

PROGRAM AND MATERIALS FOR APSA SHORT COURSE

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

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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 hardcopy 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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Sponsored by the French Politics Group, APSA
Wednesday August 31st, 9:30 -12: 30 pm
Marriott Wardman Park Hotel, Truman
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

Andrew Appleton, Washington State University
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Michael Bosia, St. Michael's College
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TEACHING MATERIALS PRESENTED AT THE
SHORTCOURSE

Readings in French Politics
By Michael Bosi, St. Michaels College

Citizenship and Diversity

Balibar, Étienne. *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc Wacquant. "On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason." *Theory, Culture & Society* 16:1, 41-58. *A bitter critique of American perspectives on the politics of race and identity.*

Schnapper, Dominique. *La Communauté des citoyens: sur l'idée moderne de nation*. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1994. English edition now available.

Touraine, Alain. *Can We Live Together? Equality and Difference*. Stanford : Stanford University Press, 2000.

Race and Immigration

Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1979. "The Jews and Society" offers a vibrant analysis of French fin-de-siècle society, anti-Semitism, and homosexuality.

Birnbaum, Pierre. *Anti-Semitism in France*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992.

Birnbaum, Pierre. *Jewish Destinies: Citizenship, State, and Community in Modern France*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.

Feldblum, Miriam. *Reconstructing Citizenship: The Politics of Nationality and Immigration in Contemporary France*. New York, SUNY Albany Press, 1999.

Gaspard, Françoise. *A Small Village in France*. Harvard University Press, 1995. *From an academic who served as the town's mayor, offers a unique and readable analysis of the rise of the extreme right wing National Front and of anti-immigrant politics.*

Hargreaves, Alec G. *Immigration, "Race," and Ethnicity in Contemporary France*. London, Routledge, 1995.

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."*

Noiriel, Gérard. *The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Schnapper, Dominique. *Jewish Identities in France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Memory, Truth, and Reconciliation

Golson, Richard J. *The Papon Affair: Memory and Justice on Trial*. New York: Routledge, 2000. *Provides historical and political perspectives on the trial of a former cabinet minister who was first accused in 1981 of complicity in the deportation of Jews under Vichy.*

Rouso, Henry. *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991. *An analysis of the complex politics of the French experience with the Vichy and collaborationist past. A compelling work to include in courses on Transitional Justice, Truth and Reconciliation.*

Sexuality and AIDS

Bosia, Michael. "Assassin! Neoliberalism, Social Policy, and AIDS in France," *New Political Science*, September 2005.

Caron, David. *AIDS in French Culture: Social Ills, Literary Causes*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001. *Cultural perspectives on AIDS and sexuality.*

Fassin, Eric. "The Politics of PaCS in the Transatlantic Mirror." *Beyond French Feminisms: Debates on Women, Politics, and Culture in France, 1981-2001*. Roger Célestin, Eliane DalMolin, and Isabelle de Courtviron, eds. New York: Pelgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Merrick, Jeffrey, and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr. *Homosexuality in Modern France*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

France in Comparative Perspective

Bosia, Michael. "In Our Beds and Our Graves: The Politics of Pleasure and Pain in the Era of AIDS." *Engaged Observer*, Victoria Sanford and Asale Angel-Ajani., eds. Rutgers University Press, forthcoming. *Scholars, primarily anthropologists working in developing countries, consider their responsibilities in addressing political violence and marginalization. This essay considers the rising rates of HIV infection among gay men throughout the industrialized world.*

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

Duyvendak, Jan Willem. "Identity Politics in France and the Netherlands: The Case of Gay and Lesbian Liberation." *Sexual Identities: Queer Politics*. Mark Blasius, ed. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001.

Fassin, Eric. "Same Sex, Different Politics: 'Gay Marriage' Debates in France and the United States." *Public Culture* 13:2 (2001), 215-232.

Fillieule, Olivier, and Jan Willem Duyvendak. "Gay and Lesbian Activism in France: Between Integration and Community-Oriented Movements." *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics: National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement*. Barry D. Adam, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and André Krouwel, eds. Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1999.

Favell, Adrian, *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

Kastoryano, Riva. *Negotiating Identities: States and Immigrants in France and Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Loriaux, Michael. "The Developmental State as Myth and Moral Ambition." *The Developmental State*. Meredith Woo-Cumings ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999. *Places the French political economy in comparison with primarily Third World developmental politics.*

Loriaux, Michael. "France, A New Capitalism of Voice?" *States in the Global Economy*. Linda Weiss, ed. Cambridge University Press, 2003. *Examines French corporate structure and management philosophies since the advent of privatization and in comparison with American norms. The volume offers chapters on economic reform and globalization among industrialized and industrializing countries.*

Snyder, Jack. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2000. *Juxtaposes British Civic, Serbian Ethnic, and French Revolutionary citizenship to better understand the rise of ethnic violence in emerging democracies.*

Steffan, Monica. "The Nation's Blood: Medicine, Justice, and the State in France." *Blood Feuds: AIDS, Blood, and the Politics of Medical Disaster*. Eric A. Feldman and Ronald Bayer, eds. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. *This volume examines the causes of and repercussions for the distribution of HIV through blood transfusions and blood products.*

Classic Readings on French Politics

Darnton, Robert. *The Great Cat Massacre. An accessible series of essays unwrapping interesting aspects of primarily pre-Revolutionary French social life. Best known for the Massacre itself, a socio-cultural account of working life in the increasingly capitalist 18th Century print industry.*

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.*

Remond, René. *The Right Wing in France from 1815 to de Gaulle*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969.

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.*

Suleiman, Ezra. *Elites in French Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978. *The classic work on French governance and the values of the political class.*

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

Kuisel, Richard. *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Levy, Jonah. *Tocqueville's Revenge: State, Society and Economy in Contemporary France*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Loriaux, Michael. *France After Hegemony: International Change and Financial Reform*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

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 none the less 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.

Comparative Politics of Europe

MW 2:30-4:10 STE 207
Instructor: Mike Bosia
mjbosia@cs.com
Office Hours: MW 1-2:15

Content and Objectives:

- This course offers of survey a 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 regarded plagiarism will be followed.

Required Reading:

1. Politics in Europe, Third Edition, Hancock, Contradt, Peters, Safran, and Zariski.
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

Week 10 (3/21-3/23): National Communities in Question: Who is "In," Who is "out," and Who Decides

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?

3/21 Orientalism, Edward Saïd *DS12 .S24 1978*
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
3/23 The New Politics of the Right, Hans-Georg Betz, Stefan Immerfall, eds.
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*

3/28, Ch. 3-7, 53 pgs

Rethinking Europe's Future

3/30, Ch. 5, 9, 42 pgs

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

“France: A New “Capitalism of Voice?” Michael Loriaux, in Linda Weiss, ed., States in the Global Economy, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

“The Internal and External Face of New Labour's Political Economy,” Colin Hay and David Coates *Government and Opposition*, 36 (4), 447-71, 2001

“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?

“Willing Executors of Hitler's Will? The Goldhagen Controversy, Political Analysis and the Holocaust,” Colin Hay, *Politics*, 20 (3), 2000

“East Germany: Incorporation, Tainted Truth, and the Double.” Jan-Werner Müller, in The Politics of Memory and Democratization, Alesandra Bahorona de Brito

“Toward a Nuremberg du Sida,” Michael Bosia

“Justice as Spettacolo: The Magistrature in 1997,” Mary Volkansek, in Italian Politics: Mapping the Future, Luciano Bardi and Martin Rhodes, eds., 16 pgs.

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

Senior Seminar
Film and Politics
W 3-5 pm
Prof. Mike Bosia
SED 349

Saint Michael's College
Fall 2005

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, "Tercermundismo 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

Abrial, S., B. Cautrès and J. Evans (2002) 'Stabilité et recomposition du système de partis français' in *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, 1015: 228-243.

Andersen, R. and J. Evans (2003a) 'Values, cleavages and party choice in France, 1988-1995', *French Politics*, 1(1): 83-114.

Andersen, R. and J. Evans (2003b) 'Framing change in political bloc development: a rejoinder to Grunberg and Schweisguth', *French Politics*, 1:3, pp. 349-354.

Andersen, R. and J. Evans (2006, forthcoming) 'The stability of French ideological space, 1988-2002', *French Politics*.

Bartolini, S. (1984) 'Institutional constraints and party competition in the French party system', *West European Politics*, 7(4): 103-127.

Boy, D. and N. Mayer (eds.) (1993) *The French Voter Decides*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Caillot, P. and B. Denni (2004) 'Les attitudes politiques existent-elles?', in B. Cautrès and N. Mayer (eds.) *Le nouveau désordre électoral. Les leçons du 21 avril 2002*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, pp. 23-45.

Cameron, D. (1971) 'Stability and change in patterns of French partisanship' in *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36(1): 19-30.

Capdevielle, J. et al (eds.) (1981) *France de gauche, vote à droite?*, Paris, Presses de la FNSP.

Cautrès, B. and A. Heath (1996) 'Le déclin du 'vote de classe': une analyse comparative en France et en Grande-Bretagne', *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée* 3(3): 541-568.

Converse, P. and G. Dupeux (1962) 'Politicisation of the electorate in France and the United States', *Public Opinion Quarterly* 26(1): 1-23.

Converse, P. and R. Pierce (1986) *Political Representation in France*, Cambridge (MA), Belknap Press

Converse, P. and R. Pierce (1993) 'Comment on Fleury and Lewis-Beck: 'Anchoring the French voter; ideology versus party'' in *Journal of Politics* 55(4): 1110-1117.

Deutsch, E., D. Lindon and P. Weill (1966) *Les Familles politiques aujourd'hui en France*, Paris, les Editions de Minuit.

Dogan, M. (2001) 'Class, religion, party: triple decline of electoral cleavage in Western Europe' in L. Karvonen and S. Kuhnle (eds.) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*, London, Routledge, pp. 93-114.

Dolez, B. and A. Laurent (2002) (eds.) *Le Vote des villes. Les élections municipales des 11 et 18 mars 2001*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Evans, J. (2000a) 'Le vote gauchois-lépeniste. Le masque extrême d'une dynamique normale', *Revue Française de Science Politique* 50(1): 21-51.

Evans, J. (2000b) 'Contrasting attitudinal bases to Euroscepticism amongst the French electorate', *Electoral Studies* 19(4): 539-561.

Evans, J. (ed.) (2003) *The French Party System*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

EVANS, J. AND N. MAYER (2005, FORTHCOMING) 'ELECTORATES, NEW CLEAVAGES, SOCIAL STRUCTURES', IN A. COLE, P. LE GALÈS AND J. LEVY (EDS.) *DEVELOPMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY FRENCH POLITICS*, BASINGSTOKE, PALGRAVE.

Fleury, C. and M. Lewis-Beck (1993a) 'Anchoring the French voter: ideology versus party', *Journal of Politics* 55(4): 1100-1109.

Fleury, C. and M. Lewis-Beck (1993b) 'Déjà vu all over again: a comment on the comment of Converse and Pierce' in *Journal of Politics* 55(4): 1118-1126.

Grunberg, G. and E. Schweisguth (1993) 'Social libertarianism and economic liberalism', in D. Boy and N. Mayer (eds.) *The French Voter Decides*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, pp. 45-69.

Grunberg, G. and E. Schweisguth (1997) 'Vers une tripartition de l'espace politique' in D. Boy and N. Mayer (eds.) *L'électeur a ses raisons*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, pp. 179-218.

Grunberg, G. and E. Schweisguth (2003a) 'Reply to Andersen and Evans', *French Politics*, 1:1, pp. 115-117.

Grunberg, G. and E. Schweisguth (2003b) 'French political space. Two, three or four blocs?', *French Politics*, 1:3, pp. 331-347.

Grunberg, G. and E. Schweisguth (2003c) 'La tripartition de l'espace politique', in P. Perrineau and C. Ysmal (eds.) *Le vote de tous les refus. Les élections présidentielle et législatives de 2002*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, pp. 341-362.

Habert, P., P. Perrineau and C. Ysmal (eds.) (1993) *Le Vote sanction: les élections législatives des 21 et 28 mars 1993*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Lewis-Beck, M. (1997) 'Who's the chef? Economic voting under a dual executive', in *European Journal of Political Research*, 31(3): 315-25.

Lewis-Beck, M. and K. Chlarson (2002) 'Party, ideology, institutions and the 1995 French Presidential elections' in *British Journal of Political Science* 32(3): 489-512.

Lewis-Beck, M. (ed.) (2000) *How France Votes*, London, Chatham House.

Lewis-Beck, M. (ed.) (2004) *The French Voter: Before and After 2002*, Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave, pp. 47-73.

Mayer, N. and D. Boy (1997) 'Les variables lourdes en sociologie électorale. Etat des controverses', *Débats et Controverses*, 5: 109-124.

Michelat, G. and M. Simon (1977) *Classe, religion et comportement politique*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Percheron, A. (1977) 'Ideological proximity among French children: problems of definition and measurement', *European Journal of Political Research* 5(1): 53-81.

Perrineau, P. and C. Ysmal (1995) (eds.) *Le Vote de crise : l'élection présidentielle de 1995*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Perrineau, P. and C. Ysmal (eds) (1998) *Le Vote surprise: les élections législatives des 25 mai et 1 juin 1997*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Perrineau, P. and D. Reynié (1999) (eds.) *Le Vote incertain: les élections régionales et cantonales de 1998*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Perrineau, P. and C. Ysmal (2002) (eds.) *Le vote de tous les refus: les élections présidentielles et législatives de 2002*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po,

Pierce, R. (1998). *Choosing the Chief: Presidential Elections in France and the United States*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Schweisguth, E. (2000) 'The myth of neo-conservatism' in M. Lewis-Beck (ed.) *How France Votes*, London, Chatham House, pp. 176-188.

