

Political Science 4212
Government and Politics of Southern Europe

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Wednesday and Friday, 2:20-3:40, 2017 McPherson
Office Hours: Wednesdays 3:50-4:30, and by appointment

This course presents a comprehensive overview of government and politics in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Southern Europe is a region that has lacked a historical tradition of stable democratic governance. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century experiments with democracy were either so flawed that they cannot be regarded as fully democratic, or were so unstable that they collapsed and were replaced by right-wing, corporatist, authoritarian political systems. As late as the mid 1970s, only Italy was able to maintain a democratic regime. Since the mid 1970s, however, Greece, Portugal and Spain have taken their places alongside Italy in the West European community of democratic nations. Indeed, Portugal and Spain (except for the Basque region) have been outstandingly successful in forming and maintaining stable governments. Given this remarkable transformation, the problem of democratic stability will provide the central analytical focus for this course.

Specifically, the course will be organized around two complementary sets of questions: First, what were the causes of political instability and the weakness of democratic institutions and practices in the past, and how might the legacy of those political divisions affect the functioning of the current democratic regimes? The first part of the course explores the historical origins of politically relevant social, cultural or political cleavages (variously involving class, religion, language, state political institutions and ideology), as well as the impact of late industrialization on political mobilization and participation. While lectures and some of the readings will provide analytical overviews of all four countries, students will select one country for more in-depth historical exploration. This survey of the historical background of Southern European politics concludes with the collapse of the previous democratic or semi-democratic regimes and the establishment of the authoritarian regimes of Mussolini, Franco, Salazar/Caetano and the Greek colonels. We then turn our attention to the emergence and basic characteristics of the current democratic systems. This begins with a comparative analysis of the transitions to democracy and the processes through which the new regimes became consolidated. This will be followed by a comparative analysis of the institutional structure of government in these countries, basic patterns of legislative-executive relations, and the major political parties and party systems. We shall also evaluate certain patterns of public policy that characterize politics in the region. We will conclude with an

analysis of the public debt crises and resulting political developments that have plagued all four of these countries since 2009.

There will be one midterm (which will determine 25% of the course grade), one final examination (25%), two *unannounced* quizzes (each worth 10%), and a 10-15 page term paper (30%) on a country of the student's own choosing, focusing on an analytical theme to be determined through consultation with the instructor. These may include historical or contemporary topics on any theme explored in this course. In selecting term paper topics and appropriate sources for that research project, students should consult the References section of *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe* (pages 427-456) or *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe* (pages 363-393). **Papers** must be submitted on or before Monday, **December 8**. The **midterm** (which will take place **around the 7th week** of the course) and the **final (Thursday, Dec. 11, 2:00-3:45)** will both be essay examinations, consisting of some questions requiring short answers and others longer essay topics.

Readings

All readings have been placed on Closed Reserve in the Main Library or (if noted below) are available online through OSU's Carmen system. Those students who wish to purchase the readings for this course will find that the following books are available in the campus-area bookstores. Three of these books will be read by all students. (It should be noted that royalties for all three of these required texts have been waived, and that their publication was subsidized by grants from OSU's Mershon Center. Accordingly, their cost is quite low, ranging between \$21 and \$35 [as quoted by BN.com].) In addition, students will select **one** of the four Southern European countries for more detailed study, and will select one additional book from the remainder of the list (i.e., Birmingham for Portugal, Clogg for Greece, Duggan for Italy, and Gunther and Montero for Spain).

To be read by all students:

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

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

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

Select *one* of the following:

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

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

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

Richard Gunther and José Ramón Montero, *The Politics of Spain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Reading Assignments and Lectures:

1. Introduction:

"Introduction," in P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Richard Gunther, eds.,

Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

"Introduction," in Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero and Joan Botella, *Democracy in Modern Spain* (available on **Carmen**), pp. 1-14.

2. State Building, Nation Building and the Origins of Social and Political Cleavages:

Edward Malefakis, "The Political and Socioeconomic Contours of Southern European History," in Gunther, Diamandouros and Puhle, eds. *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 33-76.

