



**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
COURSE NO. AND NAME  
TRIMESTER 2 2009  
13 July to 15 November 2009**

**POLS205/INTP205: *The New Europe***

**Trimester dates**

Teaching dates: 13 July to 16 October

Study week: 19 to 23 October

Examination/Assessment period: 27 October to 14 November

**Lecturer:** Dr. John Leslie  
**Room:** 512 Murphy Building  
**Phone:** 463-9494  
**Email:** john.leslie@vuw.ac.nz

**Lecture Times:** Monday, Wednesday 14:10 – 15:00  
**Venue:** Hugh McKenzie LT001

**Tutorials:**

Monday	15.10 – 16.00, KP24201
	16.10 – 17.00, MY103
Tuesday	13.10 – 14.00, KP24103
	16.10 – 17.00, EA004

**Office Hours:** Wednesday 13.00 – 14.00  
Wednesday 16.00 – 16.45

**Course delivery**

The lecturer will present the course material in two, 50-minute lectures. The lectures will draw from and expand on the reading materials to create an overall narrative for the course. One, 50-minute tutorial, led by the lecturer and/or a tutor, provides students the opportunity to ask questions and explore the course themes in discussion.

**Communication of additional information**

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in lectures, posted on the course Blackboard site and/or posted on the notice board outside Murphy 518.

## **Course content**

This course seeks to introduce you to the political, social and economic diversity of contemporary Europe. Why are political systems different in different countries? How do these differences affect policies and the way people live? As of 2007, there were 27 member states in the European Union with a variety of political systems. Some are parliamentary systems and others are presidential or semi-presidential systems. Some are unitary states and others are federations. Some elect political representatives by simple plurality, while others chose them by proportionality. In some countries the services of the welfare state are distributed to all “citizens” equally. In others status, profession or employment determines whether and what level of services individuals receive. Some observers even argue that different varieties of capitalism exist in tension with each other within the EU! We have not even mentioned the linguistic, religious, or culinary differences that distinguish the peoples of Europe. How can we make sense of or impose some analytical framework over this diversity? How did these diverse systems come into existence? What impact do they have on policy and peoples’ lives? Have these national systems changed over time and, if so, how? Can this diversity exist within a single set of European Union institutions? This course aims to answer these questions by focusing on developments in the UK, France and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) since the end of the Second World War.

## **Learning objectives**

Students passing the paper should be able to do the following:

- recognise and use basic concepts of comparative politics like: “state,” “federalism,” “nation,” “executive,” “legislature,” “representation,” “pluralism,” “corporatism,” etc.
- recognise, explain, and compare the diverse ways that states, nations, societies and economies are organised in Europe, particularly in the UK, France and the FRG
- recognise how institutions and structures of governance influence policies and politics in different ways, shaping the way people live their lives in the UK, France and the FRG .

## **Expected workload**

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote approximately 200 hours to POLS/INTP205 during the semester. This includes: 36 hours in class (2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorial per week); approximately 48 hours reading course materials; 80 hours researching, writing (*and rewriting!*) essays and preparing for tests.

## **Group work**

There is no assessed group work for POLS/INTP205.

## Readings

### Essential texts:

- Peter Hall, Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger, European Politics in Transition, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2006)
- Book of course readings

For the first two weeks of trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer, while postgraduate textbooks and student notes will be available from the top floor of VicBooks in the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. After week two all undergraduate textbooks will be sold from VicBooks and student notes from the Student Notes Distribution Centre on the ground floor of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at [www.vicbooks.co.nz](http://www.vicbooks.co.nz) or can email an order or enquiry to [enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz](mailto:enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz). Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop. Customers will be contacted when they are available. Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays). Phone: 463 5515.

### Assessment requirements

This course will be assessed (100%) internally on the following basis:

1) **Two in-class tests (= 30%, each)**. Two, fifty-minute, closed book tests will be held to ascertain your knowledge of the ideas and themes covered in lectures and course readings. These will be held:

- Wednesday, 19 August 14.10 – 15.00
- Wednesday, 6 October 14.10 – 15.00

These tests will be composed of essay, identification, and/or short answer questions.

2) **One 2,000 word research essay (= 40% total)** will permit you to: gain greater familiarity with a particular theme covered in the course, develop your skills as a comparativist, and improve your research and writing skills. **The essay assignment is composed of three parts:**

- **1-2 page Statement and Bibliography(= 10%):** Submit a one – page summary that states the question motivating your paper and why it is important (answers the “So what?” question), your provisional answer to this question (your “Hypothesis” or “thesis”) and the type of evidence you expect to present to support your argument. You must also include a bibliography of sources (not included in the 1 – page space limit) for your paper. Citations and bibliography must be submitted in ‘Chicago – style’ format. Statement and bibliography are due at the beginning of class **29 July (14.10)**. *You do not need to submit this part of the assignment to Turnitin.com.*
- **Final Draft (= 30%--may not exceed 2000 words!)** of this essay is due at the beginning of class **9 September (14.10)**.