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

- Allwood, Gill. 2005. "Gender and Politics." *French Politics*. 3(1) April, 73-87.
- Allwood, Gill and Kursheed Wadia. 2004. *Women and Politics in France*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Christine, Bard, Christian Baudelot, and Janine Mossuz-Lavau, eds. 2004. *Quand les femmes s'en mêlent*. Éditions de la Martinière.
- Jenson, Jane and Mariette Sineau. 1995. *Mitterrand et les françaises: un rendez-vous manqué*. Paris: Presses de la FNSP.
- Jenson, Jane and Sineau, M. 1994. 'The Same or Different? An Unending Dilemma for French Women', in B. Nelson and N. Chowdhury (eds), *Women and Politics Worldwide*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Women in Politics and Parity

- Bereni, Laure et Eléonore Lépinard. 2004. "Les stratégies de légitimation de la parité en France." *Revue Française de Science Politique*. 54(1) février, 71-98.
- Bereni, Laure et Eléonore Lépinard.. 2003. "La parité, Contresens de l'égalité ? Cadrage discursif et pratique d'une réforme. *Nouvelles Questions Féministes*. 22(3) novembre.
- Baudino, Claudie. 2003. "Parity Reform in France: Promises and Pitfalls. *Review of Policy Research*. 20 (3) Fall, 365-384.
- Bird, Karen. 2003."Who are the Women? Where are the Women? And What Difference Can They Make? Effects of Gender Parity in French Municipal Elections." *French Politics*. 1(1) March, 5-38.
- Murray, Rainbow. 2004. "Why Didn't Parity Work? A Closer Examination of the 2002 Election Results." *French Politics*. 2(3) December 347-362.
- Pinochon, Sylvie and Grégory Derville. 2003. *Les femmes en politiques*. Grenoble: Presses Universitaire de Grenoble.
- Sineau, Mariette. 2001. *Profession: femme politique*. Paris: Presses de Science Po.

Movements and Associations

- Bereni, Laure. 2003. "Le mouvement français pour la parité en Europe." In *Sociologie politique des usages de l'intégration européenne*, Jacquot et Woll, ed. Paris:L'Harmattan.
- CIDF. 2003. *De nouveaux défis pour le féminisme: Forum du Collectif pour les Droits des Femmes, 9-10 mar 2002*. Pantin: Le Temps des Cerises.
- Jenson, Jane. 1996. "Representation of Difference: The Varieties of French Feminism." In *Mapping the Women's Movement*. ed. Threlfall. London: Verso. 73-114.
- Picq Française, 1993, *Libération des femmes: les années- mouvement*. Paris, Seuil.

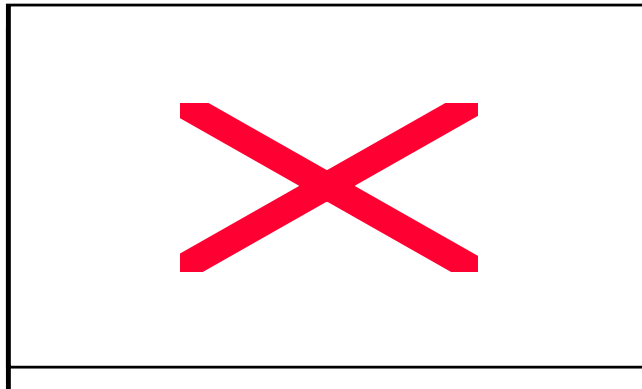
Public Policy and State Feminism

- Baudino, Claudie. "Gendering the Republican System: Debates on Women's Political Representation in France." In Lovenduski (ed). *Feminism and the Political Representation of Women*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ferrand, Michèle. 2004. "L'État, les lois du sexe et le genre", In *Quand les femmes s'en mêlent*, Bard, Baudelot, and Mossuz-Lavau. eds. Éditions de la Martinière, 300-323.
- Heinen, Jacqueline. 2004. "Genre et politiques familiales", In *Quand les femmes s'en mêlent*, Bard, Baudelot, and Mossuz-Lavau. eds. Éditions de la Martinière, 283-299.
- Jenson, Jane and Mariette Sineau. 2001. "France: Reconciling Republican Equality with 'Freedom of Choice'" In *Who Cares? Women's Work, Childcare, and Welfare State Redesign.*, Jenson and Sineau, eds. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 88-117
- Laufer Jacqueline, 2003, "Equal Employment Policy in France: Symbolic Support and a Mixed Record." *Review of Policy Research.* 20 (3) Fall, 423-442.
- Mazur, Amy G. . 1995. "Strong State and Symbolic Reform in France: le Ministère des Droits de la Femme." In *Comparative State Feminism*, Stetson and Mazur, eds. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. 76-94.
- Mazur, Amy G. 1995. *Gender Bias and the State: Symbolic Reform at Work in Fifth Republic France*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Mazur, Amy G. "35 Hour Work-week Reforms in France, 1997-2000: Strong Feminist Demands, Elite Apathy, and Disappointing Outcomes" In *Hot Issues, State Feminism, and Reconfigured States*. Sauer and Haussman, ed. Rowman Littlefield. Forthcoming
- Mazur, Amy G. 2004. "Prostitute Movements Face Elite Apathy and Gender-Biased Universalism in France." In *The Politics of Prostitution. Women's Movements and The State*. Outshoorn, ed. Cambridge University Press. 123-143.
- Mazur, Amy G. 2001. "Republican Universalism Resists State Feminist Approaches to Gendered Equality in France." In *State Feminism, Women's Movements, and Job Training: Making Democracies Work in the Global Economy*. Mazur, ed. New York: Routledge. (155-182).
- Méda, Dominique. 1999. *Que-ce que la richesse?*. Paris Flammarion.
- Morgan, Kimberly. 2002. "Does Anyone Have A Libre Choix: Subversive Liberalism and the Politics of French Child Care Policy." In Michel and Mahon (Eds.), *Child Care Policy at the Crossroads: Gender and Welfare State Restructuring*. London: Routledge, pp. 140-173.
- Reuter, Silke and Amy G. Mazur. 2003., "Paradoxes of Gender-biased Universalism in The Dynamics of French Equality Discourse" In *Europeanisation and Gender Equality. Reframing Public Policy in EU Member States*, Liebert, ed. Bruxelles: Peter Lang, pp. 47-82.
- Robinson, Jean C. "Gendering the Abortion Debate: The French Case." In Dorothy McBride Stetson ed. *Abortion Politics, Women's Movements, and the Democratic State.*, 87-110. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Saguy, Abigail C. 2003. *What is sexual harassment? From Capitol Hill to the Sorbonne*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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
- Services des droits des femmes (SDF). 2004. Chiffre Clés: L’égalité entre les femmes et les hommes. Downloaded from <http://www.social.gouv.fr/femmes/>.
- INSEE, *Femmes en chiffres*. Regular series on stats published since 1986. Most recent version: INSEE, 2004, *Femmes et hommes: Regards sur la parité*. Paris: INSEE.
- 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

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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. Through 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 ??th 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

Bézès, P. (2000) 'Les hauts fonctionnaires croient-ils à leurs mythes?', Revue Française de Science Politique, vol. 50, no. 2.

Bezès, P. (2003) 'Defensive and Offensive Approaches to administrative reforms in France (1999-1997) ; The leadership strategy of French prime ministers', Governance, vol 14, n.1 pp 99-132

Birnbaum, P. (1985) 'La fin de l'Etat?' Revue Française de Science Politique, 35, 6: 981-999.

Birnbaum, P. (2003) La France imaginée: déclin des rêves unitaires?, Gallimard, Paris.

Chevallier, J. (2003) Le Service Public, Paris: PUF.

Clark, D. (1998) 'The Modernisation of the French Civil Service: Crisis, Change and Continuity', Public Administration, Vol 76, No 1, 97-115.

Clark, D. (2000) 'Citizens, Charters and Public Service Reform in France and Britain', Government and Opposition, Vol 35, No 2, 152-169.

Clark, D. (2000) 'Public Service Reform: A Comparative West European Perspective', West European Politics, 23: 3, 25-44.

Cole, A. and Jones, G. (2005) 'Reshaping the State' Governance, October 2005.

Cole, A (2000) 'The Service Public Under Stress' in Elgie, R.(ed) The Changing French Political System, London: Frank Cass Publishers, 166-184.

Cole, A. (1997) 'Governing the Academies: Sub-Central Secondary Education Policy Making in France', West European Politics, Vol 20, No 2, 137-156.

Crozier, M. (1991) État modeste, État moderne, Paris: Éditions Fayard.

De Montricher, N. (1991) 'The career public service in France: problems and prospects' International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol 57, No 3, 373-384.

De Montricher, N. (1995) 'Decentralisation in France', Governance, Vol 8, No 3, 405-418.

Guyomarch, A. (1999) 'Public Service, Public Management and the Modernisation of the French Public Administration', Public Administration, Vol 77, No 1, 171-193.

Knapp, A., Wright, V. (2001) The Government and Politics of France (4th Ed), London and New York: Routledge.

Le Gales, P. (2005) chapter in Cole, Levy and Le Gales, Developments in French Politics 3. Basingstoke, Palgrave

Muller, P. (ed) (1992) L'administration française est-elle en crise, Paris: l'Harmattan, 187-194.

Ridley, F. F. (1966) 'French Technocracy and Comparative Government' Political Studies, Vol 14, No 1, 34-52.

Ridley, F.F. (1996) 'The New Public Management in Europe: Comparative Perspectives', Public Policy and Administration, Vol 11, No 1, 16-29.

Worms, J.P (2002), 'France, old and new civic and social ties', in R.Putnam (ed) Democracies in Flux, New York, Oxford University Press.

ii). On decentralisation

Baguenard, J. (2004) La Décentralisation.

Cole, A, (2006) Devolution and Decentralisation in Wales and Brittany, Manchester University Press: Manchester.

Cole, A. (1998) French Politics and Society

Cole, A. (2004) 'Decentralisation in France: Back to Grass Roots or Steering at a Distance' (Blackboard)

Cole, A, and John, P. (2001) Local Governance in England and France

Crozier. M. and Thoenig J.-C. (1975), J-C 'La régulation des systèmes organisés complexes', Revue Française de Sociologie, 16: 1, 3-32.

Dargent, C. (2001) 'Identités régionales et aspirations politiques: l'exemple de la France aujourd'hui', Revue Française de Science Politique, 51,5: 787-806.

Duran, P. and Thoenig J.-C. (1996), 'L'Etat et la gestion publique territoriale', Revue Française de Science Politique, 45, 4, 580-622.

Howarth, D. (2001) (ed.) 'Comparing Public Administrative Reform in France and the UK', special issue of Public Policy and Administration, 16, 4.

Galès, P. (1995b), 'Du gouvernement local à la gouvernance urbaine', Revue Française de Science Politique, 45, 1; 57-95.

Loughlin, J. (2001) Subnational Democracy in the European Union: Challenges and Opportunities Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Regards sur l'Actualité 'Décentralisation' (no. 286, December 2002).

Rhodes, R.A.W. (1997) Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability, Buckingham: Open University Press.

iii). On France and European Integration (see also readings under this topic on EU 4402 French Government and Politics)

Cole, A. 'National and Partisan contexts of Europeanisation', Journal of Common Market Studies, January 2000

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Howarth, D. 'The European Policy of the Jospin Government' , Modern and Contemporary France, August 2002 *

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Moravcsik, A. (1991) 'Negotiating the Single European Act: national interests and conventional statecraft in the European Community', International Organization vol. 45, no. 1

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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

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Cole, A. (2005) French Politics and Society (chap.12)

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- Schmidt, V. From State to Market, 1996. *
- Schmidt, V. (2001) 'The Politics of Economic Adjustment in France and Britain: when does discourse matter?', Journal of European Public Policy, April. *
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- Zysman, J. (1977) Political Strategies for Industrial Order. State, Market and Industry in France

ii). Education and educational governance

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- Ambler, J. (2001) 'French education'. In Guyomarch, Developments in French Politics 3.
- Archer, M.S. (1979) Social Origins of Educational Systems, London: Sage.
- Broadfoot, P., Osborn, M., Gilly, M. and Paillet, A. (1985) 'Changing patterns of educational accountability in England and France', Comparative Education, 21:3, 273-286.
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- Palier, B. (2000) 'Defrosting the French Welfare State'. In M. Ferrara and M. Rhodes, Recasting European Welfare States. * (Also published as Palier, B. (2000) 'Defrosting the French welfare state' West European Politics, vol. 23, no. 2.)
- Taylor Gooby, (1999) Policy change at a time of retrenchment: recent pension reform in France, Germany, Italy and the UK'. Social Policy and Administration, 33/1: 1-18.

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

Balme, R., Chabanet, D., and Wright, V. (2003) *L'Action collective en Europe Paris: Presses de Sciences Po*

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Crozier, M. and E. Friedberg (1977) *L'Acteur et le système*, Paris: Seuil.

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Jobert, B. (ed) *Le tournant néo-libéral*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 1994.

Jobert, B. 'Représentations sociales, controverses et débats dans la conduite des politiques publiques', *Revue française de science politique*, 42:2, 1992.

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John, P. (1998) *Analysing Public Policy* London: Pinter

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- Muller, P. (2003) Politiques Publiques PUF, Paris.
- Pierre, J. (ed.) (2000), Debating Governance Oxford: OUP
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- Rhodes, R.A.W. (1997) Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability, Buckingham: Open University Press.
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- Revue Française de Science Politique Les Approches cognitives des politiques publiques Special issue 50 :2, April 2000
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- Smith, A. (2001) 'Studying Administrative Reform in Britain and the UK'. Public Policy and Administration, vol. 16, no. 4.
- Surel, Y. (2000) The role of cognitive and normative frames in policy-making', Journal of European Public Policy, 7:4, October 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
- A. Cole, P. Le Gales and J. Levy, *Developments in French Politics 3*, Palgrave: Basingstoke.2005.
- R. Elgie (2003) *Political Institutions in France*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- A. Knapp and V. Wright, *The Government and Politics of France*, 2001
- P. Hall, J. Hayward and H. Machin (eds). *Developments in French Politics*, 2nd ed. 2001.
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- N. Hewlett *Modern French Politics*, 1998
- A. Stevens, *The Government and Politics of France*, 2003 ed.
- A. Daley (ed.) *The Mitterrand era*, 1996
- M. Gueldry, *France and European Integration*, 2001.
- R. Elgie *The Changing French Political System*, 2000 (special issue of *West European Politics*, October 1999).
- C. Flockton, and E. Kofman, *France* 1989
- G. Flynn, *Remaking the Hexagon*, 1995.
- W. Safran, *The French Polity*, 1997.

