-5 pages paper (Double spaced, Times New Roman, font size 12) that gives the reader an overview of what happened in a specific country during the time of our seminar. I do not expect you to read additional books, but I want you to keep up on current events via reliable news sources.

In order to stay abreast of recent events in Europe, your best sources are the Financial Times (British daily newspaper; high quality information on European politics), and The Economist (weekly British weekly newsmagazine—very good comparatively). The UK newspaper The Guardian has a weekly European edition with extracts from a number of continental European newspapers. The New York Times has decent coverage of European events. If you read French, acquire Le Monde (most prominent daily in France, and outward looking) and Le Monde Diplomatique (monthly; excellent also on African events). First-rate choices for German-readers are the Frankfurter Allgemeine (daily German newspaper--rather dry, but very solid), Die Welt (German daily), Die Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Swiss daily--top quality), Der Spiegel (which also offers articles written in English on its homepage) or the weekly Die Zeit. There are also very good Italian (Corriere della Serra and La Repubblica) and Spanish (El Pais) sources.

Several newspapers have sites on the Internet. Try the Financial Times site (<http://www.ft.com>) - great coverage, including historical archives on particular topics, or the New York Times site (<http://www.nytimes.com>). The British BBC has a vast site.

So have most foreign newspapers or magazines, e.g. the Economist (<http://www.economist.com/>). There are a number of newsgroups: try clarinet, which contains authorized releases from recognized journalistic sources (<http://www.clarinet.com/>). Interesting news media sites are Time Warner's site Pathfinder (<http://www.pathfinder.com/>), which includes Time magazine as well as a number of other periodicals. There is also the UNCG list (<http://www.uncg.edu/lib/news/>), a list by region of newspapers put together by a librarian at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. The European Union has its own site (<http://www.eurunion.org>). An excellent all-round guide to various European media sources can be found on the website of the Center for European Studies of the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill:

<http://www.unc.edu/depts/europe>. A useful source for EU news is the weekly European Voice, which is one of the very few genuinely European media. Its website offers a selection of articles on EU topics:<http://www.european-voice.com>

I expect you to hand in your diary no later than **MARCH 20!**

Final Exam (Monday, March 30 at 10:30) – 35%

The final exam will have the same format as the midterm exam and will be covering everything from (including) week seven to the last day of class.

Final course grades will be assigned using the following scale:

A 100% - 90%

B 89.9% - 80%

C 79.9% - 70%

D 69.9% - 60%

E 59.9% - 0%

In order to receive a passing grade in this course, ALL COURSE WORK MUST BE COMPLETED. Any student who does not complete the Research Paper, or take both the midterm and the final exam, will receive an automatic grade of E. A student wishing to appeal any grade given in this class must make their request in writing prior to meeting with the instructor. The written appeal must be typed and clearly state the reason(s) the student feels the grade they received is incorrect. Appeals that just ask for more points will not be considered by the instructor. The Instructor reserves the right to re-grade the entire exam or assignment once an appeal is made, this may result in an increase or decrease in the score a student receives.

Excused Absences

Students need to notify the instructor of absences prior to class when possible. S.R. 5.2.4.2 defines the following as acceptable reasons for excused absences: (a) serious illness, (b) illness or death of family member, (c) University-related trips, (d) major religious holidays, and (e) other circumstances found to fit “reasonable cause for nonattendance” by the professor.

Students anticipating an absence for a major religious holiday are responsible for notifying the instructor in writing of anticipated absences due to their observance of such holidays no later than the last day in the semester to add a class. Information regarding dates of major religious holidays may be obtained through the religious liaison, Mr. Jake Karnes (859-257-2754).

Students are expected to withdraw from the class if more than 20% of the classes scheduled for the semester are missed (excused or unexcused) per university policy.

Verification of Absences

Students may be asked to verify their absences in order for them to be considered excused. Senate Rule 5.2.4.2 states that faculty have the right to request “appropriate verification” when

students claim an excused absence because of illness or death in the family. Appropriate notification of absences due to university-related trips is required prior to the absence.

