

POLITICAL SCIENCE 247a
INSTITUTIONS AND IDENTITIES IN
CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

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Tues., 2-4
Barrows 791

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This seminar examines alternative analytic approaches to the study of institutions and identities in contemporary Europe. The European Union (EU) is widely accepted as the industrial world's most sophisticated experiment in governance beyond the level of the traditional nation-state. Accordingly, Europeans at all levels of jurisdiction are experimenting with the rules and frameworks by which they govern themselves. At the same time, the membership of the EU and the composition of individual member societies are also changing in ways that make the question of European identity explicit. These two aspects of governance – institutional change and shifting identities – have typically been examined through separate literatures and debates. The conceptual categories and analytic tools used to investigate economic integration over the last twenty years have proven less useful in illuminating migration, multiculturalism, and other prominent problems in identity changes. This seminar seeks to bridge the discussion of institutions and identities by showing where the debates may overlap and where they address distinct questions. In so doing, it stresses the diversity of conceptual approaches needed to understand political change in contemporary Europe.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Class memos and participation	35%
A short 7-page essay due at Week V (Sept 29)	15%
Final paper (research paper, proposal or literature review)	50%

WEEKLY MEMOS

Everyone should write five brief (200-word maximum) memos on the weekly readings and circulate them to the class list by 5 p.m. on the Monday for the subsequent Tuesday meeting. You may write memos for the weeks that particularly interest you, but everyone must write at least one memo by Week IV (**Sept. 22**). Memos may take the form of: 1) a critique of one or more of the readings, 2) a comparison or contrast of two or more authors, 3) questions about the readings, 4) a proposal for some additional topic of class discussion. Since the memos may be no more than 200 words, you should feel free to write them in list or other abbreviated form. We will discuss some of the memos in class.

SHORT ESSAY

The short essay – to be done by Week V (September 29) on a question distributed the week beforehand – is designed to be sure everyone has a shared conceptual foundation for the rest of the course.

PAPER

The main written requirement for the course is a 5000-word paper (approximately 20 pages) that may take one of three alternative forms.

1. RESEARCH PAPER

This option is an empirically grounded paper. While it need not be of publishable quality, it should be positioned clearly within the relevant literature, should formulate a set of alternative hypotheses or analytic statements, and should assess a well-delimited domain of evidence in order to rank the available hypotheses according to their relative plausibility.

2. RESEARCH PROPOSAL

This option gives you the opportunity to write something between a fully evidenced empirical paper and a research prospectus. It is designed to be most useful for students who are applying for research fellowships or approaching the Department's requirement for a prospectus before advancing to candidacy. For this option, you should begin with a clear empirical puzzle or a conspicuous contradiction in the literature on a family of similar empirical processes or problems. Next, present the most coherent and/or plausible hypotheses from the course readings and secondary literature. Then, assess how the available evidence supports the different hypotheses. The evidence may be drawn from other secondary literature or from your own preliminary research. If you do not have sufficient evidence to adjudicate definitively between hypotheses, take the evidence as far as it goes and be sure to indicate explicitly what kind of additional evidence would provide a firmer set of conclusions.

3. REVIEW ESSAY

As an alternative to the Research Paper or Research Proposal, you may write a review essay of approximately 5000 words (about 20 pages) that addresses the writings on a specific topic within the field of comparative political economy. There is no specific number of books or articles to be covered in this assignment, but you should define a significant unanswered question and then identify multiple perspectives that have been used to answer it. This option should approach the analytic review articles in such journals as World Politics, Comparative Politics, or West European Politics. While a review essay will not present original data, it should have a clear organization that assesses three to five principal works which exemplify different approaches that scholars have used in clarifying a particular debate or a significant thematic issue.

For any of the three assignments (Paper, Proposal, or Review Essay), you should meet with the instructor early in the semester. Everyone must submit a one-paragraph paper proposal by **Oct. 13** (required) and a final version by **Dec. 4**.

