

Political Science 231
SOUTHERN EUROPEAN POLITICS
Fall 2009

Dr. Dag Mossige.

Lecture: Chambers 2187, TR 0230:0345 pm

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Office hours: MWF: 2-3 pm, TR 1-2

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It is almost a miracle that modern teaching methods have not yet entirely strangled the holy curiosity of inquiry; for what this delicate little plant needs more than anything, besides stimulation, is freedom.

-Albert Einstein

Scope and goals of this course: This course offers a comprehensive overview of a highly fascinating region of the world that offers great insights on particularly two central topics: The causes of democratic instability, and the related processes of democratization and democratic consolidation. Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Italy are not only highly interesting countries to study in their own right, but together serve to illustrate that authoritarian legacies can be overcome in favor of establishing successful democracies. All four countries struggled greatly over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries to establish representative governments, and political strife often erupted in outright violence, most clearly illustrated by the tragic Spanish Civil War. The first task of this course is therefore to examine both the root and immediate causes of political instability. Tracing the collapse of early attempts at democracy, we will examine the crucial political divisions of the late 19th and early 20th century, and the nature of the ensuing authoritarian regimes, in particular fascist Italy and Franco's "quasi-fascist" Spanish dictatorship.

The second part of the course will focus on how, despite a legacy of sharp political and social divisions, the dictatorships finally collapsed. Spain, Portugal, and Greece finally joined Italy – defeated in World War II – in establishing genuine representative democracies. How did this process unfold? What broader lessons can be learned on the topics of democratization and the crafting of successful political institutions, from the region of Southern Europe?

Finally, we will look at the current political situation in the three countries today, and ask whether the political characteristics of the four countries under discussion today still warrant further usage of "Southern Europe" as a term for a region politically distinct from its neighboring European countries.

Required texts: You are responsible for keeping up with the assigned readings by the time we discuss them in class, and will be held responsible for them on your exams. Some, particularly the more theoretically oriented readings, may demand more cognitive attention than those more on the empirical or descriptive side. The following required books are available at Davidson book store:

Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros & Hans-Jürgen Puhle, eds., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995 (A)

P. Nikiforos Diamandouros & Richard Gunther, eds., *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001 (B)

Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, & Dimitri Sotiropoulos, *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 (C)

In addition, students will be asked to give particular attention to one country of their choice, and will therefore select one additional book depending on this country of specialization.

- For those specializing on Italy:

Christopher Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994 (D)

- For those specializing on Greece:

Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 (E)

- For those specializing on Portugal:

David Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003 (F)

-For those specializing on Spain:

Richard Gunther & José Ramón Montero, *The Politics of Spain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009 (G).

All other readings will be made available in pdf format on Blackboard (Indicated on syllabus).

Current events: Students are encouraged to pay attention to current events in South European politics. We may often stray off topic in class to touch upon relevant political developments in “real life.” Some suggestions in English include:

The Economist, Europe section covers Southern Europe, <http://www.economist.com/world/europe/>

Corriere della Sera, English section, <http://www.corriere.it/english/>

Kathimerini (Greece), English section <http://www.ekathimerini.com/>

The Portugal News, English-language newspaper printed in Portugal, <http://www.the-news.net/>

El País (Spain), English section by subscription, Spanish version free, <http://www.elpais.com/>

Some major journals specializing on Southern Europe: South European Society & Politics; Journal of Modern Italian Studies; Modern Italy; Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans (before 2009).

“After-hours”: Some movies can convey themes and processes better than any lecture, and we will try to watch certain movies over the course of the semester. As this will take place after normal scheduled Davidson hours, this activity will not be considered compulsory. We will try to work out a common schedule for these movies; those students unable to attend can borrow copies of the movies from me.

Grading Procedures: There will be two reviews, one final paper, and one final exam for this class. General guidelines for the paper topic will be distributed separately in September, but will be on the country of your specialization. All paper proposals must be discussed with me at least one month before the paper is due.

Review 1: 15 percent.

Review 2: 15 percent

Final Paper: 30 percent

Final exam: 30 percent

Attendance and participation: 10 percent.

Attendance Policy: Class attendance is mandatory, although two absences may be allowed with no penalty for your attendance grade. Further absences may result in an F in this part of the grade.

Accommodation for Students with Disabilities: Full accommodations are the legal right of students with all kinds of disabilities. If you are a student with a disability documented by Davidson College who might need accommodations, please 1) Register with the Dean of Students Office, and 2) Identify yourself to me within the first week or two of class. All such discussions will be fully confidential unless you otherwise stipulate

Class Schedule and Reading Assignments: Please note that this syllabus is not carved in stone, and may well be changed. It is the student's responsibility to check for any updated syllabi, which will be posted on Blackboard, although major changes will be noted in class.

