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PSC8380

Fall 2020

European Politics

W 7:30–9:30pm

<https://elearning.villanova.edu/>

Online (see Zoom link in Bb)

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**Instructor: Ryan Weldzius, Ph.D.**

Office Hours: Th 3-5:00pm (see Doodle sign-up)

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### **COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

In November 2016, the election of Donald Trump shocked much of the Western world. Trump's election, however, seemed to follow a trend across Europe following the 2008 global financial crisis: the rise of (mostly right-wing) populist parties asserting an aggressive antiglobalization stance. Just months before Trump's election, the U.K. surprised the world with a vote to leave the European Union (EU)—the divorce became official on January 31, 2020, but the details are still being negotiated. Just a year prior to the Brexit vote, the French eurosceptic party National Front became the third strongest party in local elections with approximately 25% of the votes and the left-leaning anti-austerity party Podemos made strides in Spanish elections. And now the French government faces uprisings over fuel taxes and racial injustice, Germany faces a growing far-right movement led by the AfD (although temporarily weakened because of the government's positive response to the pandemic), and Italy's coalition government, which is an awkward mix of far-right, anti-establishment, and anti-immigration but with support for some social policies popular on the left, is desperately seeking fiscal relief from Brussels as they struggle with the pandemic's aftermath. This all followed a sovereign debt crisis that spawned stringent austerity measures and years of anemic growth throughout the eurozone periphery, as well as a historical migration crisis originating after the Arab Spring and an endless civil war in Syria. The recently agreed upon coronavirus relief package provides hope for a stronger fiscal union, but the negotiations also revealed new cleavages on the continent, potentially strengthening the populists' standing.

In this course, we will seek to understand the origins of these populist movements/parties. We will begin by exploring the historical rationale for establishing the EU, evaluate the institutions created by this union, and consider how these institutions affect the political economy of European integration (past, present, and future). We will then dig into the theory and fundamentals of international political economy in order to have the necessary tools to analyze the rise of populist movements across modern Europe. We will explore the variation in responses to the 2008 financial crisis—in particular, austerity—, how the EU

institutional design has alleviated or exacerbated economic recovery, and how this has fueled antiglobalization and anti-EU backlash.

I will ask each of you to follow a contemporary populist party from an EU member state<sup>1</sup> throughout the semester. Please make a decision by the beginning of class in Week 2; in case two people choose the same party, we will figure out a compromise. We will discuss these parties in our class meetings and your final grade will be determined by an analytical essay on the origins of your party/movement (approx. 15-20 pages). In the final two weeks of class, each of you will make a short 10-12 minute presentation about your research followed by questions from the class.

Populist parties: Name, Country (family):

1. Alternative for Germany (AfD), Germany (radical right)
2. Fidesz, Hungary (conservative)
3. Five Star Movement (M5S), Italy (no family)
4. Forum for Democracy (FvD), Netherlands (radical right)
5. Freedom Party of Austria (FPO), Austria (radical right)
6. Jobbik, Hungary (radical right)
7. Law and Justice (PiS), Poland (radical right)
8. Lega, Italy (regionalist)
9. National Rally, France (radical right)
10. Party for Freedom (PVV), Netherlands (radical right)
11. Podemos, Spain (radical left)
12. Slovak National Party (SNS), Slovakia (radical right)
13. Sweden Democrats, Sweden (radical right)
14. Syriza, Greece (radical left)
15. UK Independence Party (UKIP), UK (radical right)
16. Vox, Spain (-)

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<sup>1</sup>Although the UK is no longer a member state, I will allow a student to choose the UK Independence Party.

## LEARNING METHODOLOGY:

Because economic union in Europe was a prerequisite for political union, we will need to build a firm understanding of international political economy (IPE) in order to analyze the major themes in this course. Thus, the readings for the course include several that introduce positive theories of IPE (e.g., trade politics, optimum currency areas, single labor markets, etc.), but also a few from Europe-based journalists that describe contemporary events.

During the first week, you will each sign up for one class for which you will act as co-discussant. You will be tasked with giving a short presentation at the beginning of our class (10-15 minutes) that summarizes the major themes of the readings, highlights important arguments, specifies any ambiguous/unclear ideas, and provides a few questions for discussion. Likewise, all students should come to each class with 2-3 questions or points of clarification of their own. Students should also consider how the weekly theme applies to their respective populist party/movements.

## READINGS:

We will read several books, which you can purchase online or from a local bookstore. Note that many local bookstores will have these books already and offer curbside pickup. All journal articles will be made available on the course webpage.