Additional Reading

- Ambler, J. (1985) 'Neo-Corporatism and the Politics of French Education', West European Politics, 8, 3: 23-42.
- Ashford, D. (1982) British Dogmatism and French Pragmatism: central-local policy making in the welfare state London: Allen and Unwin.
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- Cole, A. , and John, P. (2001) Local Governance in England and France, London: Routledge.
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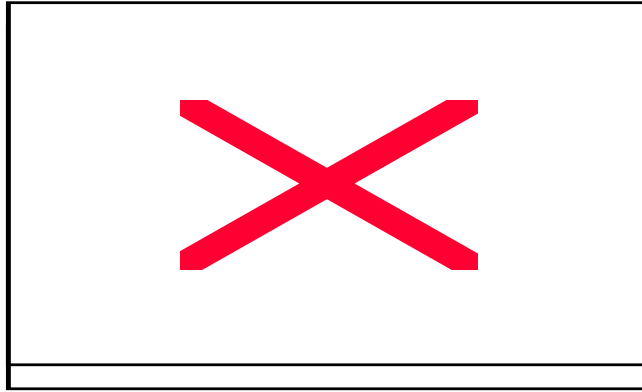
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- Hassenteufel, P. (1995) 'Les groupes d'intérêt dans l'action publique: l'Etat en interaction', Pouvoirs, 74.
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- Wright, V. (1978) *The Government and Politics of France* London: Unwin Hyman.
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- Wright, V. (1994) 'Reshaping the state: The Implications for Public Administration', *West European Politics*, 18, 2: 102-133.
- Wright, V. (1996) 'The national co-ordination of European policy-making: negotiating the quagmire'. In J. Richardson (1996) (ed.) *European Union: Power and Policy-Making* London, Routledge.
- Wright, V. (2000) 'The Fifth Republic: From the *Droit de l'État* to the *État de droit* '. In Elgie, *The changing French Political System*, pp. 92-119.

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CARDIFF School of European Studies

FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

SESSION 2005-2006

EU 4402

Double Module

20 Credits

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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

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

Political Leadership, Checks and Balances

Lecture 5 (20/10/2005)	Political Leadership: the French President
Lecture 6 (20/10/2005)	Political Leadership: the Prime Minister and Government
Lecture 7 (27/10/2005)	Checks and Balances: Parliament, the judiciary and the administration
Lecture 8 (27/10/2005)	Checks and Balances: Public Opinion and Elections

The French Party System

Lecture 9 (03/11/2005)	French Political parties in the Fifth Republic
Lecture 10 (03/11/2005)	Party life and party families: the Left and the Greens

Lecture 11 (10/11/2005)	Party life and party families: the Right and the National Front
Lecture 12 (10/11/2005)	The Crisis of Party Politics?

Society, Citizenship and Identity

Lecture 13 (17/11/2004)	New Social Movements and Pressure Politics
Lecture 14 (17/11/2004)	Republicanism, Citizenship and Identity

France, Europe and the World

Lecture 15 (24/11/2005)	France and the European Union
Lecture 16 (24/11/2005)	The Europeanisation of French Politics?
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).

A. Cole, French Politics and Society, 2005 edition.

D. Howarth and G. Varouxhakis Contemporary France, 2002.

J. Gaffney and E. Kolinsky, Political Culture in France and Germany 1991

J. F. McMillan, 'France'. In R. Eatwell (ed.) European Political Cultures 1996

W. Safran (1999) The French Polity, Longman, Harlow.

A. Guyomarch, Hayward, J., Hall, P. and Machin, H. (2001) Developments in French Politics 2, Palgrave, Basingstoke (chapter by Hayward).

R. Elgie and S. Griggs, Debates in French Politics, 2000

Additional Reading

Berstein, S. (1999) (ed.) Les Cultures politiques en France Seuil, Paris.

Bréchon, P., Laurent, A. and Perrineau, P. (eds) (2000), Les Cultures Politiques des Français, Presses de Sciences Po, Paris.

Crozier, M. (1970) La Société bloquée, Seuil, Paris.

Donegani, J-M. (1982) 'The political cultures of French catholicism', West European Politics.

Hayward, J. (1994), 'Ideological Change: the Exhaustion of the Revolutionary Impulse', in P. Hall et al, Developments in French Politics, revised edition, Macmillan, London.

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

Hazareesingh, S. (2002) (ed.) The Jacobin Legacy in Modern France: essays in honour of Vincent Wright Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Hewlitt, N. (1998) Modern French Politics, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Hoffmann, S. (1994) 'Les Français sont-ils gouvernables?', Pouvoirs, no. 68.

Kriegel, B. (1992) 'L' idée républicaine' Revue Politique et parlementaire, vol. 94, no. 962.

Le Bras, H. (1995) Les Trois France Odile Jacob, Paris.

Wieviorka, M. (ed.) (1997) Une société fragmentée? Le multiculturalisme en débat La Découverte, Paris.

Zeldin, T. (1983) The French, Collins, London.

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

A. Stevens, The Government and Politics of France, 1992, 1996, 2003

A. Knapp and V. Wright, The Government and Politics of France, 2001

A. Cole, French Politics and Society, 2005.

Additional Reading

Dreyfus, F. (1994) 'The Control of Governments' in Hall, P. , Hayward, J. and Machin, H. (eds) Developments in French Politics 1, Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Elgie, R. (1993) The French Prime Minister Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Elgie, R. (1999) (ed.) Semi-Presidentialism in Europe, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Elgie, R. (2000) (ed.) The Changing French Political System, Frank Cass, London.

Frears, J. (1991) 'The French parliament: Loyal Workhorse, Poor Watchdog', West European Politics, vol. 14, no. 1.

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

Hayward, J. and Wright, V. (2002) Governing from the Centre: core executive coordination in France Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Knapp, A. and Wright, V. (2001) The Government and Politics of France, Routledge, London (especially good on the Council of State and administrative controls).

Pouvoirs (2003) Le Conseil Constitutionnel, Seuil, Paris.

Stevens, A. (1992, 1996, 2003) The Government and Politics of France, Palgrave, London.

Stone, A. (1992) The Birth of Judicial Politics in France: the Constitutional Council in Comparative Perspective Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Stone, A., 'Where Judicial politics are legislative politics: the French Constitutional Council, West European Politics, 15, 3, 1992 (July).

Sweet-Stone, A. (2000) Governing with Judges. Constitutional Politics in Europe, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Wright, V. (1989) The Government and Politics of France London: Unwin Hyman.

Wright, V. (2000) 'The Judicialisation of French Politics'. In Elgie, the Changing French Political System, 2000 (also West European Politics, October 1999).

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

A. Cole, P. Le Galès and J. Levy (eds), Development in French Politics 3, 2005. Especially Chapter 2 (Haegel).
A.F. KNAPP , Parties and the Party System in France. A Disconnected Democracy, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004 (v. good book)

J. Evans The French Party System, 2003 (v. good book)

D. Hanley (2002) Party, Society, Government. Republican Democracy in France Berghahn, London.

D.S.Bell (2000) Parties and Democracy in France. Parties under Presidentialism, Ashgate: Aldershot.

A. Cole, French Politics and Society, 2005 edition.

Additional Reading

Bell, D.S. and B. Criddle, The French Communist Party, Oxford, Clarendon, 1994.

Bell, D. S. 'The French Communist Party'. In Evans The French Party System.

Clift, B. (2003) 'PS intra-party politics and party system change'. In Evans, The French Party System, 42-55

Clift, B. (2003) The French Socialist Party, 2003.

Cole, A. (1990) (ed.), French Political Parties in Transition Dartmouth, Aldershot (especially chapters on party system, Socialists, Gaullists and Greens)

Cole, A. (1993) 'The Presidential Party and the Fifth Republic', West European Politics, vol. 16, no. 2.

Fieschi, C. (2004) Fascism, Populism and the French Fifth Republic, Manchester: Manchester University Press (best recent book on the subject).

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

Gaffney, J. (2004) (ed.) French Presidentialism and the Election of 2002, Ashgate, Aldershot (chapters on all the main candidates and parties)

Hanley, D. (1999) 'France: living with instability', in D. Broughton and M. Donovan (eds) Changing Party Systems in Western Europe, Pinter, London.

Ladrech, R. (2002) 'The Jospin government and European social-democracy' Modern and Contemporary France vol. 10, no. 3.

Ladrech, R. 'Social Movements and Party Systems: The French Socialist Party and New Social Movements', West European Politics, vol.12, no. 2 April 1989.

Marcus, J. (1995) The National Front and French Politics: the resistable rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Schain, M. (1987) 'Racial Politics in France: the National Front and the Construction of Political Legitimacy', West European Politics, vol. 10, no. 2.

Villalba, B., and Vieillard-Coffre, S. (2003) 'The Greens: from Idealism to Pragmatism', in Evans, The French Party System, pp. 56-75

Wolfreys, J. (2003) 'Beyond the Mainstream; *la gauche de la gauche*', in Evans, The French Party System.

FAUCHER-KING (Florence), TREILLE (Eric) [2003], "Managing intra-party democracy: comparing the French socialist and British Labour Conferences", French Politics, 1(1), March : 61-82.

HAEGEL (Florence), « Faire l'union. La refondation des partis de droite après les élections de 2002 », Revue française de science politique, 52(5-6), octobre-décembre 2002, pp.561-576.

HAEGEL (Florence), [2004], « The transformation of the French Right : Institutional imperatives and organizational changes », French politics.

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, P. Le Galès and J. Levy (eds), Development in French Politics 3, 2005. Especially chapters by Appleton, Mazur, Duchesne and Giraudon.

R. Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

A. Cole, French Politics and Society 2005 edition (especially part four)

H. Mendras and A. Cole Social Change in Modern France, CUP, 1991.

A. Hargreaves Immigration, 'race' and ethnicity in Contemporary France Routledge, London, 1995.

S. Waters, New Social Movements in France. 2003

M. Wieviorka, Une société fragmentée? Le multiculturalisme en débat La Découverte, Paris, 1997

Additional Reading

Allwood, Gill and Kursheed Wadia (2000) Women and Politics in France. London and New York: Routledge.

Appleton, A. (2000) 'The New Social Movement Phenomenon: Placing France in Comparative Perspective'. In Elgie, The Changing French Political System, 57-75 (also West European Politics, October 1999).

Bell, L. (2001) 'Interpreting collective action: methodology and ideology in the analysis of social movements', Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 9, no. 2.

Beriss, D. (1990) 'Scarves, schools and segregation: The foulard affair', French Politics and Society vol. 8, no. 1.

Culpepper, P. (1993) 'Organisational Competition and the Neo-Corporatist Fallacy in French Agriculture', West European Politics, vol. 16, no. 3.

Duyvendak, J. W. (1995), The Power of Politics: New Social Movements in France, Boulder, CO, Westview.

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

Grossman, E., and Saurugger, S. (2004) 'Challenging French Interest Groups: The State, Europe and the International Political System' French Politics.

Ireland, P. (1996), 'Vive le jacobinisme: les étrangers and the durability of the assimilationist model in France', French Politics and Society, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 33-46.

Keeler J. (1987) The Politics of neo-corporatism in France, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

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

Silverman, M. 1992: Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism and Citizenship in Modern France, Routledge, London.

Weil, P. (2001) 'The politics of immigration'. In Guyomarch Developments in French Politics 2 Palgrave, Basingstoke.

Withol de Wenden, K. (1999) L'Immigration en Europe, Documentation française, Paris.

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

H. Drake, France and the European Union, 2005.

A. Cole, Franco-German Relations, 2001.

A. Cole, P. Le Galès and J. Levy (eds), Development in French Politics 3, 2005. Especially chapters by Smith and Keiger.

J. Keiger 'Foreign and Defence Policy: Constraints and Continuity' (forthcoming article available in short loan collection), 2004

A. Menon, France and NATO, 2000.

G. Cumming 'Exporting the Republican Model? A Critique of France's Historic Mission in Africa' (forthcoming article available in short loan collection) 2004.

P. Perrineau (ed.) Le vote européen 2004-2005, 2005. (I have a copy if anyone is interested)

Additional Reading

Banchoff, T. (1999) 'National identity and EU legitimacy in France and Germany'. In T. Banchoff and M. P. Smith (eds.) (1999) Legitimacy and the European Union. The contested polity Routledge, London.

Bulmer, S. (2005) The Europeanisation of Member-States (OUP, 2005). Chapter on France.

Cole, A., and Drake, H. (2000) 'The Europeanisation of French Polity? Continuity, Change and Adaptation', Journal of European Public Policy vol. 7, no. 1.

Cautrès, B. and Dennis, B. (2002) 'Les Attitudes des Français à l'égard de l'Union européenne: les logiques de refus'. In Brechon, P., Laurent, A. and Perrineau, P. (eds) Les Cultures Politiques des Français Presses de Sciences Po, Paris.

Drake, H. and Milner, S. (1999) 'Change and Resistance to Change: the political management of Europeanisation in France', Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 7, no. 2.

Drake, H. (2005) 'Perspectives on French Relations with the European Union: an Introduction', in Drake, H. (ed.) France and the European Union

Dyson, K. (1999) 'EMU, Political Discourse and the Fifth French Republic: Historical Institutionalism, Path Dependency and 'Craftsmen' of Discourse' Modern and Contemporary France, Vol, 7. No. 2.

