

Department of Political Science
McGill University
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Political Science 630

West European Politics

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Office Hours: Tue. 2:30-3:00; Thu.
2:30-3:30.

Course Description:

This is a graduate seminar in the politics of Western Europe. The focus of this course will be on the following thematic issues in West European politics: 1) pluralism and an open world (past, a particular experience that comes to us from the Portuguese experience; and present, seeds of a good Anthropocene) 2) the creation of national states as Faustian bargains (the good mixed with the bad in governance, and the questions of controlling the state), and 3) what kind of self-rule people aspire and create in a political and economic world dominated by top down systems? What realistic possibilities exist for good Anthropocene to go beyond seeing like a state?

The readings have been chosen based on their analytical arguments rather than in terms of country coverage, although the course will cover the continuity and change in governance of the large-literate countries of France, Germany, Italy and the UK. The emphasis in this course pivots on understanding theoretical and conceptual issues that are anchored in European politics but that are generally pertinent to the study of comparative politics broadly understood. We may want to keep in mind that the study of Western Europe has been at the forefront of comparative politics, conceptually, theoretically and empirically. As noted, “it is only with the rise of Europe to global dominance that an idealized European territorial state became the global archetype” (John Agnew 2007 “No borders, no nations: making Greece in Macedonia.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97 (2): 398-422).

This course seeks to enable students to: (1) gain an empirical and conceptual understanding of the political dynamics of the region; (2) think comparatively within and across the developed and developing worlds; (3) address and debate theoretical questions in political science through European materials.

This is a reading-intensive seminar. Students are expected to come to class having done the readings beforehand. The readings per week are substantial, but not excessive for the graduate level. Students should approach the readings with the following questions in mind: (a) what is the main argument? (b) what is the evidence for the argument? (c) how convincing or problematic is the argument? Discussion is crucial to the success of the seminar. I expect all participants to come to the seminar ready to discuss the assigned works in depth. You will get the most out of this seminar by actively participating and interrogating the readings.

I will provide more details about the course and assignments in our first meeting. I will also set out my expectations for your seminar presentation. I strongly encourage you to discuss with me any questions or interests you have in the region, and I am more than happy to guide your research and interests in Western European politics and political theory. Feel free to contact me via email for any minor or logistical questions; if you need lengthier discussion, please talk to me in person during office hours.

Western Europe is well covered in *The New York Times*, *The New York Review of Books*, *Le Monde*, *the London Review of Books*, *The Financial Times*, and *The Economist*. There are also specific conference groups on German, French, British and Italian Politics, and the European Community. Check them out. From time to time, *The Economist* publishes useful country profiles of these countries and the European Union. There are three states on the Italian peninsula (San Marino, the Holy See or the Vatican with its world-wide representation, and the Republic of Italy) but the focus here is on the last one.

Course Requirements:

- Two short, analytical papers of 4-5pp. in length.

The purpose of these analytical papers is to ensure that students actively engage the readings and seminar discussions. They should be avenues for students to test out their own ideas and to sharpen their analytical skills. The papers should provide a critical analysis of the week's readings. I will address these issues in our first meeting. Briefly put, you are allowed to choose the week for which you will write your papers. However, the papers must be written within the timetable listed below. This is to ensure that you do not procrastinate and write all your papers at the end of the course. My aim is to ensure that you cover in the papers different parts of the course.

Paper 1: Weeks 2-7

Paper 2: Weeks 8-13

-Papers must be submitted via email to me by 10 am Thursday before the Tuesday seminar. I will read the papers before the seminar and ask students to discuss their papers and elaborate on their ideas. Please be prepared to discuss your paper in class. Sharing ideas and findings is an important dimension of the seminar.

And

- **One** final paper of approximately 7,000-8,000 words (do not exceed 8,000 words including footnotes and bibliography).

The final paper is a research assignment. Students may write about any topic in West European politics, regardless of whether it has been discussed in the seminar. Eg. Think about a paper on "seeds of good Anthropocene". The research paper is an opportunity to go into more depth in a specific country or issue of interest. It is also an opportunity to sharpen one's writing for potential publication in an academic journal, or preparation for phd comprehensives or dissertation proposal. I would encourage you to meet with me early in the semester to discuss a specific topic for the paper. A two-paragraph abstract, detailing the argument and likely evidence, along with a preliminary reference list of some sources, should be handed in as a hard copy on November 7. The final paper is due via email on Tuesday December 19. I also prefer a hard copy. If you TA this term, you can request some modification in deadlines.

Grade Distribution:

1. Class participation 20%
2. Two short papers 40%

3. Final paper 40%

Statement on Academic Integrity:

McGill University values academic integrity (in English or French). Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism, and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see www.mcgill.ca/integrity for more information).