**Note: I will not assess a Final Draft if you have not previously submitted the 1-2 page Statement!**

The essay length limit includes internal citations, but not bibliography.

- You must submit an electronic version of the **Final Draft** to Turnitin.com—this is a **mandatory course requirement!**

Before you submit an electronic version of your final draft to Turnitin.com you must create a personal profile. Go to [turnitin.com](http://turnitin.com) and follow the directions to create an account. The Class ID number for this course is **2743675**. The password is ***Unification***.

### **Penalties**

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays – a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

### **Mandatory course requirements**

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work).
- b) Submission of the final draft of your essay to Turnitin.com.
- c) Attend *8 of 11* tutorials.

### **Statement on legibility**

Students are expected to write clearly. Where work is deemed 'illegible', the options are:

- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) within a specified time frame after which penalties will apply;
- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) and lateness penalties apply;
- if the student does not transcribe it to an acceptable standard, the work will be accepted as 'received' (so any associated mandatory course requirements are met) but not marked.

### **Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea.

Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website:  
<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

### **Use of Turnitin**

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

### **GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES**

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

The AVC(Academic) website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates. This website can be accessed at:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/Publications.aspx>

## Organisation of Lectures, Readings and Tutorials

### *Part I - Introduction*

#### **Week 1      13 – 17 July      Introduction, Origins of European Diversity**

Monday, July 13 – Introduction: Solving Three Problems of Interwar Stability at National and Supranational Levels in Postwar Europe

*Readings:*

- Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger (eds.), European Politics in Transition, 5th Ed. (New York; Houghton Mifflin, 2006), Chapter 1, pp.39-44.

*Supplemental Reading:*

- Desmond Dinan, Ever Closer Union, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Lynn Reinner, pp.9-35.
- Robert Heilbroner, “The Heresies of John Maynard Keynes,” in Idem., The Worldly Philosophers, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), pp. 225-261.

Wednesday, July 15 – ‘Frozen’ History: European Party Systems

*Readings:*

- Tim Bale, ‘Chapter 5: How the past affects the present, and an uncertain future’ in *idem.*, European Politics: A Comparative Introduction, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, pp.131-164.

#### **Week 2      20 – 24 July      Markets and Interests in *Modern Europe***

Monday, 20 July – Politics and the Organisation of Markets, Societies and States

*Readings:*

- Alexander Gerschenkron, “Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective,” in *idem.*, Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective. Cambridge, MA: Harvard The Belknap Press, 1962, pp.5-30.

*Supplemental Reading:*

- Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001, (Chapters 3-6) pp.35-80.

Wednesday, 22 July – Organizing Interests: Industrialization, Interest Representation and Policy Making

*Readings:*

- Suzanne Berger, “Introduction” in, *idem.*(ed.), Organizing Interests in Western Europe: Pluralism, Corporatism, and the Transformation of Politics. Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp.1-23.

### *Part II – Postwar ‘Settlements’*

#### **Week 3      27 – 31 July      Postwar Britain: Consensus and Stalemate**

Monday, 27 July – ‘Westminster’: Institutions of British Politics

*Readings:*

- Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger (eds.), European Politics in Transition, 5th Ed. (New York; Houghton Mifflin, 2006) Chapters 6,8,9.

*Supplemental Reading:*

- Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, Chapter 2 “The Westminster Model of Democracy” pp.9-21.
- Samuel H. Beer, British Politics in the Collectivist Age (New York: Random House, 1969), pp.69-102.

Wednesday, 29 July – Consensus, Welfare Capitalism, and Economic Stalemate

- Peter Hall, Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). Chapters 3, pp.48-68.

*One-page paper topics due 29 July at 14.10, beginning of lecture.*

**Week 4      3 – 7 August      France: Modernization from Above**

Monday, 3 August – Institutions of the Fourth and Fifth Republics

*Readings:*

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition. Chapters 11, 13, 14.

*Supplemental Readings:*

- Stanley Hoffmann, “Paradoxes of the French Political Community,” in Stanley Hoffmann (ed.), In Search of France, (New York: Harper, 1963), pp.1-60.

Wednesday, 5 August – (Conservative) Economic Modernization as State Policy

*Readings:*

- Peter Hall, Governing the Economy, Chapters 6, pp.139-63.