Week 1 (Aug. 24- 28) Introduction: Southern Europe as a political concept
Required reading for all:
“Introduction,” in Diamandouros & Gunther, 2001, pp 1-15 (B); “Introduction,” in Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero & Joan Botella, <i>Politics in Modern Spain</i> , 2004, pp 1-20 (Blackboard)

Week 2 (Aug. 31- Sept. 4), and Week 3 (Sept. 7-11): State building and socio-political cleavages
Required reading for all:
Edward Malefakis, “The Political and Socioeconomic Contours of Southern European History,” in Gunther, Diamandouros, & Puhle, 1995, pp. 33-76 (A)
Depending on your country of specialization, choose from the following readings:
Duggan, Chapters 1-5, in <i>A Concise History of Italy</i> , 1994, pp 1-142 (D)
Clogg, Chapters 1-3, in <i>A Concise History of Greece</i> , 2002, pp. 1-99 (E)
Birmingham, Chapters 1-4, in <i>A Concise History of Portugal</i> , 2003, pp. 9-126 (F)
Gunther and Montero, excerpts from <i>The Politics of Spain</i> , 2009, pp. 1-27 (G); Jaime Vicens Vives, excerpts from <i>Approaches to the History of Spain</i> , 1970, pp. 14-55 (Blackboard)

Week 4 (Sept. 14-18) and Week 5 (Sept 21-25): Failed Attempts at Establishing Democracy
Depending on your country of specialization, choose from the following readings:
Duggan, Chapters 6 and 7, in <i>A Concise History of Italy</i> , 1994, pp. 143-204 (D)
Clogg, Chapters 4 and 5, in <i>A Concise History of Greece</i> , 2002, pp. 100-168 (E)
Birmingham, Chapter 5, in <i>A Concise History of Portugal</i> , 2003, pp. 127-155 (F)
Raymond Carr, Chapters 8 and 9, in <i>Modern Spain</i> , pp. 135-154 (Blackboard); Gunther, Montero & Botella, excerpts from Chapter 2 of <i>Politics in Modern Spain</i> , 2004, pp. 22-37, (Blackboard)
➔ Sept. 24 Review 1

Week 6 (Sept. 28-Oct. 2) and Week 7 (Oct. 5-9): The South European Dictatorships
Required reading for all:
Gunther, “The Franquist Regime,” in <i>Public Policy in a No-Party State</i> , 1980, pp. 1-45 (Blackboard); Duggan, excerpts from Chapter 8 in <i>A Concise History of Italy</i> , 1994, pp. 210-232 (D)
Depending on your country of specialization, choose from the following readings:
Duggan, Chapter 8, in <i>A Concise History of Italy</i> , 1994, pp. 205-239 (entire chapter) (D)
Birmingham, Chapter 6, in <i>A Concise History of Portugal</i> , 2003, pp. 156-17 (F)
Gunther & Montero, “The Franco Regime,” in <i>The Politics of Spain</i> , 2009, pp. 27-34 (G)

Week 8 (Oct. 14-16, after Fall Break), Week 9 (Oct. 19-23), and Week 10 (Oct. 26-30): Transitions from Dictatorship to Democracy
Required reading for all:
Gunther, Diamandouros & Puhle, 1995, "Introduction" and "Conclusion," pp. 1-32 and 389-414 (A); Juan J. Linz, Alfred Stepan & Richard Gunther, "Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe," in Gunther, Diamandouros, & Puhle 1995 pp 77-123 (A)
Depending on your country of specialization, choose from the following readings:
Gianfranco Pasquino, "The Demise of the first Fascist Regime and Italy's Transition to Democracy," in O'Donnell, Schmitter & Whitehead, eds., <i>Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe</i> , 1986, pp. 45-70 (Blackboard)
P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, "Regime Change and the Prospects for Democracy in Greece," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter & Laurence Whitehead, eds., <i>Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe</i> , 1986, pp. 138-164 (Blackboard)
Kenneth Maxwell, "Regime Overthrow and the Prospects for Democratic Transition in Portugal," in O'Donnell, Schmitter & Whitehead, eds., <i>Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe</i> , pp. 109- 137 (Blackboard)
José María Maravall & Julián Santamaría, "Political Change in Spain and the Prospects for Democracy," in O'Donnell, Schmitter & Whitehead, eds., <i>Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe</i> , 1986, pp. 71-108 (Blackboard); Gunther & Montero, "The Transition to Democracy," in <i>The Politics of Spain</i> , 2009, pp. 34-41 (G)
➔ Oct. 29: Review 2

