Internationalizing the Classroom: Bringing French Politics Into the Political Science Curriculum
Sponsored by the French Politics Conference Group, APSA
Wednesday August 31st, 9:30 -12:30 pm
Marriott Wardman Park Hotel, Truman
Table of Contents

Description ................................................................................................................................................3
Program................................................................................................................................................4
List of Panelists/Participants..................................................................................................................5
Teaching Materials Presented at Short Course.....................................................................................6
Additional Syllabi and Reading Lists......................................................................................................88
**Description**

The goal of this half-day short course is to present new and creative ways of teaching French politics in a wide variety of classroom settings. Given the increasing need to internationalize political science curricula and the rising interest in France’s role in the world, teachers may find it useful to get some helpful hints from the experts about how to bring France into their classrooms. This short course brings together top specialists to present hands-on materials, information, and strategies about how to introduce students to contemporary French politics in a broad range of classes, including courses on American Politics and Foreign Policy, Comparative Politics, International Relations, Gender and Politics, and European Politics. Alistair Cole, editor of the new book, *Developments in French Politics 3* (Palgrave, 2005), will discuss how the book can be used as a teaching tool as well. Participants will receive a packet of teaching materials with bibliographies, useful readings, and specific classroom exercises, at no charge.

The following materials provide some ideas about sources materials and courses on France. This long version is only available in electronic form. Materials covered in the short course will distributed in hardecopy form as well at the short course. Special thanks go to the French Politics and Policy Group of the PSA-UK for their contributions to these materials. Not all of the materials attached will be discussed during the short course.
APSA SHORT COURSE
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Schedule

Note that the format for the short course will be informal. Each panelist will give a brief presentation that will hopefully launch an interesting discussion between all participants in the short course. Times are approximate.

9:30-9:45
Welcome and Introduction
Amy Mazur, Washington State University

9:45-10:15
Using *Developments in French Politics 3* (Palgrave, 2005) in the Classroom and A Focus on Public Administration
Alistair Cole, Cardiff University, Wales, UK

10:15-10:45
France in a Global Perspective: Globalization, Transnational Activism, Diaspora Politics, Post Colonialism and AIDS
Michael Bosia, St. Michael’s College

10:45-11:15
Teaching the French Case in Courses on Elections and Voting Behavior
Jocelyn Evans, University of Salford, UK

11:15-11:45
Bringing Gender Politics Issues into the Classroom
Amy Mazur, Washington State University

11:45-12:15
*French Politics* as a Teaching Source
Andrew Appleton, Washington State University

12:15-12:30 Closing Discussion
Panelists and Participants

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TEACHING MATERIALS PRESENTED AT THE SHORTCOURSE
Readings in French Politics
By Michael Bosi, St. Michaels College

Citizenship and Diversity


Race and Immigration


Lebovics, Herman. *Bringing the Empire Home: France in the Global Age* (Duke University Press, 2004). *Examines the legacies of French colonialism and the anti-Colonialist wars in contemporary anti-globalization movements, the National Front and immigration politics, and other manifestations of contention over what and who is “French.”*


**Memory, Truth, and Reconciliation**


**Sexuality and AIDS**


**France in Comparative Perspective**


**Classic Readings on French Politics**

Fanon, Franz. *A Dying Colonialism.*

Fanon, Franz. *The Wretched of the Earth.*

*Fanon, writing during the Algerian War, offers a still relevant critique of French colonialism and perspectives on national liberation.*

Marx, Karl. *The 18th Brumaire.* *Colorful, classed-based, and highly readable analysis of Louis Bonaparte’s coup d’état.*

Moore, Barrington. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy.* *Compelling if now challenged account of the British, French, American, and Indian paths to democracy, set against trajectories leading to revolutionary or fascist dictatorship in Germany, Japan, and China.*


Skocpol, Theda. *States and Social Revolutions.* Cambridge University Press, 1979. *Comparison of the French, Russian, and Chinese Revolutions with particular attention to the influence of the state in revolutionary processes.*


Wyle, Laurent. *A Village in Vaucluse.* A scholarly work on the politics and economics of rural life in 1950s France as one village addresses the legacies of two World Wars and the challenges of profound economic change.

**Political Economy, Reform, and Globalization**


**Classroom Tools: France on Film**
**Battle of Algiers.** International film made by an Italian director with the cooperation of the Algerian FLN after independence, about the uprising against colonial rule and the response from the French military in the 1950s.

**The Sorrow and the Pity.** This documentary was the subject of an intense polemic because of its unexpurgated account of collaboration and resistance in one town in France.

**Hotel Terminus.** Account of the Life and Trial of Klaus Barbie, the Nazi Butcher of Lyon who was extradited to France and placed on trial for crimes against humanity more than a decade after he was initially identified in hiding in Bolivia.

**Irma Vep.** French filmmaking and globalization, starring Hong Kong action star Maggie Cheung.

**Choas.** A French “Thelma and Louise.” The story of a young Algerian woman forced into prostitution and the French wife and mother who joins her in subverting male dominance.

**The Adventures of Felix.** Felix, HIV positive and of mixed parentage, leaves his partner behind in the North as he embarks on a journey of discovery in search of his Algerian father.

**Jeanne and the Perfect Guy.** A young Parisian woman meets the perfect guy – who is HIV positive. Reflections on class, race, sexuality, and citizenship.

**The Dreamlife of Angels.** Two young women in northern France today struggle against impoverishment.

**Life and Nothing But** and **The Very Long Engagement.** Two stylistically distinct but nonetheless realistic accounts of the violence of war and its aftermath through versions of the same story: a young woman searches for her husband/fiancé lost in battle during World War I. The first focuses more on the constitution of personal and collective war memories, and the second story highlights the revulsion over the slaughter of the war and the injustices of the military high command.
Content and Objectives:

- This course offers a survey of European political development and the key issues in European politics today. Since September 11, 2001, the role of European countries in the world, and the relationship between Europe and the U.S. has been a mix of contention and cooperation. In this course, we will examine “Europe” as individual states and a collective force, and in the process shed light on the complex relationships between each state and the United States.

- Our first goal is to understand the unique environment of each European nation-state: their individual histories, cultures, governments and politics. By examining Europe’s most influential nation-states (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Russia), we will see different democratic institutions, varieties of capitalist economic structures, distinct values, and unique approaches to the questions of belonging and citizenship. In this way, we will begin to understand the contrasts with American political and social life.

- Next we will explore the regional pressures each of these countries has faced in the past and faces today, as well as the emergence of domestic responses to these global and regional pressures. By understanding how the relative distribution of power in terms of economic, institutional, and cultural resources in each country influences the reaction to regional and global pressures, we can begin to ask questions about the unification of Europe and the possible rise of a new “European” force as a global superpower. We will begin with the pressures of globalization, first in the 19th Century and then today, and move on to the development of the EU. We will explore events and issues affecting the region, critically engage the debates surrounding such issues, and we will see how national characteristics can differently condition each country’s response to a shared event or crisis. These issues include the European Union and a single currency, globalization and economic liberalization, the emergence of extreme right-wing political movements, and the questions of justice and accountability.

Assessment:

- In-class assignments and participation (10%). Students are required to report on 2 articles about European Politics in the American or European media.
- One short presentation to begin a class, with assignment by volunteering (15%). The student should note the main argument and offer an evaluation or critique of the week’s readings.
- Two response essays of two (2) pages each, not submitted when the student is scheduled for a presentation, one before and one after the midterm (15%)
- One take-home mid-term consisting of two essays selected from several possible questions (25%). The exam is due at the beginning of class on Wednesday, October 28.
- A final project or take-home exam, determined by each student in consultation with the instructor (35%). In either case, the final will consist of one or two essays totaling eight pages, due at the time the final exam is scheduled.
- Attendance is essential, both for individual achievement as well as the success of the course, overall. Class sessions have been designed to include discussion and presentations and rely on your presence and participation.
• Assignments will not be rescheduled nor will extensions be given, except as allowed by academic policy.
• College policies regarding plagiarism will be followed.

Required Reading:
2. Rethinking Europe's Future, by David P. Calleo
3. (Recommended) The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy, Anthony Giddens
4. Reserve Readings

Course Outline:

Week 1 (1/17-1/19): Introduction

What is comparative politics? How do we define and study Western Europe? What is ahead for the course: perspectives, goals, procedures, assessment.

Rethinking Europe's Future, Ch. 1, 17 pgs
Class Handouts
http://www.lrb.co.uk/v26/n17/ande01_.html
Film

Week 2 (1/24-1/26): Historical Perspectives: Looking at Europe through a Microscope

What are the roots of European social life? How do people in different environments learn from their closest relationships, including family, friends, school? How is the state a part of life?

A Village in the Vaucluse, Laurence Wylie
1/24: Ch 1-2 36 pgs; Ch 7, 153-165 12 pgs
1/26: Ch 9, 11 pgs; Ch 10, 36 pgs

Week 3 (1/31-2/2): Parliaments, Unions and Welfare States

Politics in Europe
1/31, The United Kingdom, Part One
2/2, Sweden, Part Five

Week 4 (2/7-2/9): State Leadership

Politics in Europe
2/7, France, Part Two
2/9, Germany, Part Three

Week 5 (2/14-2/16): Italy and Russia: Democratic Challenges

Politics in Europe
2/14, Italy, Part Four
2/16, Russia, Part Six

Week 6 (2/21 No Class-2/23): Historical Perspectives: The Rise of European Nations
How does the state differ from the nation? What belongs in each category? What forces shaped the rise of nations?

*Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson *JC311 A656 1991*
2/23: Ch. 1-3, 5, 6, 93 pgs

Week 7 (2/28-3/2): Historical Perspectives: Social Class, Revolution, and the State

What forms of conflict shaped the institutions of the state? How is revolution manifest differently in different countries, and how did revolution shape the possibilities for democracy? How does social class, such as bourgeoisie or peasantry, work in the development of states?

*Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Barrington Moore *HN15 .M775*
2/28: Ch. I, 37 pgs
3/2: Ch II 1-5, 30 pgs; Ch VIII, 20 pgs

Week 8 (3/7-3/9): The 20th Century: How did war shape European politics in the 20th Century? How do Europeans remember the experience of war?

3/7 Midterm Due
3/9: *Rethinking Europe’s Future*
Ch 2-4, 50 pgs

Week 9 (3/14-3/16) Spring Break


If a nation-state is composed of “citizens,” how do Europeans decide the question of citizenship? What is the relationship of citizenship to social class? Immigration? With a growing community of Muslim-descent in Europe, why and how has citizenship become increasingly contentious? What values are expressed through the idea of the citizen? How have extremists shaped the debates around citizenship?

Ch 1, 18 pgs
Etienne Balibar, *We the People of Europe*
Ch. 3, 20 pgs
*Limits of Citizenship*, Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal
Ch 4, 20 pgs
Ch 3, 14 pgs (Italy)
Ch 7, 14 pgs (Netherlands)
Roy Gutman, *Witness to Genocide*

Week 11 (3/28-3/30): Capitalism and Politics

How did capitalism arise and on what type of foundation does it rest? What roles do economic markets play in the rise of European nation-states?

*The Great Transformation*, Karl Polanyi *HC53 .P6 1957*
Weeks 12-14: What Future for Europeans? Globalization, the Nation-State, and the European Union

4/4-4/6: Globalization: As liberal market reforms make capitalism appear similar across Europe, what remains of particular national differences? Given the various understandings of power, why would different states embrace economic reforms that look similar?

The New Politics of the Welfare State, Paul Pierson, ed., TBA
“From Stability to Stagnation: Germany at the Beginning of the 21st Century,” Herbert Kitschelt and Wolfgang Streeck, West European Politics 2003 1-34 Electronic

4/11-4/13: European Union: Does the construction of European unity and the EMU represent the emergence of a regional force between the state and the global economy? Or does it facilitate the economic reforms required by globalization? How can European institutions be classified? Is the New Europe Democratic?

4/11: Rethinking Europe's Future, 8, 11-12
4/13: Politics in Europe, Part Seven

4/18-4/20: European Union Expansion: Is there a “new” Europe, rising from the rubble of the Berlin Wall, that is solidly democratic and ready to join the West? How can we differentiate among those invited to join Europe during the “First Wave” of expansion and the others who will have to wait?

Open Letters, Vaclav Havel
4/18: Stories and Totalitarianism, New Year’s Address, 28 pgs
Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation, Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan JC421 .L56 1996
4/18: Ch 15, 20 pgs
4/20: Ch 17, 50 pgs

Week 15 (4/25-27): Democratic Accountability: Coincident with the consolidation of European institutions and the rise of the extreme Right, the question of “accountability” took center stage in several European countries with highly political criminal trials or heated debates. Are these questions of responsibility and accountability unique to the countries involved, or do they represent the emergence of a new form of “European” politics, an examination of democracy when the nation is under challenge?

“East Germany: Incorporation, Tainted Truth, and the Double,” Jan-Werner Müller, in The Politics of Memory and Democratization, Alesandra Bahorona de Brito
“Toward a Nuremburg du Sida,” Michael Bosia

*Week 16 (5/2-5/4): A Global Role for the New Europe: Does Europe have a collective vision for global economic and political influence? Can the “New” Europe provide an alternative to American global dominance? Is there agreement on a European foreign policy, or even on the procedures to develop such a policy? What will Europe have to do to offer such an alternative?*

*Rethinking Europe's Future*, Ch. 14, 15, 16

FINAL: Friday, May 13, 9-11:30
In this course, we will examine how the nation and national belonging are represented in film. With its origins in the 20th Century, film becomes a dominant form of communication at the same time mass communities are being formed within national borders and as nationalism is exported from Europe and North America to the post colonial and developing world. Thus, film enables and is enabled by the developing of nations and national audiences. With the advent of globalization and transnational migration, film has become a vehicle for understanding how one can belong to a variety of nations - the nation where we might live, the nation of our origins, or visions of identity that move through and beyond the nation, including gender, sexuality, race, and religion. What defines a given nation? How does film portray the nation and national purpose? What is the nature of belonging and how are conflicts over who is part of the nation resolved in film?

We will focus our attention on movies as a form of story telling, and look to how the key characters are defined, how the arc of their stories plays out, and how such story lines and narrative conflict define the moral and ethical nature of national belonging. Movies contain heroes and villains, and the interplay between these "representative" heroes and villains draw on and interpret well-known characters in national histories and mythologies. These characters come with expectations about their behavior, a set of values or beliefs that help explain to us why they make the choices they do as the narrative moves forward and they respond to each other and new situations.

Film is also a visual medium, which means we can look at movies to see how images tell stories through metaphor and allusion. Film can reinforce traditional ways of seeing the national community, challenge such traditions, or do a combination of both.

Film can be analyzed from the standpoint of the film makers - what is the intent of their story and how does the film represent their personal experiences or their political goals. At the same time, movies are interpreted by the audience, who may or may not share the vision of the film makers or may "read" a film in ways not envisioned. We "accept" characters because they behave in ways that we consider to be "realistic" or "authentic" based on our understanding of who they are. We get such notions about representative characters from our experiences, our culture, our families, other films, "true" stories in the news, etc. So understanding a film, and its politics, means understanding why characters and their stories are representative for the audience - why they resonate with experience and seem authentic.
Readings: At times, readings will directly consider the film we are viewing. These will examine the work through consideration of historical and cultural contexts, the role and intent of the film maker, the engagement with contemporary debates, the characters and narrative structure, and/or the visual technique. At other times, the readings will focus on historical, cultural, and political contexts through which we, as a class, can work to better understand the film we are viewing. In the first case, we will apply the analysis to the film and consider how well it works. In the second, we will develop our own analysis, individually and as a class. Our goal is to learn how to consider narrative and character, history and culture, to better understand how politics is portrayed and interpreted through film.

