THE FRENCH FIFTH REPUBLIC: POLITICS, POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS

This course is a systematic study of French politics, political institutions and public policies under the Fifth Republic. The focus of the course will be the changing sources, the organization and the institutional consequences of political conflict in France. We will explore the general proposition that historically, institutional instability in France has been related to the ways that political conflict is organized and expressed. How then can we explain and understand the emergence of institutional stability during the period of the Fifth Republic? How has this process been linked to the development of the European Union? Although the readings for this course focus on the French experience since 1958, the analysis will situate this experience in an historical and comparative framework. We will compare political conflict and institutional arrangements under the Fifth Republic with that of other European democracies, as well as with other French regimes. We will also analyze the relationship between changing patterns of political conflict and changing institutional arrangements in France and the European Union.

This course consists of readings, lectures and discussions. There is no text for this course. Some basis information and analysis will be provided in Schain, "Politics in France," chapter 9 of the forthcoming edition of Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Comparative Politics Today (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, in press). A copy of the chapter will be provided for you. All readings from books and articles will be made available to you in the reserve reading room of Bobst Library. Many of the articles are also available on-line, through jstore. You will also be required to follow French politics either through a regular consultation of The Economist (weekly), or Le Monde on-line: (http://www.lemonde.fr/), or both. Other web-sites relevant to this course and for your own research will be given to you during class. There will be a take-home examination distributed on March 7, to be returned via e-mail on March 9. Each student will also be responsible for either a critical review essay or a research paper of 20-25 pages on a topic of his or her choice (I will explain the difference to you, and I will also give you a list of suggested topics). If you would like to work with survey data, two data sets will be made available: one on race and racism in France (1996); one on the legislative elections of 1997. Please submit your paper topic on February 22, and your outline on March 7. The paper must be completed and submitted by May 2. No paper will be accepted beyond the due date.

READING

* indicates reserve reading
I. THE PROBLEM

January 18: Introduction

January 25: Conflict and the Evolving Constitutional Framework--French Exceptionalism and France in Europe

Williams, Crisis and Compromise * Chs. 1-4, 30 and 31
Keeler and Schain, Ch. 1, "Mitterrand's Legacy" in Chirac's Challenge*
Andrews, Presidential Government in Gaullist France, Chs. 4-6*
Duverger, "The Eternal Morass: French Centrism"*
Guyomarch and Machin, "A History of Hesitations on the Road to Maastricht," French Politics and Society, Fall, 1992

Recommended:
Chagnollaud and Quermonne, Le gouvernement de la France sous la Ve République, nouvelle édition, Intro. and Chs. I and II.
Didier Maus, Les grands textes de la pratique institutionelle de la Ve République (1993)

February 1: Conflict, Centralism and Stability
II. MANAGING CONFLICT: THE PRESIDENTIAL STATE AND ITS LIMITS

February 8: The Limits of Presidential Leadership

Schain, "Politics in France," pp.252-254
Keeler and Schain, Ch. 2, "Models of Democracy in Fifth Republic France..." in Chirac's Challenge *
Symposium on Mitterrand's Past, French Politics and Society, Winter, 1995*
Howeth, François Mitterrand and the "Domaine Réservé," FPS Winter, 1992*
Andrews, "The Collective Political Executive," in Andrews and Hoffmann, The Fifth Republic at Twenty (or The Impact of the Fifth Republic on France)*

Roy Pierce, Choosing the Chief: Presidential Elections in France and the United States, Pts. 1 and 3*

Recommended:

Chagnollaud and Quermonne, Ch. IV


Favier and Martin-Roland, La décennie Mitterrand, parts 8 and 9.