**Week 5      10 – 14 August      German Questions and German Models**

Monday, 10 August – Tamed Power: Decentralized State and Centralized Society

*Readings:*

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, chapters 16,18,19

*Supplemental Readings:*

- Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.31-47.

Wednesday, 12 August – “Wirtschaftswunder”

*Readings:*

- Andrew Shonfield, Modern Capitalism: The Changing Balance of Public and Private Power, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp.239-64.

**Week 6      17 – 21 August**

Monday, August 17 – Diversity and Welfare States

*Readings:*

- T.H. Marshall, Citizenship and Social Class (Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp.10-45.
- Gøsta Esping-Anderson, “The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism,” in Pierson and Castles, The Welfare State: A Reader, pp.154-169.

Wednesday, August 19 – *First In-Class Test, 50 Minutes*

**MID-TRIMESTER BREAK 24 AUGUST – 5 SEPTEMBER**

**Part III – Challenges to Postwar Models: Globalization, European Integration**

**Week 7      7 – 11 Septemeber      Global and European Integration**

Monday, 7 September – Relaunching Europe in the 1980s

*Readings:*

- Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, “1992: Recasting the European Bargain,” World Politics Vol.42, No.1 (Oct.1989), pp.95-128.

*Supplemental Readings:*

- Michael J. Piore and Charles Sabel, The Second Industrial Divide (New York: Basic Books, 1984), pp.1-48, 165-193.

Wednesday, 9 September – The Institutions of European Union

*Readings:*

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, chapters 1-3.

***Final Draft of Essay due 9 September 14.10***

**Week 8      14 – 18 September      Britain: Thatcher and New Labour**

Monday, 14 September – The Thatcher Solution

*Readings:*

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, chapters 7 and 10.
- Andrew Gamble, The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism, (Houndsmills, UK: Macmillan, 1994), Chapter 2, pp.34-68.

Wednesday, 16 September – Adjustment to Thatcher: New Labour and Blair

*Readings:*

- Joel Krieger, British Politics in the Global Age (Oxford University Press, 2001) Chapter 2, “New Labour: Regime Characteristics, Strategic Options, Dilemmas,” pp.19-37.

*Supplemental Readings:*

- Chris Howell, Trade Unions and the State. (Princeton University Press, 2005) Chapter 5 “Decollectivization of Industrial Relations”, 131-73.

**Week 9      21 – 25 September      France after Statism**

A. Monday, 21 September – “France: Statism in Transition”



*Readings:*

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, chapters 12, 15
- Peter Hall, 'The Evolution of Economic Policy' in A Guyomarch, *et al.* (eds.), Developments in French Politics 2 (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp.172-90.

Wednesday, 25 September – Bringing the State Back In?

*Readings:*

- Jonah Levy, "France: Directing Adjustment?", in Fritz Scharpf and Vivian Schmidt (eds.), Welfare and Work in the Open Economy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 308-350.

**Week 10      28 September – 2 October**

Monday, 28 September – German Success in the 1980s: Diversified Quality Production

*Readings:*

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, Chapters 17, 20.
- Wolfgang Streeck, "German Capitalism: Does It Exist? Can It Survive?" Streeck and Crouch (eds.), Political Economy of Modern Capitalism (London: Sage, 1997), pp.33-54.

Wednesday, 30 September – Unification: Choices, Opportunities and Problems

- Peter J.Katzenstein, "United Germany in an integrating Europe", in *Current History*; Mar 1997; 96, 608; pg. 116-23.
- Elizabeth Pond Stephan Eisel, "Political Dynamics in Germany" in Michael Mertes, et al.(eds) In Search of Germany. (New Brunswick/London, 1996), pp.167-1990.

**Week 11      5 - 9 October**

Monday, 5 October – Has Unification Changed Everything?

*Readings:*

- ??? in Simon Green and William E. Paterson, Governance in Contemporary Germany : The Semisovereign State Revisited. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.

Wednesday, 9 October – European Enlargement: Has the EU become too diverse?

*Readings:*

- Kesselman and Krieger, European Politics in Transition, Chapters 26, 27, 30.

**Week 12      12 – 16 October**

Monday, 3 October – Diversity, 'Deepening' and 'Democratic Deficit': Can the 'three problems' be solved at the European level?

*Reading:*

- Robin Shepherd, 'Filling the Democracy Gap' *Wall Street Journal* 12 May 2009
- European Commission, "Views on European Union enlargement" *Eurobarometer Flash EB Series #257* (February 2009), pp.1-23.
- Janet Daley, 'Europeans are finally waking up to the demise of democracy Angry people across the EU have discovered the fine print in all the treaties signed by their leaders', *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 Feb 2009. p. 20.

Wednesday, 6 October – *Second In-Class Test*