

PS 2328
European Politics
University of Pittsburgh • Spring 2023

Professor Jae-Jae Spoon

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Office Hours: Tues. 10-12 or by appointment in 4441 Posvar

Description

The goal of this course is to further understand what Europe is today and what defines European society and European politics. This is not a course in which you'll read "the classics" of European politics (although I am happy to point you in the direction of these if you want more background or to dive deeper), but rather, the focus is on the most recent work (most written in the past five years) that seeks to understand the state of European politics today. Some of this work is observational, some experimental, some more descriptive and focused on theory-building. We'll cover topics including citizenship and inclusion, democratic backsliding, attitudes towards immigrants, immigration and race policies, the role of historical legacies, European integration, the rise of populism, Brexit, trends in party competition, compromise and governance, and satisfaction and trust.

Course Information and Policies
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Course Materials

All readings are available on-line or through the Pitt Library (unless otherwise noted). We will be reading most (or all) of several books, all which are available electronically through the library. You are, of course, welcome to purchase copies of the books from your favorite on-line retailer, especially those that may serve as good go-to/reference books, such as Hix and Høyland. Paperbacks of most are available for under \$40.

Course Requirements

- **Reading and Participation.** Do the readings and come to class prepared to discuss, debate, ask questions. Participation is 20% of your grade, which includes leading discussion once (5% of your participation grade). Please post your questions on Canvas by 5pm Weds. We will determine the discussion schedule on the first day of class.

- **Response Papers.** 3 (4-5 pages double-spaced) reading response papers—30% of your grade (each paper is worth 10%). You may choose the weeks you wish to work on. You will select weeks the first day of class. At least one of these needs to be completed by Week 7. Papers will be due before class that week on Canvas. No exceptions. These papers are meant to be analytical response papers and not simply restatements of the readings. You should work to synthesize the readings by focusing on one issue, debate, concept, etc. in the readings. You do not need to include all of the readings for a given week, but cannot just focus on 1 or 2. You should coordinate the week you sign-up to lead discussion with one of the weeks you plan to write a response paper.
- **Research Paper and Presentation.** (15-18 double-spaced pages)—50% of your grade. This will be a full research paper (including analysis) on a topic of your choosing related to some aspect of European politics. If you would prefer to do a research design paper instead (because you want to propose an experiment, for example, which you can't do during the semester), you will need my approval. Please submit your topics to me for approval no later than Feb 3rd. On the last day of class (April 20th), you will present your projects using presentation software. The presentations will be conference-style, which means 10-12 minutes in length. You will also serve as discussant of another student's paper. Your comments should be about 5 minutes. You will send a written copy of your comments to your partner and me. 20% of your paper grade will come from the presentation and discussion of the other paper. Please send paper drafts to your discussant (and me) by April 16th. Papers are due on April 27th by 5pm. Please submit a hardcopy.

Evaluation

All work will be weighted according to the break-down described above. Your final grade will thus be out of 100 possible points.

Grades will be calculated on a scale of A-B, etc. broken down as follows: 97-100=A+; 93-96=A; 90-92=A-; 87-89=B+; 83-86=B; 80-82=B...

Class Policies

Expectations. I expect you to come to class prepared to participate. Please have all readings with you and make sure you have looked at (and thought about) the discussion questions before class. When you're in class, I expect you to be fully engaged.

Attendance. As this is a graduate seminar, I expect you to attend *all* sessions. Should something come up that will prevent you from attending class, please let me know in advance or as soon as you can. We will make arrangements to meet outside of class to discuss the material.

Communication. Please make sure you check your Pitt email regularly (or have your Pitt email forwarded to the email address you use). This is how I will communicate with you. Should you need to reach me, please email me directly. I will typically respond within a few hours (as long as it's not the middle of the night).

Extensions and Alternate Dates. In general, I will not allow extensions on assignments. However, should you find yourself in a situation where you will not be able to turn an assignment in on-time, please advise me of this as soon as you can, and not the day the assignment is due. We will work together to come up with a solution.

Late Policy. A late assignment will be penalized 1/3 of a grade for each day it is late. After 1 week, I will no longer accept it.

Grade Appeals. Should you want to appeal a grade you've received, it must be in writing. You will need to explain why you believe you deserve a grade that is different than the one you received.