LIST OF SESSIONS

- Week I. Introduction and Course Overview (Sept. 1)**
- Week II. Perspectives on Institutional Change (Sept. 8)**
- Week III. Perspectives on Identities (Sept. 15)**
- Week IV. Comparative Method and the Study of Identity (Sept 22)**
- Week V. European Integration: Neofunctionalism, Neorealism, and Intergovernmentalism (Sept. 29)**
- Week VI. European Integration, State Sovereignty and Belonging to Europe (Oct. 6)**
- Week VII. Citizenship (October 13)**
- Week VIII. Migration (October 20)**
- Week IX. Parties and Identity Politics: Right-Wing Radicalism (October 27)**
- Week X. Multiculturalism (November 3).**
- Week XI. International Institutions and Identity Politics (Nov 10)**
- Week XII. The European Court of Justice and the Meaning of Jurisdiction (Nov 17)**
- Week XIII. Student Presentations (Nov. 24 class to be rescheduled)**
- Week XIV. Student Presentations (December 1)**

OUTLINE OF READINGS

Week I. Introduction and Course Overview (Sept. 1)

Week II. Perspectives on Institutional Change (Sept. 8)

- Kathleen Thelen, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics," Annual Review of Political Science, 2 (1999): 369-404.
- Terry M. Moe, "The New Economics of Organization," American Journal of Political Science, 28:4 (Nov 1984): 739-777.
- Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organization Fields," in Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, eds., The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
- Peter A. Hall and Rosemary C.R. Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," Political Studies, 44:4 (1996): 936-57.
- John Campbell, "The Problem of Ideas," ch. 4 in idem., Institutional Change and Globalization (Princeton University Press, 2004), 90ff.
- James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, "Introduction," Mahoney and Thelen, eds., Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming, 2009).

recommended

- James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," American Political Science Review 78 (September 1984): 734-749.
- Stephen Krasner, "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics," Comparative Politics, 16:2 (Jan 1984): 223-246.
- Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In : Strategies of Analysis in Current Research," in Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol, eds., Bringing the State Back In (Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth, eds., Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis (Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds., Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences (Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Terry Moe, "Power and Political Institutions," Perspectives on Politics, 3:2 (June 2005): 215-233.
- James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "Commentary on March and Olsen, 1984, in American Political Science Review, 100:04 (Nov 2006): 675.

Week III. Perspectives on Identities (Sept. 15)

Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (Verso: 1991), chapters 1-5 (1-82), esp. 1, 2 and 5 (1-36 and 67-82).

Todd Gitlin, "The Rise of 'Identity Politics,' Dissent, 1993 (40): 172-177.

David Laitin, "Liberal Theory and the Nation (review of Russell Hardin, One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict and Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship)," Political Theory, April, 1998 (26:2): 221-236.

Seyla Benhabib, The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), chs 6 ("Dilemmas of Citizenship in Contemporary Europe") and 7 ("What Lies Beyond the Nation-State?"), 147-186.

Will Kymlicka, "Liberal Nationalism and Cosmopolitan Justice," a Comment on Seyla Benhabib in Robert Post, ed., Another Cosmopolitanism (Oxford University Press, 2006), 128-144

Rainer Bauböck, "Political Boundaries in a Multilevel Democracy," in Benhabib, Shapiro, and Petranovic, eds., Identities, Affiliations, and Allegiances (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 85-109.

recommended

Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," in Amy Gutmann, ed., Multiculturalism (Princeton University Press, 1994), 25-73.

Jürgen Habermas, "Citizenship and National Identity (1990)," Appendix II in Habermas, Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy, trans., William Rehg (MIT Press, 1996).

Week IV. Comparative Method and Identity (Sept. 22)

- Andrew Abbott, "Ideas and Puzzles," *Methods of Discovery: Heuristics for the Social Sciences* (W.W. Norton:), 211-248.
- David Collier, "The Comparative Method," in Ada Finifter, ed., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II* (Washington D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1992).
- Atul Gawande, "The Cost Conundrum: What A Texas Town Can Teach Us About Health Care," *The New Yorker* (June 1, 2009), and "Health Care Spending Disparities Stir a Fit," *New York Times*, June 9, 2009.
- Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, Rose McDermott, "Introduction," to idem., *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-13 (*required*).
- Abdelal, et.al., (*required*) chapters by Henry Brady and Cynthia Kaplan, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Ethnic Identity," 33-71 and Taeku Lee, "Between Social Theory and Social Science Practice: Toward a New Approach to the Survey Measurement of 'Race,'" 113-144.
- Abdelal, et.al., (*recommended*) chapters by Jack Citrin and David O. Sears, "Balancing National and Ethnic Identities: The Psychology of E Pluribus Unum, 145-174, Kanchan Chandra, "A Constructivist Dataset on Ethnicity and Institutions," 250- 275.