Contact during the Semester:

I care very much about the study of West Europe and the prospects of self-government in and beyond Europe. I would like students to be excited about studying this region. To that effect, I encourage you to discuss with me any questions or interests you have in the region. I am more than happy to help guide your research or practical interests in West Europe and the nascent European Community. Since this is a seminar, feel free to email me for any minor or logistical questions. But if you need a lengthier discussion, I prefer that you talk to me in person during office hours.

Books to Purchase:

The following books are required readings and are available for purchase at the McGill University Bookstore:

- Audretsch, David B. and Erik E. Lehmann. 2016. *The Seven Secrets of Germany. Economic Resilience in an Era of Global Turbulence*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Berman, Sheri. 2019. *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe. From the Ancien Regime to the Present Day*. New York: Oxford UP. 9780199373192.
- Schumacher, E. F. *Small is Beautiful. A study of economics as if people mattered*. Vintage Classics 978 0 099 22561 4.
- Scott, James C. 1998. *Seeing Like a State. How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 0 300 07815 3.
- Scott, James C. 2012. *Two Cheers for Anarchism*. Princeton: Princeton UP 978 0 691 15529 6.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. 2007. *The Politics of the Veil*. Princeton: Princeton UP 9780 691 14798 7
- Steinberg, Jonathan. 2023. *Why Switzerland?* 3rd edition. Oxford UP.

The other readings will be available in the E-course pack provided by the Library. The course pack gives easy access to the readings and saves time. The individual readings will also be available individually in electronic form from the McLennan Library. The suggested readings are so indicated; all others are required. I will also make available from time to time particular *Economist* columns and copies of my papers.

For general introduction to comparative politics, Daniele Caramani, 2023. *Comparative Politics*. 6th ed. New York: Oxford UP.

Meeting # 1. Organization and Overview of the Seminar

Meeting # 2. Starting Point: when pluralism, diversity and the potential of an open world were realistic possibilities, (when the Republic of Venice and Switzerland were not exceptional cases)

Edward Wilson-Lee 2023. *A History of Water*. London: William Collins. The title of this

book is a bit confusing but the book content is not! For our purpose focus on the experience of Damiao de Gois, the Portuguese royal architect and explorer.
Jonathan Steinberg. 2023. *Why Switzerland?* 3rd ed. New York: Cambridge UP. May I suggest you start the reading with “why Switzerland matters”.
Filippo Sabetti 2023. “Landscape of Cognitive Options and Possibilities: Seeing like a State or Seeing like a Polycentric Republic.” Paper.

Suggested:

David Graeber and David Wengrow. 2021. *The Dawn of Everything. A new history of humanity*. Toronto : Signal, chaps 1 and 10, 11, and 12.

Meeting # 3. Seeing like a State: Centralization, Uniformity and the Progress of Equality

Alexis de Tocqueville [1856] 1983). *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*. New York: Anchor book. All, and see esp. appendix on Languedoc.

James C. Scott (1998). *Seeing like a State. How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, all but esp. parts I and 2; pp.1-180, and 309-357.

Meeting # 4. Did Europe Democratize?

Daniel Ziblatt. 2006. “How did Europe Democratize?” *World Politics* 58 (January): 311-38.

Thomas Ferenczi 2004. “The Republic: A French Myth.” In *The Shifting Foundations of Modern Nation-States. Realignments of Belonging*. Ed. By F. Unger. Toronto: U. of Toronto Press 100-108. Short but powerful, please read it with care.

Valerie Bunce. 2000. The Historical Origins of the East-West Divide. Civil Society, and Democracy in Europe.” Pp. 209-236. In Nancy Bermeo and P. Nord, eds, *Civil Society Before Democracy. Lessons from 19th Century Europe*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Sheri Berman. 2019. *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

For general background:

-Tony Just 2006. *Postwar. A history of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin, selected chaps.

-Bagehot, Walter. *The English Constitution*. Oxford UP. Any edition since 1868. Esp on monarch and prime minister. The role of the monarchy is all the more interesting now.

-Constitution of the Republic of Italy:

https://www.senato.it/documenti/repository/istituzione/costituzione_inglese.pdf

-Constitution of the 5th Republic of France: <https://www.elysee.fr/en/french-presidency/constitution-of-4-october-1958>

-Constitution of the German Federal Republic: https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_gg/

Meetings # 5. Old and New Societal Cleavages: transformations in Representation, the moving center and the populist surge and decline:

Wolfram Kaiser. 2007. “Hegemony by Default. Christian Democracy in postwar Europe.” In his *Christian Democracy and the Origins of the European Union*. N.Y.: Cambridge UP, 163-190.