Academic Integrity

Per university policy, students shall not plagiarize, cheat, or falsify or misuse academic records. Students are expected to adhere to University policy on cheating and plagiarism in all courses. The minimum penalty for a first offense is a zero on the assignment on which the offense occurred. If the offense is considered severe or the student has other academic offenses on their record, more serious penalties, up to suspension from the university may be imposed.

Plagiarism and cheating are serious breaches of academic conduct. Each student is advised to become familiar with the various forms of academic dishonesty as explained in the Code of Student Rights and Responsibilities. Complete information can be found at the following website: <http://www.uky.edu/Ombud>. A plea of ignorance is not acceptable as a defense against the charge of academic dishonesty. It is important that you review this information as all ideas borrowed from others need to be properly credited. Part II of Student Rights and Responsibilities (available online <http://www.uky.edu/StudentAffairs/Code/part2.html>) states that all academic work, written or otherwise, submitted by students to their instructors or other academic supervisors, is expected to be the result of their own thought, research, or self-expression. In cases where students feel unsure about the question of plagiarism involving their own work, they are obliged to consult their instructors on the matter before submission.

When students submit work purporting to be their own, but which in any way borrows ideas, organization, wording or anything else from another source without appropriate acknowledgement of the fact, the students are guilty of plagiarism. Plagiarism includes reproducing someone else's work, whether it be a published article, chapter of a book, a paper from a friend or some file, or something similar to this. Plagiarism also includes the practice of employing or allowing another person to alter or revise the work which a student submits as his/her own, whoever that other person may be.

Students may discuss assignments among themselves or with an instructor or tutor, but when the actual work is done, it must be done by the student, and the student alone. When a student's assignment involves research in outside sources of information, the student must carefully acknowledge exactly what, where and how he/she employed them. If the words of someone else are used, the student must put quotation marks around the passage in question and add an appropriate indication of its origin. Making simple changes while leaving the organization, content and phraseology intact is plagiaristic. However, nothing in these Rules shall apply to those ideas which are so generally and freely circulated as to be a part of the public domain (Section 6.3.1).

Please note: Any assignment you turn in may be submitted to an electronic database to check for plagiarism.

Accommodations due to disability

If you have a documented disability that requires academic accommodations, please see me as soon as possible during scheduled office hours. In order to receive accommodations in this course, you must provide me with a Letter of Accommodation from the Disability Resource Center (Room 2, Alumni Gym, 257-2754, email address: jkarnes@email.uky.edu) for coordination of campus disability services available to students with disabilities.

Classroom Behavior Policies

I will tolerate no laptops except for note taking and I expect you to turn your cell phones on vibrate during class. Unless you are expecting an emergency call, you are not supposed to use your phone at any time. Disrespectful behavior towards your classmates or the instructor will be not be tolerated and can result in a lower participation grade.

REQUIRED TEXTS

The required books are available via Amazon or the UK bookstore:

William I. Hitchcock, *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent 1945 to the Present* (New York Anchor, 2004)

Steven Hill, *Europe's Promise: Why the European Way Is the Best Hope in an Insecure Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

Walter Laqueur, *After the Fall: The End of the European Dream and the Decline of a Continent* (Thomas Dunne Books, 2012)

All the other readings will be available on blackboard. I do have those readings as a single pdf-file and I can provide those students who want to print (or have it printed) with this file. I would encourage the second option (even though it is more expensive for you), since I have the impression it will be easier for you to keep up with the readings if you have everything in printed form.

SCHEDULE

WEEK 1 (January 11, 13)

Review of the syllabus. Short overview of European history and recent developments. and **MAP-QUIZ on Friday the 13th (this will count towards your participation grade – you will have to know all the nations location and capitals from Portugal in the West to Germany, Austria, Denmark and Italy in the East – do not overlook the Scandinavian peninsula)**

WEEK 2 (January 16, 18, 20) “The Path to Nationhood”

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993): (Chap 1-2; 7-8)

Charles Tilly, *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1975): 601 – 638.