Week 11 (Nov. 2-6): The Governmental Structure of the Current South European Regimes
Required reading for all:
Thomas C. Bruneau, et al, "Democracy, Southern European Style?" in Diamandouros & Gunther, 2001 pp. 16-82 (B); Gianfranco Pasquino, "Executive-Legislative Relations in Southern Europe," in Gunther, Diamandouros & Puhle, 1995, pp. 261-283 (A)
Depending on your country of specialization, choose from the following readings:
Gunther & Montero, "The Constitutional Framework," in <i>The Politics of Spain</i> , 2009, pp. 43-70 (G)
<u>All others</u> : José Magone, excerpts from <i>The Politics of Southern Europe</i> , 2003, pp. 69-104 (Blackboard)

Week 12 (Nov. 9-13), Week 13 (Nov. 16-Nov. 20), and Week 14 (Nov. 23-24, Thanksgiving): Parties and Party Systems of the Current South European Regimes
Required reading for all:
Takis Pappas, "In Search of the Center: Conservative Parties, Electoral Competition and Political legitimacy in Southern Europe's New Democracies," in Diamandouros & Gunther, 2001, pp. 224-267 (B); Hans-Jürgen Puhle, "Mobilizers and Late Modernizers: Socialist Parties in the New Southern Europe," in Diamandouros & Gunther, 2001, pp. 268-328 (B); Anna Bosco, "Four Actors in Search of a Role: The Southern European Communist Parties," in Diamandouros & Gunther, 2001, pp. 329-387 (B); Richard Gunther & José Ramón Montero, "The Anchors of Partisanship: A Comparative Analysis of Voting Behavior in Four Southern European Democracies," in Diamandouros & Gunther, 2001, pp. 83-152 (B); Gianfranco Pasquino, "The New Campaign Politics," in Diamandouros & Gunther, 2001, pp. 182-223 (B)

Depending on your country of specialization, choose from the following readings:
For those focusing on Italy: Daniela Giannetti & Rosa Mulé, “The Democratici di Sinistra: In Search of a New Identity,” 2006, pp. 457–475 (Blackboard); Francesco Raniolo, “Forza Italia: A Leader with a Party,” 2006, pp. 439–455 (Blackboard); José Magone, relevant excerpt from <i>The Politics of Southern Europe</i> , 2003, pp. 137-174 (Blackboard)
For those focusing on Greece: Takis S. Pappas & Elias Dinas, “From Opposition to Power: Greek Conservatism Reinvented,” 2006, pp. 477–495 (Blackboard); Michalis Spourdalakis & Chrisanthos Tassis, “Party Change in Greece and the Vanguard Role of the PASOK,” 2006, pp. 497–512 (Blackboard); José Magone, relevant excerpt from <i>The Politics of Southern Europe</i> , 2003, pp. 137-174 (Blackboard)
For those focusing on Portugal: Carlos Jalali, “The Woes of Being in Opposition: The PSD since 1995,” 2006, pp. 359–379 (Blackboard); Marco Lisi, <i>The Importance of Winning Office: The PS and the Struggle for Power</i> (2006), pp. 381–397 (Blackboard); José Magone, relevant excerpt from <i>The Politics of Southern Europe</i> , 2003, pp. 137-174 (Blackboard)
For those focusing on Spain: Javier Astudillo & Elena García-Guereta, “If It Isn’t Broken, Don’t Fix It: The Spanish Popular Party in Power,” 2006, pp. 399–417 (Blackboard); Mónica Méndez Lago, “Turning the Page: Crisis and Transformation of the Spanish Socialist Party,” pp. 419–437 (Blackboard); Gunther & Montero, “Parties and Democratic Stability,” in <i>The Politics of Spain</i> , 2009, pp. 97-162 (G)

Week 15 (Nov. 13-Dec. 4): Public Policy in Southern Europe
Required reading for all: "Introduction," pp. 1-41, and “Conclusion,” 338-362, in Gunther, Diamandouros & Sotiropoulos, 2007 (C)
Depending on your areas of public policy interest, choose <u>two</u> further chapters in Gunther, Diamandouros & Sotiropoulos, 2007 (C)
For those focusing on Spain: Gunther & Montero, “Public Policies and Decision-Making Processes,” in <i>The Politics of Spain</i> , 2009, pp. 206-247 (G)
➔ Paper due Dec. 3

Week 16 (Dec. 7-9): Open Week
Depending on the course progression, this period will either be used to wrap-up loose themes, or as extra studying time for your final exam. No additional readings are required for this week

➔ **Week 17-18 (Dec. 11-17): Final exams**