Then choose among the following according to your country specialization:

Richard Clogg, Chapters 1-3 ("Introduction," "Ottoman Rule and the Emergence of the Greek State, 1770-1831," and "Nation-Building, the 'Great Idea' and National Schism, 1831-1922") in *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-99;

or

Christopher Duggan, Chapters 1-5 ("The Geographical Determinants of Disunity," "Disunity and Conflict: From the Romans to the Renaissance, 400-1494," "Stagnation and Reform, 1494-1789," "The Emergence of the National Question, 1789-1849," and "Italy United") in *A Concise History of Italy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1-142;

or

David Birmingham, Chapters 1-4 ("Peoples, Cultures and Colonies," "Rebellion and Independence in the Seventeenth Century," "The Golden Age and the Earthquake in the Eighteenth Century," and "Brazilian Independence and the Portuguese Revolution") in *A Concise History of Portugal* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 9-126;

or

Vicens-Vives, Jaime, *Approaches to the History of Spain*, pp. 14-55 (**Carmen**)
and Gunther and Montero, "The State and Democracy in Spain: A Historical Overview," in *The Politics of Spain*, 1-27.

3. Early (and Unsuccessful) Experiences with Democracy:

Clogg, Chapters 4 and 5 ("Catastrophe and Occupation and their Consequences, 1923-1949," and "The Legacy of the Civil War, 1950-1974"), in *A Concise History of Greece*, pp. 100-159;

or

Duggan, Chapters 6 and 7 ("The Liberal State and the Social Question, 1870-1900," and "Giolitti, the First World War, and the Rise of Fascism"), in *A*

Concise History of Italy, pp. 143-204;

or

Birmingham, Chapter 5 ("The Bourgeois Monarchy and the Republicans") in *A Concise History of Portugal*, pp. 127-155.

or

Raymond Carr, Chapters 8 and 9 ("The Second Republic, 1931-1936," and "The Civil War, 1936-1939") in *Modern Spain*, pp. 117-154 (available through Carmen);

and

Gunther, Montero and Botella, "The Restoration Monarchy," and "The Second Republic," pp. 22-37, from Chapter 2 ("Spanish Exceptionalism: The Absence of a Tradition of Democratic Stability") in *Democracy in Modern Spain* (Carmen).

4. The Southern European Dictatorships:

Richard Gunther, Chapter 1 ("The Franquist Regime") in Zip packet (from *Public Policy in a No-Party State* [Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1980], pp. 1-45) (Carmen);

AND

Duggan, Chapter 8 ("Fascism") in *A Concise History of Italy*, pp. 210-232 (Carmen).

Italian specialists should read all of Duggan, Chapter 8 (pp. 205-239);

Portuguese specialists should read Birmingham, Chapter 6 ("The Dictatorship and the African Empire") in *A Concise History of Portugal*, pp. 156-178;

Greek specialists should read Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, pp. 160-165;

Spanish specialists should read Gunther and Montero, "The Franco Regime," in *The Politics of Spain* (pp. 27-34).

MIDTERM EXAMINATION

5. The Transitions to Democracy:

Gunther, Diamandouros and Puhle, Chapters 1 and 11 ("Introduction" and "Conclusion") in *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*, pp. 1-32 and 389-414;

Juan J. Linz, Alfred Stepan and Richard Gunther, Chapter 3 ("Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, with Reflections on Latin America and Eastern Europe") in *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*, pp. 77-123;

AND

P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, "Regime Change and the Prospects for Democracy in Greece" in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 138-164 (Carmen);

or

Gianfranco Pasquino, "The Demise of the first Fascist Regime and Italy's Transition to Democracy," in O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe*, pp. 45-70 (Carmen);

or

Kenneth Maxwell, "Regime Overthrow and the Prospects for Democratic Transition in Portugal," in O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe*, pp. 109-137 (Carmen);

or

Gunther and Montero, "The Transition to Democracy," in *The Politics of Spain* (pp. 34-41).

6. The Governmental Structure of the Current Democratic Regimes:

Thomas C. Bruneau, et al, Chapter 2 ("Democracy, Southern European Style?") in Diamandouros and Gunther, *Parties, Politics and Democracy*, pp. 16-82.

Gianfranco Pasquino, "Executive-Legislative Relations in Southern Europe," in Gunther, Diamandouros and Puhle, *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*, pp. 261-283.