Gordon, P. (1995) France, Germany and the Western Alliance Boulder, CO: Westview.

Gordon, P.H. (1997), 'Europe's Uncommon Foreign Policy', International Security, vol. 22, no. 3, pp.74-100.

Gordon, P. H. and Sophie Meunier (2001) . The French challenge : adapting to globalization: Washington, D.C. : Brookings Institution Press.

Guedry, M. R. (2001) France and European Integration. Toward a Transnational Polity Westport, Praeger.

Guoyomarch, A., Machin, H., and Ritchie, E. (1996) (eds.) France in the European Union, Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Harmsen, R. (1999) 'The Europeanisation of National Administrations: A Comparative Study of France and the Netherlands', Governance, vol. 12, no. 1.

Hayward, J. (1973), 'National Independence and International Mission', in J. Hayward, The One and Indivisible French Republic, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London.

Howarth, D. (2002) 'The European Policy of the Jospin Government: a new twist to old games', Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 10, no. 3.

Kassim, H. (1997) 'French autonomy and the European Union', Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 5, no. 2.

Ladrech, R. (1994), 'Europeanization of domestic politics and institutions: the case of France', Journal of Common Market Studies, vol. 32, no. 1.

Lequesne, C. (1996), 'French central government and the European political system'. In Y. Meny, P. Muller and J.-L. Quermonne (eds), Adjusting to Europe, Routledge, London.

Marchesin, P. (1998), 'Politique africaine de la France en transition', Politique Africaine, vol. 71, no. 3, pp. 91-106.

Martin, G. (1985), 'The Historical, Economic and Military Bases of France's African Policy', Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 23, no.2 pp. 189-208.

McCarthy P.(ed.) (1993a) France - Germany 1983-93: The Struggle to Co-operate Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Menon, A. (1994) 'Defence policy in the Fifth Republic: Politics by any other means', West European Politics, vol. 17, no.4.

Tiersky. R. France in the New Europe , 1994.

Védrine, H. (1996) Les Mondes de François Mitterrand. A l'Elysée, 1981-1995 Fayard, Paris.

Webber, D. (1999) (ed.) The Franco-German Relationship in the European Union, Routledge, London.

Wright, V. (1996) ' The national co-ordination of European policy-making: negotiating the quagmire'. In J. Richardson (1996) (ed.) European Union: Power and Policy-Making, Routledge, London.

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)

J. Lovecy (2000) 'End of French Exceptionalism'? In R. Elgie, The Changing French Political System, pp. 205-224 (Also special issue of West European Politics, October 1999).

S. Milner and M. McClean, France and Globalisation. Special issue of Modern and Contemporary France, 2001.

Additional Reading

Flockton, C. and E. Kofman. France (London, Paul Chapman, 1989)

Furet, F., Julliard, J. and Rosanvallon, P. (1988), La République du Centre. La fin de l'exception française, Calmann-Levy, Paris.

Girling, J. (1998) France: political and social change Routledge, London.

Gordon, P. and Meunier, S. (2002) The French Challenge: Adapting to Globalisation, Brookings Institute Press, Washington.

Kelly, M. (2001) French Culture and Society, Edward Arnold, London.

McClean, M. and Milner, S. (2001) (eds) 'France and Globalisation'. Special issue of Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 9, no. 3

Mendras, H. and Cole, A. (1991) Social Change in Modern France Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Mermet, G. (2005) Francoscopie 2006, Larousse, Paris.

Todd, E.. (1995) Aux origines du malaise politique française. Les classes sociales et leur représentation', Le Débat, no. 83.

Todd, E.. (1988) La Nouvelle France, Paris, Seuil.

Wieviorka, M. (ed.) (1997) Une société fragmentée? Le multiculturalisme en debat La Découverte, Paris.

Winchester, H. (1993) Contemporary France, Longmans, Harlow

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 is 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?
17. Is the French Republic gender blind? Discuss the relationship between women and the French republic.
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?
22. 'France maintains an essentially colonialist relationship with her former African colonies'. Discuss.
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, P. Le Galès and J. Levy (eds), *Development in French Politics 3*, 2005.
- A. Cole, *French Politics and Society*, 2005
- R. Elgie *Political Institutions in France*, 2003
- D. Howarth and Varouxakis, G. *Contemporary France. An Introduction to French Politics and Society*, Edward Arnold, London, 2003.**
- A. Knapp and V. Wright, *The Government and Politics of France*, 2001
- P. Hall, J. Hayward and H. Machin (eds). *Developments in French Politics 2* 2001.
- D. Bell, *French Politics Today*, 2001
- R. Elgie and S. Griggs, *Debates in French Politics*, 2000
- N. Hewlett *Modern French Politics*, 1998
- B. Stevens, *The Government and Politics of France*, 1996, 2003 ed.
- B. Daley (ed.) *The Mitterrand era*, 1996
- M. Gueldry, *France and European Integration*, 2001.
- R. Elgie *The Changing French Political System*, 1999 (special issue of *West European Politics*, October 1999).
- C. Flockton, and E. Kofman, *France* 1989
- G. Flynn, *Remaking the Hexagon*, 1995.
- J. Gaffney, and E. Kolinsky (eds), *Political Culture in France and Germany* 1991
- J. Girling, *France: Political and Social Change*, 1998.
- D. Hanley, A.P. Kerr, and N. Waites *Contemporary France*, 1984.
- S. Hazareseeingh, *Political traditions in Modern France*, 1994.

J. Hollifield (ed) Searching for the New France, 1991
J. McMillan, Twentieth Century France, 1992
H. Mendras and A. Cole, Social Change in Modern France, 1991.
G. Raymond, France during the Socialist Years, 1994.
R. Tiersky, France in the New Europe, 1994
W. Safran, The French Polity, 1997.

Additional Reading

Allwood, Gill and Kursheed Wadia. 2000. Women and Politics in France. London and New York: Routledge.

Andersen, R. and Evans, J. (2003) 'Values, Cleavages and Party Choice in France, 1988-1995', French Politics, vol. 1, no. 1.

Appleton, A. (2000) 'The New Social Movement Phenomenon: Placing France in Comparative Perspective'. In Elgie, The Changing French Political System, 57-75 (*).

Banchoff, T. (1999) 'National identity and EU legitimacy in France and Germany'. In T. Banchoff and M. P. Smith (eds.) (1999) Legitimacy and the European Union. The contested polity Routledge, London.

Bell, D.S. (2002) French Politics Today, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Bell, D. S. (2000) Parties and Democracy in France. Parties under Presidentialism, Ashgate: Aldershot. (*)

Bell, D, and Criddle, B., 'The Decline of the French Communist Party', British Journal of Political Science, October 1989.

Bell, D.S. and B. Criddle, The French Communist Party, Oxford, Clarendon, 1994.

Bell, L. (2001) 'Interpreting collective action: methodology and ideology in the analysis of social movements', Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 9, no. 2.

Beriss, D. (1990) 'Scarves, schools and segregation: The foulard affair', French Politics and Society vol. 8, no. 1.

Berstein, S, (2002) Le Chef de l'État Armand Colin, Paris.

Berstein, S. (1999) 'Nature et fonction des cultures politiques'. In Berstein, S. (1999) (ed.) Les Cultures politiques en France Seuil, Paris.

Birnbaum, P. (2003) La France imaginée: déclin des rêves unitaires?, Gallimard, Paris.

Bloch-Lainé, A. (1999) 'Franco-German Co-operation in Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence: a Case Study', in D. Webber (ed.) The Franco-German Relationship in the European Union, Routledge, London.

Bréchon, P., Laurent, A. and Perrineau, P. (eds) (2000), Les Cultures Politiques des Français, Presses de Sciences Po, Paris. (*)

Brender, A. (2002) La France face à la Mondialisation, La Découverte, Paris.

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

Chevallier, J. (2003) Le Service Public, Paris: PUF.

Camus, J.-Y. (1997) Le Front national: Histoire et analyses, Laurens, Paris.

Carcassonne, G. (2000) 'Amendments to the French Constitution. One Surprise after Another'. In Elgie, The Changing French Political System.

Cautrès, B. and Dennis, B. (2002) 'Les Attitudes des Français à l'égard de l'Union européenne: les logiques de refus'. In Brechon, P., Laurent, A. and Perrineau, P. (eds) Les Cultures Politiques des Français Presses de Sciences Po, Paris.

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

Clift, B. (2003) 'PS intra-party politics and party system change'. In Evans, The French Party System, 42-55

Clift, B. (2003) The French Socialist Party, 2003. (*)

Cole, A. (1990) (ed.), French Political Parties in Transition Dartmouth, Aldershot.

Cole, A. (1993) 'The Presidential Party and the Fifth Republic', West European Politics, vol. 16, no. 2. (*)

Cole, A. (1995) ' La France pour tous? The French Presidential Election of 23 April and 7th May 1995', Government and Opposition, vol. 30, no. 3.

Cole, A. (1997) François Mitterrand: a Study in Political Leadership, Routledge, London. (*)

Cole, A. (1999) 'The *Service Public* under Stress', West European Politics vol. 22, no. 4.

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

Cole, A. (2001b) 'National and Partisan contexts of Europeanisation: the case of the French socialists', Journal of Common Market Studies vol. 39, no. 1.

Cole, A. (2002) 'A Strange Affair. The French presidential and parliamentary elections of 2002' Government and Opposition, vol, 37, no. 3. (*)

Cole, A. (ed.) 'The Jospin Government, 1997-2002'. Special issue of Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 10, no. 3.

Cole, A., and Drake, H. (2000) 'The Europeanisation of French Polity? Continuity, Change and Adaptation', Journal of European Public Policy vol. 7, no. 1. (*)

Cole, A. and Loughlin, J. (2003) 'Beyond the Unitary State? Public Opinion, Political Institutions and Public Policy in Brittany', Regional Studies, vol. 37, no. 3.

Crozier, M. (1963) Le Phénomène bureaucratique, Seuil, Paris.

Crozier, M. (1970) La Société bloquée, Seuil, Paris. (*)

Culpepper, P. (1993) 'Organisational Competition and the Neo-Corporatist Fallacy in French Agriculture', West European Politics, vol. 16, no. 3.

Daley, A. (1996) (ed.) The Mitterrand Era. Policy Alternatives and Political Mobilization in France, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Dely, R. (1999) Histoire secrète du Front National, Grasset, Paris.

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Drake, H. (2001) 'France on Trial? The challenge of change and the French presidency of the European Union, July-December 2000', Modern and Contemporary France, vol.9, no. 4.

Drake, H. (2004) 'Perspectives on French Relations with the European Union: an Introduction', in Drake, H. (ed.) France and the European Union (forthcoming) (*)

Dreyfus, F. (1994) 'The Control of Governments' in Hall, P. , Hayward, J. and Machin, H. (eds) Developments in French Politics, Macmillan, Basingstoke. (*)

Duyvendak, J. W. (1995), The Power of Politics: New Social Movements in France, Boulder, CO, Westview.

Dyson, K. (1980) The State Tradition in Western Europe, Oxford, Martin Robertson. (*)

Dyson, K. (1999) 'EMU, Political Discourse and the Fifth French Republic: Historical Institutionalism, Path Dependency and 'Craftsmen' of Discourse' Modern and Contemporary France, Vol, 7. No. 2. (*)

- Dyson, K. and Featherstone, K. (1999) The Road to Maastricht Oxford University Press, Oxford. (*)
- Elgie, R. (1993) The French Prime Minister Macmillan, Basingstoke. (*)
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- Elgie, R. (2000) (ed.) The Changing French Political System, Frank Cass, London. (*)
- Evans, J. (2003) (ed.) The French Party System, Manchester University Press, Manchester. (*)
- Evans, J. (2002) 'Political Corruption in France' in Bull, M. and Newell, J. (eds) Political Corruption in Contemporary Politics, Palgrave, Basingstoke.
- Feuillée-Kendal, P. (1998) 'La Réforme de la justice en France: un nouveau coup d'épée dans l'eau?', Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 6, no. 1.
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- Frears, J. (1981) France in the Giscard Presidency Allen and Unwin, London.
- Frears, J. (1990) Parties and Voters in France Hurst: London.
- Frears, J. (1991) 'The French parliament: Loyal Workhorse, Poor Watchdog', West European Politics, vol. 14, no. 1.
- Friend, J. W. (1998) The Long Presidency. France in the Mitterrand Years, 1981-1995 Boulder CO: Westview.
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- Gaffney, J. (2004) (ed.) French Presidentialism and the Election of 2002, Ashgate, Aldershot. (*)
- Gaffney, J. (1991) 'Political Think Tanks in the U.K. and Ministerial Cabinets in France', West European Politics, vol. 14, no. 1.
- Gildea, R. (1996, 2003) France since 1945, Oxford University Press, Oxford. (*)

- Girling, J. (1998) France: political and social change Routledge, London.
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- Gordon, P. (1995) France, Germany and the Western Alliance Boulder, CO: Westview. (*)
- Gordon, P. and Meunier, S. (2002) The French Challenge: Adapting to Globalisation, Brookings Institute Press, Washington. (*)
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- Hanley, D. (2002) Party, Society, Government. Republican Democracy in France Berghahn, London. (*)
- Hanley, D. L, Kerr A.P., and Waites N. H. (1984) Contemporary France: Politics and Society since 1945 Routledge, London. (*)
- Hargreaves A.G. (1995) Immigration, 'race' and ethnicity in Contemporary France Routledge, London. (*)
- Harmsen, R. (1999) 'The Europeanisation of National Administrations: A Comparative Study of France and the Netherlands', Governance, vol. 12, no. 1.
- Hayward, J (ed.) (1993) De Gaulle to Mitterrand: presidential power in France Hurst, London. (*)
- Hayward, J. and Wright, V. (2002) Governing from the Centre: core executive coordination in France Oxford University Press, Oxford. (*)
- Hazareesingh, S. (1994) Political Traditions in Modern France, Oxford University Press, Oxford. (*)

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Hewlitt, N. (1998) Modern French Politics, Polity Press, Cambridge.(*)

Hoffmann, S. (1994) 'Les Français sont-ils gouvernables?', Pouvoirs, no. 68.