Evaluations:

Students will be responsible for all readings and viewing all films. Seminar time will be devoted to film viewing and discussion, with periodic meetings to facilitate a comparative analysis of a given topic in film. Evaluations will be based on the following tools:

Essays (45 points; 15 points each): Three (3) essays, four (4) pages in length will be due as scheduled in the syllabus. Essays should compare the films viewed in each section based on the readings. Has the analysis proven successful? How would you disagree with the analysis? Where does it come up short? Where does it succeed? What analysis would you offer? What are the expectations we place on the characters? How do they respond to each other and the unfolding of events? What does their response - their behavior as guided by their values - say about them and thus about their characters as representative? For example, what does the character of a woman say about the role of women in society, the moral nature of gender or sexuality? How do you understand a given film and compare a series of films that engage such questions of nation and national belonging?

Notes (15 points): Students are required to take notes while viewing films and while reading. Notes will be submitted with each essay, and will be graded on a three-point scale: unsatisfactory, satisfactory, and excellent.

A Note on Note Taking:

While reading, start with the primary argument, which the author will outline at the beginning of the work. Look for the subsidiary arguments, or those that move the primary argument forward. What evidence does the author use to prove her or his argument? What political issues, what aspect of the nation and national belonging, does the author address?

While viewing a film, pay particular attention to the characters and conflicts in the narrative. What attributes, moral codes, values, identities, behaviors define each primary character? How do these
characters respond to the events that unfold? To each other? Does an image or event seem similar, like you have seen or heard about it before? Pay particular attention to how the issues addressed in the readings play out in the film and how the narrative resolves the political conflicts we are reading about in contexts with which we are not familiar.

Group Facilitation (15 points): Each Review and Discussion Session will be facilitated by a student team. The seminar will be divided into three teams. Each team will be responsible for preparing discussion topics and questions that bring the readings and films together and offer a comparison. Teams will be evaluated based on their ability to synthesize the course material, develop interesting directions for discussion, and engage the other students in the discussion.

Final Project (20 points): Each student is required to complete a final project or exam, to be worked out with the instructor. Students are encouraged to pursue group projects. Due dates will be determined based on the nature of the work pursued. This is also an opportunity for students to propose projects that will earn extra credit. While no one can earn more than 100 points and a course grade higher than A+, working beyond the minimum final requirements could earn students extra compensatory points if their project is well done.

Participation: Attendance is mandatory. Unexcused absences will lower your grade no matter how well you perform on the assignments. Absences may be excused through college procedures or through requests to the instructor. Each unexcused absence will lower your grade by three (3) percentage points.

Total Points Possible: 100

Part One: “Representative Characters” and National Identity

W8-31 Introduction

Film: Birth of a Nation (U.S. - 187 mins)

W9-7 Collective Narrative as Moral and Political

Readings:
Michael Rogin, “The Sword Becomes a Flashing Vision” (46 pgs)
Page Beatty, Introduction, “Vita Feminae” (45 pgs)
Alasdair MacIntyre, “Narrative and Epistemological Crisis”

Part Two: The Nation as Historical and Moral

W9-14 Recent History and State Legitimacy
Film: October (U.S.S.R. – 103 mins)

Reading:
Taylor, “October”

W9-21 “Ancient” Myths, Modern Diaspora, and National Unity

Film: Hero (P.R.C. – 99 mins)

Readings:
William A. Callahan, Contingent States

W9-28 Post-Colonial Nationalism, Globalization, and Gender

Film: Fire (India – 104 mins)

Seyla Benhabib, “Sexual Difference and Collective Identities” (27 pgs)
*Ratna Kapur, “Too Hot to Handle: The Cultural Politics of Fire” (11 pgs)
Jigna Desai, “Homo on the Range” (25 pgs)
*Partha Chatterjee, “Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonialized Women: The Contest in India” (11 pgs)
*Tejaswini Niranjana “Nationalism Refigured: South Indian Cinema and the Subject of Feminism”

W10-5 Review and Discussion
Essay and Notes Due
Group Facilitation

Part Three: Marginalization and Citizenship

W10-12 Race

Film: Do the Right Thing (U.S. – 120 mins)

Reading:
Guerrero, “Do the Right Thing”

W10-19 Gender

Film: Thelma & Louise (U.S. – 129 mins)

Reading:
Sturken, “Thelma & Louise”

W10-26 Sexuality

Film: Philadelphia (U.S. – 125 mins)

Readings:
Cathy Cohen, The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics
Michael Bosia, “Bodies of the Condemned” (10 pgs)

W11-2 Review and Discussion
Essay and Notes Due
Group Facilitation

Part Four: Globalization Challenges the Nation

W11-9 Immigrants and the “Clash of Civilizations”

Film: Chaos (France – 109 mins)

Readings:
Edward Saïd, “Orientalism”
Herman Lebovics, Bringing the Empire Back Home: France in the Global Age

W11-16 National Traditions and Global Modernity

Film: The Wedding Banquet (R.O.C./Taiwan – 106 mins)

Readings:
Saskia Sassen, “The State and the New Geography of Power” (30 pgs)
André Laliberté, “Taiwan: Between Two Nationalisms” (23 pgs)
Sheng-Mei Ma, “Ang Lee’s Domestic Tragicomedy” (11 pgs)
Mark Chiang, “Coming Out into the Global System” (18 pgs)

W11-30 History, Capitalism, and National Space

Film: Motorcycle Diaries
(U.S./Germany/U.K./Argentina/Chile/Peru/France – 128 mins)

Readings:
Sebastiaan Faber, “The Beautiful, the Good, and the Natural” (22 pgs)
Héctor Jaimes, “Before and After” (11 pgs)
John Blanco, “Bastards of the Unfinished Revolution,” (24 pgs)
Daniel Hellinger, “Tercerumundismo and Chavismo” (11 pgs)
Steve Ellner, “Leftist Goals and the Debate over Anti-Liberal Strategy in Latin America” (24 pages)

W12-6 Review and Discussion
Essay and Notes Due
Group Facilitation
Teaching the French Case in Courses on Elections and Voting Behavior
By Jocelyn Evans, University of Salford


List of Current Materials for Teaching Gender and French Politics
By Amy Mazur, Washington State University
August, 2005

Note: This is by no means an exhaustive list. It identifies the more recent published work, in English and French, on gender politics in France that analyzes a good range of issues.

**General**


**Women in Politics and Parity**


**Movements and Associations**


**Public Policy and State Feminism**


Other Sources
- La Pie – information on feminist issues: http://perso.club-internet.fr/la-pie
- Guide to Women’s Associations – Annuaire au Féminin: http://www.annuaire-au-feminin
• CADAC – Coordination des Association pour les Droits de l’Avortement et de la Contraceptions: http://www.cadac.org/
• Association Nationale des Etudes Féministes http://www.anef.org/
• Ministry of Parity and the Women’s Rights Administration, including all Commissions and documents put out by the ministry: http://www.social.gouv.fr/femmes/
• Féminin/Masculin – a new feminist group that has information about other new feminist trends/groups: http://www.femininmasculin.org
• Site for major national polling agency, Elle poll on Women’s Rights: www.tns-sofres.com
• Journals:
  French Politics http://www.palgrave-journals.com/fp/
  Travail Genre et Société http://www.iresco.fr/revues/tgs/
  Cahiers du Genre http://www.iresco.fr/revues/cahiers_du_genre/
  Nouvelles Questions Féministes http://www2.unil.ch/liege/nqf/
CARDIFF School of European Studies

GOVERNING AND GOVERNANCE IN FRANCE

SESSION 2005-2006

EU 4502

Single Module

10 Credits

Professor Alistair Cole

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Aims

The module moves from theoretical understandings of governance to more precise applications in a ‘difficult’ state context: that of France. Though the prism of governance, the course focuses upon institutions, ideas and interests as drivers of and obstacles to political and policy change. By the end of the module, and building upon the skills imparted in EU 4402 (French Government and Politics), students will be able to appreciate political dynamics and policy processes in one of the European Union’s leading states, France, and will have developed a good theoretical understanding of public policy and an aptitude to apply theoretical constructs in an empirically viable manner.

Learning Outcomes

On completion of this single module, students should be able:

• to demonstrate a detailed knowledge of the main developments of recent French government and processes of governance;
• to evaluate and analyse the current structure of French government and the nature of the French political process within the clear conceptual framework of governance
• to develop a critical and detailed awareness of the policy dilemmas currently shaping French politics;
• to conduct comparative analysis in terms of the interaction between institutions and policy areas;
• to understand France in its domestic, European and International settings
• to formulate informed and reasoned arguments about the nature of the current challenges facing the French model of public policy-making

Module Content

The 12 lectures and 3 seminars are organised around three clusters of topics. We start with two lectures setting out the political and policy challenges facing France in the 21st century. We then move onto a set of three lectures on the French State context and the reform of the state. Lectures on the French State, on Local and Regional Government and on Europeanisation and multi-level governance form a cluster that together provides the background the first seminar (‘The French State’). The second cluster of three lectures is provided by the lectures on Public Policy Making in France Today (The Economy and Economic Governance; Education and Educational Governance; The Crisis of the Welfare State). The corresponding seminar is on public policy making in France. The third cluster of three lectures (and corresponding seminar) deals with Theories of the Policy Process (Institutions and Processes; Interests and Actors; Ideas, and the cognitive school of French policy analysis).

Module Teaching Methods
Teaching on this single module normally comprises two lectures a week on a Thursday (14.10-15.00; 15.10-16.00) for the first six weeks of semester two. The lectures give a general overview. Lectures are backed up by three seminars in which selected themes are examined in more detail. Attendance at seminars is compulsory. A record of attendance and participation at seminars will be kept. The Finals Examination Board, in borderline cases, will take account of the students’ seminar presentations and overall seminar participation during the year.

All students are required to prepare for each of the seminars by reading relevant material. These seminars will involve students in a variety of individual and group exercises. Each student must prepare for every seminar.

Seminars are not ‘mini-lectures’ by the module leader. They seek to involve all students in the discussion of a range of important topics. The quality of the seminars is thus dependent on the efforts of the student participants.

**Module Assessment Methods**

- One assessment essay of 2,000-2,500 words accounts for 100 per cent of the final mark. This essay must be chosen from the list below and submitted by Friday 29th May, 2006

**Submission of Assessment Essays**

**Word Processing**

Students are encouraged to develop word processing skills. To this end, it is expected that assessment essays will be submitted in word-processed format.

**Submission of Essays**

Essays, with a duplicate copy, must be submitted at the EUROS Reception. Duplicates, with provisional grades, will be returned for revision purposes. The originals are retained for the attention of the External Examiner and Examination Board. Where there is clear evidence of plagiarism, the student will be informed and the case will be brought to the attention of the External Examiner.

Plagiarism means the use of the ideas or words of others without acknowledging them as such. It is an academic tradition that the ideas or words of another are not used without acknowledgement. Students must adhere to this tradition. Furthermore, the mark for written work in part reflects the student’s understanding of the subject of the essay. If he or she has merely repeated the words of another, it is difficult to assess the student’s understanding and so to award marks for it. It is, therefore, totally unacceptable for students to plagiarise in their written work, whether assessed or non-assessed. If they do so, their mark will be affected, and in the case of assessed work, they will also have committed an unfair examination practice.

**Essays submitted by post**
Your essay should be addressed for the attention of the Politics Secretary and sent to the postal address given in the various student handbooks distributed at enrolment. You should also obtain a ‘Certificate of Posting’ from the Royal Mail.

**Late Submission**

If you believe that you have genuine reasons why your late work should be accepted then you must inform the module leader, in writing, for each late assignment, stating clearly the modules for which you are claiming extenuating circumstances. You must attach written evidence to substantiate your request. **Requests, which are not supported by evidence, will be dismissed.** These extenuating circumstances will be considered by the Special Circumstances Board, which will then take a decision about the status of your work. The Special Circumstances Board would normally only consider cases of serious illness, accidents or severe domestic or personal circumstances which may be interfering with your work. **These circumstances must be outlined in a letter to the Chair of the Special Circumstances Board and be accompanied by appropriate evidence (medical or otherwise).** Difficulties with printing your essay, faulty computer disks, mistakes over the deadline, a sore throat or stomach upset, or traffic congestion on the deadline day, are examples of the type of condition which will **NOT** normally be considered as valid reasons by the Special Circumstances Board.

Essays, **with a duplicate copy**, must be handed in before or on **May 2006**

The essays must be properly referenced using the ‘Harvard system’ of references as explained in detail in the Politics Student Handbook. Footnotes should **not** be used and endnotes should be used sparingly. A bibliography must be attached. The duplicate essay must match the original essay **exactly. All essays must use double-spacing and font size Times New Roman 12, with generous margins all around the page.**

The assessment essay should be between 2,000-2,500 words in length, with the approximate ‘word count’ clearly indicated. A variation in word length of 10 per cent either way is permissible. Essays not meeting these requirements will be returned to the student for re-submission (within one week) at the appropriate length.

Students are **strongly advised** to work ahead of the deadline above to ensure access to the necessary literature.
This course kit is organised into four sections:

1. The Lecture Programme
2. The Seminars
3. The Essay Titles
4. A Full Reading List

1) The Lectures

Lectures take place on Thursdays in X4.03, in the Humanities Extension Building at 14.10-16.00. Lectures are organised into three broad clusters that correspond to the three seminar themes.

Introduction

Lecture 1 Change and Resisting Change
Lecture 2 The Challenge of Governance in France

The French State Context

Lecture 3 The Immobile State?
Lecture 4 Local and Regional Government
Lecture 5 Europeanisation and multi-level governance

Public Policy Making in France Today

Lecture 6 The Economy and Economic Governance
Lecture 7 Education and Educational Governance
Lecture 8 The Crisis of the Welfare State

Theories of the Policy Process

Lecture 9 Institutions and Processes
Lecture 10 Interests and Actors
Lecture 11 Ideas and Public Policy

Lecture 12 Conclusion
2). Seminars

There are three seminars, regrouped around the main themes of the lectures. Students must come prepared to discuss the questions set, which also serve as questions for the assessed essay. Each student will be expected either to lead the discussion (a 10 minute paper), to be part of a team leading the discussion or to act as discussant for a paper.

Seminar One  The French State

Is it possible to reform the French State?

How powerful are French civil servants? What are the main sources of their authority and constraints on their influence?

EITHER Why is decentralisation a reform of the State? OR Has decentralisation brought decision-making in France closer to the people?

Has the French State been ‘hollowed out’?

How has European integration transformed the French State?

i) On the civil service and the reform of the State

ii). On decentralisation

Cole, A. (2004) ‘Decentralisation in France: Back to Grass Roots or Steering at a Distance’ (Blackboard)
iii). On France and European Integration (see also readings under this topic on EU
4402 French Government and Politics)

Studies, January 2000
Policy, January 2000.
Institutionalism, Path Dependency and ‘Craftsmen’ of Discourse’ Modern and Contemporary
France.
Hanley, D. ‘French Political Parties, Globalisation and Europe’, Modern and Contemporary
France, 2001
Howarth, D. The French Road to monetary union, Palgrave, 2000
France, August 2002.
Ladrech, R. ‘The Jospin Government and European social Democracy’, Modern and
Contemporary France, August 2002
MacClean M. and S. Milner (eds) France and Globalisation, Special Issue of Modern and
Contemporary France
statecraft in the European Community’, International Organization vol. 45, no. 1
structural funds’, Public Administration, 75, 4: 711-29.
Seminar Two Public Policy Making in France

How far has the ‘orthodox’ model of French economic policy-making been modified as of late, and what further modifications are to be expected as international integration develops?

Why have recent French governments found it so hard to reform the Welfare state?

Why have recent French governments found it so hard to reform the Education system?

i). Economic policy-making

Hayward, J. ‘Changing partnerships: firms and the French state’, Modern and Contemporary France. 5, 2, 1997 *
Kuisel, R. (1981) Capitalism and the State in France *
ii). Education and educational governance

iii). Welfare state


Godt, P. ‘Health Care’. In P. Godt, *Policy-making in France*


Hantrais, L. (1994) Ten Years of Socialist Social Policy. In G. Raymond, *France during the Socialist Years*


Seminar Three Theoretical perspectives

How useful are the concepts of ideas, institutions and interests in understanding contemporary French politics and policy-making?

What, if anything, does the French public policy literature add to our understanding of French politics? In what ways is it distinctive from the paradigms used in the Anglo-Saxon tradition?

Is governance a useful perspective for understanding French politics and policy-making?

