

Political Science 3344G
Western European Politics: States, Nations, and Regimes
Winter Term 2023

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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 the character of conservatism and socialism is 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) Take-home mid-term exam, 6-8 pages in length (35%, due March 7)
- (b) Take-home final exam, 10-12 pages in length, (50%, due April 25)
- (c) Consistent, well-informed participation, grounded in regular attendance (15%)

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 nine 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 (2545F/G) or Political Science 2231E (2531F/G) or International Relations 2701E (2704F/G) 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 are available on the OWL course site.

WEEKLY SESSIONS AND READINGS

Week One: Introduction

(January 11)

No required readings.

Week Two: Economics, Social Classes, and Democracy

(January 18)

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 25)

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

(February 1 and 8)

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 15 and March 1)

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 on March 5th at 11:55 pm.

Weeks Eight and Nine: Imperialism and Democracy in Germany

(March 8 and 15)

Theodore S. Hamerow, "The Origins of Mass Politics in Germany 1866-67," in Immanuel Geiss and Bernd Jürgen Wendt (eds.), *Deutschland in der Weltpolitik des 19. Und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 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 22 and 29)

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 5)

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 on April 19th at 11:55 pm.

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.

Absences from Final Examinations

If you miss the Final Exam, please contact the Academic Counselling office of your Faculty of Registration as soon as you are able to do so. They will assess your eligibility to write the Special Examination (the name given by the University to a makeup Final Exam).

You may also be eligible to write the Special Exam if you are in a "Multiple Exam Situation" (e.g., more than 2 exams in 23-hour period, more than 3 exams in a 47-hour period).

Note: Missed work can *only* be excused through one of the mechanisms above. Being asked not to attend an in-person course requirement due to potential COVID-19 symptoms is **not** sufficient on its own. Students should check the Western website to see what directives for Covid are to be followed. Western has been and will continue to follow directives established by the Middlesex-London Health Unit. That directive will state whether students should or should not come to campus/class and any other requirements (e.g., masks are mandatory). Please check on your own and do not email the instructor, the Department Undergraduate Advisor/Coordinator or the Faculty of Social Science Academic Counselling Office.

Accommodation and Accessibility

Religious Accommodation

When a course requirement conflicts with a religious holiday that requires an absence from the University or prohibits certain activities, students should request accommodation for their absence in writing at least two weeks prior to the holiday to the course instructor and/or the

Academic Counselling office of their Faculty of Registration. Please consult University's list of recognized religious holidays (updated annually) at

<https://multiculturalcalendar.com/ecal/index.php?s=c-univwo>.

Accommodation Policies

Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact Accessible Education, which provides recommendations for accommodation based on medical documentation or psychological and cognitive testing. The policy on Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities can be found at:

https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/Academic_Accommodation_disabilities.pdf.

Academic Policies

The website for Registrarial Services is <http://www.registrar.uwo.ca>.

In accordance with policy,

https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/policies_procedures/section1/mapp113.pdf,

the centrally administered e-mail account provided to students will be considered the individual's official university e-mail address. It is the responsibility of the account holder to ensure that e-mail received from the University at their official university address is attended to in a timely manner.

During exams/tests/quizzes, no electronic devices (e.g. a phone, laptop, iPad) are allowed and must be powered down and stored out of reach.

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.

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>).

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

If a course uses remote proctoring, please be advised that you are consenting to the use of this software and acknowledge that you will be required to provide **personal information** (including

some biometric data) and the session will be **recorded**. Completion of a course with remote proctoring will require you to have a reliable internet connection and a device that meets the technical requirements for this service. More information about this remote proctoring service, including technical requirements, is available on Western's Remote Proctoring website at:

<https://remoteproctoring.uwo.ca>.

Support Services

Please visit the Social Science Academic Counselling webpage for information on adding/dropping courses, academic considerations for absences, appeals, exam conflicts, and many other academic related matters: [Academic Counselling - Western University \(uwo.ca\)](https://www.uwo.ca/academic_counselling/)

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western (<https://uwo.ca/health/>) for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

Western is committed to reducing incidents of gender-based and sexual violence and providing compassionate support to anyone who has gone through these traumatic events. If you have experienced sexual or gender-based violence (either recently or in the past), you will find information about support services for survivors, including emergency contacts at

https://www.uwo.ca/health/student_support/survivor_support/get-help.html.

To connect with a case manager or set up an appointment, please contact support@uwo.ca.

Please contact the course instructor if you require lecture or printed material in an alternate format or if any other arrangements can make this course more accessible to you. You may also wish to contact Accessible Education at

http://academicsupport.uwo.ca/accessible_education/index.html

if you have any questions regarding accommodations.

Learning-skills counsellors at the Learning Development and Success Centre (<https://learning.uwo.ca>) are ready to help you improve your learning skills. They offer presentations on strategies for improving time management, multiple-choice exam preparation/writing, textbook reading, and more. Individual support is offered throughout the Fall/Winter terms in the drop-in Learning Help Centre, and year-round through individual counselling.

Western University is committed to a thriving campus as we deliver our courses in the mixed model of both virtual and face-to-face formats. We encourage you to check out the Digital Student Experience website to manage your academics and well-being: <https://www.uwo.ca/se/digital/>.

Additional student-run support services are offered by the USC, <https://westernusc.ca/services/>.

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. https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic_policies/index.html

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