Books to purchase (in order of appearance):

1. Müller, Jan-Werner. 2016. *What is Populism?* University of Pennsylvania Press. [[Amazon](#) - \$14.99]
2. Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2017. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press. [[Amazon](#) - \$8.99]
3. Krugman, Paul. 1991. *Geography and Trade*. MIT University Press. [[MIT Press](#) - approx. \$14.99]
4. Schneider, Christina J. 2009. *Conflict, Negotiation and European Union Enlargement*. Cambridge University Press. [[CUP](#) - \$32.99]
5. McNamara, Kathleen. 2015. *The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union*. Oxford University Press. [[Amazon](#) - \$8.99-27.99]
6. Blyth, Mark. 2013. *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea*. Oxford University Press. [[Amazon](#) - \$14.90]
7. Sandbu, Martin. 2015. *Europe's Orphan: The Future of the Euro and the Politics of Debt*. Princeton University Press. [[Amazon](#) - \$17.39-22.15]
8. Walter, Stefanie, Ari Ray, and Nils Redeker. 2020. *The Politics of Bad Options: Why the Eurozone's Problems Have Been So Hard to Resolve*. Oxford University Press. (on sale September 2020) [[OUP](#) - \$40.00]

## GRADE DISTRIBUTION:

- Class Participation (25%): This includes weekly participation in class and acting as co-discussant during a week of your choosing.
- Essay bibliography and abstract/outline (20%): You will submit an annotated bibliography via email for your final essay by Week 7 (10%). I will return the following week with comments. You will submit an abstract and outline of your final essay by Week 9 (10%). I will return the following week with comments.
- Final Presentation (25%): In the final two weeks of class, you will present the preliminary research from your final analytical essay. 10-12 minute presentation followed by approx. 15-20 mins of Q&A.
- Final Essay (30%): 15-20 page paper that analyzes the origins of your populist party and the implications for the European Union. Due on the day of the final exam (**December 3, 2020 by 5:00pm**).

*Grade Scale:* 98-100, A+; 92-97, A; 90-91, A-; 88-89, B+; 82-87, B; 80-81, B-; . . . 0-60, F.

*Grade Appeals.* If you believe you received an incorrect grade, you may formally appeal it to me. The appeal will consist of a one-page typed explanation that identifies the problem and presents a reasoned argument for the proposed change.

## OFFICE HOURS:

I am available for office hours on Thursdays between 3:00-5:00pm. Please sign-up for a time slot via the course Blackboard page under the current week. If you cannot make these times, please write to me in advance and we'll find a time that is suitable for us both.

I would also like to continue a conversation with you (individually) throughout the term. This will give us a chance to chat about the course, the elections, your future classes, etc. Thus, I will ask you to meet with me (virtually) on two occasions: (1) during the first two-weeks for a short introductory chat, and (2) in the final weeks of class to address the progress of your analytical essay. I will have a separate sign-up sheet for these meetings.

I will also try to host office hours in person on a few occasions, weather dependent. I will send around more details later.

## LEARNING SUPPORT, ACADEMIC INTEGRITY, AND ABSENCES:

*Office of Disabilities (ODS) and Learning Support Services (LSS):* It is the policy of Villanova to make reasonable academic accommodations for qualified individuals with disabilities. Go to the Learning Support Services website (<http://learningsupportservices.villanova.edu>) for registration guidelines and instructions. For physical access or temporarily disabling conditions, please contact the Office of Disability Services at (610) 519-4095 or email

[stephen.mcwilliams@villanova.edu](mailto:stephen.mcwilliams@villanova.edu). Registration is needed in order to receive accommodations.

*Academic Integrity:* All students are expected to uphold Villanova's Academic Integrity Policy and Code. Any incident of academic dishonesty will be reported to the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences for disciplinary action. For the College's statement on Academic Integrity, you should consult the [Student Guide to Policies and Procedures](#). You may view the University's Academic Integrity Policy and Code, as well as other useful information related to writing papers, at the [Academic Integrity Gateway](#) web site.

*Absences for Religious Holidays:* Villanova University makes every reasonable effort to allow members of the community to observe their religious holidays, consistent with the University's obligations, responsibilities, and policies. Students who expect to miss a class or assignment due to the observance of a religious holiday should discuss the matter with their professors as soon as possible, normally at least two weeks in advance. Absence from classes or examinations for religious reasons does not relieve students from responsibility for any part of the course work required during the absence. See the [Provost's policies on religious holidays](#).

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**SCHEDULE:** The weekly schedule is subject to change.

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**WEEK 1** (*19-Aug-20*): Intro and a Crash Course on European Institutions

- Read: [European Union. 2012. "How the European Union Works: Your Guide to the EU Institutions."](#)

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**WEEK 2** (*26-Aug-20*): What is Populism?