Reading list

Hayward, J. Governing France 1983.
Revue Française de Science Politique *Les Approches cognitives des politiques publiques* Special issue 50 :2, April 2000
3) Assessment

Assessment will be in the form of one assessed essay, of 2-2,500 words.

The Essay Titles

1. ‘Is it possible to reform the French State?’

2. How powerful are French civil servants? What are the main sources of their authority and constraints on their influence?

3. EITHER Why is decentralisation a reform of the State? OR Has decentralisation brought decision-making in France closer to the people?

4. Has the French State been ‘hollowed out’?

5. How has European integration transformed the French State? (NB This essay can not be written if the corresponding essay was written in EU 4402 French Government and Politics).

6. How far has the ‘orthodox’ model of French economic policy-making been modified as of late, and what further modifications are to be expected as international integration develops?

7. Why have recent French governments found it so hard to reform the Welfare state?

8. Why have recent French governments found it so hard to reform the Education system?

9. How useful are the concepts of ideas, institutions and interests in understanding contemporary French politics and policy-making?

10. Is there a French policy-making style?

11. What, if anything, does the French public policy literature add to our understanding of French politics? In what ways is it distinctive from the paradigms used in the Anglo-Saxon tradition?
12. Is governance a useful perspective for understanding French politics and policy-making?
4) A Full Reading List

By and large, these sources are in English. Most are books, though I have indicated a number of journal articles. Students ought to use their initiative and carry out their own research in reviews for recent articles on French politics. Initiative in this respect will be appreciated. The best reviews for articles on French politics are: Modern and Contemporary France, French Politics, French Politics, Culture and Society, West European Politics, Journal of European Public Policy, Contemporary French Civilisation, French Politics, Society and Culture, Government and Opposition, Parliamentary Affairs, Revue Française de Science Politique, Pouvoirs...

EU 4502 has its own Blackboard site, where you can access a number of these sources electronically. STUDENTS ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO USE BLACKBOARD AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO DISCUSSIONS ABOUT COURSE CONTENT AND DELIVERY.

The following list of sources is in alphabetical order. Please consult also the reading list for EU 4402 (French Government and Politics). The Reading list is divided into core and additional reading. Core reading mainly signifies textbooks. Evidence of some additional reading is essential in your assessed essay.

Core Reading

A. Cole, French Politics and Society, 2005  
R. Elgie and S. Griggs, Debates in French Politics, 2000  
N. Hewlett Modern French Politics, 1998  
A. Daley (ed.) The Mitterrand era, 1996  
M. Gueldry, France and European Integration, 2001.  
C. Flockton, and E. Kofman, France 1989  

Additional Reading
Cerny, P. and Schain, M. (1985) Socialism, the State and Public Policy in France, Pinter, London.


Hoffmann, S. (1963) (ed.) In Search of France

Kuisel, R-F. (1979) Capitalism and the State in France Cambridge, CUP.
FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

SESSION 2005-2006

EU 4402

Double Module

20 Credits

Professor Alistair Cole

OFFICE: ROOM 1.06, 65 PARK PLACE
TELEPHONE: (029)-20-875068
E-MAIL: COLEA@CARDIFF.AC.UK
Aims

This course provides a comprehensive introduction to contemporary French politics, public administration and society. By the end of the course, students will have acquired an advanced knowledge of the institutions, representative forces and political and social processes at work in the French Fifth Republic. They will be fully conversant with the major developments in contemporary French politics, with particular reference to the post-1981 period. Students will be offered the opportunity to research material in English and French, though knowledge of French is not a prerequisite. Students spending a year abroad in France will find this module invaluable.

Learning Outcomes

On completion of this double module, students should be able:

• to demonstrate a detailed knowledge of the main developments of recent French government and politics;
• to evaluate and analyse the current structure of French government and the nature of the French political process within a clear conceptual framework;
• to develop a critical and detailed awareness of the issues currently shaping French politics;
• to conduct comparative analysis in terms of the interaction between institutions and policy areas;
• understand France in its European and International settings
• to formulate informed and reasoned arguments about the nature of the current challenges facing the French model of Politics and Society.

Module Content

The 18 lectures and 6 seminars are organised around six clusters of topics. The focus of the course will be, by turn, historical, contemporary, polity and policy focussed.

We start with three lectures on the historical, political and cultural context within which contemporary French politics is played out. We then appraise the role of political leadership, Checks and Balances within the contemporary French polity. The third cluster of lectures and the third seminar will be on the French Party System; the fourth on the French model of Society, Citizenship and Identity. The focus of the course then moves to the external constraints that weigh upon France’s action, namely in the sphere of the European Union and International Relations. We finish with a series of concluding judgements on the nature of the contemporary French polity.

Module Teaching Methods

Teaching on this double module normally comprises TWO lectures a week, both on a Thursday (14.10-15.00 and 15.10-16.00) for one semester. The lectures give a general overview. Lectures are
backed up by a system of fortnightly seminars in which selected themes are examined in more
detail. Attendance at seminars is compulsory. A record of attendance and participation at seminars
will be kept. The Finals Examination Board, in borderline cases, will take account of the students’
seminar presentations and overall seminar participation during the year.

ALL students are required to prepare for each of the seminars by reading relevant material. These
seminars will involve students in a variety of individual and group exercises. Each student must
prepare for every seminar.

Seminars are not ‘mini-lectures’ by the module leader. They seek to involve all students in the
discussion of a range of important topics. The quality of the seminars is thus dependent on the
efforts of the student participants.

Module Assessment Methods

• A three-hour unseen written examination taken in January 2006 in which the student must
  answer 2 from 6 questions counts for 75 per cent of the final mark.

• One assessment essay counts for 25 per cent of the final mark. This essay must be chosen from
  the list below and submitted by Wednesday 4 January 2006

SUBMISSION OF ASSESSMENT ESSAYS

Word Processing
Students are encouraged to develop word processing skills. To this end, it is expected that
assessment essays will be submitted in word-processed format.

Submission of Essays
Essays, with a duplicate copy, must be submitted at the EUROS Reception. Duplicates, with
provisional grades, will be returned for revision purposes. The originals are retained for the
attention of the External Examiner and Examination Board. Where there is clear evidence of
plagiarism, the student will be informed and the case will be brought to the attention of the
External Examiner.

Plagiarism means the use of the ideas or words of others without acknowledging them as such. It
is an academic tradition that the ideas or words of another are not used without
acknowledgement. Students must adhere to this tradition. Furthermore, the mark for written
work in part reflects the student’s understanding of the subject of the essay. If he or she has
merely repeated the words of another, it is difficult to assess the student’s understanding and so
to award marks for it. It is, therefore, totally unacceptable for students to plagiarise in their
written work, whether assessed or non-assessed. If they do so, their mark will be affected, and
in the case of assessed work, they will also have committed an unfair examination practice.

Essays submitted by post
Your essay should be addressed for the attention of the Politics Secretary and sent to the postal address given in the various student handbooks distributed at enrolment. You should also obtain a ‘Certificate of Posting’ from the Royal Mail.

**Late Submission**

If you believe that you have genuine reasons why your late work should be accepted then you must inform the module leader, in writing, for each late assignment, stating clearly the modules for which you are claiming extenuating circumstances. You must attach written evidence to substantiate your request. **Requests, which are not supported by evidence, will be dismissed.** These extenuating circumstances will be considered by the Special Circumstances Board, which will then take a decision about the status of your work. The Special Circumstances Board would normally only consider cases of serious illness, accidents or severe domestic or personal circumstances which may be interfering with your work. **These circumstances must be outlined in a letter to the Chair of the Special Circumstances Board and be accompanied by appropriate evidence (medical or otherwise).** Difficulties with printing your essay, faulty computer disks, mistakes over the deadline, a sore throat or stomach upset, or traffic congestion on the deadline day, are examples of the type of condition which will **NOT** normally be considered as valid reasons by the Special Circumstances Board.

Essays, **with a duplicate copy**, must be handed in before or on **Wednesday 4 January 2006**

The essays must be properly referenced using the ‘Harvard system’ of references as explained in detail in the Politics Student Handbook. Footnotes should **not** be used and endnotes should be used sparingly. A bibliography must be attached. The duplicate essay must match the original essay **exactly. All essays must use double-spacing and font size Times New Roman 12, with generous margins all around the page.**

The assessment essay should be between 2,000-2,500 words in length, with the approximate ‘word count’ clearly indicated. A variation in word length of 10 per cent either way is permissible. Essays not meeting these requirements will be returned to the student for re-submission (within one week) at the appropriate length.

Students are **strongly advised** to work ahead of the deadline above to ensure access to the necessary literature.
This course kit is organised into four sections:

5. The Lecture Programme
6. The Seminars
7. The Essay titles
8. A Full Reading List

1) The Lectures

Lectures take place on Thursdays in X4.03, in the Humanities Extension Building at 14.10-15.00 and 15.10-16.00. Lectures take place on the following dates: 6th October, 13th October, 20th October, 27th October, 3rd November, 10th November, 17th November, 24th November, 1st December, 8th December

They are organised into six clusters that correspond to the six seminar themes.

**Historical, political and cultural context**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lecture 1 (06/10/2005)</th>
<th>Introduction to the course</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lecture 2 (06/10/2005)</td>
<td>France in its historical setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecture 3 (13/10/2005)</td>
<td>French Political Culture: myths and representations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecture 4 (13/10/2005)</td>
<td>French Politics in the Twenty First century</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Political Leadership, Checks and Balances**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lecture 5 (20/10/2005)</th>
<th>Political Leadership: the French President</th>
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<tr>
<td>Lecture 6 (20/10/2005)</td>
<td>Political Leadership: the Prime Minister and Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecture 7 (27/10/2005)</td>
<td>Checks and Balances: Parliament, the judiciary and the administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecture 8 (27/10/2005)</td>
<td>Checks and Balances: Public Opinion and Elections</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The French Party System**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lecture 9 (03/11/2005)</th>
<th>French Political parties in the Fifth Republic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lecture 10 (03/11/2005)</td>
<td>Party life and party families: the Left and the Greens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Society, Citizenship and Identity


France, Europe and the World

Lecture 17 (01/12/2005) Franco-German Relations
Lecture 18 (01/12/2005) La Grande Nation? Foreign Policy and Defence

Reinventing Modern France

Lecture 19 (08/12/2005) Interpreting Continuity and Change
Lecture 20 (08/12/2005) Forever France?

There will also be some revision lectures before the final examination.

2). Seminars

There are six seminars, regrouped around the main themes of the lectures. They will be held fortnightly. Students must come prepared to discuss the questions set, which also serve as questions for the assessed essay. Each student will be expected either to lead the discussion (a 10 minute paper), to be part of a team leading the discussion or to act as discussant for a paper.

Seminar One  Historical, cultural and political context

‘How useful is the concept of political culture for understanding French politics today?’
‘What are the main challenges that France faces at the beginning of the twenty-first century’?

‘Is the Fifth Republic an effective political regime’?

This first seminar will be dedicated to a general discussion of the issues raised in Lectures One, Two, Three and Four. This initial seminar will also be a preparatory meeting. We will organise the semester’s work, as well as engaging in some initial discussion of the topics outlined above.

Core Reading

A. Cole, P. Le Gales and J. Levy (eds), Development in French Politics 3, 2005. Especially Chapter 1 (Levy, Cole and Le Galès) and 14 (Duchesne).
J. Gaffney and E. Kolinsky, Political Culture in France and Germany 1991
R. Elgie and S. Griggs, Debates in French Politics, 2000

Additional Reading


Seminar Two: Political Leadership, Checks and Balances

‘I decide, he implements’. Does this phrase accurately represent the relationship between President and Prime Minister in the Fifth Republic?

‘Presidential power in France is founded upon personality, party and circumstances, rather than on any unambiguous constitutional provisions’. Discuss

How effective are the checks on executive power in France?

Core Reading

A. Cole, P. Le Galès and J. Levy (eds), Development in French Politics 3, 2005. Especially Chapters 5 (Elgie) and 6 (Knapp).
R. Elgie, Political Institutions in Contemporary France, 2003

Additional Reading


Seminar Three The French Party System

What are the main sources of stress and stability in the French party system?

‘Revolutionary in opposition, conservative in government!’ How accurate is this a description of the French Socialist Party?

Account for the rise and persistence of the far-right Front national and the decline of the French Communist party.

Why does the French Right find it so difficult to stay united?

‘An environmental pressure group, not a political party’. How accurate is this depiction of the French Greens?

Core Reading


Additional Reading


Seminar Four  Society, Citizenship and Identity

How has France changed since 1945?

What is the French model of Republican integration? Why does France find it so hard to tolerate difference?

‘The “Stalled Society” has been kickstarted by the vibrancy of its new social movements’. Has it?

‘Muslims have a duty to integrate themselves into the lay, modern values of French society’. Do they?

Is the French Republic gender blind? Discuss the relationship between women and the French republic.

Core Reading

A. Cole, French Politics and Society 2005 edition (especially part four)
S. Waters, New Social Movements in France, 2003

Additional Reading


Girling, J. (2004) Social movements and symbolic power: radicalism, reform and the trial of democracy in France


Dorothy McBride Stetson, Amy Mazur (1995), editors Comparative state feminism, Sage: California


Evans, M., 'The Left, laïcité and Islam, Modern and Contemporary France, 46, April 1991
Seminar Five France, Europe and the World

Does France perform a leading role in Europe? Is this role threatened by EU enlargement?

In what ways has European integration impacted upon the operation of French domestic politics?

Why is France so anti-American?

How important is the Franco-German relationship for France, for the European Union and for the wider world?

Discuss France’s relationship with her former African colonies.

Core Reading

J. Keiger ‘Foreign and Defence Policy: Constraints and Continuity’ (forthcoming article available in short loan collection), 2004
A. Menon, France and NATO, 2000.
P. Perrineau (ed.) Le vote européen 2004-2005, 2005. (I have a copy if anyone is interested)

Additional Reading


Seminar Six

Has France become less exceptional? In what ways was it ever exceptional?

Why is it so difficult to implement successful reforms in France?

Is globalisation a threat or an opportunity for France?

Core Reading

A. Cole, French Politics and Society (chapter 14)


Additional Reading


3) Assessment

Assessment will be in the form of one 2 hour unseen examination (75%), and of one assessed essay (of 2-2,500 words). The deadline for handing in the assessed essay is 4 January 2006. The Examination will take place in January 2006.

The Essay Titles

1. ‘How useful is the concept of political culture for understanding French politics today?’
2. ‘What are the main challenges that France faces at the beginning of the twenty-first century’?
3. ‘Is the Fifth Republic an effective political regime’?
4. ‘I decide, he implements’. How accurate is this representation of the relationship between President and Prime Minister in the Fifth Republic?
5. ‘Presidential power in France in founded upon personality, party and circumstances, rather than on any unambiguous constitutional provisions’. Discuss
6. How effective are the checks on executive power in France?
7. What are the main sources of stress and stability in the French party system?
8. ‘The natural party of government’ How accurate is this a description of the French Socialist Party?
9. Account for the rise and persistence of the far-right Front national
10. ‘The French Communist Party will never disappear because it represents a deeply ingrained revolutionary tradition’. Discuss.
11. Why does the French Right find it so difficult to stay united?
12. ‘An environmental pressure group, not a political party’. How accurate is this depiction of the French Greens?
13. How has France changed since 1945?
14. What is the French model of Republican integration? Why does France find it so hard to tolerate difference?
15. ‘The “Stalled Society” has been kickstarted by the vibrancy of its new social movements’. Has it?

16. ‘Muslims have a duty to integrate themselves into the lay, modern values of French society’. Do they?


18. ‘France no longer performs a leading role in Europe’ Discuss.