Academic Integrity. Students in this course are expected to comply with the University of Pittsburgh's Policy on Academic Integrity. Cheating, plagiarism, or other acts of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. Any student suspected of violating this obligation for any reason during the semester will be required to participate in the procedural process, initiated by the instructor, as outlined in the University Guidelines on Academic Integrity. More information and the complete policy can be found at <http://www.provost.pitt.edu/info/ai1.html>.

Classroom Recording. To ensure free and open discussion of ideas, students may not record classroom lectures, discussion and/or activities without the advance permission of the instructor. Any such recording properly approved in advance can be used solely for the student's own private use.

Disability Services. If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both me and the Office of Disability Resources and Services (DRS), 140 William Pitt Union, (412-648-7890, 412-228-5347 for P3 ASL users), drsrecp@pitt.edu, as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course. For more information, please see <https://www.studentaffairs.pitt.edu/drs/>

Health and Safety: Pitt's current masking policy states that when community levels are **High**, according to the CDC, masks are required indoors. This means that you must wear a face covering that properly covers your nose and mouth when you are in the classroom. If you do not comply, you will be asked to leave class. It is your responsibility to have the required face covering when entering a university building or classroom. You are, of course, free to wear mask at any point, should you choose to. For all Covid-related information, please see <https://www.coronavirus.pitt.edu/>.

Syllabus

Week 1 (Jan. 12). European Challenges in the 21st Century

Goodman, Sara Wallace. 2022. *Citizenship in Hard Times: How Ordinary People Respond to Democratic Threat*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Library On-Line]

Beaman, Jean. 2021. "Towards a Reading of Black Lives Matter in Europe." *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 59: 103-114.

Week 2 (Jan. 19). Immigration and Inclusion—Attitudes and Behavior

Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth and Paul M. Sniderman. 2022. *The Struggle for Inclusion: Muslim Minorities and the Democratic Ethos*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Library On-Line]

Choi, Donghyun Danny, Mathias Poertner, and Nicholas Sambanis. 2021. "The Hijab Penalty: Feminist Backlash to Muslim Immigrants." *American Journal of Political Science*.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12627>

Maxwell, Rahsaan. 2019. "Cosmopolitan Immigration Attitudes in Large European Cities: Contextual or Compositional Effects?" *American Political Science Review*. 113.2: 456-474.

Alarian, Hannah M. and Michael Neureiter. 2021. "Values or Origin? Mandatory Immigrant Integration and Immigration attitudes in Europe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 47.5: 1006-1027.

Week 3 (Jan. 26). Immigration and Inclusion—Parties and Policies

Dancygier, Rafaela, Karl-Oskar Lindgren, Sven Oskarsson, and Kåre Vernby. 2015. "Why are Immigrants Underrepresented in Politics? Evidence from Sweden." *American Political Science Review*. 109.4: 703-724.

Dancygier, Rafaela and Yotam Margalit. 2020. "The Evolution of the Immigration Debate: Evidence from a New Dataset of Party Positions over the Last Half-Century." *Comparative Political Studies*. 53.5: 734-774.

Ellerman, Antje. 2021. *The Comparative Politics of Immigration: Policy Choices in Germany, Canada, Switzerland, and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 7. [Library On-Line]

Bleich, Erik. 2003. *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking since the 1960s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Intro, Ch. 1, 7, and 8. [Canvas]

Krook, Mona Lena. 2013. "Minorities in Electoral Politics: Gender, Race, and Political Inclusion in Sweden, France, and Britain." In *European States and Their Muslim Citizens*, John R. Bowen, Christophe Bertossi, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Mona Lena Krook, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pgs. 189-215. [Canvas]

Week 4 (Feb. 2). Historical Legacies: Institutions, Geography and Attitudes

Cirone, Alexandra and Thomas B. Pepinsky. 2022. "Historical Persistence." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 25: 241-259.

Haffert, Lukas. 2022. "The Long-Term Effects of Oppression: Prussia, Political Catholicism, and the Alternative für Deutschland." *American Political Science Review*. 116.2: 595-614.

Homola, Jonathan, Miguel M. Pereira, and Margit Tavits. 2020. "Legacies of the Third Reich: Concentration Camps and Out-group Intolerance." *American Political Science Review*. 114.2: 573-590.

Methodological Debate (if you're interested):

Pepinsky, Thomas B., Sara Wallace Goodman, and Conrad Ziller. 2020. "Does Proximity to Nazi Concentration Camps Make Germans Intolerant? Modeling Spatial Heterogeneity and Historical Persistence." SSRN Paper.