AND

specialists on Greece, Italy and Portugal read relevant sections of José Magone, "Governmental Dominance," "Parliamentary Weakness," "The Head of State," and "The Judiciary" in *The Politics of Southern Europe*, pp. 70-104 (Carmen);

Or

specialists on Spain read

Gunther and Montero, "The Constitutional Framework," in *The Politics of Spain*, pp. 43-70.

7. Parties, Party Systems and Politics in the New Southern Europe:

Takis Pappas, "In Search of the Center: Conservative Parties, Electoral Competition and Political Legitimacy in Southern Europe's New Democracies," in *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*, pp. 224-267.

Hans-Jürgen Puhle, "Mobilizers and Late Modernizers: Socialist Parties in the New Southern Europe," in *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*, pp. 268-328.

Anna Bosco, "Four Actors in Search of a Role: The Southern European Communist Parties," in *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*, pp. 329-387.

Richard Gunther and José Ramón Montero, "The Anchors of Partisanship: A Comparative Analysis of Voting Behavior in Four Southern European Democracies," in *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*, pp. 83-152.

Gianfranco Pasquino, "The New Campaign Politics," in *Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*, pp. 182-223.

AND

Specialists on Greece and Italy and Portugal read relevant sections of Susannah Verney and Anna Bosco, "Living Parallel Lives: Italy and Greece in an Age of Austerity," *South European Society and Politics*, 18, 4, 397-426, especially pp. 412-424 (**Carmen**);

or

specialists on Spain read

Gunther and Montero, "Parties and Democratic Stability," in *The Politics of Spain*, pp. 97-162

and

Paul Kennedy, "From Unpopular Socialists to the Popular Party: The Spanish General Election of 2011," *West European Politics*, 35, 3, 673-681 (**Carmen**);

or

specialists on Portugal read

Jorge Miguel Fernandes, "The 2011 Portuguese Election: Looking for a Way Out," *West European Politics*, 34, 6, 1296-1303 (**Carmen**).

8. Public Policy in Southern Europe:

P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, Richard Gunther, Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, and Edward E. Malefakis, "Introduction," pp. 1-41, **and**

Richard Gunther and P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, "Conclusion," pp. 338-362 in Gunther, Diamandouros and Sotiropoulos, eds., *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

And any two other chapters (depending on your areas of public policy interest)

in

Gunther, Diamandouros and Sotiropoulos, *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe*

or

Gunther and Montero, "Public Policies..," in *The Politics of Spain* (pp. 206-247).

Academic Misconduct:

It is the responsibility of the committee on Academic Misconduct to investigate or establish procedures for the investigation of all reported cases of student academic misconduct. The term "academic misconduct" includes all forms of student academic misconduct wherever committed; illustrated by, but not limited to, cases of plagiarism and dishonest practices in connection with examinations. Instructors shall report all instances of alleged academic misconduct to the committee (Faculty Rule 3335-4-487). For additional information, see the Code of Student Conduct (http://studentaffairs.osu.edu/info_for_students/csc.asp)

Disability Services:

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disability Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor as soon as possible of their needs. The Office for Disability Services is located in 150 Pomerene Hall, 1760 Neil Ave; telephone 292-3307, TDD 292-0901; (<http://www.ods.ohio-state.edu/>).

Learning Objectives for GEC Courses

Social Science

Social science develop students' understanding of the systematic study of human behavior and cognition; of the structure of human societies, cultures, and institutions; and of the processes by which individuals, groups, and societies interact, communicate, and use human, natural, and economic resources.

1. Students understand the theories and methods of social scientific inquiry as they are applied to the studies of individuals, groups, organizations, and societies.
2. Students understand the behavior of individuals, differences and similarities in the contexts of human existence (e.g., psychological, social, cultural, economic, geographic, and political),

and the processes by which groups, organizations, and societies function.

3. Students develop abilities to comprehend and assess individual and social values, and recognize their importance in social problem solving and policy making.

Diversity

International Issues coursework helps students become educated, productive, and principled citizens of their nation in an increasingly globalized world.

1. Students exhibit an understanding of some combination of political, economic, cultural, physical, social, and philosophical differences in or among the world's nations, peoples and cultures outside the US.

2. Students are able to describe, analyze and critically evaluate the roles of categories such as race, gender, class, ethnicity, national origin and religion as they relate to international/global institutions, issues, cultures and citizenship.

3. Students recognize the role of national and international diversity in shaping their own attitudes and values as global citizens.