19. In what ways has European integration impacted upon the operation of French domestic politics?

20. Why is France so anti-American?

21. How important is the Franco-German relationship for France, for the European Union and for the wider world?


23. Has France become less exceptional? In what ways was she ever exceptional?

24. Why is it so difficult to implement successful reforms in France?

25. Is globalisation a threat or an opportunity for France?
4) A Full Reading List

By and large, these sources are in English. Most are books, though I have indicated a number of journal articles. Students ought to *use their initiative and carry out their own research* in reviews for recent articles on French politics. Initiative in this respect will be appreciated. The best reviews for articles on French politics are: Modern and Contemporary France, French Politics, French Politics, Culture and Society, West European Politics, Journal of European Public Policy, Contemporary French Civilisation, French Politics, Society and Culture, Government and Opposition, Parliamentary Affairs, *Revue Française de Science Politique, Pouvoirs*….

EU 4402 has its own **Blackboard** site, where you can access a number of these sources electronically. **STUDENTS ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO USE BLACKBOARD AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO DISCUSSIONS ABOUT COURSE CONTENT AND DELIVERY.**

The following list of sources is in alphabetical order. I have starred (*) sources I find particularly useful (but sources with no star should also be consulted, or they would not be in the bibliography).

The Reading lists are divided into core and additional reading. Core reading mainly signifies textbooks. Evidence of some additional reading is essential both in the examination and in your assessed essays.

**Core Reading (all *)**

A. Cole, French Politics and Society, 2005
R. Elgie *Political Institutions in France*, 2003
D. Bell, French Politics Today, 2001
R. Elgie and S. Griggs, *Debates in French Politics*, 2000
N. Hewlett *Modern French Politics*, 1998
C. Flockton, and E. Kofman, *France* 1989
J. Gaffney, and E. Kolinsky (eds), *Political Culture in France and Germany* 1991
G. Raymond, France during the Socialist Years, 1994.

Additional Reading


Cerny, P. and Schain, M. (1985) Socialism, the State and Public Policy in France, Pinter, London.


Cole, A. (2001a) Franco-German Relations, Harlow, Longman. (*)


Fysh, P., and Wolfeys, J. (1992) ‘Le Pen, the National Front and the Extreme Right in France’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 45, no. 3. (*)


Hayward, J (ed.) (1993) *De Gaulle to Mitterrand: presidential power in France* Hurst, London. (*)


84


Perrineau, P. (1997) *Le symptôme Le Pen : radiographie des électeurs du Front national*


ADDITIONAL SYLLABI AND READING LISTS
## French Politics

Classes: Tuesdays and Thursdays from 13.10 to 14.25  
Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 14.30 to 15.30

The aim of this course is firstly to familiarise students with the institutions of the French polity and secondly to analyse developments in French politics in the last 20 years. Students will be introduced to the key debates in the analysis of contemporary French politics and gain insight into the historical background to such debates. They will develop a knowledge and critical understanding of the French political system and an ability to analyse developments in French politics.

The course will begin with an introduction exploring key dimensions of French political culture and society. After considering the background to the establishment of the Fifth Republic, we will analyze how French Constitutional arrangements have developed. Areas covered include the roles of President, Prime Minister, and Parliament, and the *etatiste* tradition. Attention will then be turned to the French party system, focusing on its unstable character as well as on individual organisations – both ‘governmental’ and minor – operating within it. Finally, we will address key issues in contemporary French politics such as the role of the media, political corruption and the European integration process.

Programme:

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<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>25 Aug</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>A - French political culture and society</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Foundations of modern France</td>
<td>30 Aug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Vth Republic</td>
<td>1 Sept</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Political values, attitudes and cleavages</td>
<td>6 Sept</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Are the French interested in politics?</td>
<td>8 Sept</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. The Gender Gap</td>
<td>13 Sept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Politics and the Young</td>
<td>15 Sept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Catholicism, Islam and Laïcité</td>
<td>20 Sept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. <em>Class exam</em></td>
<td>22 Sept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B - Institutions</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Who governs?</td>
<td>27 Sept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. A parliamentary democracy?</td>
<td>29 Sept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. A bureaucratic state?</td>
<td>4 Oct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. The judiciary</td>
<td>6 Oct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. <em>Class exam</em></td>
<td>13 Oct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C - Political Life
  16. The electoral and party systems  17 Oct
  17. Is there a crisis of representative democracy?  20 Oct
  18. The moderate Right  25 Oct
  19. The Socialists  27 Oct
  20. The Communists  1 Nov
  21. The Greens  3 Nov
  22. The National Front  8 Nov
  23. The decline of trade union and party activism  10 Nov
  25. Class exam  17 Nov

D - Issues in French politics
  26. Do the media play their role?  29 Nov
  27. Organised interests and social movements  1 Dec
  28. The corruption of political life?  6 Dec
  29. European integration  8 Dec

Assessment:
The final grade will be based on the following:
  3 class exams: (15% each) 45%
  Participation in class: 15%
  Oral presentation: 15%
  Term paper: 25%

Class exams: There will be three exams, each accounting for 15% of the grade. These exams have been scheduled at the end of clusters of topics covered in class. To obtain a good grade, don’t leave the readings until the end but read along each week’s assigned material and take notes during lectures. I will not allow people to take exams except on designated exam days unless circumstances are extra ordinary. The dates of the exams are 22 September, 13 October and 17 November. There is no final exam.

Seminar participation: All classes are compulsory, so you should make sure you have no conflicting engagements. If you cannot attend a session or if you have any difficulties, please talk to me. Students are expected to have read the references quoted in the bibliography in order to prepare for each seminar. This is important because participation is assessed on the relevance of comments, analytical skills, knowledge and understanding of the subject. You should always come to class with questions and reflections about what you have read and reflected upon. I strongly encourage you to browse on-line resources, widely available both in French and English language.

Seminar presentation: Students will give one formal presentation on a topic selected during the first session. These presentations are designed to help students practice their oral skills. Therefore students are not expected to read a written paper but to present and defend their answer to a question. They will be assessed on content, clarity and delivery. Where appropriate, students are encouraged to make use of overhead projectors and white and black-boards. These presentations should not be longer than 15 minutes. The student will then lead the discussion.
**Term paper:** Students will write a term paper that should be about 12 pages long (double spaced- 12 font) on a topic chosen by the student in agreement with me. The deadline is the 6 December at the beginning of the class. Do not leave the choice of a topic until the last minute: you should have a topic agreed by Thanksgiving to make sure you have enough time to read the material and write. I will penalise late papers (2 points off for each day late out of 25) and only grant extensions when circumstances are extraordinary.

**Academic Integrity:** The Vanderbilt University Student Handbook highlights the importance for students to abide by the Code of Honour and only submit work that is their own. Note that plagiarism - the copying out verbatim of parts of a work without reference - is not acceptable. Students who plagiarize will be penalised.

Topics for class presentations:

**A - French political culture and society**
1. What key problems in French politics were the founders of the 5th Republic trying to solve? (1 Sept)
2. What is the influence of postmaterialism in French politics? (6 Sept)
3. Is it necessary in a democracy that citizens are interested in politics? (8 Sept)
4. Do men and women approach politics in different ways? (13 Sept)
5. Why do parties have so few young members? (15 Sept)
6. What influence does catholicism exert in French politics today? (20 Sept)

**B - Institutions**
7. ‘Cohabitation brings the operation of the French executive closer to the spirit and the letter of the 1958 constitution’. (27 Sept)
8. “Too much Parliament threatens the State”. Discuss how such a statement has influenced the elaboration and the working of the Vth Republic (29 Sept)
9. How and why has French dirigisme been modified in the last 20 years? (4 Oct)
10. What is the role of the Constitutional Council? (6 Oct)
11. Has decentralisation brought democracy closer to the citizens? (11 Oct)

**C - Political Life**
12. How has electoral system change affected France’s multi-party system? (17 Oct)
13. Political demonstrations in France: why do people look for alternatives to electoral participation? (20 Oct)
14. “The dilemma of the French mainstream right is that it is divided by ideology but forced to co-operate by circumstances”. Discuss. (25 Oct)
15. Why has the PS, founded at Epinay in 1971, been more successful than any other party in the history of the French Left? (27 Oct)
16. Why has the French Communist Party declined? (1 Nov)
17. Are Les Verts a single issue party? (3 Nov)
18. Why did the FN split in 1998? (8 Nov)
19. Why are parties and trade unions said to be in crisis? (10 Nov)
20. Do the French have a historical propensity to violent and revolutionary change? (15 Nov)

**D - Issues in French politics**
21. Is over exposure of political issues detrimental to citizens' interest? (29 Nov)
22. What impact has the French statist tradition had on interest group politics in France? (1 Dec)
23. Are French politicians more corrupt than in other Western democracies or is the French public more wary of the influence of business on political decision-making? (6 Dec)

24. Why did the French vote "No" to the referendum on the European "constitution" on 29 May 2005? (8 Dec)

Required readings

Textbooks
You should consider purchasing at least one of the following books as they will be used as reference texts throughout the semester.


Online references, journals

For students with the appropriate French language skills, the following web sites might be consulted:

http://www.cevipof.msh-paris.fr/
http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.fr/
http://www.elysee.fr
http://fr.dir.yahoo.com/Institutions_et_politique/

Linguistic competence in French is not a requirement for the course, with plenty of English language material available for all aspects of the course.

Best French Periodicals, newspapers, etc.:
*Revue Francais de Science Politique, Le Nouvel Observateur, L’Express, Le Point.* You can also find daily newspapers on line such as

http://www.lemonde.fr/
http://www.lefigaro.fr/
http://www.liberation.fr/

Best English Language Periodicals to consult:

References by topic

Students are strongly encouraged not to limit themselves to the references listed below.

A - French political culture and society


Cole Alistair, Patrick Le Galès, Jonah Levy (2005), Developments in French politics 3, Palgrave, Chapters 1, 3, 11, 14-16.


Hazareesingh Sudhir (1994), Political Traditions in Modern France, Oxford University Press.


B – Institutions


C - Political Life


Grunberg Gérard, Etienne Schweisguth (2003), "French Political Space: Two, Three or Four Blocs?", *French Politics* 1, pp. 331-347.


**D - Issues in French politics**


**Other references**

You should also consult these general and edited books


Introduction

The aim of this course is firstly to familiarise students with the institutions of the French polity, exploring the reasons for the so-called ‘French exceptionalism’ and secondly to analyse developments in French politics in the last 20 years. Students will be introduced to the key debates in the analysis of contemporary French politics, and gain insight into the historical background to such debates. They will develop a knowledge and critical understanding of the French political system, and an ability to analyse developments in French politics.

Module Aims

1. To provide an introduction to the politics and political institutions of contemporary France, and to place this understanding of the French polity in historical context.
2. To demonstrate the institutional and cultural dimensions of French ‘exceptionalism’, and its recent evolution.
3. To examine major changes to the French polity the last 20 years.

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this module, students should be able to:
1. Understand the constitutional arrangements of the French Fifth Republic, and the opportunities, constraints and problems they present.
2. Grasp the nature of the French party system, and offer insights into how the political parties have responded to their changing context.
3. Demonstrate critical awareness of recent and ongoing changes in the French political system.
4. Offer insights into the political implications of processes of globalisation and Europeanisation affecting French political actors and institutions.

Skills Practiced

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis of Evidence &amp; Argument</th>
<th>Apply Theory to Arguments &amp; Events</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Develop &amp; Defend Arguments</td>
<td>Library, Electronic and Internet Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Presentational Skills</td>
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<td>Oral Communication</td>
<td>Historical Awareness</td>
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<td>Writing</td>
<td>Independent Research</td>
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Teaching mode

This module will be delivered through lectures (12) Thursdays 1-3 p.m. [LC 265] and seminars (12) (either Wednesdays 9-10 a.m. [LC008] or Thursdays 3-4 p.m. LC 208)

Assessment

Two written assignments (2 essays of 2000-2500 words) = 25% of module mark
One unseen exam paper (2.5 hours) = 75% of module mark
Essays will be marked according to the marking criteria set out in the Student handbook

Markers will be assessing

Comprehension of the issues involved; evidence of wide reading; relevance of material used; structure and organization of essay; ability to answer questions posed; avoidance of factual errors; clarity of expression and writing style; ability to sustain an argument or interpretation; where appropriate; presentation of document and use of appropriate academic conventions (eg, referencing, footnoting); grammar & spelling; avoidance of plagiarism!

Please note that seminar attendance is compulsory for all modules in the Department of Government. Failure to attend seminars without satisfactory explanation in writing to the module convenor will result in an essay mark penalty. The mark for an essay submitted following an unexcused seminar absence in that module will be capped at 40%.

Essay Deadlines:  
No. 1 (titles from seminars 2-6)  **20th March**  returned by 18th April  
No. 2 (titles from seminars 7-12)  **3rd May**  returned by 17th May

**Brief Summary**

The course will begin with an introduction establishing the background to the establishment of the Fifth Republic, followed by an outline how French Constitutional arrangements have developed. Areas covered include the roles of President, Prime Minister, and Parliament, and the *etatiste* tradition. Attention will then be turned to the French party system, focusing on its unstable character and analysing the impact of changing electoral practices. The course will the go on to explore how the changing party system affects the behaviour of the political parties – both ‘governmental’ and minor – operating within it.

Turning first to developments in the 1980s, and then to the 1990s, a recurring theme will be the changing relationship between state and market and the ‘political economy’ of France in the last 20 years of the 20th Century. How has the previously preponderant role of the French state in French economic life changes in recent years? What are the reasons for this shift – EU integration? Globalisation?

A number of ‘episodes’ will be analysed in depth, starting with the Mitterrand ‘experiment’ (1981-1983). The exploration of the reasons for the subsequent ‘failure’ of the experiment will be placed in the context of a changing international order, and the pervasive influence of ‘external constraints’ on French policymakers. The role of Franco-German relations and the process of ‘European construction’ will be examined. We will then explore the ‘neo-liberal’ shift in the mid-1980s and early 1990s, outlining firstly the shift in economic policy after the U-turn of 1983, and the privatisation and deregulation of the Chirac government (1986-1988).

Moving into the mid-1990s, Chirac’s election as President, the wave of public sector strikes in 1995, and their subsequent impact on French politics will be explored. The final ‘episode’ examined is the advent of the Jospin Government in 1997, and its politics and policies. We will consider the importance of Jospin’s particular ‘model’ of social democracy in the context of a resurgence of the centre Left in Europe. The impact of the Single Market and EMU on the Jospin government’s politics and policy-making will be explored. Finally we return to our original theme, asking whether, in the light of these processes of globalisation and Europeanisation, the idea of French ‘exceptionalism’ remains valid.

**Core Reading**  
Copies of a number of particularly important texts & articles can be found in the Academic Reserve collection – these are marked with the acronym ARC

**Suggested General Reading**

M. Lewis-Beck *How France Votes 2000* ARC
R. Elgie, *Election the French President; the 1995 presidential election in France*, 1996. ARC
J. Frears, *Parties and Voters in France 1990*
J. Gaffney, and E. Kolinsky (eds), *Political Culture in France and Germany* 1991
I. Derbyshire, *Politics in France from Giscard to Mitterrand* 1990

For students with the appropriate French language skills, the following web sites might be consulted:

http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.fr/
http://www.elysee.fr
http://fr.dir.yahoo.com/Institutions_et_politique/
http://www.liberation.fr

Best French Periodicals etc.:
*Revue Francais de Science Politique, Le Nouvel Observateur, L’Express, Le Point.*

Linguistic competence in French is not a requirement for the course, with plenty of English language material available for all aspects of the course.

Best English Language Periodicals to consult:
*West European Politics, European Journal of Political Research, Government and Opposition, Parliamentary Affairs, Party Politics, Modern and Contemporary France,*

**Lecture Schedule: 2 weekly one hour lectures**

**Part one – Background and institutional context of the French Polity**

**Week 1**  
Introduction: French ‘exceptionalism’ and the French ‘model’; Historical context of French politics and French political culture

***A Knapp & V Wright *The Government and Politics of France 4th* Edition, Ch. 1, Ch. 10
***A. Cole, *French Politics and Society*, ch.3., Ch. 1
***S. Hazareesingh, *Political Traditions in Modern France*, 1994 esp. 1, 4, 6
**Week 2**

**The establishment of the Fifth Republic, 1958-1962**

The evolution of the constitutional arrangements of the Fifth Republic.