Hollifield, J. (1991) (ed.) Searching for the New France, Routledge, London.

Howarth, D. (2001) (ed.) Public Administration in the UK and France. Special issue of Public Policy and Administration vol. 16, no. 4.

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Huber, J. (1996) Rationalizing Parliament: legislative institutions and party politics in France, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Jackson, J. (2001) France: the Dark Years, 1940-1944 Oxford University Press, Oxford.(*)

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Knap, A. (2004) Parties and the Party System in France, Palgrave, Basingstoke. (*)

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Krause, J. (1994) 'The illusion of French exceptionalism in European security' Contemporary French Civilisation vol. 18, no. 2.

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Larkin, M. (1988) France Since the Popular Front: Government and People, 1936-1986, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

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Lequesne, C. (1996), 'French central government and the European political system'. In Y. Meny, P. Muller and J.-L. Quermonne (eds), Adjusting to Europe, Routledge, London. (*)

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Massot, J. (1997) 'Chef de l'Etat et chef du gouvernement: dyarchie et hiérarchie', Notes et études documentaires, no. 4983.

Mayer, N. and P. Perrineau (eds.) (1989) Le Front National à Découverte Presses de la FNSP, Paris.

Mazey, S. (1986) 'Public Policy-making in France: the art of the possible', West European Politics, vol. 9, no. 3.

McCarthy P.(ed.) (1993a) France - Germany 1983-93: The Struggle to Co-operate Macmillan, Basingstoke.

McClellan, M. and Milner, S. (2001) (eds) 'France and Globalisation'. Special issue of Modern and Contemporary France, vol. 9, no. 3

Mendras, H. and Cole, A. (1991) Social Change in Modern France Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. (*)

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- Menon, A. (1996), 'France and the IGC of 1996', Journal of European Public Policy, vol. 6, no. 2.
- Menon, A. (2000) France, NATO and the limits of Independence Macmillan (*)
- Mermet, G. (2002) Francoscopie 2003, Larousse, Paris.
- Morris, P. (1994) French Politics Today, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Muller, P. (2003) Les politiques publiques Paris : Presses universitaires de France.
- Northcutt, W. (1992) Mitterrand: a Political Biography, Holmes and Meier, New York.
- Pedersen, T. (1998) Germany, France and the Integration of Europe: a Realist Interpretation, Pinter, London.
- Perrineau, P. (1997) Le symptôme Le Pen : radiographie des électeurs du Front national
- Perrineau, P. and Ysmal, C. (2002) Le vote de tous les refus. Les élections présidentielles et législatives de 2002, Presses de Sciences Po, Paris.
- Petersen, N. (1998), 'National Strategies in the Integration Dilemma: An Adaptation Approach', Journal of Common Market Studies vol. 36, no. 1.
- Pouvoirs (2003) Le Conseil Constitutionnel, Seuil, Paris. (*)
- Putnam, R. (ed) (2002) Democracies in Flux, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Ravitch, N. (1990) The Catholic Church and the French Nation, 1589-1989, Routledge, London.
- Raymond, G. (1994) (ed.) France during the Socialist Years, Aldershot, Dartmouth.
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- Rioux, J-P. (1989) The Fourth Republic 1944-1958, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Ross, G., Hoffmann S., and Malzacher, S. (1987) The Mitterrand Experiment, Polity Press, Oxford.
- Safran, W. (1999) The French Polity, Longman, Harlow. (*)

Schain, M. (1987) 'Racial Politics in France: the National Front and the Construction of Political Legitimacy', West European Politics , vol. 10, no. 2.

Shennan, A. (1993) De Gaulle, Longman, London.

Shields, J. (1995) 'Le Pen, and the progression of the extreme-Right in France', French Politics and Society, vol. 13, no. 2.

Silverman, M. 1992: Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism and Citizenship in Modern France, Routledge, London. (*)

Silverman, Maxim (1999) Facing postmodernity : contemporary French thought on culture and society London : Routledge, 1999.

Stone, A. (1992) The Birth of Judicial Politics in France: the Constitutional Council in Comparative Perspective Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Sweet-Stone, A. (2000) Governing with Judges. Constitutional Politics in Europe, Oxford University Press, Oxford. (*)

Tiersky, R. (1974) French Communism, 1920-72 , Columbia University Press, New York.

Tiersky, R. (1994) France in the New Europe, Westview Press, Boulder Colorado. (*)

Todd, E.. (1995) Aux origines du malaise politique française. Les classes sociales et leur représentation', Le Débat, no. 83.

Todd, E.. (1990) La Nouvelle France, Paris, Seuil.

Tournier, V. (2002) ' Filiation et politique. La Construction de l'identité et ses conséquences'. In Bréchon, P., Laurent, A. and Perrineau, P. (eds) (2000), Les Cultures Politiques des Français, Presses de Sciences Po, Paris. (*)

Védrine, H. (1996) Les Mondes de François Mitterrand. A l'Elysée, 1981-1995 Fayard, Paris. (*)

Villalba, B., and Vieillard-Coffre, S. (2003) 'The Greens: from Idealism to Pragmatism', in Evans, The French Party System, pp. 56-75 (*)

Waters, S. (2003) New Social Movements in France, Palgrave, Basingstoke. (*)

Webber, D. (1999) (ed.) The Franco-German Relationship in the European Union, Routledge, London. (*)

Weil, P. (2001) 'The politics of immigration'. In Guyomarch Developments in French Politics 2 Palgrave, Basingstoke. (*)

Wieviorka, M. (ed.) (1997) Une société fragmentée? Le multiculturalisme en débat La Découverte, Paris. (*)

Winchester, H. (1993) Contemporary France, Longmans, Harlow (*)

Withol de Wenden, K. (1999) L'Immigration en Europe, Documentation française, Paris.

Wolfreys, J. (2003) 'Beyond the Mainstream; la gauche de la gauche', in Evans, The French Party System.

Wright, V. (1996) 'The national co-ordination of European policy-making: negotiating the quagmire'. In J. Richardson (1996) (ed.) European Union: Power and Policy-Making, Routledge, London. (*)

Wright, V., The Government and Politics of France (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989)

Zeldin, T. (1983) The French, Collins, London.

ADDITIONAL SYLLABI AND READING LISTS

Political Science Department
Fall2005
Vanderbilt University

Florence Faucher-King
florence.faucher@sciences-po.fr
Calhoun 315
Phone 615 322 6222

PSCI 284-01

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:

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1. Introduction | 25 Aug |
| A - French political culture and society | |
| 2. Foundations of modern France | 30 Aug |
| 3. The Vth Republic | 1 Sept |
| 4. Political values, attitudes and cleavages | 6 Sept |
| 5. Are the French interested in politics? | 8 Sept |
| 6. The Gender Gap | 13 Sept |
| 7. Politics and the Young | 15 Sept |
| 8. Catholicism, Islam and Laicité | 20 Sept |
| 9. <i>Class exam</i> | 22 Sept |
| B - Institutions | |
| 10. Who governs? | 27 Sept |
| 11. A parliamentary democracy? | 29 Sept |
| 12. A bureaucratic state? | 4 Oct |
| 13. The judiciary | 6 Oct |
| 14. Towards local governance? | 11 Oct |
| 15. <i>Class exam</i> | 13 Oct |

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
24. A culture of protest?	15 Nov
25. <i>Class exam</i>	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? (1Nov)
17. Are Les Verts a single issue party? (3 Nov)
18. Why did the FN split in 1998? (8Nov)
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.

- Bell David (2002), *French politics today*, Manchester university press.
- Cole Alistair, Patrick Le Galès, Jonah Levy (2005), *Developments in French politics 3*, Palgrave.
- Elgie Robert (2003), *Political Institutions in Contemporary France*, Oxford University Press, 2nd ed.
- Safran William (1998), *The French polity*, New York : Longman, 5th ed.
- Stevens Anne (2003), *Government and Politics of France*, Macmillan 3rd ed.

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:

French Politics, West European Politics, European Journal of Political Research, Government and Opposition, Parliamentary Affairs, Party Politics, Modern and Contemporary France,

References by topic

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

A - French political culture and society

Bell David S. (2002), *French politics today*, Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, chapters 1-2.

Bird Karen (2004), "The Effects of Gender Parity in Elections: The French Case", John Gaffney (ed.) (2004), *Towards the French Sixth Republic? The Elections of 2002*, Aldershot, UK, Ashgate, pp. 238-259.

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

Cole, Alistair (1998), *French politics and society*, London/New York : Prentice Hall and Harlow, England; New York : Pearson Longman, 2005, chapters 1-3; 13-14.

Elgie Robert (2003), *Political Institutions in Contemporary France*, Oxford University Press, chapters 1-3.

Footitt Hilary (2004), "In Search of Lost Women: Alternative Political Maps in the Presidential Elections of 2002", John Gaffney (ed.) (2004), *Towards the French Sixth Republic? The Elections of 2002*, Aldershot, UK, Ashgate, pp. 222-237.

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

Safran William (1998), *The French polity*, New York : Longman, chapters 1-3.

Stevens Anne (2003), *Government and Politics of France*, Macmillan 3rd ed: chapters 1-2.

B – Institutions

Bell David (2000), *Parties and Democracy in France : Parties under Presidentialism*, Adershot ; Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate.

Cole Alistair, Patrick Le Galès, Jonah Levy (2005), *Developments in French politics 3*, Palgrave, Chapters 5-8.

Elgie Robert (1996), "The French Presidency : Conceptualising Presidential Power in the 5th Republic", *Public Administration*, 74(2), p.275-292.

Elgie Robert (2003), *Political Institutions in Contemporary France*, Oxford University Press, chapters 4-8.

Gaffney John (ed.) (2004), *The French presidential and legislative elections of 2002*, Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, Chapter 2.

Hoffman Stanley (1991) "The institutions of the Vth Republic" in Hollifield James Frank (ed), *Searching for the New France*, London : Routledge.

Stevens Anne (1996), *The Government and Politics of France*, London : MacmillanSafran William (1998), *The French polity*, New York : Longman, chapters 6-9.

Schlesinger Joseph, Mildred Schlesinger (1998), "Dual-Ballot Elections and Political Parties. The French Presidential Election of 1995", *Comparative Political Studies*, 31 (1), pp. 72-97.

Schmidt Vivien (1990), " Unblocking Society by Decree. The Impact of Governmental Decentralization in France", *Comparative Politics*, 22 (4), pp. 459-481.

Stevens Anne (2003), *Government and Politics of France*, Macmillan 3rd ed: chapters 3-7.

C - Political Life

Cole Alistair, Patrick Le Galès, Jonah Levy (2005), *Developments in French politics 3*, Palgrave, Chapters 2-4.

DeClair, Edward G.(1999), *Politics on the fringe : the people, policies, and organization of the French National Front*, Durham, NC : Duke University Press.

Evans Jocelyn (ed.)(2003), *The French party system*, Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 218p.

Evans, Jocelyn (2004), *Voters & voting : an introduction*, London/Thousand Oaks, Calif. : Sage, 219 p.

Gaffney John (ed.) (2004), *The French presidential and legislative elections of 2002*, Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT : Ashgate, Chapters 7-10.

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

Haegel Florence (2004), "The Transformation of the French Right: Insitutional Imperatives and Organizational Changes," *French Politics*, 2, pp. 185-202.

Hayes, Graeme (2002), *Environmental Protest and the State in France*, Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York :Palgrave MacMillan, 2002, chapter 2.

Knapp, Andrew (2004), *Parties and the party system in France: a disconnected democracy?*, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York : Palgrave Macmillan.

Lewis-Beck Michael (2003), *French Voter. Before and After the 2002 Elections*, 272p.

Marcus, Jonathan (1995),*The National Front and French politics : the resistible rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen*, Houndsmills, Basingstoke : MacMillan, 212 p.

Safran William (1998), *The French polity*, New York : Longman, chapter 4-5.

Stevens Anne (2003), *Government and Politics of France*, Macmillan 3rd ed: chapters 8-9.

Vassallo Francesca (2004),"Political Activism and Association Involvement: The French Choice in Comparative Perspective", *French Politics*, 2, pp. 298-332.

Waters Sarah (1998), "New Social Movements in France: une nouvelle vague citoyenne?", *Modern and Contemporary France*, 6 (4), p. 493-504.

Willerton John P. and Martin Carrier (2005), "Coalition Management in the Face of Ideological and Institutional Constraints: The Case of France's Gauche Plurielle", *French Politics*, 3, pp. 4-27.

D - Issues in French politics

Cole Alistair, Patrick Le Galès, Jonah Levy (2005), *Developments in French politics* 3, Palgrave, Chapters 7, 10.

Elgie, Robert and Steven Griggs (2000), *French politics : debates and controversies*, London ; New York: Routledge.

Kuhn Raymond (2004), "The media and the elections", in Gaffney John (ed.) (2004), *The French presidential and legislative elections of 2002*, Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate,339 p.

Jocelyn Evans (2003), "Europe and the French party system", in Evans Jocelyn (ed.)(2003), *The French party system*, Manchester/New York : Manchester University Press, pp. 155-170.

Cole, Alistair (1998), *French politics and society*, London/New York : Prentice Hall and Harlow, England; New York : Pearson Longman, 2005, chapter 15.

Other references

You should also consult these general and edited books

Howarth David and Georgios Varouxakis (2003), *Contemporary France. An Introduction to French Politics and Society*, Oxford University Press/Hodder Arnold, 256p.

Bell David S. (2002), *French politics today*, Manchester/New York : Manchester University Press.

Cole, Alistair (1998), *French politics and society*, London/New York : Prentice Hall and Harlow, England; New York : Pearson Longman, 2005, 293 p.