Golo Mann, *The History of Germany Since 1789* (London: Penguin Books, 1985): Introduction

WEEK 3 (January 23, 25, 27) “One Continent, Different Cultures”

Russell J Dalton, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, 5th ed. (Chatham, N.J: Chatham House, 2008). Chapters 5 & 6

Seyla Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002): Chapters 6 and 7.

Martin Marcussen, Thomas Risse, Hans Joachim Knopf, *Constructing Europe ? The evolution of French , British and German Nation State Identities* *Journal of European Public Policy* (1999) Volume: 6, Issue: 4, Pages: 614-633

WEEK 4 (January 30 & February 1 and 2) “The Dilemma of Identity?”

Jack Citrin and John Sides, *More than Nationals: How Identity Choice Matters in the New Europe* In: *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004)

Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and “The Politics of Recognition”*: *An Essay* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Rawi Abdelal et al. *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009): Introduction

WEEK 5 (February 6, 8, 10) “Germany”

Hitchcock: Part One (pages 1 – 131)

WEEK 6 (February 13, 15, 17) “The United Kingdom and the End of Empires”

Hitchcock: Part Two (pages 131 – 247)

WEEK 7 (February 20, 22, 24) “France and the Idea of Nationhood in Practice”
FEBRUARY 24 – MIDTERM EXAM

Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1976): Introduction and Chapter 29

Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1994): Pages 1- 50

WEEK 8 (February 26, 28 and March 2)“Times of Discontent”

Hitchcock: Part Three (Pages 247 – 347)

WEEK 9 (March 5, 7, 9) “The Dream of Unity”

Hitchcock: part Four (347 – 465)

WEEK 10 (March 19, 21, 23) “Why does Europe Integrate?”

James A. Caporaso, *The European Union and Forms of the State: Wesphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern?* *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34 No. 1, 29 – 52.

Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). **AVAILABLE AS AN ELECTRONIC RESOURCE FROM THE LIBRARY Capters 1 and 6.**

Craig Parson, *Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union*, *International Organization*, Vol 56 No. 1 (Winter 2002): 921 – 956.

WEEK 11 (March 26, 28, 30) “Europe and the U.S.”

Robert Kagan, *Power and Weakness*, *Policy Review*, No. 13, June 2002

Parag Khana, *The Metrosexual Superpower*, *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2004

WEEK 12 (April 2, 4, 6) “Europe and the Troubles of Multiculturalism”

Christian Joppke, *The Retreat of Multiculturalism in the Liberal State: Theory and Policy*, *British Journal of Sociology*, 55:2 (2004):. 237-257

Pascal Bruckner *Enlightenment fundamentalism or racism of the anti-racists?*

Joan Wallach Scott, *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space and Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France*, *Perspectives on Politics*, 5:4 (2007): 837-839.

Timothy Garton Ash, *Islam in Europe* (review of Ian Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam: Death of Theo Van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance* and Ayaan Hirsi Ali, *The Caged Virgin: An Emancipation Proclamation for Women and Islam*), *New York Review of Books*, 53:15 (October 5 2006), available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19371>.

WEEK 13 (April 9, 11, 13) "Europe and the Troubles of Multiculturalism - Continued"

Jytte Klausen, *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), chs 4 ("From Integration to Culture War") and Conclusion ("Liberal Muslims and the Emergence of European Islam").

Christopher Caldwell, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the West* (Doubleday: 2009). Chapters 1 & 4

Stephen Holmes, *Chicken Little Goes to Europe* (review of Caldwell, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe*) *American Prospect* (August 28, 2009).

WEEK 14 (April 16, 18, 20) "Europe, The Future or Europe, The End?"

Finish Hitchcock

Steven Hill, *Europe's Promise: Why the European Way Is the Best Hope in an Insecure Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). Introduction and Chapters:1, 4, 11, 12, 16.

WEEK 15 (April 23, 25, 27) "Europe, The Future or Europe, The End?"

Bruce Thornton, *Decline and Fall: Europe's Slow-Motion Suicide* (New York: Encounter Books, 2007). Chapters 1 & 4.

Walter Laqueur, *After the Fall: The End of the European Dream and the Decline of a Continent* (Thomas Dunne Books, 2012): Part One and Two.

FINAL March 30 10:30!