***Elgie, R Political Leadership in Liberal Democracies (1996), Chapter 3.***

***Elgie, R (ed.) Semi-Presidentialism (1999) Chapter 4, esp. pp 77-80***


***Cole, A, French Politics and Society, 1998. (Chs 4 and 5).***


***Hoffmann, S., 'The Institutions of the Fifth Republic', from J. Hollifield, Searching for the New France, 1991.***

***J. Frears, Parties and Voters in France 1990 Chs 2 & 3***

***Bell, D Presidential Power in Fifth Republic France (2000) Chs. 1, 2***

A Guyomarch et al (eds.) Developments in French Politics 2, Chapter 1 pp. 1-9

W. Andrews & Stanley Hoffman (eds.) The Impact of the Fifth Republic on France.


Safran, W., The French Polity, 1997. Ch 1, Ch. 6


P. Morris French Politics Today ch.2 & 4


Hall et al, Developments in French Politics 1994.

J. Hayward, Governing France, 1983
The Jacobin Tradition and Subnational Government in France
***Elgie, R & Griggs, French Politics: Debates & Controversies (2000) Ch 4
***A. Cole French Politics and Society , 1998 (ch. 8).
A Guyomarch et al (eds.) Developments in French Politics 2, Chapter 5
P. Morris French Politics Today ch.6
M. Keating and P. Hainsworth. Decentralisation and change in contemporary France (1986)

Week 3 Who Rules? Presidents, Prime ministers, and semi-Presidentialism.

***Elgie, R & Griggs, French Politics: Debates & Controversies (2000) ARC Ch. 2 (& 1)
***Elgie, R (ed.) Semi-Presidentialism in Europe (1999) Chapter 4
***Hayward, J. (ed), De Gaulle to Mitterrand: presidential power in France (1993) Chapters 1,2 & 4 in particular
A Cole, French Politics and Society, 1998 ch. 5
P. Morris French Politics Today ch 4
Cole, A. François Mitterrand: a Study in Political Leadership,1997.(ch. 6)
G. Sartori Comparative Constitutional Engineering (1997) Ch. 7. pp. 121-125
J. Hayward, Governing France , 1983

**Part Two –French Parties and the Party System**

**Week 4** The unstable French Party System: evolution and dynamics of change

***A Knapp & V Wright* The Government and Politics of France* 4th Ed., Ch. 9 (also 7 & 8)
***A Guyomarch et al (eds.) *Developments in French Politics* 2, Chapter 2
***Cole, A, *French Politics and Society*, 1998, (Ch. 9)
H. Machin 'Changing patterns of party competition', in Hall *Developments in French Politics*, 1994
Week 5

The Parties of the Left: Socialists – Presidentialised factionalism; The Communists – a paler shade of red?

**PS**

***A Knapp & V Wright The Government and Politics of France 4th Ed., Chapter 7***


Frears, J. *Parties and Voters in France* 1990 Ch. 7


**PCF**

***A Knapp & V Wright The Government and Politics of France 4th Ed., Chapter 7***


***D. Bell and B. Criddle, The French Communist Party, 1994***

***S. Hazareesingh, Political Traditions in Modern France 1994, ch. 11***

Frears, J. *Parties and Voters in France* 1990 Ch. 8


***A. Daley (ed) The Mitterrand Era (1996) ARC Ch. 11.***

***D. Sassoon One Hundred Years of Socialism* (1996).

Party Comparative Politics Vol. 24 No. 3

**Week 6** The Parties of the Right: RPR & UDF; The Radical Right – the FN’s rise – and fall?

**Mainstream Right**
***A Knapp & V Wright The Government and Politics of France 4th Ed., Chapter 8
***S.Hazareesingh, Political Traditions in Modern France 1994, ch. 10
***A. Knapp What’s Left of the French Right West European Politics vol. 22 no. 3 (1999)
***P. Hainsworth article in West European Politics vol. 22 no. 4 October 1999 – also in R. Elgie (ed) The
Changing French Political System (2000) ARC
***F. Haegel ‘Conflict and Change in the Rassemblement pour la Republique’ A. Cole, French Politics
and Society, 1998 ch.9 & 10
***M. Lewis-Beck How France Votes 2000 ARC – Chapters by Grunberg & Schweisguth
A. Cole, French Political Parties in Transition 1990
W. Andrews & Stanley Hoffman (eds.) The Impact of the Fifth Republic on France. Ch. 5
P. Morris French Politics Today ch.7 & 8
D. Hanley Compromise, Party Management and Fair Shares: the case of the French UDF Party Politics
vol. 5 no. 2 (1999)
J. Frears, Parties and Voters in France 1990 Ch. 4 Ch. 5
J. Charlot The Gaullist Phenomenon (1971)

**The FN**

***A Knapp & V Wright The Government and Politics of France 4th Ed., Chapter 8
***E. Declair Politics on the Fringe (1999)
***A. Cole French Politics and Society, ch. 11.
Changing Party Organisations in Southern Europe
M. Schain ‘The National Font and the French Party system’ in Modern & Contemporary France v 17 no 1
(1999) ARC
***M. Lewis-Beck How France Votes 2000 ARC – Chapters by Schain & Schweisguth
S. Hazareesingh, Political Traditions in Modern France 1994, ch. 5
J. Frears, Parties and Voters in France 1990 Ch. 10
J. Shields, 'A New Chapter in the History of the French Extreme Right: the Front National', in Cole, A.,
French Political Parties in Transition,
J. Shields 'The Politics of Disaffection: France in the 1980s', in Gaffney and Kolinsky, Political Culture in
France and West Germany, 1991
Wolfrey's, J. 'The Programme of the National Front in France' Parliamentary Affairs, July 1993
M. Schain, 'Racial Politics in France: the National Front and the Construction of Political Legitimacy', West
European Politics, April 1987.
Fysh, P., and Wolfeys, J., ‘Le Pen, the National Front and the Extreme Right in France’, Parliamentary Affairs, 45, 3, July 1992

Part Three - France in the 1980s – dirigisme on the wain? Reforming the French state, and the changing role of State and Market

Week 7 The Mitterrand experiment 1981-1983; the U-turn and the ‘choice’ of European integration.

***P. Hall Governing the Economy 1986
***V. Wright Socialism and the Interdependent Economy, Government & Opposition Summer 1984 pp. 287-303
***George Ross, Stanley Hoffmann (eds.) The Mitterrand experiment esp. Chapter by Hall.
G. Raymond, France during the Socialist years 1994.
S. Mazey and P. Newman (eds.), Mitterrand's France 1987
Cerny, P. & Shain, M. (1985) Socialism, the State and Public Policy in France

Week 8
The decade after the U-turn. The ‘neo-liberal’ turn – privatisation, deregulation and competitive disinflation

***Hall, P. Governing The Economy Cambridge; Polity (1986)
***A Guyomarch et al (eds.) Developments in French Politics 2, Chapters 9, 10
***Hayward, J. ‘Firms and the French State’, MCF, May 1997. ARC
***MacClean ,M. Privatisation, dirigisme, and the global economy: an end to French exceptionalism', MCF, May 1997 ARC

ARC
Flockton & Kofman France (1989)
‘Les affaires’ - political corruption and the defeat of the Socialists in 1993.

**A Knapp & V Wright The Government and Politics of France 4th Ed., parts of Chapter 13 (see index under ‘corruption’).
***A Guyomarch et al (eds.) Developments in French Politics 2, Chapter 13
***MaClean, M., 'Dirty Dealings: Business and Scandal in Contemporary France', MCF, 1993. ARC

Some of the readings on Jacobinism and decentralisation are also relevant

**Part Four - France in the 1990s – Advancing European integration, social ‘fracture’, the troubled Right, and the resurgent Left

Week 9 Chirac’s victory, ‘fracture sociale’ and the Mouvement sociale of 1995; Europe becomes domestic French politics; 1997: Jospin’s return


B. Cautres The Electoral Campaign in M. Lewis-Beck How France Votes 2000 ARC
A Guyomarch et al (eds.) Developments in French Politics 2, Chapter 14

France and Europe
***A. Cole Franco-German Relations (2001)
A. Cole, French Politics and Society, 1998 ch. 15
***Ross, G. ‘Europe Becomes French Domestic Politics’ in M. Lewis-Beck How France Votes 2000 ARC

**Week 10**  
The new social democracy in Europe: NOT the Third Way – *Réalisme de Gauche* or the ‘new alliance’. The Socialists in office: Jospin’s, the 35 Hour week, the Plan Aubry, the privatisation programme.

***A. Cole* *French Socialists in Office: lessons from Mitterrand and Jospin* MCF vol. 7 no. 1 (1999) pp. 71-87

***Clift, B* ‘The Jospin Way’ Political Quarterly Vol. 72 no 2 (April 2001)


***A. Cole* *Le Service Publique Under Stress* West European Politics vol. 22 no. 4 October 1999 – also in R. Elgie (ed) *The Changing French Political System* (2000) ARC

MacClean, M. *Privatisation, dirigisme, and the global economy: an end to French exceptionalism*, MCF, May 1997 ARC

**Week 11**  
The Quinquennat: Presidential Resurgence, or Parliamentary Majority?  
The 2002 Presidential Electoral Showdown

*Chirac vs. Jospin 1995 and 2002*
Read up on the 1995 contest, and compare it to the current one…
R. Elgie (ed.), *E lecting the French President*, 1996. (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5)
Readings on the party system & Presidentialism are also relevant
French web-sites which will be good for following the campaign
http://fr.dir.yahoo.com/Institutions_et_politique/
http://www.liberation.fr
http://www.bva.fr/
http://www.csa-tmo.fr/
http://www.ifop.com/
http://www.canalipsos.com/
http://www.louis-harris.fr/
http://www.sofres.com/

Good English language sources on the French elections include the *Financial Times*, and other broadsheets (available on-line).

**Week 12** France in the face of globalisation and Europeanisation – can the French model still be considered exceptional?

***A Guyomarch *et al* (eds.) *Developments in French Politics* 2, Chapter 14***
A. Cole, *French Politics and Society*, 1998 ch. 15, 16
Readings on exceptionalism from week 1

***H. Kassim, 'French autonomy and the European Union', MCF. May 1997. ARC***
***H Machin *et al* France in The European Union (1998)***

France & Europe readings from week 10
Seminar Programme

week 2: Introduction & Debating the nature of French exceptionalism

Essay question: ‘The debate over French exceptionalism is of limited use in analysing and explaining the institutions and politics of the Fifth Republic.’ Discuss

- To what extent the revolutionary tradition still important in French politics?
- What is meant by the ‘Jacobin state’?
- What impact has the French statist tradition had on interest group politics in France?
- Has the French Polity been characterised by a distinctive French policy style or ‘model’?

week 3: The Fifth Republic: Its foundation and evolution

Essay Question: Critically assess De Gaulle’s role in the establishment of the new Republic between 1958 and 1962. Does the Fifth Republic still bear his imprint?

- What key problems in French politics were the founders of the 5th Republic trying to solve?
- How did the authors of the 1958 constitution (e.g. Michel Debré) envisage it operating?
- What impact did de Gaulle have on how the Fifth Republic constitutional settlement operated in practice? (Refer to his Bayeux speech of 1946)
- Hayward charts a shift ‘from Republican Sovereign to Partisan Statesman’ by the 1970s, what does he mean? What is the significance of this shift?

Week 4: Presidents, Prime Ministers and Semi-Presidentialism


Or ‘The Fifth Republic depends upon a strong presidency for its effective operation.’ Discuss.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of at least two of the following in analysing the powers of Presidents and Prime Ministers under the Fifth Republic:-

- State power thesis - (see Robert Elgie in Public Administration 74/2 1996)
- Majority power thesis - (see Robert Elgie in Public Administration 74/2 1996)
- Monocratic government model (see Elgie & Griggs, 2000, Ch. 2)
- Shared government model (see Elgie & Griggs, 2000, Ch. 2)
- Segmented decision model (see Elgie & Griggs, 2000, Ch. 2)

• Account for the empowerment of the President vis-a-vis the Prime Minister under the first decades of the Fifth Republic
• How has the relationship between Prime Minister & President developed in the wake of cohabitation?
• What are the likely effects of contemporary reforms (the quinquennat) on executive politics in France?

Week 5: The Unstable Party System

Essay Question: How and why has the French Party System changed under the Fifth Republic?

• Identify the institutional dynamics and constraints of the French party system.
• What impact did de Gaulle and Gaullism have on the French Party System’s development?
• What have the key developments been in the last 20 years?
• How has electoral system change affected France’s multi-party system?

**Week 6: The Left – PS as Party of Government; Communists in Decline**

*Why has the PS, founded at Epinay in 1971, been more successful than any other party in the history of the French Left?*

• Was the Socialist Party’s ‘presidentialised factionalism’ a strength or a weakness under the conditions of French party competition?
• How central is Mitterrand’s role in French Socialist success under the Fifth Republic?
• What effect did gaining power have on the French Socialists?
• What caused the decline of the PCF in the 1980s? Was this inevitable?

**Week 7: The Divided Right – and the success of the FN?**

*Essay Question: Is Gaullism dead?*

*Or: Account for the rise and persistence of the FN. Why has it survived for so long? What roles does it perform within the French party system?*

• Why is the Right in France so divided?
• What are the key aspects of Gaullism? Is it still a meaningful political tradition in France?
• Why was the FN so successful between 1984 & 1999?
• Why did the FN split? What is the likely impact on the French Right of the FN’s split?

**Week 8: The ‘Mitterrand Experiment’**

*Essay question: ‘Mitterrand chose Europe .... as for Socialism, that was of secondary importance’. Critically evaluate this view of the 1983 U-turn.*

• Mitterrand was elected promising a ‘break with capitalism’, his ‘experiment’ has been described as ‘Socialism in one country’, is this descriptions accurate?
• Was the Mitterrand experiment doomed to fail?
• What were the causes of the policy U-turn in 1983?

What were the implications of the 1983 U-turn
- for French Socialism?
- for the French ‘model’ of policy-making?
- for European integration?

**Week 9 The neo-liberal turn – Thatcherism à la française?**


*Or: What are the causes and consequences of political corruption in France?*

• What explains the ‘neo-liberal’ shift in policy style in France in the mid to late 1980s?
• What was distinctive about the French privatisation programme?
• How successful was the liberalisation, or deregulation, of French markets?
• Did the ‘neo-liberal’ policy package solve France’s economic problems, such as inflation, and unemployment?
**Week 10 Dirigisme – on the wain?**

Essay question: *How and why has French dirigisme been modified in the last 20 years?*

• What were the main policy instruments of *dirigisme*?
• How did the policies pursued after 1986 undermine the *dirigiste* policy approach?
• Have French policy-makers completely renounced the *dirigiste* tradition?
• What are the prospects for further moderation in the face of international trends such as globalisation and Europeanisation?

**Week 11 Phoenix from the flames – Jospin’s return**


• What did Chirac mean by ‘fracture sociale’? Why did the *mouvement sociale* of 1995 occur?
• What factors contributed to Jospin’s victory in 1997?
• How successful has the Jospin Government’s approach to French economic problems been?
• How does the Jospin’s governmental outlook differ from those of other European centre-left parties, e.g. New Labour?

**Week 12 Europeanisation, globalisation and French exceptionalism**

Essay question: *'The recent paradox of France is that France made Europe, but then Europe remade France'. In the light of this statement, critically examine the impact of European integration on domestic French politics.*

• What impact has the European issue had on French parties?
• What impact has Europe had on French policy-making?
• Is the French model becoming less exceptional as a result of integration into the global economy?
• Is France *still* exceptional?
LG547  AREA STUDIES - POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY FRANCE
PROF. ROBERT ELGIE

CONTACT DETAILS:
Robert Elgie: tel. 700 5895, e-mail: robert.elgie@dcu.ie

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES:
Students develop a general understanding of contemporary French politics and to assess the extent of change in contemporary French politics with particular reference to the issue of whether or not France is exceptional in a comparative context. The module focuses on the Fifth French Republic (1958- ).

READING
There is no compulsory course text for this book. However, even though modesty almost forbids, the following book will provide you with a good up-to-date overview of many of the topics in the module.