Hewlett, Nick (1998), *Modern French politics : analysing conflict and consensus since 1945*, Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA : Polity Press, 251 p.

Milner Susan and Nick Parsons (ed.)(2003), *Reinventing France : state and society in the twenty-first century*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 203 p.

Brunel University, Department of Government

GV 3407S French Government and Politics

Semester 2 20 Credits

Module Convenor

Dr Ben Clift (office hours Monday 1-2; Wednesday 10-11)
Ben.Clift@Brunel.ac.uk Tel. 01895 274000 x 3507

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

Analysis of Evidence & Argument	Apply Theory to Arguments & Events
Develop & Defend Arguments	Library, Electronic and Internet Research
Reading	Presentational Skills
Oral Communication	Historical Awareness
Writing	Independent Research

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 then 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 policy-makers. 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

Andrew Knapp & Vincent Wright *The Government and Politics of France* 4th Edition 2001

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

- A. Cole *French Politics and Society* (1998)
P. Morris, *French Politics Today*, 1994
R. Elgie & S. Griggs *French Politics – Debates and Controversies* (2000)
W. Safran *The French Polity* (1997)
S. Hazareesingh, *Political traditions in Modern France*, 1994.
A Guyomarch, J Hayward, H Machin & P Hall (eds). *Developments in French Politics 2*, 2001.
R. Elgie (ed) *The Changing French Political System* (2000) **ARC**
M. Lewis-Beck *How France Votes 2000* **ARC**
R. Elgie, *Electing the French President; the 1995 presidential election in France*, 1996. **ARC**
A. Daley (ed) *The Mitterrand Era* (1996) **ARC**
M. Maclean (ed) *The Mitterrand Years: Legacy & Evaluation* (1998) **ARC**
G. Raymond, *France during the Socialist Years*, 1994.
P. Hall, J. Hayward and Machin (eds). *Developments in French Politics*, 2 eds.(1990 & 1994)
J. Frears, *Parties and Voters in France 1990*
G. Flynn, *Remaking the Hexagon*, 1995.
J. Hollifield (ed), *Searching for the New France* 1991
A. Stevens *Government and Politics of France* 2nd Edition (1996)
J. Gaffney, and E. Kolinsky (eds), *Political Culture in France and Germany* 1991
A. Cole, *François Mitterrand: a Study in Political Leadership* Second edition 1997.
J. Ardagh, *France Today* 1988, 1995.
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

***W.Safran, *The French Polity*, ch. 3, Ch. 1

Jack Hayward 'From Republican Sovereign to Partisan Statesman' in Hayward, *De Gaulle to Mitterrand: presidential power in France* –good overview of regimes & leaders since 1789.

John Gaffney and Eva Kolinsky, *Political Culture in France and west Germany*, esp. Ch. 1

Stevens, A., *The Government and Politics of France*, 1995. Ch 1

P. Morris *French Politics Today* 1994, Ch 1

Republican Traditions and Pressure Politics in France

***A Knapp & V Wright *The Government and Politics of France* 4th Edition, Ch. 11

A. Cole, *French Politics and Society*, 1998 ch. 12

A Guyomarch *et al* (eds.) *Developments in French Politics 2*, Chapter 3

Elgie, R & Griggs, *French Politics: Debates & Controversies* (2000) **ARC** Ch. 7

W.Safran *The French Polity* (ch. 5), 1997

Labbé, D. (1994) *Trade Unionism in France since the Second World War* West European Politics Vol.17 No.1 pp. 146-167

P. Hall, *Developments in French Politics*, ch. 4, 1994

P. Morris *French Politics Today* ch.9

Mouriaux, R., 'Trade Unions, Unemployment and Regulation, 1962-89', from J. Hollifield, *Searching for the New France*, 1991

Howell, C. (1996) 'French Socialism and the Transformation of Industrial Relations since 1981', in Daley (ed.) *The Mitterrand Era* (1996) **ARC**

Milner, S. (1998) 'Industrial Relations in France: Towards a New Social Pact?', in Maclean (ed.) *The Mitterrand Years: Legacy & Evaluation* (1998) **ARC**

P. Culpepper *Organisation, Competition, & French Agriculture* West European Politics Vol.16 July 1993

Week 2

The establishment of the Fifth Republic, 1958-1962

The evolution of the constitutional arrangements of the Fifth Republic.

***A Knapp & V Wright *The Government and Politics of France* 4th Edition, Chapter 2

***Michel Debré 'The Constitution of 1958: Its raison d'être and how it evolved' in William Andrews & Stanley Hoffman (eds.) *The Impact of the Fifth Republic on France*. Esp. pp. 6-14

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

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

***Elgie, R. and H. Machin 'France: the limits to prime ministerial power', West European Politics, April 1991.

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

Philip Williams *French Politicians and Elections 1951-1969*, Part 2.

***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*.

***Jack Hayward 'From Republican Sovereign to Partisan Statesman' in Hayward, (ed), *De Gaulle to Mitterrand: presidential power in France* (1993) pp. 19-35

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

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

P. Morris *French Politics Today* ch.2 & 4

Wright, V., *The Government and Politics of France*, 1989

Stevens, A., *The Government and Politics of France*, 1992, 1995. Ch. 2 (& Part II)

Hall *et al*, *Developments in French Politics* 1994.

J. Hayward, *Governing France*, 1983

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- ***A Knapp & V Wright *The Government and Politics of France* 4th Ed., Chapter 12
- ***Elgie, R & Griggs, *French Politics: Debates & Controversies* (2000) Ch 4
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- J. Loughlin, and S. Mazey, *The End of the French Unitary State*, 1995.
- ***D.Ashford, 'Decentralising France: How the Socialists discovered pluralism', WEP, October 1990.
- P. Morris *French Politics Today* ch.6
- M. Keating and P. Hainsworth. *Decentralisation and change in contemporary France* (1986)
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- ***Knapp, A., 'The *cumul des mandats*, local power and Political Parties in France', WEP, 14, 1, January 1991.
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- Y. Meny, 'The Socialist Decentralisation' in Ross, et.al., *The Mitterrand Experiment*, 1987.

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

- ***A Knapp & V Wright *The Government and Politics of France* 4th Ed., Chapters 4, 5, & 3
- ***Elgie, R & Griggs, *French Politics: Debates & Controversies* (2000) **ARC** Ch. 2 (& 1)
- ***Elgie, R *Political Leadership in Liberal Democracies* (1996), Chapter 3.
- ***Elgie, R. *The French Presidency: Conceptualising Presidential Power in the Fifth Republic* Public Administration vol. 74 no. 2 Summer 1996.
- ***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
- ***Keeler, J. (1993) *Executive Power and Policy-Making Patterns in France: Gauging the Impact of Fifth Republic Institutions* West European Politics Vol. 16 No. 4 pp. 518-544
- ***V. Wright & R Elgie, 'The French Presidency: The Changing Public Policy Environment' in R.Elgie (ed.), *Electing the French President*, (1996).
- A Cole, *French Politics and Society*, 1998 ch. 5
- Elgie, R. and H. Machin 'France: the limits to prime ministerial power', West European Politics, April 1991.
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- ***Bell, D *Presidential Power in Fifth Republic France* (2000) Chs. 1, 4, 9
- Elgie, R. *The role of the prime minister in France, 1981-91*, London : Macmillan Press 1993.
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- G. Sartori *Comparative Constitutional Engineering* (1997) Ch. 7. pp. 121-125
- ***Gaffney, J., 'Presidentialism and the Fifth Republic', in Gaffney, *The French Presidential Election of 1988*, 1989.
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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)

***D. Hanley *The French Party System: Living With Instability* in D. Broughton & M. Donovan *Changing Party Systems in Western Europe* (1999) **ARC**

***A Guyomarch *et al* (eds.) *Developments in French Politics* 2, Chapter 2

***Cole, A, *French Politics and Society*, 1998. (Ch. 9)

***M. Lewis-Beck *How France Votes 2000* **ARC**– esp. Ch 6.

***C. Ysmal 'The Evolution of the French Party System' in Ysmal & Ignazi (eds.) *Changing Party Organisations in Southern Europe*

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***H.Machin, 'Stages and Dynamics in the evolution of the French party system', West European Politics, October 1989, also in P. Mair & G. Smith (eds.) *Understanding Party system change* (1990)

***Elgie, R 'The Institutional Logics of French Presidential Elections' in R.Elgie (ed.), *Electing the French President*, (1996).

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***F. Wilson, 'The Party System', in P.Godt, *Policy-making in France*, 1989.

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***A. Cole, 'The Presidential party and the Fifth Republic', West European politics, 16/2, April 1993.

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Alistair Cole & Peter Campbell *French Electoral Systems and Elections Since 1789* (1989)

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Gaffney, J., 'Presidentialism and the Fifth Republic', in Gaffney, *The French Presidential Election of 1988*.

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***Wilson, F. *When Parties Refuse to Fail: The Case of France* in Merkl & Lawson (eds.) *When Parties Fail* Princeton University Press (1988)

***Knapp, A., 'The *cumul des mandats*, local power and Political Parties in France', WEP, 14, 1, January 1991.

H. Machin 'Changing patterns of party competition', in Hall *Developments in French Politics*, 1994

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A.Knapp, 'Proportional but Bipolar: France's electoral system in 1986', WEP, vol.10, no.1, January 1987.

Anne Stevens, *The Government and Politics of France*, 1992, 1995

**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

A. Cole, *French Politics and Society*, 1998 ch. 9 & 10

M. Lewis-Beck *How France Votes 2000* – Chapter 1 by W. Safran (2000)

***A.Cole 'A House divided: The French Socialist Party', in Raymond, *France during the Socialist years*, 1994.

***Bell, D. & Criddle, B. *The French Socialist Party: Presidentialised Factionalism* in Bell & Shaw, (eds) *Conflict and Cohesion in Western European Social Democratic Parties* (1994)

***Cole, A. (1989) *Factionalism, the French Socialist Party, and the Fifth Republic: An Explanation of Intra-Party Divisions* European Journal of Political Research Vol. 17, 77-94

***F. Sawicki 'The Parti Socialiste: From a Party of Activists to a Party of Government' in Ysmal & Ignazi (eds.) *Changing Party Organisations in Southern Europe*

D.Bell and B.Criddle, *The French Socialist Party*, 1988 ed;

R.Elgie, *Electing the French President*, 1996. (Chapter by Griggs).

***Sferza, S. (1996) *The Shifting Advantages of Organisational Formats: Factionalism and the French Socialist Party* in Daley (ed.) *The Mitterrand Era* **ARC**

***Sferza, S. & Lewis, S. (1987) *French Socialists Between State and Society: From Party Building to Power* in Ross, Hoffmann, & Malzacher (eds) *The Mitterrand Experiment*

***S.Hazareesingh, *Political Traditions in Modern France 1994*, ch. 9

Cole, A. *François Mitterrand: a Study in Political Leadership*, 1997.

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J.Gaffney, *The Left and the Fifth Republic*, 1989

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R.W.Johnson, *The Long March of the French Left* (for pre-1981 period)

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A. Cole, *French Politics and Society*, 1998 ch. 11

***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

***Bell, D, and Criddle, B., 'The Decline of the French Communist Party', British Journal of Political Science, October 1989.

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

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Dainov, E., 'Problems of French Communism, 1972-86', WEP, April 1987.
***Ross, G (1992) *Party Decline and Changing Party Systems : France and the French Communist 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**
***A.F. Knapp, *Gaullism since de Gaulle*, 1994.
***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
R.Elgie (ed.), *Electing the French President*, 1996. (Chapter by Fysh).
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)
J. Charlot – chapter on Gaullism in Morgan & Silvestri *Moderates & Conservatives in Europe* (1982)
P.Fysh, ‘Gaullism Today’, Parliamentary Affairs, vol. 46, no. 3, 1993.
A. Stevens, *The Government and Politics of France*, 1995
Safran, W., *The French Polity*, 1997.

The FN

***A Knapp & V Wright *The Government and Politics of France* 4th Ed., Chapter 8
***H.Simmons, *The French National Front*, 1995.
***E. Declair *Politics on the Fringe* (1999)
***A. Cole *French Politics and Society*, ch. 11.
***G. Ivaldi ‘The Front National: The Making of an Authoritarian Party’ in Ysmal & Ignazi (eds.) *Changing Party Organisations in Southern Europe*
M. Schain ‘*The National Front 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
Wolfreys, 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.