Duhamel, Le pouvoir politique en France, Chs. III, V, X, XI

February 15: The Complexities of The Policy-making Process

Schain, "Politics in France," pp. 254-258

Hall, Governing the Economy: The Politics of Intervention in Britain and France, Chs. 6 and 7*

Alec Stone, Ch. 3, "Constitutional Politics and Malaise in France," and Frank Baumgartner, Ch. 4, "The Many Styles of Policymaking in France," in Keeler and Schain, Chirac's Challenge... *

Suleiman, Elites in French Society, Chs. 4-7 *

Suleiman, Politics, Power and Bureaucracy, Ch. 12 *


Recommended:

Quermonne and Chagnollaud, Chs. V, VI and XI

Duhamel, Ch. XV, XIX, XX

Stone, The Birth of Judicial Politics in France
III. EXPLAINING CHANGING PATTERNS OF CONFLICT: CHANGING VALUES AND CHANGING CONFLICT

February 22: Elite Values - coherence, division and conflict

Hollifield and Ross, Searching for The New France, Ch. 8*
Suleiman, Elites..., Introduction - Chapter 3 *
Kramer, "Bad Blood," The New Yorker, October 11, 1993*

Recommended:
Michel Setbon, "Silence mortel de la transfusion sanguine," and
Yves Mény, "Les formes discrètes de la corruption," French Politics and Society, Fall, 1993

February 29: PAPER OUTLINES DUE

March 7: Mass Values: Political Commitment, Religion, Class Values, and the debate About "Centrism"

Schain, "Politics in France," pp. 222-227
Nordlinger, "Democratic Stability...," World Politics, October,1968*
Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon, Chs. 8 and 9 *
Johnson, *The Long March of the French Left*, Chs. 6 and 7*

Converse and Dupeux, "Politicization of the Electorate in France."

Percheron and Jennings, "Political Continuities..." *Comparative Politics*, July, 1981 *

Lamont, "The World in Moral Order: Working Men Evaluate Immigrants, Blacks, the Poor and the Upper Half" (1999)*

Gallie, *Social Inequality and Class Radicalism in France and Britain*, Chs. 1,3 and 4 *

Recommended:


IV. EXPLAINING CONFLICT: ORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS

March 21: Groups as Organizers of Conflict

Schain, "Politics in France," 237-240

Wilson, *Interest-group Politics in France*, Chs. 3-4 *

Keeler, *The Politics of Neocorporatism in France*, Chs. 2 and 4*

Schmidt, "Business, the State and the End of Dirigisme," and Kesselman, "Does the French Labor Movement Have a Future?" in Keeler and Schain, *Chirac's Challenge* *

Groux and Mouriaux, "The Dilemma of Unions without Members," in Daley, *The Mitterrand Era* *

Recommended:

Groux and Mouriaux, "François Mitterrand et les ouvriers," French Politics and Society, Summer/Fall, 1991

March 28: The Dynamics of Group Interaction

Schain, "Politics in France," pp. 227-228, 240-242

Schmidt, From State to Market, Chs. 2, 7-9, 10-11 (*passim*)


Wilson, Ambler, Schain and Baumgartner on the "Politics of Protest," French Politics and Society, Spring/Summer, 1994*

Smith, The Left's Dirty Job..., Chs. 1, 7, 8, 10*

Keeler, The Politics of Neocorporatism in France, Chs. 8*

Wilson, Interest-group politics in France, Chs. 5-8 *


Chapman, Kesselman and Schain, A Century of Organized Labor in France, Chapters by Smith and Howell*

Recommended:

Schain, "Politics and Mass Mobilization," in Cerny and

Schain, Socialism, the State and Public Policy in France, Ch. 11

Berger, "Regime Interests and Representation: the French Traditional Middle Classes," in Berger, Organizing Interests in Western Europe

Ambler, "Neo-corporatism and the Politics of French Education," West European Politics, July, 1985 (R)

"Quatre semaines de conflit," supplément au Monde, December 21, 1995
V. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND THE EXPRESSION OF CONFLICT

April 4: The Fragility of the Party System


Kalyvas, The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe, Ch. 3.

Stefano Bartolini, "Institutional Constraints and Party Competition in the French Party System," West European Politics, October, 1984 *


Lawson and Ysmal, "Do the Parties Matter?"