   Robert Elgie, Political Institutions in Contemporary France,

WEB-BASED SOURCES:
My website contains the reading list. I will post any last minute changes to the schedule etc. there. The address is:
http://webpages.dcu.ie/~elgier

There are a number of good websites.

In English:
Brookings Institutions, Center on United States and France:
   www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/fp/cusf/center_hp.htm
Foreign Affairs Ministry: www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/

In French, there is:
French Institute of International Relations (IFRI): www.ifri.org/
Le Monde (centre-left newspaper of reference): www.lemonde.fr/
Le Figaro (right-wing newspaper): www.lefigaro.fr/
Libération (left-wing newspaper): www.liberation.fr/
President of the Republic (with searchable speech function): www.elysee.fr/
Prime Minister: www.premier-ministre.gouv.fr/
Foreign Affairs Ministry: www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/
TIMETABLE
The class will take place on Tuesdays from 12-2 in QG22.

OFFICE HOURS
I will be in my office from 3-4 on Tuesdays during the semester. Other meetings should be arranged by appointment.

ASSESSMENT
This module is assessed by 100% continuous assessment. There are two coursework essays, each of which is worth 50% of the final mark for this module.

The essays must be chosen from the list of titles below. Each should be no less than 2,000 words and no more than 3,000 words in length. It should include a full list of references and a bibliography. The essay must be all your own work and plagiarism (copying from websites or texts without citation or from another person's essay) will be penalised.

The deadline for submitting the first essay is 6 p.m. on Tuesday 30 March 2004. The deadline for submitting the second essay is 6 p.m. on Tuesday 4 May 2004.

COURSEWORK ESSAY QUESTIONS:
1. 'History shows that the French political system has an inherent tendency to violent and revolutionary change'. Discuss.
2. 'The French political system has been reformed, but the reforms began during the presidency of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and not François Mitterrand'. Discuss.
3. To what extent does France still pursue a policy of State-directed economic growth?
4. 'France has a republican monarch, an imperial president'. Discuss.
5. 'However many times they may change their name, political parties in France continue to reflect ideological traditions that date back to the 18th and 19th centuries'. Discuss.
6. Was de Gaulle's foreign policy based on ideology or pragmatism?
7. 'In terms of foreign policy, the presidencies of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and François Mitterrand were marked more by continuity than change'. Discuss.
8. 'France has been an unreliable ally in the war on terror'. Discuss.
9. 'Over the years, France has acted as a motor of European integration, but only out of pure self-interest'. Discuss.
10. 'France's policy to Africa has remained largely unchanged since the beginning of the 1960s'. Discuss.
11. 'Despite Europeanisation and globalisation, French exceptionalism is alive and well'. Discuss.
RECOMMENDED READING:


Journals:
In English:
French Politics also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals.
Modern and Contemporary also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals.

In French:
Regards sur l’Actualité
LECTURE AND SEMINAR OUTLINE:

Week 1: (10 Feb.) The origins of the Fifth Republic
R. Gildea, *France since 1945*.

Week 2: (17 Feb.) The development of the Fifth Republic
See above. Also:
D. Bell and B. Criddle, in *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 55, no. 4, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On the 2002 elections.
J. Tuppen (ed.), *Chirac’s France, 1986-88*.
G. Ross et al. (eds.), *The Mitterrand Experiment: continuity and change in modern France*.
J. Ambler (ed.), *The French Socialist Experiment*.
J. Frears, *France in the Giscard Presidency*.

Week 3: (24 Feb.) The State and dirigisme
S. Hazareesingh, *Political Traditions in Modern France*.
J. Hayward, *The state and the market economy: industrial patriotism and economic interdependence*.
J. Hayward, in *Governing France: The One and Indivisible French Republic*.
Special issue of *Modern and Contemporary France*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1997 on *dirigisme*.
R. Elgie, in *Public Administration*, vol. 81, no. 1, 2003, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals.

Week 4: (2 March) The President and Prime Minister
R. Elgie, *The Role of the Prime Minister in France*.
J. Gaffney, in *Political Studies*, vol. 51, no. 4, December 2003, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals.

**Week 5: (9 March)**  
**Political parties and ideologies**
S. Hazareesingh, *Political Traditions in Modern France*.
D. Bell, in *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 56, no. 1, 2003, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On the socialists.
D. Bell, in *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 53, no. 3, 2000, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On the FN.
P. Hainsworth and P. Mitchell, in *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 53, no. 3, 2000, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On the FN.
P. Hainsworth (ed.), *The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA*, chap. on France.
M. Neoclous and N. Startin, in *Politics*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2003, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On the FN.

**Week 6: (16 March)**  
**Foreign & defence policy: de Gaulle**
P. Cerny, *The politics of grandeur: ideological aspects of de Gaulle’s foreign policy*.
J. Petras and M. Morley, in *Review of International Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2000, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On the FN.
G. Warner, in *International Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 4, 2002, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On de Gaulle’s veto of Britain’s entry to the EEC.

**Week 7: (23 March)**  
**Foreign & defence policy: Pompidou-Chirac**
See also reading for week 10 and Europe.

S. Hoffman, in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 80, no. 4, July 2001, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On France and the US.


S. Gregory, *French defence policy into the twenty-first century*.


Week 8: (30 March) France and the war on terror

P. Gordon, in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 82, no. 1, 2003, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals.

N. Mead, in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 82, no. 2, March 2003, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On France and the US.


Week 9: (6 April) Reading week

Week 10: (13 April) France and Europe

E. Jones, in *French Politics*, vol. 1, no. 2. On France and Europe, also available electronically from DCU Library, SWETS journals.

D. Howarth, in *Modern and Contemporary France*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2002, also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals.

H. Drake, in *Modern and Contemporary France*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2001, also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals. On the 2001 French Presidency of the EU.


J-M. Trouille and H. Uterwedde, in *Modern and Contemporary France*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2001, also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals. On Franco-German relations.

P. McCarthy (ed.), *France and Germany in the 21st Century*.


M. Maclean (ed.), *France, Germany and Britain: partners in a changing world*.

P. Gordon, *France, Germany, and the Western Alliance.*
Week 11: (20 April) France and the wider world
S. Henningham, France and the South Pacific.

France and Africa (with Maria Eriksson)
Special issue of Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 10, no. 4, 2002, also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals. On France and Algeria.
G. Cumming, in Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 8, no. 3, 2000, also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals. On France and Africa.
B. Bonora-Weisman, France and the Algerian Conflict.

Week 12: (27 April) France and Globalisation. Is France (still) exceptional?
Special issue of Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 9, no. 3, 2001, also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals. On France and globalisation.
H. Védrine and D. Moïsi, France in an age of globalization.
A. Cassen, in New Left Review, 19, Jan/Feb 2003. On ATTAC.
J. Gaffney (ed.), France and Modernisation.
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

FRENCH POLITICS
AND
INSTITUTIONS

2002/2003

READING LIST
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES


(The most important items are asterisked – and are available in the SRC subject to copyright law. Please consult with your module tutor if this is not so.)

General Texts

The books listed below are likely to be useful sources of information on most of the topics covered in the module.

W. Safran     The French Polity  
P. Morris     French Politics Today  
A. Stevens     The Government & Politics of France  
Y. Mény     Le Système Politique en France  
J. Rosetto     Les Institutions Politiques Français  
N. Hewlett     Politics in Modern France  
A. Cole     French Politics & Society  
M. Maclean (Ed.) The Mitterrand Years  
A. Knapp & V. Wright The Government and Politics of France

A further useful source of up-to-date information can be found in the annual volumes of Etat de la France edited by S. Cordellier, which is permanently kept in the library for reference purposes. Two journals which are also particularly useful when seeking up-to-date information are French Politics & Society and Modern and Contemporary France.

1. The French Historical Legacy & National Identity

* J. Frears Conflict in France: The decline and fall of stereotype, Political Studies, March 1972  
*G Flynn (Ed.) Remaking the Hexagon: the New France in the New Europe, (Chapters 1 & 4)  
* S. Hoffman In Search of France  
*Y. Mény Le Système Politique Français pp.23-37  
*W. Safran The French Polity, Ch.1  
*N. Hewlett Modern French Politics Ch.4, The end of exceptionalism?
2. The Presidency & The Constitution

*R. Elgie

*R. Elgie (Ed.)
E lecting the French President, (See especially Chapter 8 by Wright and Elgie)

* J. Rohr
Founding Republics in France and America

R. Ponceyri
"La fin de la république gaullienne", La Revue Politique et parlementaire, Sept/Oct 2000

J-M. Gaillard
Les nouveaux impératifs de la fonction présidentielle, La Revue Politique et parlementaire, Sept/Oct 2000

V. Wright
"Presidentialism and the parties in the 5th French Republic", Government & Opposition, 1974, No.1

Michel Debré

E. Suleiman
"Presidential Government in France", in R. Rose & E. Suleiman (Eds.) Presidents & Prime Ministers

J-M. Colombani
Portrait du Président

L. Hamon
Une République Présidentielle? JC33.H2

J-L. Quermonne
Gouvernement de la France Vème République, JC33.Q8

Pouvoirs
La Vème République: A Trente Ans (esp. J. Goguel, "De la Cohabitation" 69-80), No.49, 1989

D. Chagnollaud
"La conception gaullienne de l'Etat" in M. Duverger, Droit, Institutions et Systèmes Politiques
O. Duhamel "Remarques sur la notion de régime semi-présidentiel" in M. Duverger, Droit, Institutions et Systèmes Politiques

O. Duhamel "President & Prime Minister" in Paul Godt (Ed.) Policymaking in France

H. Machin "Political Leadership" in P. Hall et al. (Eds.), Developments in French Politics

F. Dreyfus "The Control of Governments" in P. Hall et al. (Eds.), Developments in French Politics


H. Feigenbaum "Recent Evolution of the French Executive", Governance, 1990


R. Elgie "The Prime Minister's Office in France", Governance Vol.5, No.1, 1992


A. Stone "Where Judicial Politics are Legislative Politics: The French Constitutional Court", West European Politics Vol.15, No.3, 1992

J. Rohr "Executive Power & Republican Principles at the Founding of the 5th Republic", in Governance, Vol.7, No.2, 1994

Y. Mény Le Système Politique Français, pp 95-122

W. Safran The French Polity, Ch.6

R. Elgie The Role of the Prime Minister in France


C. Carpentier "La soumission présidentielle ou la fin du mythe du président absolu", La Revue Politique et Parlementaire No. 988, May/June 1997


R. Turner "The Presidency", in S. Perry (ed.) Aspects of Contemporary France

123
3. Decentralising the State

*J. Rondin Le Sacre des Notables, JC895.33.R6
*M. Keating Decentralisation and change in Contemporary France, JC.895. 33 K3
*J. C. Thoenig "State Bureaucracies & Local Government in France", in K. Hanf & F. Scharpf (Eds.) Inter-organisational Policymaking
*S. Mazey "Power Outside Paris" in P. Hall et al. (Eds.), Developments in French Politics
*S. Mazey "Centre-Periphery Relations in the Fifth Republic: The Legitimization of Local Politics" in Paul Godt (ed.) Policymaking in France
*Y. Mény Le Système Politique Français, pp 123-136
* J. Loughlin et al "The End of the French Unitary State?" Special issue of Regional Politics & Policy, Vol.4, No.3
* P. John et al "Political leadership in the new urban governance: Britain and France compared", Local Government Studies, Vol.25, No.4, 1999
* J. Levy Tocqueville’s Revenge, (Especially chapters 3-6)
* B. Rémond La décentralisation à refaire, Revue Politique et Parlementaire, No.1009 and 1010, 2000/2001(And many other articles in the same issue)

A. Cole et al Local Governance in England and France
J. Ohnet Histoire de la Décentralisation Française
P. Booth "Decentralisation and land-use planning in France", Policy & Politics Vol.26, No.1, 1998
E. N. Suleiman "Administrative Reform and the Problem of Decentralization", in Hoffman & Andrews The 5th Republic at Twenty
V. Wright & Y. Mény Centre-Periphery Relations in Western Europe (Chapters on France)
A. Mabileau Les Pouvoirs Locaux à l'Epreuve de la Décentralisation
4. The French Party System

* G. Flynn (Ed.) Remaking the Hexagon: The New France in the New Europe, (Chapters 8, 9, 10)
* A. Cole French Political Parties in Transition
* C. Ysmal 'Les Partis Politiques sous la Vème République' POUVOIRS, No.49, 1989 17-36
* H. Machin "Changing Patterns of Party Competition" in P. Hall et al. (Eds.), Developments in French Politics
* J. Frears Parties and Voters in France


M. Lewis-Beck (Ed.) How France Votes


J. Charlot The Political Parties in France, JD233.C4

F. Wilson French Political Parties, JD233.W4

J. Frears Political Parties and Elections in the 5th French Republic

V. Wright "Presidentialism and the Parties in the French Fifth Republic", Government & Opposition, 10 (1)


B. Criddle "France: Parties in a Presidential System", in A. Ware (Ed.) Political Parties

S. Bartolini "Institutional Constraints and Party Competition in the French Party System" West European Politics, Vol.7, No.4
M. Slater "Political parties" in J. Flower (Ed.) France Today, 8th Edition
F. Platone "Public Opinion & Electoral Change" in P. Hall et al (Eds.) Developments in French Politics
Y. Mény Le Système Politique Français, pp.55-77
A. Appleton "Parties Under Pressure: Challenges to Established French Parties" West European Politics, Vol.18, No.1, 1995
D. Boy The French Voter Decides
N. Addinall French Political Parties
F. Wilson "When Parties Refuse to Fail", in K. Lawson et al, When Parties Fail
M. Cross "Party Politics" in S. Perry (Ed.), Aspects of Contemporary France

5. The Established Parties of the Right

* J. Charlot The Political Parties in France, JD233.C4
* W. Irvine French Conservatism in Crisis, JD233.I7
* F. Bouricaud "The Right in France since 1945", Comparative Politics, Vol.10, No.1
* A. Knapp Gaulisme since De Gaulle
* William R. Schonfeld "The RPR: From a Rassemblement to the Gaullist Movement" in Hoffman & Andrews, The Fifth Republic at Twenty, Ch.6
* C. Flood et al Political Ideologies in Contemporary France, Ch.3, Gaulism and Liberalism
N. Hewlett Modern French Politics, Chapter 6 “The Gaullists”
R. Ponceyri "L’étrange défaite de la Droit", Revue Politique et Parlementaire, No.989, July/August 1997
P. A. Gourevitch "Gaullism Abandoned or the Core of Success" in Hoffman and Andrews, The Fifth Republic at Twenty Ch.7
F. Wilson French Political Parties under the Fifth Republic, Ch.5
D. Calderon La Droit Francaise
F. Bourricaud Le Retour de la Droit
P. Hainsworth "The Right", West European Politics, Vol.22, No.4, 1999
P. Fysh "Candidates and Parties of the Right", in R. Elgie (ed.), Electing the French President
P. Mechet "Le malaise identitaire de la Droit", Revue Politique et Parlementaire, No.1001, 1999
N. Atkin et al (Eds.) The Right in France 1789 to 1997

6. National Front (See also Section 12)

* R. Ferguson Neo-Fascism in Europe

* M. Schain "The National Front in France and the Construction of Political Legitimacy", West European Politics 10(2), 229-252, 1987,
* P. Ignazi  'New challenges: Post-materialism and the Extreme Right', M. Rhodes et al (Eds.) in Developments in West European Politics

* H. Simmons  The French National Front

* P. Hainsworth  'The Cutting Edge: The extreme right in post-war Western Europe and the USA' in P. Hainsworth The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA

* J. Veuglers  "A Challenge for Political Sociology: The rise of far-Right parties in Contemporary Western Europe",  Current Sociology, Vol.47, No.4, 1999

* C. Flood et al  Political Ideologies in Contemporary France, Ch.4, National Populism

* P. Fysh et al  The Politics of Racism in France

* P. Longuet  'Crise au FN,'  French Politics & Society, Vol.17, No.1, 1999

* Special Issue of  Revue Politique et Parlementaire, No.995, July/August 1998, The National Front, (See especially, contributions by Ivaldi, Moinet and Camus)

H. Kitschelt  The Radical Right in Western Europe

P. Davies  The National Front in France


B. Baumgartl.  New Xenophobia in Europe

H. Betz  Radical right wing populism in Western Europe


P. Bréchon et al  "The National Front in France: The Emergence of an Extreme Right Protest Movement, Comparative Politics, Vol.25, No.1, 1992

B. Jeanneau  "L'antiparlementarisme d'Hier à Aujourd'hui",  Pouvoirs, No.64, Feb.1993

G. Birenbaum  Le FN en Politique

J-Y Camus  Les Droites Nationales et Radicales en France

D. Bell  "The French National Front", The History of European Ideas

Vol.18, No.2, 1994


P. Taggart  "New Populist Parties in Western Europe", West European Politics, Vol.18, No.1, 1995
A. Appleton  "Parties Under Pressure: Challenges to Established French Parties" West European Politics, Vol.18, No.1, 1995
N. Fielding  The National Front
M. Winock  Nationalism, Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France

7. Socialists

* D. Hanley  "The Parti Socialiste Français" in S. Mazey & M.Newman (Eds.) Mitterrand's France
* J. Ambler  The French Socialist Experiment
* D. Bell & B. Criddle  The French Socialist Party
* H. Machin  "How the Socialists Lost the 1993 Election to the French Parliament" in West European Politics, Vol.16, No.4, 1993
* J. Julliard  Lionel Jospin ou l'exception Française, Le Débat, May/August 1998
N. Hewlett  Modern French Politics, Chapter 5 “The Socialists”
C. Flood et al  Political Ideologies in Contemporary France, Ch.1, Democratic Socialism
8. Communists

* M. Waller & Communist Parties in Western Europe
M. Fennamar (Eds.)
9. The Europeanisation of French Politics?