Homola, Jonathan, Miguel M. Pereira, and Margit Tavits. 2020. "Fixed Effects and Post-Treatment Bias in Legacy Studies." OSF Pre-Prints.

Hoerner, Julian M. Alexander Jaax, Toni Rodon. 2019. "The Long-Term Impact of the Location of Concentration Camps on Radical-Right Voting in Germany." *Research & Politics*. 6.4. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168019891376>

Neundorff, Anja and Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2020. "Dictators and their Subjects: Authoritarian Attitudinal Effects and Legacies." *Comparative Political Studies*. 53.12: 1839-1860."

Gingerich, Daniel W. and Vogler Jan P. 2021. "Pandemics and Political Development: The Electoral Legacy of the Black Death in Germany." *World Politics*. 73:393-440

Week 5. (Feb. 9) No Class (Jae-Jae in Germany)

Week 6. (Feb. 16) Democratic Backsliding and Challenges to Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe

Kostelka, Filip and Jan Rovny. 2019. "It's Not the Left: Ideology and Protest Participation in Old and New Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies*. 52.11:1677–1712.

Gora, Anna and Pieter de Wilde. 2022. "The Essence of Democratic Backsliding in the European Union: Deliberation and Rule of Law." *Journal of European Public Policy*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2020.1855465>

Engler, Sarah, Bartek Pytlas, Kevin Deegan-Krause. 2019. "Assessing the Diversity of Anti-Establishment and Populist Parties in Central and Eastern Europe." *West European Politics*. 42.6: 1310-1336.

Vachudova, Milada Anna. 2020. "Ethnopolitism and Democratic Backsliding in Central Europe." *East European Politics*. 36.3: 318-340.

Enyedi, Zsolt. 2020. "Right-wing Authoritarianism Innovations in Central and Eastern Europe." *East European Politics*. 36.3: 363-377.

Grzymala-Busse, Anna and Monika Nalepa. N.D. "How Illiberal Populists Gain and Stay in Power: Programmatic Cohesion and Government Performance." Manuscript.

Week 7 (Feb. 23). Wither Social Democracy?

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *Rise and Fall of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 4, 7. [Canvas]

Benedetto, Giacomo, Simon Hix, Nicola Mastroiocco. 2020. "The Rise and Fall of Social Democracy, 1918–2017." *American Political Science Review*. 114.3: 928-939.

Rueda, David. 2005. "Insider-Outsider Politics in Industrialized Democracies: The Challenge to Social Democratic Parties." *American Political Science Review*. 99.1: 61-74.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Markus Wagner. 2020. "Electoral Fortunes of Social Democratic Parties: Do Second Dimension Positions Matter?" *Journal of European Public Policy*. 27.2: 246-272.

Rennwald, Linne and Jonas Pontusson. 2021. "Paper Stones Revisited: Class Voting, Unionization, and the Electoral Decline of the Mainstream Left." *Perspectives on Politics*. 19.1: 36-54.

Week 8 (March 2). Rise of Populism

Berman, Sheri and Maria Snegovaya. 2019. "Populism and the Decline of Social Democracy." *Journal of Democracy*. 30.3: 5-19.

Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2016. "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash." HKS Working Paper No. RWP16-026.
<https://ssrn.com/abstract=2818659>

Schäfer, Armin. 2022. "Cultural Backlash? How (Not) to Explain the Rise of Authoritarian Populism." *British Journal of Political Research*. 52: 1977-1993.

Margalit, Yotam. 2019. "Economic Insecurity and the Causes of Populism, Reconsidered." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 33.4: 152-170.

Hays, Jude and Junghyun Lim and Jae-Jae Spoon. 2019. "The Path from Trade to Right-Wing Populism in Europe." *Electoral Studies*. 60. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2019.04.002>

Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2019. "Failure of Europe's Mainstream Parties." *Journal of Democracy*. 30.4: 35-47.

March 9. Spring Break. No Class.

Week 9 (March 16). EU Governance and Institutions in the European Union

Hix, Simon and Bjørn Hoyland. 2022. *The Political Systems of the European Union*. 4th ed. Bloomsbury. Ch. 1-3. [Canvas]

Jones, Erik, R. Daniel Kelemen and Sophie Meunier. 2021. "Failing Forward? Crises and Patterns of European Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy*. 28.10: 1519-1536.