- S.Mitra, 'The National Front in France: a single-issue movement ? West European Politics, vol. 11, no.2 April 1988
- M.Schain, 'Immigration and Change in the French Party System', European Journal of Political Research, 16, 1988.
- Fysh, P., and Wolfreys, J., 'Le Pen, the National Front and the Extreme Right in France', Parliamentary Affairs, 45, 3, July 1992
- Ignazi, P. and C. Ysmal 'New and old extreme right parties: the French National Front and the Italian Movimento Sociale', European Journal of Political Research, 22, 1, July 1992
- Mayer. N. and P. Perrineau, 'Why do they vote for Le Pen?' European Journal of Political Research 22, 1, 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
- ***G. Ross, S. Hoffmann, & Malzacher (eds) *The Mitterrand Experiment* (1987) (esp. ch 3, 5, 6, 13, 14)
- ***Schmidt, V. *From State To Market?* (1996) Chapter 4.
- ***P. Hall *The State and the Market* in Hall *et al* (ed) *Developments in French Politics* Basingstoke; Macmillan pp. 171-187(1990)
- ***Machin, H., and Wright, V. *Economic policy and policy-making under the Mitterrand Presidency*, 1985.
- ***George Ross, Stanley Hoffmann (eds.) *The Mitterrand experiment* esp. Chapter by Hall.
- ***Cameron, D. (1996) *Exchange Rate Politics in France 1981-83: The Regime Defining Choices of the Mitterrand Presidency* in Daley (ed) *The Mitterrand Era* **ARC**
- ***Halimi *et al* 'The Mitterrand Experience' in 'Unemployment in Europe' edited by J. Michie & J. Grieve-Smith. (1994).
- ***Lombard, M (1995) *A Re-examination of the reasons for the failure of Keynesian expansionary policies in France 1981-1983* Cambridge Journal of Economics 19
- ***Lordon, F. (1998) *The Logic and Limits of Désinflation Competitive* Oxford Review of Economic Policy Vol 14. No. 1 pp96-113
- ***A. Daley (ed) *The Mitterrand Era* (1996) **ARC**
- M. Maclean (ed) *The Mitterrand Years: Legacy & Evaluation* (1998) **ARC**
- Sachs, J & Wyplosz, C (1986) *The Economic Consequences of President Mitterrand* Economic Policy (April)
- A. Cole *French Politics and Society* , 1998 (ch. 2, 16).
- G. Raymond, *France during the Socialist years* 1994.
- Levy, J. 'France: Directing Adjustment?' in F. Scharpf & V. Schmidt, *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy: Volume Two*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 337-344.
- S.Mazey and P. Newman (eds.), *Mitterrand's France* 1987
- A. Cole *François Mitterrand: a Study in Political Leadership* 1997. ch.12
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- P.Godt, (ed.) *Policy-making in France*, 1989.
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- D. Singer *Is socialism doomed? : the meaning of Mitterrand* (1988)

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V. Lauber, 'Reinventing French Socialism: Economic policy, ideology and political strategy' Parliamentary Affairs, September 1985.

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Manent, P., and Machin, H., 'Two views of the Mitterrand presidency, 1981-1988', Government and Opposition, vol. 23, no. 2, Spring 1988.

Gaffney, J., 'French socialism and the Fifth Republic', West European Politics, 11/ 3, July 1988.

Bell, D.S., and Criddle, B., *The French Socialist Party*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988.

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

***Hall, P. *The State and the Market* in Hall et al (ed) *Developments in French Politics* Basingstoke; Macmillan pp. 171-187(1990)

***Hall, P. *Governing The Economy* Cambridge; Polity (1986)

***Schmidt, V. *From State To Market?* (1996) Chs. 5 & 6.

***Levy, J. 'France: Directing Adjustment?' in F. Scharpf & V. Schmidt, *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy: Volume Two*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 337-344.

R. Elgie & S. Griggs *French Politics – Debates and Controversies* (2000) Ch. 1 **ARC**

A. Cole *French Politics and Society*, 1998 (ch. 13).

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

***A Guyomarch et al (eds.) *Developments in French Politics 2*, Chapters 9, 10

M. Maclean (ed) *The Mitterrand Years: Legacy & Evaluation* (1998) **ARC**

Kesselman, M., 'Lyrical Illusions or a Socialism of Governance: Whither French Socialism', Socialist Register, 1986.

***Lordon, F. (1998) *The Logic and Limits of Désinflation Competitive* Oxford Review of Economic Policy Vol 14. No. 1 pp. 96-113

Boucek, F. *Developments in post-war French political economy : The continuing decline of dirigisme?* in Sheldrake & Webb (eds.) *State and Market* (1993)

Cerny, P. (1989) 'The 'Little Big Bang' in Paris: financial deregulation in a *dirigiste* system', European Journal of Political Research, (17): 169-192.

***M. Bauer 'The Politics of State-Directed Privatisation: the case of France' WEP vol. 11 no. 4 December 1988.

***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**

****Schmidt, V. Running on empty: the end of dirigisme in French economic leadership', MCF, May 1997. **ARC**

Schmidt, V. *The Changing Dynamics of State-Society Relations in the Fifth Republic* West European Politics vol. 22 no. 4 October 1999 – also in R. Elgie (ed) *The Changing French Political System* (2000) **ARC**

Schmidt, V *Privatisation in France: The Transformation of French Capitalism* Environment & Planning C vol. 17 (1999)

D. Singer *Is socialism doomed? : the meaning of Mitterrand* (1988)

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**

***Fay, C. (1995) *Political Sleaze in France* Parliamentary Affairs Vol. 48 No. 4 pp. 663-676

***Jenkins, P., and Morris, P., 'Political Scandal in France', MCF, 1993. **ARC**

Lafay, J-D. & Servais, M. (2000) *The Influence of Political Scandals on Popularity and Votes* in Lewis-Beck (ed.) *How France Votes*

Johnson, D., 'L'Affaire des fuites', MCF, 1993.

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

***A Knapp & V Wright *The Government and Politics of France* 4th Ed., Chapter 10, chapter 9

A. Cole, *French Politics and Society*, 1998 ch. 13

***R. Elgie (ed.), *Electing the French President*, 1996. Chs. 6, 2, 1.

Cole, A. (1995) *La France pour Tous? – The French Presidential Elections of 23 April and 7th May 1995* Government and Opposition Vol. 30 pp327-346

***Schmidt, V. *From State To Market?* Cambridge; Cambridge University Press(1996)

Dick Howard 'The French Strikes of 1995 and their Political Aftermath' Government and Opposition vol 33 no 2 Spring 1998.

Various articles/chapters in West European Politics vol. 22 no. 4 October 1999 – also in R. Elgie (ed) *The Changing French Political System* (2000) **ARC**

B. Cautres *The Electoral Campaign* in M. Lewis-Beck *How France Votes* 2000 **ARC**

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

M. Maclean (ed) *The Mitterrand Years: Legacy & Evaluation* (1998) **ARC**

A Guyomarch *et al* (eds.) *Developments in French Politics* 2, Chapter 14

Levy, J 'Partisan politics and welfare adjustment: the case of France' Journal of European Public Policy 8/2 April 2001, 265-285.

***Levy, J. 'France: Directing Adjustment?' in F. Scharpf & V. Schmidt, *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy: Volume Two*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 337-344.

France and Europe

***A. Cole *Franco-German Relations* (2001)

A. Cole, *French Politics and Society*, 1998 ch. 15

***A Cole 'National and Partisan Contexts of Europeanisation' Journal of Common Market Studies vol. 39 no. 1 (March 2001)

R. Elgie & S. Griggs *French Politics – Debates and Controversies* (2000) **ARC** ch. 8

***Ross, G. 'Europe Becomes French Domestic Politics' in M. Lewis-Beck *How France Votes* 2000 **ARC**

***H.Kassim, 'French autonomy and the European Union', MCF, May 1997. **ARC**

***H Machin *et al* *France in The European Union* (1998)

***Cole, A. and Drake, H. (2000) 'The Europeanisation of the French polity: continuity, change and adaptation', European Journal of Public Policy, 7 (1): 26-43.

***Ladrech, R. 'Europeanization of domestic politics and institutions: the case of France', Journal of Common Market Studies, 231, 1, March 1994.

G. Flynn, *Remaking the Hexagon*, 1995.

A. Stevens *Government and Politics of France* 2nd Edition (1996) ch. 11

P. Morris, *French Politics Today*, 1994 ch. 10

Cole, A. (1996) *The French Socialists* in Gaffney, J (ed.) *Political Parties and the European Union* London; Routledge pp. 71-85

***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**

***Schmidt, V. Running on empty: the end of dirigisme in French economic leadership', MCF, May 1997. **ARC**

Szarka, J. (1998) *French Business in the Mitterrand Years: Continuity and Change* in Maclean (ed.) *The Mitterrand Years* Macmillan; Basingstoke

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

A. Cole, *French Politics and Society*, 1998 ch.

Hainsworth, P. (1997) *The Return of the French Left: The 1997 French Parliamentary Election* Parliamentary Affairs Vol. 50 No. 3 pp. 70-83

J. Szarka, *The Parties of the French Plural Left: An Uneasy Complimentarity* West European Politics vol. 22 no. 4 October 1999 – also in R. Elgie (ed) *The Changing French Political System* (2000) **ARC**

Boyer, R. (1997) *French Statism at the Crossroads* in Crouch & Streeck (1997) *The Political Economy of Modern Capitalism: Mapping Convergence and Diversity*

***Schmidt, V. *The Changing Dynamics of State-Society Relations in the Fifth Republic* West European Politics vol. 22 no. 4 October 1999 – also in R. Elgie (ed) *The Changing French Political System* (2000) **ARC**

Morin, F. (2000) 'A transformation in the French model of shareholding and management', *Economy and Society* 29(1): 36-53.

***Levy, J. 'France: Directing Adjustment?' in F. Scharpf & V. Schmidt, *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy: Volume Two*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 337-344.

***Levy, J 'Partisan politics and welfare adjustment: the case of France' Journal of European Public Policy 8/2 April 2001, 265-285.

Schmidt, V *Privatisation in France: The Transformation of French Capitalism* Environment & Planning C vol. 17 (1999)

***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.), *Electing 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 Knapp & V Wright *The Government and Politics of France* 4th Edition, Chapter 14

***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

***V. Wright & R Elgie, 'The French Presidency: The Changing Public Policy Environment' in R. Elgie (ed.), *Electing the French President*, (1996) pp. 184-194.

***J. Lovecy *The End of French Exceptionalism West European Politics* vol. 22 no. 4 October 1999 – also in R. Elgie (ed) *The Changing French Political System* (2000) **ARC**

***Schmidt, V. *The Changing Dynamics of State-Society Relations in the Fifth Republic West European Politics* vol. 22 no. 4 October 1999 – also in R. Elgie (ed) *The Changing French Political System* (2000) **ARC**

***H. Kassim, 'French autonomy and the European Union', *MCF*, May 1997. **ARC**

***H Machin *et al* *France in The European Union* (1998)

**Morin, F. (2000) 'A transformation in the French model of shareholding and management', *Economy and Society* 29(1): 36-53.

***Schmidt, V *Privatisation in France: The Transformation of French Capitalism Environment & Planning C* vol. 17 (1999)

***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**

***Levy, J. 'France: Directing Adjustment?' in F. Scharpf & V. Schmidt, *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy: Volume Two*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 337-344.

***Levy, J 'Partisan politics and welfare adjustment: the case of France' *Journal of European*

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

France & Europe readings from week 10

J Gaffney (ed.) *Political Parties in the European Union* (1996)

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

Essay Question: *'Cohabitation brings the operation of the French executive closer to the spirit and the letter of the 1958 constitution'*. Discuss.

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?

Essay question: *To what extent did Chirac's government (1986-1988) inaugurate a neo-liberal shift in French politics?*

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

Essay question: *Is French socialism resurgent? Critically evaluate the record of Jospin's Government since 1997*

- 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:

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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*,
Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.

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:

- R. Elgie and S. Griggs, *French Politics. Debates and Controversies*, London: Routledge, 2000.
- R. Elgie (ed.), *The Changing French Political System*, London: Frank Cass, 1999.
- P. Hall *et al.* (eds.), *Developments in French Politics 2*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- A. Knapp and V. Wright, *The Government and Politics of France*, 4th ed., London: Routledge, 2001.
- J. Girling, *France. Political and Social Change*, London: Routledge, 1998.
- R. Tiersky, *France in the New Europe*, Belmont CA, Wadsworth, 1994.
- W. Safran, *The French Polity*, 4th ed., London: Longman.

Special edition of *The Economist*, 16 November, 2002, on France.

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*.

J. F. McMillan, *Twentieth-century France : politics and society 1898-1991*.

M. Agulhon, *The French Republic, 1879-1992*.

Week 2: (17 Feb.) The development of the Fifth Republic

See above. Also:

P. Buffotot and D. Hanley, in *Modern and Contemporary France*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2003, also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals. On the 2002 elections.

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.

A. Miguet, in *West European Politics*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2002. On the 2002 elections.

S. Budgen, in *New Left Review*, 17, Sept/Oct 2002. On the 2002 elections.

Special issue of *Modern and Contemporary France*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2002, also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals. On the 1997-2002 government.

M. Marian, in *Political Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 3, 2002, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On the 1997-2002 government.

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*.

J. Charlot, *The Gaullist Phenomenon*.

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, *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 (ed.), *Semi-Presidentialism in Europe*, chap. by Elgie.

R. Elgie (ed.), *Divided Government in Comparative Perspective*, chap. by Elgie.

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.
- A. Cole, in *Political Studies*, vol. 42, no. 3, September 1994.

Week 5: (9 March) Political parties and ideologies

- S. Hazareesingh, *Political Traditions in Modern France*.
- D. Bell, in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol. 19, no. 2, 2003, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On the communists.
- 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.
- B. Clift in *Political Quarterly*, vol. 72, no. 2, 2001, socialists.
- 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. Neoclaus 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*.
- A. Knapp, in *Modern and Contemporary France*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2002, also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals. On gaullism.
- 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.
- J. Charlot, *The Gaullist Phenomenon*.
- J. Flower (ed.), *France Today*, chap. by A. Clark and R. Elgie. On foreign policy from de Gaulle to Mitterrand.
- S. Hoffman, *Decline and Renewal*, chaps. 10 and 11. On de Gaulle.
- 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.

- J. Flower (ed.), *France Today*, chap. by A. Clark and R. Elgie. On foreign policy from de Gaulle to Mitterrand.
- J. Frears, *France in the Giscard Presidency*, chap. on foreign policy.
- P. Cerny (ed.), *French Politics and Public Policy*, chap. 13.
- G. Ross et al (eds.), *The Mitterrand Experiment*, chaps. 18 and 19.

- A. Knapp, in *Modern and Contemporary France*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2002, also available electronically from DCU Library, Languages and Intercultural Studies subject portal page, journals. On gaullism.
- 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.
- J. Lévy, in *Geopolitics*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2000.**
- S. Gregory, *French defence policy into the twenty-first century*.
- S. Rynning, in *Security Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2001/2002. On defence policy.

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.

Special edition of *Newsweek*, October 6, 2003.

- S. Gregory, in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 15, no. 1. On terrorism in France.