Robert Ford and Will Jennings 2020. “The Changing Cleavage Politics of Western Europe.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 23: 295-314.

Tim Bale, et al. 2010. “If you can’t beat them, join them? Explaining Social Democratic Responses to the Challenge from the Populist Radical Right in Western Europe.”

Political Studies 58: 410-426.

Vincenzo Emanuele 2021. "Lost in Translation? Class Cleavage Roots and Left Electoral Mobilization in Western Europe." *Perspectives on Politics* 1-19.

G. Wheatcroft. 2023. "Bloody Panico." *The New York Review of Books* March 23): 43-45.

The Economist. 2017. "Regeneration." What is happening to Macron. (September 30).
Special Report.

Suggested:

John Bartle, Sebastian Delle Piane-Avellaneda and James Stimson 2010. "The Moving Centre: Preferences for Government Activity in Britain,1950-2005." *British Journal of Political Science* 41: 259-285.

Cas Mudde and C. R. Kaltwasser. 2017. *Populism. A Very Short Introduction*. N.Y. Oxford UP.

Nadia Urbinati 2019. "Political Theory of Populism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22: 111-12.

S. Tarrow and C. Tilly 2007. "Contentious Politics and Social Movements." Pp. 435-460. In Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. N.Y: Oxford UP.

Meeting # 6. Changing Meaning of Citizenship, Mass Beliefs, Identity and Forced Migration

Joan Scott (2007). *The Politics of the Veil*. Princeton: Princeton UP. esp. chap 1 and conclusion, 21-41 and 175-184.

Shamit Saggat 2016. "British Citizens like any other? Ethnic Minorities and Elections in the United Kingdom." Pp. 63-82. In A. Bilodeau, ed., *Just Ordinary Citizens? Toward a Comparative Portrait of Political Immigrants*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Christian Joppke 2007. "Transformation of Immigrant Integration: Civic Integration and Antidiscrimination in the Netherlands, France and Germany." *World Politics* 59 (1): 243-73.

R. Bank. 2014. "Forced Migration in Europe." In the *Oxford Handbook on Forced Migration Studies* : chap. 53, 690-703.

Matthew Gibney. 2004. *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracy and the Response to Refugees*. New York: Cambridge UP, esp. introduction and chap. 8; pp.1-22 and 228-260

Meeting # 7. State Capacity and Public Administration (politics change but the administration remains):

J-C. Thoenig 1978. "State Bureaucracies and Local Government in France." In Fritz W. Scharpf, ed, *Inter-organization Policy Making*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 167-197. Will make available to class, diagrams French administrative organization and evolution of ideological political families in French politics.

Robert Putnam 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton UP, chaps 1 and 4, 3-16, 83-120.

F. Sabetti 1996. "Path Dependency and Civic Culture." *Politics and Society* 24 (1 March): 1-44.

J. Steinberg 1990. *All or Nothing. The Axis and the Holocaust 1941-43*. New York: Routledge, 168-180, 220-240.

Suggested:

Wai-Hang Yen, S-Y Tang and Carlos Wing-Hung Lo 2016. "Regulatory Compliance when the rule of law is weak: evidence from China's Environmental reform." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* , 95-112.

- Lant Pritchett, M. Woolcock and M. Andrews 2013. "Looking Like a State: Technique of Persistent Failure in State Capability for Implementation." *Journal of Development Studies* 49 (1):1-18.
- Vincent Ostrom and Elinor Ostrom. 1994 [1977]. "Public Goods and Public Choices. The Emergence of Public Economies and Industry Structures." Pp. 163-197. In V. Ostrom. *The Meaning of American Federalism: Constituting a Self-Governing Society*. San Francisco: ICS Press. Consider also coproduction of public goods and services as an expression of citizen participation.
- Peter Baldwin 2005. "Beyond Weak and Strong: Rethinking the State in Comparative Policy Analysis." *Journal of Policy History* 17 (1): 12-33.

Meeting # 8. State Capacity and the (Future of the) Welfare State

- Abram de Swaan. 1988. *In care of the state. Health care, education and welfare in Europe and the USA in the modern era*. Oxford: Oxford UP, esp. pp.1-12, 218-257.
- M. Ferrera. 2008. "The European Welfare State. Golden Achievements, Silver Prospects." *European Politics* 31 (1): 82-107.
- Ido de Haan. 2013. "The Western European Welfare State beyond Christian and Social Democratic Ideology." In *The Oxford Handbook of Post-War European History post 1945*. Ed. By Ann Stone. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1-23.
- Julia Lynch. 2023. "The Political Economy of Health. Bringing Political Science In." *Annual Review of Political Science* 26: 18-2-18-22.