Oztas, Buket and Amie Kreppel. 2022. "Power or Luck? The Limitations of the European Commission's Agenda Setting Power and Autonomous Policy Influence." *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 60.2: 408-426.

Sorace, Miriam. 2022. "The Ties that Unbind: Intergovernmental Decision Rules and the Policy-Opinion Link." *Journal of European Public Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2022.2086604>

Häge, Frank M. and Nils Ringe. 2019. "Rapporteur-Shadow Rapporteur Networks in the European Parliament: The Strength of Small Numbers." *European Journal of Political Research*. 58.1: 209-235.

Week 10 (March 23). Public Opinion, Voting, Euroscepticism in the European Union

Hix, Simon and Bjørn Hoyland. 2022. *The Political Systems of the European Union*. 4th ed. Bloomsbury. Ch. 5-6. [Canvas]

DeVries, Catherine E. 2018. *Euroscepticism and the Future of European Integration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Library On-Line]

Schmitt, Hermann, Sara B. Hobolt, and Sebastian Popa. 2015. "Does Personalization Increase Turnout? *Spitzenkandidaten* in the 2014 European Parliament Elections." *European Union Politics*. 16.3: 347–368.

Hobolt, Sara B., Jae-Jae Spoon, and James Tilley. 2009. "A Vote Against Europe? Explaining Defection in the 1999 and 2004 European Parliament Elections." *British Journal of Political Science*. 39.1: 93-115.

Week 11 (March 30). Brexit and Its Aftermath

Ford, Robert and Maria Sobolewska. 2020. *Brexitland: Identity, Diversity, and the Re-Shaping of British Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Library On-Line]

Hobolt, Sara B., Sebastian Adrian Popa, Wouter van der Brug, and Hermann Schmitt. 2022. "The Brexit Deterrent? How Member State Exit Shapes Public Support for the European Union." *European Union Politics*. 23.1: 100-119.

Hobolt, Sara B., Thomas J. Leeper, and James Tilley. 2021. "Divided by the Vote: Affective Polarization in the Wake of the Brexit Referendum." *British Journal of Political Science*. 51.4: 1476-1493.

Bolet, Diane. 2021. "Drinking Alone: Local Socio-Cultural Degradation and Radical Right Support—the Case of British Pub Closures." *Comparative Political Studies*. 54.9: 1653-1692.

Week 12 (April 6). Compromise and Coalition Governance

Fortunato, David. 2021. *The Cycle of Coalition: How Parties and Voters Interact under Coalition Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Library On-Line]

Klüver, Heike and Jae-Jae Spoon. 2020. "Helping or Hurting? How Governing as a Junior Coalition Partner Influences Electoral Outcomes." *Journal of Politics*. 82.4: 1231-1242.

Plescica, Carolina, Alejandro Ecker, and Thomas M. Meyer. 2022. "Do Party Supporters Accept Policy Compromises in Coalition Governments?" *European Journal of Political Research*. 61.1: 214-229.

Field, Bonnie N. and Shane Martin. 2022. *Minority Governments in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 1-2. [Canvas]

Week 13 (April 13). Affective Polarization, Satisfaction and Trust

Reiljan, Andres. 2020. "'Fear and Loathing across Party Lines' (also) in Europe: Affective Polarisation in European Party Systems." *European Journal of Political Research*. 59.2: 376-396.

Hahm, Hyeonho, David Hilpert, and Thomas König. 2022. "Divided by Europe: Affective Polarisation in the Context of European Elections." *West European Politics*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2022.2133277>

Bettarelli, Luca, Andres Reiljan, and Emilie Van Haute. 2022. "A Regional Perspective to the Study of Affective Polarization." *European Journal of Political Research*.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12548>

Reher, Stefanie. 2015. "Explaining Cross-National Variation in the Relationship between Priority Congruence and Satisfaction with Democracy." *European Journal of Political Research*. 54.1: 160-181.

Foster, Chase and Jeffry Frieden. 2017. "Crisis of Trust: Socio-Economic Determinants of Europeans' Confidence in Government." *European Union Politics*. 18.4: 511-535.

Garrizmann, Julian L., Erik Neimanns, and Marius R. Busemeyer. 2021. "Public Opinion towards Welfare State Reform: The Role of Political Trust and Government Satisfaction." *European Journal of Political Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12501>

Week 14 (April 20 and additional day during finals week if needed).

Paper Presentations

****Papers Due April 27th****