

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Department of International Relations

Spring Semester 2016

IR 551/PO 536

SOCIAL EUROPE:  
IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE WELFARE STATE

Monday 1-4pm  
Location: IRC 220

Vivien A. Schmidt  
Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration  
Professor of International Relations and Political Science  
Director, Center for the Study of Europe

*Office:* 154 Bay State Road, rm 303  
Boston, MA 02215  
Tel: 358-0192

Email: [vschmidt@bu.edu](mailto:vschmidt@bu.edu)  
Website: <http://blogs.bu.edu/vschmidt>

European Studies Major/Minor and the Center for the Study of Europe Website:  
<http://www.bu.edu/european>

Office Hours:  
Mondays 11 am-12 pm, Wednesdays 2:00-pm-4:00pm and by appointment

SOCIAL EUROPE:  
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COURSE DESCRIPTION:

With European economic integration a reality and the sovereign debt crisis of the Euro an on-going problem, the social and political questions that in the past had remained in the background have returned to center stage. The refugee crisis, with seemingly unending masses of migrants coming from the war-torn Middle East, only adds to the social and political issues confronting Europe. Concerns about political legitimacy and national democracy in the multi-level European Union have also increasingly come to the fore, as decision-making authority has slowly but surely moved up to the EU level. The ‘no’ votes in the referenda on the Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands and in Ireland for the Lisbon Treaty suggest that already in the mid 2000s national publics had become increasingly concerned about the challenges from European integration to national identity and sovereignty as well as to the welfare state. The Lisbon Treaty of 2009 may have taken care of the institutional issues, but it did not address the issues of policy or democracy at the heart of citizen concerns in the member-states. The rise of the extremes on the right and the left demonstrates that citizens’ concerns have only intensified in response to the multiple crises.

Although ‘social Europe’ is a relatively new area of concern, EU policies on employment, welfare, gender and immigration have already greatly affected national policies and practices. The EU’s initiatives on gender, whether through Commission-inspired directives or European Court of Justice decisions, have had a profound impact on women’s rights and employment. The EU Charter on Fundamental Rights is equally important for the protection of individual rights throughout the Union. But the EU’s failure to come to a common agreement on immigration has become particularly problematic during the refugee crisis, in particular given member-states very different responses to that crisis—from open arms to barbed wire fences.

Finally, the EU has had a significant impact on the welfare state, which has itself been under great pressure since its ‘Golden Age’ in the postwar period. No course on ‘social Europe’ would be complete without considering the profound changes in national social and employment policies since the 1970s. These changes are the result of external economic pressures, global and European, as well as of internal political dynamics. And they can only be explored on a country by country basis, in order to understand the differences in responses following from differences in postwar policy legacies; in the impact of the economic crisis beginning in the mid-1970s as well as the major crisis beginning in 2008; in the preferences that played themselves out in electoral politics; and in the ideas and discourses through which national politicians sought to legitimate the reforms.

This course, in short, seeks to consider the past, present, and future of ‘social Europe.’ It begins with a focus on the impact of European political as well as economic integration

on national identities, cultures, politics, and citizenship, follows with an examination of the policies that have had or will have the greatest impact on these social constructions, and ends with an examination of the changes in the welfare state over time. In many sessions, moreover, in addition to considering the long standing academic discussions of the Social Europe, we will debate the current crises and their responses, including borders and possible British exit from the EU; the Greek ‘tragedy’ in the Eurozone crisis; the turn to ‘illiberal democracy’ in Hungary and Poland; what to do about gender-based glass ceilings; the refugee crisis as a human rights issue, an integration issue, and a political issue; and the impact of the Eurozone crisis on labor and social policy.

#### **COURSE OUTLINE:**

- A. Introduction: What is Social Europe?
- B. The Building Blocks: Identity, Citizenship, and Democracy
  - 1. Identity and Culture
  - 2. Identity and Borders
  - 3. Identity and Democratic Legitimacy
  - 4. Identity, Citizenship, Legitimacy, and the Euro
  - 5. Identity, Democracy, and the Political Extremes
- C. EU Policies for a Social Europe
  - 1. EU Gender Issues
  - 2. EU Human Rights Policies: Inside and Outside
  - 3. EU Immigration and Integration
  - 4. EU Immigration, Integration, and Politics
- D. The Underpinnings: European Welfare State and Social Justice
  - 1. EU Social Policy and National Welfare States
  - 2. National Economic and Social Policy Reforms, Values, Discourse
- E. Conclusion and Class Presentations