- Müller, Jan-Werner. 2016. *What is Populism?* University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2017. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.

*Suggested further reading:*

- Jan-Werner Müller, "The Pandemic Will Strengthen Smart Populists," *Financial Times*, 19 July 2020.
- Mounk, Yascha. 2018. *The People Vs. Democracy: Why Our Freedom Is In Danger and How to Save It*. Harvard University Press.

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**WEEK 3** (*02-Sept-20*): Economic Integration: Geography, Trade, and Immigration

- Eichengreen, Barry. 2008. "European Integration." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*: pp. 799-813. [on course webpage]

- Rogowski, Ronald. 2008. “Trade, Immigration, and Cross-Border Investment.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*: pp. 814–28. [on course webpage]
- Krugman, Paul. 1991. *Geography and Trade*. MIT University Press.

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**WEEK 4 (09-Sept-20):** Politics of European Monetary Integration

- Kenen, Peter B. and Ellen E. Meade. 2008. *Regional Monetary Integration*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1–4. [on course webpage; skim]
- Frankel, Jeffrey and Andrew Rose. 1998. “The Endogeneity of the Optimum Currency Area Criteria.” *The Economic Journal* 108(449): pp. 1009-1025.
- Guiso, L., Herrera, H., Morelli, M. and Sonno, T. 2019. “Global crises and populism: the role of Eurozone institutions.” *Economic Policy* 34(97): pp. 95-139.

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**WEEK 5 (16-Sept-20):** Politics of European Enlargement

- Schneider, Christina J. 2009. *Conflict, Negotiation and European Union Enlargement*. Oxford University Press.

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**WEEK 6 (23-Sept-20):** Politics of European Migration

- Toshkov, Dimiter and Elitsa Kortenska. 2015. “Does Immigration Undermine Public Support for Integration in the European Union?” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(4): 910–25.
- Hangartner, D., Dinas, E., Marbach, M., Matakos, K. and Xefteris, D. 2019. “Does exposure to the refugee crisis make natives more hostile?” *American Political Science Review*, 113(2), pp.442-455.
- Ford, Robert and Will Jennings. 2020. “The Changing Cleavage Politics of Western Europe.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 23: 295–314.
- Alarian, Hannah M. 2020. “Cause or Consequence? The Alternative for Germany and Attitudes toward Migration Policy.” *German Politics and Society*. 38(2): 59-89.

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**WEEK 7 (30-Sept-20):** European Constructivism

**Due:** annotated bibliography with sources for your final paper.

- McNamara, Kathleen. 2015. *The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union*. Oxford University Press.

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**WEEK 8 (07-Oct-20):** Populism and International Law

- Posner, Eric A. 2017. “Liberal Internationalism and the Populist Backlash.” *Arizona State Law Journal* 49: 795–819.
- Peritz, Lauren. 2018. “Obstructing Integration: The European Court of Justice and the Domestic Politics of Compliance.” *European Union Politics* 19(3): 427–57.
- Krieger, Heike. 2019. “Populist Governments and International Law.” *The European Journal of International Law* 30(3): 971–996.

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**WEEK 9** (14-Oct-20): Austerity

**Due:** abstract/outline of final paper.

- Blyth, Mark. 2013. *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea*. Oxford University Press: chp. 1, 3-7.

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**WEEK 10** (21-Oct-20): The Politics of Debt

- Sandbu, Martin. 2015. *Europe’s Orphan: The Future of the Euro and the Politics of Debt*. Princeton University Press.

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**WEEK 11** (28-Oct-20): The Politics of Bad Options

- Walter, Stefanie, Ari Ray, and Nils Redeker. 2020. *The Politics of Bad Options: Why the Eurozone’s Problems Have Been So Hard to Resolve*. Oxford University Press.

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**WEEK 12** (04-Nov-20): The Globalization Backlash

- Broz, J. Lawrence, Jeffrey Frieden, and Stephen Weymouth. 2019. “Populism in Place: The Economic Geography of the Globalization Backlash.” Prepared for a special issue of *International Organization*.
- Baccini, Leonardo and Thomas Sattler. 2020. “Austerity, Economic Vulnerability, and Populism.” Prepared for presentation in the Global Research in Political Economy.
- Milner, Helen. 2020. “Voting for Populism in Europe: Globalization, Technological Change, and the Extreme Right.” Working Paper. Princeton University.
- Walter, Stefanie. 2020. “The Backlash Against Globalization.” *Review article prepared for the Annual Review of Political Science 2021*.

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**WEEK 13** (11-Nov-20): Presentations, Part I

- Schedule TBD

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**WEEK 14** (18-Nov-20): Presentations, Part II

- Schedule TBD