Suggested:

- Gosta Esping-Anderson. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton UP.
- John Foot. 2016. *The Man Who Closed the Asylums Franco Basagli and the Revolution in Mental Health Service*. London: Verso.
- "A Tale of Two Cities: the Exploration of the Trieste Public Psychiatry Model in San Francisco." *Culture Medicine and Psychiatry* 39 no. 4. 2015. Highlights the innovative work of a mental health specialist Franco Basaglia in Trieste that revolutionized mental health services from the bottom up.

Meeting # 9 State Capacity and self-government

- Alexis de Tocqueville ([1835] 1992). "American Townships" *Democracy in America* vol 1. New York: Harper, 61-98.
- Tocqueville [1856] 1995. *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, Appendix on Languedoc. 212-221.
- Jose A. Serrano Alvarez 2014. "When the enemy is the state: common lands management in northwest Spain (1850-1936)." *International Journal of the Commons* 8 (no. 1, Feb.) 107-133.
- Stefan Kipfer 2019. "What colour is your vest? Reflections on the Yellow Vest Movement in France." *Studies in Political Economy* 100: 209-31.

Suggested:

- Paul Lewis 2020. "Elinor Ostrom's Realist orientation: an investigation of the ontological committee of her analysis of the possibility of self-governance." Paper. King's College London.
- John Loughlin et al. 2010. "Introduction: Subnational Democracy in Europe: Changing Backgrounds and Theoretical Models." In their ed. vol. *The Oxford Handbook of Local and Regional Democracy in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1-26.

Meeting # 10. Political Economy: The Great Transformation and beyond

- Karl Polanyi. 1944. *The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of our time*. Boston: Beacon Press, all is worth considering, but esp. chaps 19,20,21.
- David F. Audresch and Erik E. Lehmann. 2017. *The Seven Secrets of Germany: Economic Resilience in an Era of Global Turbulence*. Oxford UP.
- Elinor Ostrom. 2014. "Beyond Markets and States. Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems." In F.Sabetti and P.Aligica, eds, *Choice, rules and Collective Action*, ECPR Press 167- 209. Originally in *American Economic Review* 100 (June): 641-672. Nobel Prize speech.

Suggested:

- Joshua B. Freeman 2018. *Behemoth. A History of the Factory and the Making of the Modern World*. New York: Norton, esp. chaps 1,4 and 6.
- John C. Medaille. 2010. *Toward a Truly Free Market*. Wilmington: ISI books, 191-228.

Meeting # 11. The Commons, another kind of political economy

- Elinor Ostrom (1990). *Governing the Commons. The evolution of institutions for collective action*. New York: Cambridge UP, chap. 3, 58-101. Case studies of Spain and Switzerland.
- W. Foote Whyte and Katheen King White 2014. *Making Mondragon. The growth and dynamic of the workers cooperative complex*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, intro and conclusion.
- Andrew Hindmoor, 1999. "Free Riding Off Capitalism. Entrepreneurship and the Mondragon Experiment." *British Journal of Political Science* 29 (January); 217-224. You should know about Mondragon and somewhat similar cooperatives in Maritime Canada.
- P. Bianchi, et al. 2021. "The political economy of places from a sustainable human development perspective: the case of Emilia Romagna." *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 14: 93-116.

Meeting # 12. Transnational trends: multilevel governance, the hegemony of growth and and the enviroment

Recall the reading for meeting # 2.

- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2003. "Unravelling the Central State, but how? Types of Multilevel Governance." *American Political Science Review* 97: 233-243.
- Matthias Schmelzer 2016. *The Hegemony of Growth*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1-33, 313-335.
- E.F. Schumacher 1973. *Small is Beautiful*. New York: Vintage Classics.

Suggested:

- David Miller. 2020. *Solved. How the world's great cities are fixing the climate crisis*. Toronto: U of Toronto Press.
- B. Barber 2013. *If Mayors Ruled the World*. Yale UP , 1-174.
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks 2019. "Grand Theories of European Integration in the 21st Century." *Journal of European Integration* 26: 113-133.

Meeting # 13. Tensions : Universalism vs Hierarchy vs Meritocracy? Can democratic despotism be tamed? Anarchism the solution?

- Paul Lewis 2020. "Elinor Ostrom's Realist orientation: an investigation of the ontological committee of her analysis of the possibility of self-governance." Paper. King's College London.
- M.Young, 2008 ed. *The Rise of Meritocracy*. Classic all the more coming from a Labour intellectual.
- James C. Scott. 2012. *Two Cheers for Anarchism*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Suggested:

Raymond Aron 1968. Introduction.” *Progress and Disillusion. The dialectic of modern society*. New York: Praeger, esp. vii-3.