#### **REQUIRED TEXTS:**

- Art, David, (2011) *Inside the Right* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cerutti, Furio, Lucarelli, Sonia and Schmidt, Vivien, eds. (2011) *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union*. London: Routledge,
- Hay, Colin and Wincott, Daniel (2012) *The Political Economy of European Welfare Capitalism* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hochschild, Jennifer and Mollenkopt, John H. *Bringing (2009) Outsiders In: TransAtlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation* Ithaca: Cornell.
- Joppke, Christian (2010) *Veil: Mirror of Identity* London: Polity Press.
- Kantola, Johanna (2010) *Gender and the European Union* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- McNamara, Kathleen (2015) *The Politics of Everyday Europe* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 30% discount on book: [Click here to order my new book "The Politics of Everyday Europe" & use code "ASFLYQ6" to get 30% off list price](#)
- Moro, Giovanni *The Single Currency and Citizenship: Unveiling the Other Side of the Coin* Bloomsbury Academic 2013.

Risse, Thomas (2010) *A Community of Europeans?* Ithaca: Cornell University Press  
 Zippel, Kathrin S. (2006) *The Politics of Sexual Harassment* Cambridge University Press.

The books are all available at Barnes and Noble. Other readings are on reserve, accessible through the web, or from me via email. An asterisk denotes readings with a policy-related or contemporary events focus.

Students are also strongly encouraged to get a subscription to the *Financial Times* (available free for BU students) as well as to the *Economist*. Also, please also check out the internet. The EU has a very elaborate site, with a great deal of information. Check it out at [www.eurunion.org](http://www.eurunion.org). Also find a short guide at [www.eurunion.org/infores/eurguide/eurguide.htm](http://www.eurunion.org/infores/eurguide/eurguide.htm).

In addition, see the list of internet sites on the Center for the Study of Europe website: <http://www.bu.edu/European>

#### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

This course will be run as a seminar. Students are expected to do all the readings and to be prepared to discuss them. There will be two take home essays (1500 words for undergraduates, 2000 for graduate students, each worth 20 percent of the grade) and a final paper (worth 40 percent). Students will also be expected to provide one to two group oral presentations in class in addition to a final class report on their paper, plus attend class regularly and participate in discussions (worth 20 percent of the grade). The paper (4000 words for undergraduates, 5000 words for graduate students) will be a research paper focused on an important issue with regard to social Europe. The group oral presentations consist both of reports based on readings from the syllabus and presented in class (15 minute presentation) and a presentation of their final paper during the few class (5-10 minute presentation). Late papers or missed presentations without acceptable excuse or prior notification will be docked 3 percentage points.

The College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) Dean's Office has requested that you be informed of the following: The last day you may drop the course without a W grade is February 23. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is April 1.

You are responsible for knowing the provisions of the CAS Academic Conduct Code (copies are available in CAS 105). Cases of suspected academic misconduct will be referred to the Deans' Office. See:

CAS: <http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>

GRS: <http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/graduate/grs-forms-policies-procedures/academic-discipline-procedures/>

Boston University is committed to providing equal access to our coursework and programs to all students, including those with disabilities. In order to be sure that accommodations can be made in time for all exams and assignments, please plan to turn

in your accommodations letter as soon as possible after the first class, but no later than (ten days) from the first exam/assignment. After you turn in your letter, please meet with me to discuss the plan for accommodations so we can be sure that they are adequate and you are supported in your learning. If you have further questions or need additional support, please contact the Office of Disability Services ([access@bu.edu](mailto:access@bu.edu)), the Political Science advisor or the Pardee School Advisor.

## SOCIAL EUROPE

### Introduction: What is Social Europe?

Class 1: Mon. Jan. 25

#### A. The Building Blocks: Identity, Citizenship, and Democracy

##### 1. Identity and Culture

Class 2: Mon. Feb. 1

McNamara, Kathleen, *The Politics of Everyday Europe* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 1- 90

Risse, Thomas, *Community of Europeans?* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. 19-106

Sonntag, Albrecht, "False expectations: the counterproductive side effects of the EU's use of political symbols" in "*Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union*" eds. Furio Cerutti, Sonia Lucarelli, and Vivien A. Schmidt. (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 115-130

\*US-British comparison: Sarah Lyall, "TaTa.London.Hello.Awesome," *New York Times* Aug. 18, 2013 [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/18/opinion/sunday/ta-ta-london-hello-awesome.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/18/opinion/sunday/ta-ta-london-hello-awesome.html?_r=0)

\*Henning Wehn on Dave's One Night Stand (German stand-up comic in and on Scotland) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MNNCqAmZzTA>

##### 2. Identity and Borders

Class 3: Mon. Feb. 8

Risse, Thomas, "Widening" in *Community of Europeans* p. 204-225

McNamara, Kathleen, "Citizenship and Mobility" in *The Politics of Everyday Europe*, pp. 91-112

Lucarelli, Sonja, "Mirrors of us: European political identity and the Others' image of the EU" in "*Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy*, pp. 148-167

McNamara, Kathleen, "European Foreign Policy" in *The Politics of Everyday Europe*, pp. 135-160.

