

Political Science 627.02

Government and Politics in Southern Europe

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. We shall then undertake a systematic 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 characterize politics in the region.

There will be one midterm (which will determine 30% of the course grade), one final examination (30%), and a term paper (40%) on a country or countries of the student's own choosing, focusing on an analytical theme to be determined through consultation with the instructor. The midterm (which will take place at the end of the 5th week of the course) and the final will both be essay examinations, consisting of some questions requiring short answers and others longer essay topics. In selecting term paper topics and selecting 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).

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disabilities Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor of their needs.

Readings

Copies of all readings have been placed on Closed Reserve in the Main Library. Those students

who wish to purchase the readings for this course will find that the following books are available in the four campus-area bookstores (except for the Zip Notes packets, which are available only at SBX and College Town). The first three of these books will be read by all students. 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 *Zip Notes Supplementary Packet on Spain*). In addition, the appropriate Supplementary Zip Packet should be selected for Greece, Italy and Portugal. (It should be noted that royalties for the two Johns Hopkins University Press books have been waived, and the production of a low-cost paperback edition of *Parties, Politics and Democracy* was additionally subsidized by a grant from OSU's Mershon Center.)

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 Richard Gunther, eds., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Zip Notes for Political Science 627.02 (hereafter referred to as *Zip/627*).

David Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

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

Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Zip Notes, supplementary packets on Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain (hereafter referred to as *Zip/Supp/Greece*, *Zip/Supp/Italy*, *Zip/Supp/Portugal*, and *Zip/Supp/Spain*, respectively). Students should select only **one**.

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, *Politics in Modern Spain* (in *Zip/627*), pp. 1-15.

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

Edward Malefakis, "The Political and Socioeconomic Countours of Southern European History," in 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), pp. 33-76.

and

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, 1992), 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, 1993), pp. 9-126;

or

Vicens-Vives, Jaime, Chapters 3-20, in *Approaches to the History of Spain*, pp. 14-150; **and** Gunther, Montero and Botella, "Divisive Social Cleavages," pp. 27-44, from Chapter 2 ("Spanish Exceptionalism: The Absence of a Tradition of Democratic Stability") in *Politics in Modern Spain* (in *Zip/Supp/Spain*).

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. 100-168;

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 (in *Zip/Supp/Spain*);

and

Gunther, Montero and Botella, "The Restoration Monarchy," and "The Second Republic," pp. 16-27, from Chapter 2 ("Spanish Exceptionalism: The Absence of a Tradition of Democratic Stability") in *Politics in Modern Spain* (in *Zip/Supp/Spain*).

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) (in *Zip/627*);

and

Duggan, Chapter 8 ("Fascism") in *A Concise History of Italy*, pp. 210-232 (in *Zip/627*).

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.

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.

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 (in *Zip/Supp/Greece*);

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 (in *Zip/Supp/Italy*);

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 (in *Zip/Supp/Portugal*);

or

José María Maravall and Julián Santamaría, "Political Change in Spain and the Prospects for Democracy," in O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe*, pp. 71-108 (in *Zip/Supp/Spain*); **and**

Gunther, Montero and Botella, "The Emergence of Modern Spain," and "The Malleability of mid-1970s Spain," pp. 46-53 from Chapter 2, and pp. 58-84 from Chapter 3 ("Institutional Crystallization and Democratic Consolidation") of *Politics in Modern Spain* (in *Zip/Supp/Spain*).

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.

Gunther, Montero and Botella, "The Framework for Government of a Consolidated Spanish Democracy," pp. 85-93, from Chapter 3 of *Politics in Modern Spain* (in *Zip/627*).

Raphael Zariski, "The Uneasy Balance: Policy-making Roles and Structures," Chapter 7 in *Italy: The Politics of Uneven Development* (Hinsdale, IL: The Dryden Press, 1972), pp. 224-259 (in *Zip/627*).

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,"

Hans-Jürgen Puhle, "Mobilizers and Late Modernizers: Socialist Parties in the New Southern Europe," and

Anna Bosco, "Four Actors in Search of a Role: The Southern European Communist Parties," Chapters 6, 7 and 8 in Diamandouros and Gunther *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*, pp. 224-387.

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

Giacomo Sani and Paolo Segatti, "Antiparty Politics and the Restructuring of the Italian Party System," in Diamandouros and Gunther *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*, pp. 153-181.

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

8. Public Policy in Southern Europe:

Richard Gunther, "The Impact of Regime Change on Public Policy: The Case of Spain," *Journal of Public Policy*, 16, 1996, pp. 157-201 (in *Zip/627*).

Francis G. Castles, "The Welfare State and Democracy: On the Development of Social Security in Southern Europe, 1960-1990;"

Marisol García and Neovi Karakatsanis, "Social Policy, Democracy and Citizenship in Southern Europe;" and

Pedro Magalhães, Carlo Guarnieri and George Kaminis "Democratic Consolidation, Judicial Reform, and the Judicialization of Politics in Southern Europe" (in *Zip/627*).

From: Richard Gunther
re: Readings for Political Science 627.02

Many of the readings for this course are published in volumes that I have edited. Over the past decade I served as co-chair (along with Nikiforos Diamandouros, currently the national Ombudsman of Greece) of the Subcommittee on Southern Europe of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS). The principal task of the subcommittee was to assemble the world's leading experts on Southern European society and politics for the purpose of publishing a series of books on the histories, economies, social structures and politics of the four countries of Southern Europe. The end product is a five-volume series on *The New Southern Europe* published by the Johns Hopkins University Press. This has provided a comprehensive and up-to-date literature upon which to base this course.

I want to make it clear that I receive no royalties from the sale of any of these books. In agreement with the SSRC, all royalty payments have been waived in the interest of holding down the purchase price of these sizable volumes. In addition, I have secured external grants that made it possible for us to pay Johns Hopkins University Press publication subsidies (of \$5,000 each) for the purpose of producing affordable paperback editions of these volumes. (The volume used most heavily in this course, for example, is 459 pages in length, but sells for just \$18.95.)

Accordingly, despite this course's heavy reliance on my own publications, there is no conflict of interest in my assigning these works, and I do not profit financially in any way.