*A. Cole et al*


*M. Maclean et al*

France, Germany & Britain: Partners in a changing world, (See especially chapters 1, 3, 5 & 6)

J. Walsh

European Monetary Integration and Domestic Politics

D. Howarth

The French Road to European Monetary Union

T. Raunio

Why European Integration increases leadership autonomy within political parties, *Party Politics*, Vol.8, No.4, 2002

J. C. Eslin


R. Ladrech


C. Roederer-Rynning

E. Montpeqit  

R. Kuisel  

10. Interest Groups & The State

* P. Hall  
"Pluralism & Pressure Politics" in P. Hall et al (Eds.) *Developments in French Politics*

* V. Wright  
The Government and Politics of France, Ch.8

* L. Rouban  

* P. Muller  

L. Bell  

F. L. Wilson  
"Les groupes d'intérêt sous la Vème Republique - Test de 3 models théoriques de l'interaction entre groupes et gouvernement", *Revue Française de Science Politique*, April 1983

F. L. Wilson  
"Alternative models of interest Intermediation: The case of France", *British Journal of Political Science*, 12/2, April 1982

F. L. Wilson  
"French Interest Group Politics: Pluralist or Neo-corporatist?" *American Political Science Review* 77, December 1983

F. Wilson  
*Interest Group Politics in France*

J. Hayward  
"Mobilising private interests in the service of public ambitions: The salient element in the dual French policy style?" in J. Richardson (ed.) *Policy Styles in Western Europe*

J. T. S. Keeler  

J. Fomerand  

S. Mazey  
"Public Policymaking in France", *West European Politics*, Vol.9, July 1986, No.3

Y. Mény  
"Interest Groups & Politics in the Fifth Republic" in Paul Godt, (ed.) *Policymaking in France*

W. Safran  
The French Polity, Ch.5

P. Hassenteufel  
"Les groupes d'intérêt dans l'action publique", *Pouvoirs*, No.74, 1995

J. Dunn  

132
11. **Women in France**

* A. Mazur  
  "Symbolic Reform in France: Egalité Professionelle in the Mitterrand Years", *West European Politics*, Vol.15, No.4, 1992
* A. Mazur  
  Gender Bias and the State
* A. Mazur  
  "The Politics of Egalité Professionelle: Symbolic Reform becomes more symbolic" in A. Daley (Ed.) *The Mitterrand Era*
* A. Mazur  
* J. Jenson  
* J. Jenson  
  "Ce n'est pas un hasard: the varieties of French feminism", in *Contemporary France* (3), 14-146
* J. Jenson  
* M. Sineau  
  *Des Femmes en Politique*
* M. Sineau  
* C. Duchen  
  *Feminism in France: from May 68 to Mitterrand*
*Gender Parity*  
  (Special Issue) *Modern & Contemporary France* Vol.10, No.1, 2002
* G. Allwood  
  Women and Politics in France
* A. Gregory et al (Eds.)  
  Women in Contemporary France
* R. Crompton et al  
* C. Flood et al  
  Political Ideologies in Contemporary France, Ch.6, Feminism and Public Policy
* J. Lovenduski  
  Women and European Politics: Contemporary Feminism
* W. Northcutt & J.Flaitz  
* V. Randall  
* Special Issue of:*  
  *French Politics & Society*, '50 years of Women's Suffrage', Vol.12, No.4, 1994
* A. Marwick  
  The Sixties, Ch.13
* S. Reynolds  
* M. Dogan & J. Narbonne  
  *Les Françaises Face à la Politique* (Chapters 1, 4, 5 and especially 6-10)
12. Immigration and Race (See also Section 6)

* P. Weil April 1996, pp.136-154 'Pour une nouvelle politique d'immigration', Esprit No.220,
* P. Weil et al "Integration in Theory & Practice" West European Politics,
* P. Fysh Vol.17, No.2, 1994 'The Failure of Anti-Racist Movements in France 1981/95 in M. Maclean (ed.) The Mitterrand Years
* P. Fysh et al The Politics of Racism in France
* C. Wihtol de Wenden "Immigrants as Political Actors in France" West European Politics,
* Vol.17, No.2, 1994
* C. Flood et al Political Ideologies in Contemporary France, Ch.7, Multi-culturalism
* D. Horowitz et al Immigrants in Two Democracies, (Chapter 1 and chapters on France)
* A. Favel Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the idea of Citizenship in France and Britain
* J. Fetzer Public Attitudes towards immigration in the US, France and Germany


G. Verbunt "France" in T. Hammar, European Immigration Policy, Cambridge, 1985

C. Laborde The Culture(s) of the Republic: Nationalism and Multi-Culturalism in French Republican Thought, Political Theory, Vol.29, No.5, 2001


W. Safran The Mitterrand Regime and its policies of ethno-cultural accommodation, Comparative Politics, Vol.18, No.1, 1985

P. Phillips Republican France: Divided Loyalties

J. Fetzer Public Attitudes Toward Immigration in the US, France and Germany


C. Pratt Ewing Legislating Religious Freedom: Muslim challenges to the relationship between “Church” & “State” in Germany and France, Daedalus, Fall 2000


R. Brubaker Citizenship & Nationhood in France & Germany

D. Boyzon-Fradet “The French Education System: Springboard or Obstacle to Integration” in D. Horowitz et al (Eds.) Immigrants in Two Democracies

A. Hargreaves Immigration, 'Race' and Ethnicity in Contemporary France, 1995

M. Silverman Deconstructing the Nation, Immigration, racism and Citizenship in Modern France, 1992

Pouvoirs Sp. No.47, 1988, "L'Immigration" (especially pp. 23-30, 31-44, 45-60, 115-122)

Gary Freeman Immigrant Labour & Racial Conflict in Industrial Societies: A British French Comparison

A. G. Hargreaves Immigration in post-war France

A. Hargreaves Immigration Race and Ethnicity in Contemporary France

A. Hargreaves "The Beur Generation: Integration or Exclusion?" Contemporary France (3), 147-159

M. Schain  "Racial Politics" in P. McCarthy The French Socialists in Power
M. Schain  "Immigrants and Politics in France" in J. Ambler (Ed.) The French Socialist Experiment
M. Schain  "Immigration and Politics" in P. Hall et al (eds.), France Today, pp.440-452
R. Leveau  Les Musulmans dans la Société Française
A. Jazouli  L'Action Collective des Jeunes Maghrébins de France
G. Noiriel  Le Creuset Francais
C. Wihtol de Wenden  Les Immigrés et la Politique
W. Safran  "Minorities, Ethnics & Aliens: Pluralist Politics in the Fifth Republic", in Paul Godt, (ed.) Policymaking in France
J. Hollifield  "Immigration & the French State" Comparative Political Studies, Vol.23, No.1, 1990
M. Silverman  Race Discourse & Power in France
P. Weil  La France et ses Etrangers
C. Marie  "L'Immigration en France dans les années Quatre-vingt dix",
M. Wieviorka  La France Raciste
C. Wihtol de Wenden  "Political Participation as a Tool for Social Mobility", in H. Rudolph et al. (Eds.) Bridging States & Markets
P. Ireland  "Race, Immigration and the Politics of Hate" in A. Daley (Ed.) The Mitterrand Era
B. Fitzpatrick  "Immigrants", in J. Flower (Ed.) France Today, 8th Edition
G. Nommenan  Muslim Communities in the New Europe,
N. Rachedi et al  "Elites of Maghreb Extraction in France", in B. Lewis (Eds.) Muslims in Europe
Special Issue: 50 ans d'Immigration, L'Histoire, No.229, February 1999
13. Trade Unions in France


* D. Labbé  "La Crise des Syndicats Français", Revue Française de Sciences Politiques, Vol.42, No.4, 1992

* D. Labbé  "Trade Unionism in France since the Second World War", West European Politics, Vol.17, No.1, 1994


J. Goetschy  "France: The Limits of Reform” in A. Ferner et al (Eds.) Industrial Relations in the New Europe

F. Eyraud & S. Milner  'The Auroux Reforms and Company-Level Industrial Relations in France' in M. Maclean (Ed.), The Mitterrand Years


R. McAllister  "Trade Unions", in J. Flower (Ed.), France Today, 8th Edition

M. Schain  "Corporatism and Industrial Relations in France", in P. Cerny & M. Schain (Eds.), French Politics and Public Policy

W. Rand-Smith  "Towards Autogestion in Socialist France”, West European Politics, Vol.10, Jan.87, No.1

W. Rand-Smith  "Dynamics of Plural Unionism in France", British Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol.22, No.1, 1984

A. Borzeix et al  "Direct Workers Expression in France", The International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, Vol.6, No.2, 1986

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G. Ross  "Labour and the Left in Power", in P. McCarthy The French Socialists in Power

B. Moss  "After the Auroux Laws", West European Politics, Vol. 11, No.1, 1988


G. Baglioni et al (Eds.) European Industrial Relations (Chapter on France)

C. Hull "French Socialism and the transformation of Industrial relations since 1981" in A. Daley (Ed.) The Mitterrand Era

M. Kesselman "The New Shape of French Labour & Industrial Relations", in Paul Godt, (Ed.), Policymaking in France from De Gaulle to Mitterrand, 165-175

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J. Amadieu Labour/Management Co-operation and Work Organisation Change in OECD New Directions in Work Organisation, (held in SRC)


14. Educational Policy

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* OECD Youth Employment in France

* D. Hanley et al Contemporary France, Ch.6 (2nd Edition)

* J. Ambler The French Socialist Experiment (Ch. on Education)

* OECD Secondary Education in France

* A. Corbett & J. Moon Education in France, Continuity and Change in the Mitterrand Years

* R. Duclaud-Williams "Education" in J. Flower (Ed.) France Today, 8th Edition


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* A. Prost "The Educational Maelstrom" in G. Ross et al (Ed.) The Mitterrand Experiment


* B. Holmes et al (Eds.) 'The Curriculum: A Comparative Perspective', (see Chapter 3 on France)

* E. Bleich 'From International Ideas to Domestic Educational Policies Multiculturalism in England & France', Comparative Politics, Vol.31, No.1, 1998

*Special Issue: Educational Policy in France, Journal of Education Policy, Vol.15, No.1, 2000


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B. Toulemonde Petite histoire d'un grand Ministère

J. Lesourne Education et Société

Special Issue: De L'Ecole, Pouvoirs, No.30

W. D. Halls Education, Culture and Politics in France

A. Prost Education, Société et Politique


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Paul Gagnon "The Vème Republic and Education: Modernity Democracy Culture" from Hoffman and Andrews, The 5th Republic at 20, Ch.21
J. Ardagh France Today, pp.452-504
J. S. Ambler "Neo-corporatism and the Politics of French Education", West European Politics, Vol.8, No.3 July 1985
M. Vaughan "Education: Cultural Persistence & Institutional Change" in P. McCarthy The French Socialists in Power
H. Gaziel "The Emergence of the Comprehensive Middle School in France", Comparative Education, Vol.24, No.1, 1989
C. Bédarida L'Ecole qui décolle
F. Dubet "A l'école"
B. Compagnon "L'école et la Société Française"
I. Brulard "Laïcité and Islam", in S. Perry (Ed.) Aspects of Contemporary France

15. Higher Education

* C. Bédarida SOS Université
* C. Musselin "Le système Universitaire Français", French Politics & Society, Vol.15, No.1, 1997 (and various others on the same subject)
* L. Cerych & P. Sabatier Great Expectations and Mixed Performance, (Chapter 8)
* B. R. Clark (Ed.) The Academic Profession (Chapter on France)
* J. Fomerand "Policy Formation and Change in Gaullist France: The 1968 Orientation Act for Higher Education", Comparative Politics, Vol.8
*C. Musselin La longue marche des universités françaises
A. Renaut Les Revolutions de l’université
R. Premfors The Politics of Higher Education in a Comparative Perspective: France, Sweden, United Kingdom
R. Boudon "The French University since 1968", Comparative Politics, Vol.10, No.1
J. Van De Graaff (Ed.) Academic Power in Seven National Systems of Higher Education, (See chapter on France)
E. Suleiman "Higher Education in France: A Two Track System", West European Politics Vol.1, No.3
M. Vaughan "Grandes Ecoles" in R. Wilkinson (Ed.) Governing Elites Universities, Politicians & Bureaucrats, (See chapters on France)
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16. May 1968
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<th>Author(s)</th>
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<tr>
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<td>P. Seale</td>
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<td>A. Marwick</td>
<td>The Sixties, (Chapter 12)</td>
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<td>E. Morin et al</td>
<td>Mai 68, la Brèche suivi de vingt ans après</td>
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<td>The French Communist Party versus the Students, 1972</td>
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<td>A. Quattrocchi</td>
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<td>B. E. Brown</td>
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<td>R. Fraser</td>
<td>1968, A Student Generation in Revolt</td>
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<td>H. Weber</td>
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<td>P. Bouvier et al</td>
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<td>C. Fink et al (Eds.)</td>
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**17. The Peasantry and Agricultural Policy**

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<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>P. Culpepper</td>
<td>&quot;Organisational Competition and the Neo-Corporatist Fallacy in French Agriculture&quot; West European Politics Vol.16, No.3, 1993</td>
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<td>&quot;Corporatism and Official Union Hegemony: The Case of French Agricultural Syndicalism&quot;, in S. Berger Organising Interests in Western Europe</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. Ambler</td>
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C. Roederer-Rynning Farm Conflict in France and the Europeanisation of Agricultural Policy, West European Politics, Vol.25, No.3, 2002


J. S. Keeler "The Corporatist Dynamic of Agricultural Modernization in the 5th Republic", from Ch.16 of Hoffman & Andrews The 5th Republic at 20

J. Keeler The Politics of Neocorporatism in France - Farmers, the State and Agricultural Policymaking in the Fifth Republic, Special issue of Sociologie du Travail XXIX 4/1987 "Les Agriculteurs Français Face A Une Nouvelle Crise"


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M. Vaughan et al Social Change in France, (Chapter 7)

H. Mendras Vanishing Peasant

W. Colman et al "Against the odds retrenchment in Agriculture in France and U.S. " World Politics, Vol. 49, No.4, 1997

M. Burns Rural Society and French Politics, JD110.33.B8

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W. Grant The limits of CAP reform and the option of Re-nationalisation, Journal of European Public Policy, 1995, Part 2