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.
- C. Lequesne, in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 39, no. 3, 2002, supplement, only available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government 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*.
- J. Schild, in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2001, only available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On French identity.
- M. Maclean (ed.), *France, Germany and Britain : partners in a changing world*.
- P. Gordon, *France, Germany, and the Western Alliance*.

D. Howarth, *The French Road to European Monetary Union*
Articles by K. Dyson and D. Webber, in *West European Politics*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1999. On Franco-German relations.

V. Wright (ed.), *Continuity and Change in France*, chap. on Giscard's European policy.

Week 11: (20 April) France and the wider world

S. Henningham, *France and the South Pacific*.

G. Ross et al (eds.), *The Mitterrand Experiment*, chap. 20.

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.

R. Utley, in *International Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 1, 2002, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government 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?

Articles by J-C. Eslin and M. Padis, in *Political Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 3, 2002, also available electronically from DCU Library, Law and Government subject portal page, journals. On French identity and cultural globalisation.

J. Marks and E. McCaffrey (eds.), *French Cultural Debates*, chap. by G. Salemohamed on French exceptionalism.

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. Bové, in *New Left Review*, 12, Nov/Dec 2001.

J. Gaffney (ed.), *France and Modernisation*.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

FRENCH POLITICS
AND
INSTITUTIONS



2002/2003

READING LIST

August 2002

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

FRENCH POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS (2002-2003)

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

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, <u>Political Studies</u> , March 1972
*G Flynn (Ed.)	Remaking the Hexagon: the New France in the New Europe, (Chapters 1 & 4)
* S. Hoffman	<u>In Search of France</u>
*Y. Mény	<u>Le Système Politique Français</u> pp.23-37
*W. Safran	<u>The French Polity</u> , Ch.1
*N. Hewlett	<u>Modern French Politics</u> Ch.4, The end of exceptionalism?

- 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
- G. Elgie & H. Machin "France: The Limits to Prime Ministerial Government in a Semi-Presidential System", West European Politics Vol.14, No.2, 1991
- V. Alibert-Fabre "La Pensée Constitutionnelle du Général de Gaulle" Revue Française de Sciences Politiques, Vol.40, No.5, 1990
- H. Feigenbaum "Recent Evolution of the French Executive", Governance, 1990
- J. Poulard "The French Double Executive & the Experience of Cohabitation", Political Science Quarterly, Vol.105, No.2, 1990
- R. Elgie "The Prime Minister's Office in France", Governance Vol.5, No.1, 1992
- R. Pierce "The Executive Divided Against Itself: Co-habitation in France 1986-88", Governance, 1991
- 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
- E. Kaminsky "On the comparison of presidential and parliamentary governments " Presidential Studies Quarterly, Vol. 27, No.2, 1997
- R. Elgie "Models of executive politics: a framework for the study of executive power relations in parliamentary and semi-presidential regimes" Political Studies, Vol.45, No.2, 1997
- C. Carpentier "La soumission présidentielle ou la fin du mythe du président absolu", La Revue Politique et Parlementaire No. 988, May/June 1997
- H. Bahro et al 'Duverger's Concept: Semi-Presidential Government Revisited', European Journal of Political Research, Vol.34, No.2, 1998
- R. Turner "The Presidency", in S. Perry (ed.) Aspects of Contemporary France

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 "Decentralisation in Socialist France" in West European Politics, Vol.7 (1), 1984, 65-79.
- *Y. Mény Le Système Politique Français, pp 123-136
- *E. Preteceille "Decentralization in France", European Journal of Political Research, 19, 1988 409-424
- *Special Issue of: Revue Politique et Parlementaire, No.982, March/April 1996, "Repenser L'Etat"
- * J. Loughlin et al "The End of the French Unitary State?" Special issue of Regional Politics & Policy, Vol.4, No.3
- * E. Négrier "The Changing Role of French Local Government", West European Politics, Vol.22, No.4, 1999
- * 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
- A. Spektorowski "Regionalism and the Right: The Case of France", Political Quarterly, Vol.71, No.3, 2000
- K. Nakano The Role of Ideology and Elite Networks in the Decentralisation reforms in 1980s France, West European Politics, Vol.23, No.3, 2000
- H. Reigner Multi-level Governance or co-administration: Transformation & Continuity in French Local Government, Policy & Politics Vol.29, No.2, 2001
- 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 (Eds.) (Chapters on France)
- A. Mabileau Les Pouvoirs Locaux à l'Epreuve de la Décentralisation

- S. Mazey "Décentralisation" in S. Mazey & M. Newan Mitterrand's France
 J. Ardagh France Today, pp 119-200
 M. Keating State and Regional Nationalism
 B. Giblin-Devallet "La Revanche des Régions", L'Histoire April, 1991
 A. Knapp "The 'Cumul des Mandats': Local Power & Political
 Parties in France", West European Politics, Vol.14, No.1, 1991
 P. Bernard Le Préfet de la République
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- * C. Musselin State/University relations and how to change them, "The cases of France and Germany", European Journal of Education, Vol.32, No.2, 1997
- *L. Cerych & P. Sabatier Great Expectations and Mixed Performance, (Chapter 8)
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- *G. Hendriks The Franco-German Axis in European Integration
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* M. Vail "The better part of valour: The politics of French welfare
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I. Mares Enterprise Re-organisation and Social Insurance Reform: The
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R. Duclaud-Williams/VF
August 2002

DEPARTMENT OF MODERN LANGUAGES NOTTINGHAM TRENT
UNIVERSITY

FREN 310 2000/01

La Gauche en France: partis, politiques, et mouvements

The French Left: parties, policies, and protest

LEVEL 3 SEMESTER 2 CREDITS 20

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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
3/18 (15 février)	1968-71: interprétations de mai 68: l'échec de la Gauche?
4/19 (22 février)	Les années 1971-81 (1): les 'nouveaux mouvements sociaux'
5/20 (1 mars)	Les années 1971-81 (2): partis, institutions, et... pouvoir
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
9/24 (29 mars)	Jacobins, Girondins, et... Européens (3): le mouvement régionaliste depuis 1968
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:

3/18 1968-71: interprétations de mai 68: l'échec de la Gauche?

Michel Winock (1986), 'La fièvre hexagonale: les grandes crises politiques, 1871-1968' (Paris: Calmann-Lévy). Ch 8: mai 68, pp 327-73.

Video: Power to the Imagination.

4/19 Les années 1971-81 (1): les 'nouveaux mouvements sociaux'

Russell Dalton, Manfred Kuechler & Wilhelm Bürklin, 'The challenge of new movements', in Russell Dalton & Manfred Kuechler (eds) (1990), 'Challenging the political order' (Cambridge: Polity), pp3-20.

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

Robert Ladrech (1989), 'Social movements and party systems: the French Socialist party and new social movements', *West European Politics*, 12/3, 262-79.

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

Herbert Kitschelt (1986), 'Political opportunity structures and political protest: anti-nuclear movements in four democracies', *British Journal of Political Science*, 16, pp57-85.

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

Sudhir Hazareesingh (1994), 'Political traditions in modern France' (Oxford: OUP). Ch 5, The two faces of French nationalism, pp124-50.

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

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9/24 Jacobins, Girondins, et... Européens (3): le mouvement régionaliste depuis 1968

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10/25 La Gauche et l'immigration

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Paul Oriol (2000), 'Droit de vote des résidents étrangers', *Projet*, 264, 24-30

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?
5. Le mouvement anti-nucléaire articulait, avant tout, un refus de l’organisation centraliste de l’État gaullien. Discutez.
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?
9. Analysez l’évolution du mouvement régionaliste depuis 1968. Dans quelle mesure les lois Defferre de 1982 répondaient-elles aux revendications régionalistes?
10. En juin 1997, une coalition de Socialistes, Communistes, Radicaux, et Verts a remporté les élections législatives et formé un gouvernement ‘pluriel’ sous Lionel Jospin. Dans quelle mesure

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?

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Nuclear power

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Velu C (1999), 'Faut-il 'pactiser' avec l'universalisme? A short history of the PACS', *Modern & Contemporary France*, 7/4, pp.429-42

Essential Reading (2 titles):

1. A. Knapp and V. Wright, The Government and Politics of France (Routledge 2001, fourth edition)

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.

2. A. Cole, 'A Strange Affair: The 2002 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in France', Government and Opposition, vol. 37, no. 3, 2002, pp. 317-42.

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:

COLE A., French Politics and Society, (Prentice Hall, 1998). 320.944/COL

GUYOMARCH et al (eds.) Developments in French Politics 2 (Palgrave, 2001).

STEVENS, A., The Government and Politics of France (Macmillan, 1996, 2nd edition).

320.944/STE

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.

Financial Times Country Survey June 14 2000, available on-line at:

www.ft.com/ftsurveys/country/france2000.htm

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FRIEND, J., The Long Presidency. France in the Mitterrand Years, 1981-1995 (Westview, 1998) 944.083FRI

FYSH, P., and J. WOLFREYS, The Politics of Racism in France (Macmillan, 1998)

GIRLING, J., France. Political and Social Change (Routledge, 1998) 320.944

HALL, P., HAYWARD, J. & MACHIN, H. (eds.), Developments in French Politics (Macmillan, 1994, revised edition) 320.944DEV

HAYWARD, J. (ed.), De Gaulle to Mitterrand. Presidential Power in France (Hurst, 1993) 354.440313DEG

HAZAREESINGH, S. Political Traditions in Modern France (OUP, 1994), 320.944

HEWLETT, N., Modern French Politics. Analysing Conflict and Consensus since 1945 (Polity, 1998).

HOLLIFIELD, J. F. & ROSS, G. (eds.), Searching for the New France (Routledge 1991) 944.083/SEA

KEELER, J.T.S. & SCHAIN. M. A. (eds.), Chirac's Challenge: Liberalisation, Europeanisation and Malaise in France (Macmillan, 1996) 944.083/CHI.

MACLEAN, M. (ed.), The Mitterrand Years. Legacy and Evaluation (Macmillan, 1998).

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WRIGHT, V., The Government and Politics of France (Routledge, 1992, third edition) 320.944 WRI.

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.france.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.assemblee-nat.fr/english/index.asp>

This is the English-language site of the French National Assembly. Amongst other things, you can find a copy of the French Constitution (1958) here.

<http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.fr/en/> English-language site of the French Prime minister and government. Information on institutions of French government, composition of the present government; structure of government ministries; links to other useful sites.

<http://www.elysee.fr/ang/index.shtm>

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.

France at Home and Abroad
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Fall 2006
Thurs 230-530

1. Understanding France Today

Film: *Caché* (Hidden)

Golson, "Memory's *bombes à retardement*," *Journal of European Studies*,
March-June 1998

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, "The Effects of World War II on French Society and Politics," *French
Historical Studies*, Spring 1961

Hoffmann, "Thoughts on the French Political Community Today," *Daedalus*,
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

Hazareesingh, "The Société d'Instruction Républicaine and The Propagation of
Civic Republicanism in Provincial and Rural France," *Journal of Modern
History*, June 99

Offen, "Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism," *The American Historical
Review* 1988

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

Lorcin, "Imperialism, Colonial Identity, and Race in Algeria, 1830-1870," *Isis*, December 1999
Gosslin, "A Colonial Scale of Frenchness," *The Politics of Frenchness in Colonial Algeria*
Alexander and Kieger, "France and the Algerian War: Strategy, Operation, Diplomacy," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 2002

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
Chafer, *The End of Empire in French West Africa* "Turning the Colonial Clock Back: The Second World War in AOF," *The End of Empire in French West Africa*, "The New Political Context, 1944-46" Martin, "Continuity and Change in French African Relations," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, March 1995

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*
Hellman, "Wounding Memories: Mitterrand, Moulin, Trouvier, and the Devine Half-Life of Resistance," *French Historical Studies*, Autumn 1995

10. Who's French? The Politics of Citizenship and Exclusion

Nationalism

Davies, "The 'Nation' in FN Ideology: 'France for the French,'" *The National Front in France*

Race and Immigration

Gafaiti, "Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Ethnic Discourse in the Construction of French Identity," *French Civilization and its Discontents*

Stovall, "From Red Belt to Black Belt: Race, Class, and Urban Marginality in 20th Century Paris," *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*

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:

Noiriel, "Immigration: Amnesia and Memory," *French Historical Studies* 1995

11. Who's French? The Politics of Citizenship and "Integration"

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*

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Danielle Haas Dubosc, "Sexual Difference and Politics in France Today," *Feminist Studies*, Spring 1999

Daniel Sabbagh, "Affirmative Action at Sciences Po," *Race in France*

On the Streets

Herrera, "Three Moments in the French Revolt," *Monthly Review* 2006
<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
 Baum, "The Maastricht Treaty as High Politics," *Political Science Quarterly*, 1995-96
 Utley, "Franco-African Military Relations: Meeting the Challenges of Globalization?" *Modern & Contemporary France* 2005
 Wall, "The French American War over Iraq," *British Journal of World Affairs*, Winter Spring 2004

13. Thanksgiving

14. France and Globalization(s)

Meunier, "Anti-Americanism in France," *French Culture, Politics, & Society*, Summer 2005
 Kuisel, "Coca Cola and the Cold War, The French Face Americanization, 1948-53," *French Historical Studies*, Spring 1991
 Gopnik, "The Balzar War," *Paris to the Moon*
 Gordon and Meunier, "The French Response: Managing Globalization," *The French Challenge*
 Josselin, "Between Europe and a Hard Place: French Financial Diplomacy from 1995-2002," *French Politics, Culture, & Society*, Spring 2004

15. France Alternatives (90)

Gemie, "Anti-Le Pen Protests: France, April-May 2002," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, November 2003
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"
 Ancelovici, "Organizing against Globalization: The Case of ATTAC in France," *Politics & Society*, September 2002

Interviews

"José Bové: A Farmers' International?" *New Left Review* 2001
 "Bernard Cassen: On the Attack?" *New Left Review* 2003