Week V. European Integration: Neofunctionalism, Intergovernmentalism, Institutionalism, and Realism (Sept. 29)

- Ernst B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economical Forces 1950-1957* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), chs 1, 2, 8.
- Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, "Recasting the European Bargain," *World Politics* (Fall 1989).
- Neil Fligstein and Mara Drita, "How to Make a Market : Reflections on the European Union's Single Market Program," *American Journal of Sociology*, 102 (1996): 1-33.
- Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), chs 1, 5 ("Theorizing European Integration" and "Relaunching Integration: The Single European Act, 1984-1988,"), 18-85, 314-378.
- Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration: a Historical-Institutional Analysis," in W. Sandholtz and A. Stone Sweet, eds., *European Integration and Supranational Governance* (Oxford: 1998).
- Geoffrey Garrett and Barry R. Weingast, "Ideas, Interests, and Institutions: Constructing the European Community's Internal Market," in J. Goldstein and R. O. Keohane, eds., *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1993), 173-205.

Week VI. Integration, Sovereignty and Political Community in Europe (Oct. 6)

James A. Caporaso, "The European Union and Forms of the State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern?" Journal of Common Market Studies, 34: 1 29-52.

Jeffrey Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein, "The Politicization of European Identities," eds., in Checkel and Katzenstein, eds., European Identity (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-25.

Dario Castiglione, "Political Identity in a Community of Strangers," in Checkel and Katzenstein, eds., European Identity, 29-51.

Neil Fligstein, Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe (Oxford University Press, 2008), excerpts.

recommended

Joseph H.H. Weiler, The Constitution of Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapter 2: The Transformation of Europe.

Chris Ansell, "Restructuring Territoriality and Authority," in C. Ansell and G. Di Palma, eds., On Restructuring Territoriality: Europe and North America (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Matthew J. Gabel, Interests and Integration: Market Liberalization, Public Opinion, and European Union (University of Michigan Press, 1998).

Week VII. Citizenship (October 13)

either

Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

or

Yasemin Soysal, Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

and

Marc Morje Howard, "Comparative Citizenship: An Agenda for Cross-National Research," Perspectives on Politics, 4:3 (2006): 443-455.

Matthew J. Gabel and Christopher J. Anderson, "The Structure of Citizen Attitudes and the European Political Space," Comparative Political Studies, 35: 8 (October 2002): 893-913.

Ruud Koopmans, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni, and Florence Passy, Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe (University of Minnesota Press, 2005, chapters 1 ("The Contentious Politics of Immigration and Ethnic Relations" and 2 (Configurations of Citizenship in Five European Countries"), 1-30, 31-72.

Week VII. Citizenship (October 13), continued

recommended

Willem Maas, Creating European Citizens (Rowman and Littlefield: 2007).
Adrian Favell, "Europe's Identity Problem," West European Politics, 28:5 (Nov 2005): 1109-1116.

Week VIII. Migration (October 20)

James Hollifield, "The Emerging Migration State," International Migration, Review, 38:3 (Fall 2004): 885-912.
Citrin and Sides, "European Opinion about Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information," British Journal of Political Science, 37:3 (2007): 477.
Adrian Favell, "Immigration, Migration, and Free Movement in the Making of Europe," in Checkel and Katzenstein, eds., European Identity, 167-189.
Riva Kastoryano, "Transnational Nationalism: Redefining Nation and Territory," in Benhabib, Shapiro, and Petranovic, eds., Identities, Affiliations, and Allegiances (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 159-178.
Rogers Brubaker, "The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States," Ethnic and Racial Studies 24:4 (2001): 531.
Melissa Williams, "Nonterritorial Boundaries of Citizenship," in Benhabib, Shapiro, and Petranovic, eds., Identities, Affiliations, and Allegiances (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 226-256.