Daniel Boy and Nonna Mayer, "Cleavage Voting and Issue Voting in France

Ross, "Europe Becomes French Domestic Politics,"

in Michael Lewis-Beck, Editor, How France Votes*

Recommended:

Quermonnne and Chagnollaud, Ch. VIII

Mayer and Perrineau, Ch. 1

Subileau and Toinet, Les chemins de l'abstention, Chs. 7 and 8

Converse and Pierce, Political Representation in France, Chs. 1 & 2
April 11: The Fall and Rise of the French Right

Hollifield and Ross, Searching for The New France, Ch. 3*

Charlot, The Gaullist Phenomenon, Introduction and Ch. 3*

James G. Shields, "Le Pen and the Progression of the Far Right in France," French Politics and Society, Spring, 1995

Schain, "The Impact of the National Front on the French Political System" (1999)*

Gérard Grunberg, "Why Did the Right Loose?"

Etienne Schweisguth, "The Myth of Neoconservatism in Michael Lewis-Beck, Editor, How France Votes*

Recommended:

Brechon and Mitra, "The National Front in France: The Emergence of an Extreme Right Protest Movement," Comparative Politics, October, 1992

Colette Ysmal, "La droite modérée sous la pression du Front national," French Politics and Society, Spring, 1995

APRIL 18: TAKE-HOME EXAMINATION

April 18: The Rise and Fall of the French Left

Hollifield and Ross, Searching for The New France, Ch. Ch. 4*


Recommended:


Henry Rey, "Jospin: La double surprise d'une défaite honorable," in *French Politics and Society*, Spring, 1995

April 25: Social and Economic Policy

Schain, "Politics in France," pp. 261-265

Ross, "EMU and the French Model of Society"

Hollifield and Ross, *Searching for The New France*, Chs. 1 and 6

Schmidt, "Still State Capitalism?"


Ambler, *The French Welfare State*

Ambler, "Ideas, Interests and the French Welfare State"

Cameron, "Continuity and Change in French Social Policy: The Welfare State under Gaullism, Liberalism and Socialism"

Jobert, "Democracy and Social Policies: The Example of France"
Goodman, "Monetary Policy and Financial Deregulation in France," French Politics and Society, Fall, 1992*

Recommended:


List of Books on Reserve

John T.S. Keeler and Martin A. Schain, Chirac's Challenge: Liberalization, Europeanization and Malaise in France

Dominique Chagnollaud and Jean-Louis Quermonne, Le gouvernement de la France sous la Ve République, nouvelle édition

Nonna Mayer and Pascal Perrineau, Les comportements politiques


Michael Lewis-Beck, How France Votes

Phillip Williams, Crisis and Compromise

William Andrews, Presidential Government in Gaullist France

Anthony Daley, The Mitterrand Era: Policy Alternatives and Political Mobilization in France

Peter Hall, Jack Hayward and Howard Machin, Developments in French Politics

Martin Schain, French Communism and Local Power

Vivien Schmidt, Democratizing France

Susan Rogers, Shaping Modern Times in Rural France

William Andrews and Stanley Hoffmann, The Fifth Republic at Twenty

Roy Pierce, Choosing the Chief: Presidential Elections in France and the United States

Peter Hall, Governing the Economy: The Politics of Intervention in Britain and France
Ezra Suleiman, *Elites in French Society*

Ezra Suleiman, *Politics, Power and Bureaucracy*

James Hollifield and George Ross, *Searching for The New France*

Michel Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*

R.W. Johnson, *The Long March of the French Left*

Frank Wilson, *Interest-group Politics in France*

John Keeler, *The Politics of Neocorporatism in France*

Herrick Chapman, Mark Kesselman and Martin Schain, *A Century of Organized Labor in France*

Rand Smith, *The Left's Dirty Job...*

Stathis Kalyvas, *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*

Jean Charlot, *The Gaullist Phenomenon*

John Ambler, *The French Welfare State*