E. Morin Plodenet: Report from a French Village

J. Ardagh France Today, pp.200-249

A. Moulin Les Paysans dans la société Française de la révolution à nos jours

D. Bergmann et al Politique d'Avenir pour l'Europe Agricole


C. Jacob "Pour une Nouvelle Politique Agricole" in La Revue Politique et Parlementaire, No.969, 1994

A. Guyomarch Ch.5 'Agriculture Policy' in A. Guyomarch et al, France and the European Union

D. Webber 'Franco-German Bilateralism and Agricultural Politics in the European Union', West European Politics, Vol.22, No.1, 1999

18. Foreign Policy

A. France and the European Union

* M. Baun "The Maastricht Treaty as High Politics: Germany, France and European Integration", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.110, No.4, 1995/96
* F. De La Serre et al (Eds.) *British & French Policy in Transition*
* Special Issue: French Politics & Society, "France and the European Community", Vol.11, No.1, 1993
* A. Guyomarch et al France and the European Union
* M. Gueldry France and European Integration
* M. Maclean et al (Eds.) France, Germany and Britain: Partners in a changing world, (See especially Chapters 4 & 8)
* G. Hendriks The Franco-German Axis in European Integration
* B. Benoît Social Nationalism: An anatomy of French Eurosceptism
* C. Lequesne "French central government and the European political system" in Y. Mény et al (Eds.) *Adjusting to Europe
* R. Dumas "La France au coeur de la construction Européenne", *La Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, No.945 Jan-Feb 1990
J. Friend "Nationalism & National Consciousness in France, Germany and Britain". The History of European Ideas, Vol.18, No.2, 1994
J-F. Prevost "La France, est-elle Européenne?". La Revue Politique et Parlementaire, No.981, Jan/Feb 1996
K. Dyson et al 'EMU and Presidential Leadership Under F. Mitterrand'. in M. Maclean (Ed.) The Mitterrand Years
K. Dyson Politics, Vol.22, No.1, 1999
J. Walsh 'The Franco-German Relationship and EMU'. West European Politics, Vol.22, No.1, 1999
J. Walsh British, France and Italy European Monetary Integration and Democratic Politics

B. General

* A. Clark "Foreign policy" in J. Flower (ed.), France Today, 8th Edition
* Paul Godt (Ed.) Policymaking in France, (Chapters 14, 15 and 16)
* J. Howarth "Foreign & Defence Policy" in P. Hall et al (Eds.) Developments in French Politics
* D. David 'Independence and Inter-Dependence: Foreign Policy Under Mitterrand's Two Presidential Terms' in M. Maclean (ed.) The Mitterrand Years
* M. Clarke "French & British Security". International Affairs, Vol.76, No.4, 2000
S. Meunier The French Exception, Foreign Affairs, Vol.79, No.4, 2000
F. De La Serre et al (Eds.) British & French Policy in Transition
F. Willis The French Paradox
R. Laird (Ed.) French Security Policy
R. Laird (Ed.) Strangers and Friends: The Franco-German Security Relationship
R. Aldrich & J. Connell (Eds.) France in World Politics
D. Vernet "Advancing France: The Dilemma of French Foreign Policy". International Affairs, Vol.68, No.4, 1992
A. Menon "Continuing Politics by Other Means: Defence Policy in the French Fifth Republic". West European Politics, Vol.17, No.4, 1994
19. The French Welfare State

* M. Vail "The better part of valour: The politics of French welfare reform", Journal of European Social Policy, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1999
G. Bonoli The Politics of Pension Reform – Institutions and Policy Change in W. Europe
M. Gueldry France & European Integration, (Chapter 4 ‘The Welfare State’)
O. Galland et al La Nouvelle Société Française, (Chapter 6)
P. Chassaigne "Triste Celebration pour le Welfare State", L’histoire, No. 205, December 1996
H. Uterwedde Mitterrand's Economic & Social Policy in Perspective in M. Maclean (Ed.) The Mitterrand Years
J-M. Le Gall 'Le Grand Age', Projet, No. 257, 1999
P. Taylor-Gooby 'Policy Change at a Time of Retrenchment', Social Policy and Administration, Vol. 33, No. 1, 1999
B. Moss
J. Edwards (Ed.)
A. Guillemard (Ed.)
France

Discourse on Inequality in France and Britain
Comparing Social Welfare Systems in Europe, (See items relating to France)

R. Duclaud-Williams/VF
August 2002
Module aims

Starting from the fact of the election in 1997 of a Left coalition bringing together Socialists, Communists and Greens, this module traces the development of the French Left since the events of 1968. It will focus on the parties, personalities and policies that have shaped the French Left as we know it today, but will also underline the importance of the protest movements whose intellectual – and often physical – activism since the 1970s has done much to shape the composition and policies of the modern Left.

This module will place these developments within the context created by the form of the institutions of the Fifth Republic. This includes the party and electoral systems, as well as questions of the centralisation and decentralisation of power in the French state, and latterly the Europeanisation of public policies.

Module programme

The module will be delivered through a series of lectures, backed up by a seminar programme encouraging student participation and discussion. The seminars will be based on set reading (usually, this will consist of single chapters or short articles from books or journals, but occasionally also audio-visual materials).

Lecture programme

2/17 (8 février) 1958-68 contextes institutionnels et politiques de mai 68
6/21 (8 mars) La Gauche et le nucléaire: l’électronucléaire et la naissance des Verts
7/22 (15 mars) Jacobins, Girondins, et… Européens (1): la Gauche nationaliste et… décentralisatrice
8/23 (22 mars) Jacobins, Girondins, et… Européens (2): la politique européenne du PS
10/25 (26 avril) La Gauche et l’immigration: du droit de vote des étrangers aux sans papiers
11/26 (3 mai)  Les années 90 (1): le Plan Juppé et le ‘mouvement social’
12/27 (10 mai) Les années 90 (2): la Gauche plurielle – consensus, compromis et… conflit
Seminar reading

Students will be asked to complete the following background reading in preparation for their seminars:


Video: Power to the Imagination.


5/20  Les années 1971-81 (2): partis, institutions, et… pouvoir


6/21  La Gauche et le nucléaire: l’électronucléaire et la naissance des Verts


7/22  Jacobins, Girondins, et… Européens (1): la Gauche nationaliste et… décentralisatrice


8/23  Jacobins, Girondins, et… Européens (2): la politique européenne du PS

Video: Le tournant de mars 1983.


Michael Keating (1985), ‘The rise and decline of micronationalism in mainland France’ *Political Studies*, 33, pp1-18

10/25  La Gauche et l’immigration


Assessment

Module assessment will be divided into two components (coursework and exam), each of which accounts for 50% of the total module grade.

Exam

A two-hour exam, where you will be required to write two essays, in English, in two hours. Eight questions will be provided in total.

Coursework

An extended piece of writing (2,500 word essay) to be chosen from the series of essay titles set out below. The essay must be written in French, and must be handed in to the Tracking Office by 5pm on Thursday 10 May 2001.

1. Selon Jean-Paul Sartre, en mai-juin 1968 les communistes ‘avaient peur de la révolution’. Dans quelle mesure cette formule explique-t-elle la réaction du PCF et de la CGT aux ‘événements’?

2. Pourquoi les deux partis principaux de la Gauche française se sont-ils avérés incapables de profiter des événements de mai-juin 1968 et annoncer le début d’une nouvelle ère sociale?

3. Quels facteurs ont amené le PCF et le PS à signer le Programme Commun de Gouvernement en 1972, et quels obstacles ont finalement voué cet accord à l’échec?

4. Évaluez les stratégies déployées depuis les années 70 par les partis de la gauche traditionnelle face à la montée de l’écologie politique: dans quelle mesure ces stratégies ont-elles réussi à canaliser le mouvement environnementaliste?


6. Analysez la politique du Parti Socialiste devant la renaissance de l’extrême droite pendant les années 80 et 90 en France. A votre avis, cette politique a-t-elle servi – inconsciemment ou non – à aider le développement du Front National?

7. Le PCF est-il à votre avis un parti nationaliste?

8. En déclarant en 1986 que l’écologie ‘n’était pas à marier’, Les Verts sont entrés dans une phase d’isolationnisme politique, refusant tout accord national avec tout autre parti. Selon vous, quels ont été les avantages et les inconvénients de cette stratégie?


est-il légitime de croire que la *Gauche plurielle* correspond a) aux traditions politiques de la Gauche française et b) aux contraintes institutionnelles de la Ve République?
INDICATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introductions to French politics

Mény Y (1990), Government and politics in Western Europe. Oxford: Oxford UP.

The Left: general works


**The political system and the Left**


Keeler J T S (1993), ‘Executive power and policy-making patterns in France: gauging the impact of Fifth Republic institutions’, *West European Politics*, 16/4, 518-44


**Environmental politics**


The Left, immigration, and the far right


Nuclear power

Falk J (1982), Global fission: the battle over nuclear power. Melbourne: Oxford UP.

Decentralisation, regionalism, Europe

Keating M (1985), ‘The rise and decline of micronationalism in mainland France’ Political Studies, 33, 1-18
Knapp A (1991), ‘The cumul des mandats, local power and political parties in France’, West European Politics, 14/1, 18-40

New social movements

Appleton A (1995), ‘Parties under pressure: challenges to “established” French parties’, West European Politics, 18/1, 52-77
Inglehart R (1977), ‘Political dissatisfaction and mass support for social change in advanced industrial society’, Comparative Political Studies, 10/3, 455-72
Koopmans R (1996), ‘New social movements and changes in political participation in Western Europe’, West European Politics, 19/1, 28-50
Müller-Rommel F (1985), ‘New social movements and smaller parties: a comparative perspective’, West European Politics, 8/1, 41-54
Poguntke T (1987), ‘New politics and party systems: the emergence of a new type of party?’, West European Politics, 10/1, 76-88

The Left and new social movements

Schmidt V A (1990), ‘Engineering a critical realignment of the electorate: the case of the Socialists in France’, West European Politics, 13/2, 192-215

The Pacte civile de solidarité

‘La naissance du pacte civil de solidarité’, Regards sur l’Actualité, 254, sept-oct 1999, pp.64-77
Fassin E (1999), ‘PaCS socialista: la gauche et le ‘juste milieu’’, French Politics, Culture and Society, 17/2, pp.3-13


Essential Reading (2 titles):

   You are advised to buy this text, which contains readings for all seminars and lectures. Multiple copies are available in the University Library on Short Loan, and in the University bookshop to buy.

   You will each receive a copy of this article in the first lecture, and should read it before your first seminar.

Recommended Reading:
You can find the following titles in the Short Loan Collection of the Library. You are strongly advised to browse as many of these titles as you can when preparing for lectures, seminars, coursework and the examination. The more of these titles you can draw on in your work, the better.

The following titles were previously used as the course texts before the publication of Knapp and Wright, or have been very recently published, and are highly relevant:

The following titles are all informative and relevant and can be found in the Library's Short Loan collection. A longer list of background reading follows on p.8 of this module guide.
'A Survey of France. The Grand Illusion', The Economist, April 1999, Short Loan Pamphlets 944.083/SUR.
BELL, D., Presidential Power in Fifth Republic France (Berg, 2000) 944.083
COLE, A., Political Parties in Transition (Dartmouth, 1990) 329.944
ELGIE, R. (ed.), The Changing French Political System (Frank Cass, 2000a)
ELGIE, R., The Role of the Prime Minister in France 1981-91 (Macmillan 1993) 354.440313ELG.
GIRLING, J., France, Political and Social Change (Routledge, 1998) 320.944
HAZAREESINGH, S. Political Traditions in Modern France (OUP, 1994), 320.944
MORRIS, P., French Politics Today (Manchester University Press, 1994) 320.944/MOR.

Suggested websites (the French sites all have English-language versions):
http://www.lboro.ac.uk/departments/eu/ The Department’s site: follow Language Centre-Internet links for useful French website addresses.

http://www.diplomatie.fr The French Foreign Office (Quai d’Orsay). A very informative site for detailed information on France’s institutions; includes and English-language version

http://www.ambafrance.org.uk/ This is the site of the French Embassy in London. If you follow the 'publications' route and investigate 'statements', you will find on-line versions of recent political speeches. These cover French foreign policy in particular, but will often contain matters of more general interest.


http://www.elysee.fr/ang/index.shtml This is the English-language version website of the French Presidency (the Elysée Palace).

https://learn.lboro.ac.uk/eu/02eub301/index32192.html This is the address for the Learn Server resources for this module.
1. Understanding France Today
   
   Film: Caché (Hidden)
   

2. Preludes in the form of Race, Revolution, and Authority
   
   Furet, “The Ancien Régime and The French Revolution,” *Realms of Memory*
   Grimaldi Grigsby, “Girodet’s Revolt of Cairo,” *Extremities*

3. The Problem of France
   
   Weber, “A Famous Victory,” *The Hollow Years*
   Hoffmann, “Thoughts on the French Political Community Today,” *Daedelus*, Summer 1993

   Optional Reading:
   Hoffmann, *In Search of France*, “Paradoxes of the French Political Community” (This is an extended version of the 1961 article)

4. Republican Nation-Building
   
   Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*
   Between Vice and Crime
   The Dreyfus Affair

5. Elites, Development, and the Nation-State
Loriaux, “The French Developmental State as Myth and Moral Ambition,” in Meredith Woo Cumings, The Developmental State
Kudlick, “The Culture of Statistics and the Crisis of Cholera in Paris, 1830-1850,” Recreating Authority in Revolutionary France
Rudolph, “Domestic Politics: The Cité Experimentale at Noisy le Sec in Greater Paris,” Modern & Contemporary France, 2004

6. French Civilization and Algeria

Gosslin, “A Colonial Scale of Frenchness,” The Politics of Frenchness in Colonial Algeria

7. Colonialism, Civilization, and Africa

Conklin, “Colonialism and Human Rights, a Contradiction in Terms? The Case of France in West Africa,” American Historical Review, April 1998

8. Midterm Due (take home)

Field Trip: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
“Girodet, The Romantic Rebel”

9. (Fifth) Republicans

Johnson, “De Gaulle and the Founding of the Fifth Republic,” History Today, June 1983
Frank Wilson, “Gaullism without de Gaulle,” The Western Political Quarterly, September 1973
Ross, “Establishing Consensus: May 68 in France as seen from the 1980s,” Critical Inquiry, Spring 2002
Tiersky, “Legacies,” François Mitterrand: the Last French President


Nationalism
Davies, “The ‘Nation’ in FN Ideology: ‘France for the French,’” *The National Front in France*

*Race and Immigration*

*Gender*
Wallace, “Citizens but not Individuals: The Vote and After,” *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man*
Chiennes de garde of the World, Unite! *Beyond French Feminisms*

*Sexuality*
Bosia, “National Anxieties, Sexuality, and AIDS in France”

Suggested Reading:


*Under a Veil*
Ezekiel, “Magritte meets Maghreb: This is not a Veil,” *Australian Feminist Studies*, July 2005
Gaspard and Khosrokhavar, “The Headscarf and the Republic,” *Beyond French Feminisms*

*In the Salle des Mariages*
E. Fassin, The Politics of PaCS in a Transatlantic Mirror: Same Sex Unions and Sexual Difference in France Today,” *Beyond French Feminisms*

*In the Halls of Power*
Daniel Sabbagh, “Affirmative Action at Sciences Po,” *Race in France*

*On the Streets*
http://riotsfrance.ssrc.org/
Wieviorka, “Violence in France.”
Roy, “The Nature of the French Riots”

12. France as a “Great Power”
Bryant, “French Foreign and Defense Policy: Exception in Methods and Rhetoric?” *The French Exception*
Robie, *Eyes of Fire: The Last Voyage of the Rainbow Warrior*, Chapters 7&8

13. Thanksgiving

14. France and Globalization(s)

Meunier, “Anti-Americanism in France,” *French Culture, Politics, & Society*, Summer 2005
Gopnik, “The Balzar War,” *Paris to the Moon*

15. France Alternatives (90)

*Contemporary French & Francophone Studies* Winter 2004:
   Oscherwitz, “Pop Goes the Banlieue: Musical Métissage and the Articulation of a Multiculturalist Vision”
   Marx-Scouras, “Rock the Hexagon”

*Interviews*
“José Bové: A Farmers’ International?” *New Left Review* 2001