Week IX. Parties and Identity Politics: Right-Wing Radicalism (October 27)

Herbert Kitschelt, "Growth and Persistence of the Radical Right in Postindustrial Democracies: Advances and Challenges in Comparative Research," West European Politics, 30:5 (2007): 1176.
Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "A Postfunctional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus," British Journal of Political Science 39 (2008): 1-23.
Philippe C. Schmitter, Tanja A Boerzel and Thomas Risse, and Hanspieter Kreis, "Rejoinders to Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "A Postfunctional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus," British Journal of Political Science 39 (2008): 211-215, 217-220, 221-224.

Additional readings to be assigned.

Week X Multiculturalism and Islam in Europe (November 3).

- Christian Joppke, "The Retreat of Multiculturalism in the Liberal State: Theory and Policy," British Journal of Sociology, 55:2 (2004): 237-257.
- Christian Joppke, "Beyond National Models: Civic Integration Policies for Immigrants in Western Europe," West European Politics, 30:1 (2007): 1-22.
- Jonathan Laurence, "From the Élysée Salon to the Table of the Republic: State-Islam Relations and the Integration of Muslims in France," French Politics, Culture and Society 23:1 (Spring 2005): 37-64.
- Joan Wallach Scott, "Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space and Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France," Perspectives on Politics, 5:4 (2007): 837-839.
- Sarah Song, "The Subject of Multiculturalism," in Boudewijn de Bruin and Christopher F. Zurn, eds., New Waves in Political Philosophy (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 177-197.

recommended

- Amar Lakhous, Clash of Civilizations Over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio, trans., Ann Goldstein (Europea Editions: 2008).
- Ian Buruma, Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance (Penguin), 2007.
- Timothy Garton Ash, "Islam in Europe" (review of Ian Buruma, Murder in Amsterdam: Death of Theo Van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance and Ayaan Hirsi Ali, The Caged Virgin: An Emancipation Proclamation for Women and Islam), New York Review of Books, 53:15 (October 5 2006), available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19371>.
- Jytte Klausen, The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe (Oxford University Press, 2005), chs 4 ("From Integration to Culture War") and Conclusion ("Liberal Muslims and the Emergence of European Islam").
- Christopher Caldwell, Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the West (Doubleday: 2009).
- Stephen Holmes, "Chicken Little Goes to Europe" (review of Caldwell, Reflections on the Revolution in Europe) American Prospect (August 28, 2009).

Week XI. International Institutions and Identity Politics (Nov 10)

Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Cornell University Press, 2005), ch 1 (“American Power in World Politics,” *recommended*), ch. 2 (“Regional Orders,” *required*), and ch. 3 (“Regional Identities,” *required*).

Glynn Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate: Public Justification and European Integration* (Princeton University Press, 2005), chs 6 (“A Postsovereign Europe”) and 7 (“A Sovereign Europe”), pp. 111-157.

Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), ch. 1 (“The Neo-Medieval Paradigm”), 1-23, and ch. 6 (“Governance Beyond Borders”), 140-163.

Hanspieter Kriesi, Edgar Grande, Ropmain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, and Timotheos Frey, “Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared,” *European Journal of Political Research* 45 (2006): 921-956.

recommended

Craig Parson, “Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union,” *International Organization* 56:1 (Winter 2002): 47-84.

Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, *Cosmopolitan Europe* (Polity: 2007).

Week XII. The European Court of Justice and the Meaning of Jurisdiction (Nov 17)

Lisa Conant, “Review Article: The Politics of Legal Integration,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45 (2007): 45-66.

Anneli Albi, “Ironies in Human Rights Protection in the EU: Pre-Accession Conditionality and Post-Accession Conundrums,” *European Law Journal* 15:1 (January 2009): 46-69.

Lisa Conant, “Individuals, Courts, and the Development of European Social Rights,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 39:1 (February 2006): 76-100.

Rosalyn Higgins, “The ICJ, the ECJ, and the Integrity of International Law,” *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 52 (2003): 1-20.

Charles F. Sabel and Oliver Gerstenberg, “Directly Deliberative Polyarchy: An Institutional Ideal for Europe?” in C. Joerges and R. Dehousse, eds., *Good Governance in Europe’s Integrated Market* (Oxford University Press: 2002), 289 ff.

Week XIII. Student Presentations (class to be rescheduled from November 24)

Week XIV. Student Presentations (December 1)