*Debate: The British Referendum: Brexit as a case of identity and borders?*

\*Jean-Claude Piris "Should the British Exit from the EU?" *Robert Schuman Foundation* no. 355 (May 2015) [www.robert-schuman.eu/en/doc/questions-d-europe/qe-355-en.pdf](http://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/doc/questions-d-europe/qe-355-en.pdf)

\* Simon Hix 'Is the UK Marginalized in the EU?' *Social Europe Journal* Oct 2016 <http://www.socialeurope.eu/2015/10/is-the-uk-marginalised-in-the-eu/>

**Special Event: Thurs Feb 11--Prof. Loukas Tsoukalis 'Europe in Crisis: Is there a Way Out?' 5-6:30pm Pardee School 121 Bay State Road**

### 3. Identity and Democratic legitimacy

Class 4: Mon. Feb. 16

Cerutti, Furio “How not to (mis)understand political identity in the European Union in *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy* eds. Cerutti, Lucarelli, and Schmidt, pp. 3-15.

Levrat, Nicolas, “Do the powers exerted by the EU need a legitimacy based on the citizens’ European identity?” in *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy*, pp. 76-90

Schmidt, Vivien “Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output, and ‘Throughput,’” *Political Studies* vol. 61, no. 1 (2013): 2-22 (download from eJournals or will email)

Sara B. Hobolt and James Tilley (2014) “Who’s in Charge? How Voters Attribute Responsibility in the European Union” *Comparative Political Studies* 47: 795 (eJournals) DOI: 10.1177/0010414013488549

### 4. Identity, Citizenship, Legitimacy, and the Euro

Class 5: Mon. Feb 22 (change to Feb 18, 6:30 to 9pm)

McNamara, Kathleen, “The Euro and the Single Market” in *The Politics of Everyday Europe*, pp. 113-134.

Schmidt, Vivien A. “The Forgotten Problem of Democratic Legitimacy: ‘Governing by the Rules’ and ‘Ruling by the Numbers.’” Chapter for *The Future of the Euro*, eds. Mark Blyth and Matthias Matthijs (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) (download from ebooks, Oxford Scholarship online)

Giovanni Moro, “Building Citizenship in the post-Modern Era: Dimensions of the other side of the coin” in *The Single Currency and Citizenship* ed., G. Moro

Shore, Chris. “Divided by a Common Currency: The Euro Crisis and European Citizenship” in *The Single Currency and Citizenship* ed., G. Moro.

Heidbreder, Eva “Why money can’t buy Democracy: On the Detachment of the Euro from EU citizenship” in *The Single Currency and Citizenship* ed., G. Moro

*Debate: The Greek Eurozone Crisis*

\*Anna Sauerbrey, “European Political Poker, *International New York Times*, August 10, 2015 [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/10/opinion/anna-sauerbrey-european-political-poker.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/10/opinion/anna-sauerbrey-european-political-poker.html?_r=0)

\* Jürgen Habermas on the Greek debt Deal, *The Guardian*, July 16, 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/16/jurgen-habermas-eu-greece-debt-deal>

\*Ian Parker “The Greek Warrior” (on Varoufakis) *The New Yorker* Aug 3, 2015 [www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/08/03/the-greek-warrior](http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/08/03/the-greek-warrior)

### 5. Identity, Democracy, and the Political Extremes

Class 6: Mon. Feb 29 (change to Feb 22)

Art, David, *Inside the Right* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) (esp pp. 106-230)

Minkenberg, Michael, “Anti-Immigrant Politics in Europe: The Radical Right, Xenophobic Tendencies, and Their Political Environment” in *Bringing Outsiders In: Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation* eds., J. Hochschild and J. Mollenkopf (Ithaca: Cornell, 2009)

European Forum: The Rise of the Far Right? In *APSA European Politics and Society Newsletter* read articles by David Art, Terri Givens, Michael Minkenberg, Cas Mudde (download Winter 2014 at <http://community.apsanet.org/eps/newsletter> )

\* <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/16/across-europe-disillusioned-voters-turn-to-outsiders>

*Debate: Extremes in Power--Hungary and Poland as Illiberal Democracies?*

\* Dan Kelemen and Mitchell Ornstein, “Europe’s Autocracy Problem” *Foreign Affairs* Jan. 7, 2016 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/poland/2016-01-07/europes-autocracy-problem> (or get via bu library)

\* <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/eu-priorities-2020/polands-law-and-justice-party-losing-its-lustre-321075>

\* Dan Kelemen, “Europe’s Hungary Problem” *Foreign Affairs* Sept. 20, 2015

\* Center for European Reform, “Hungary and the West: We need to talk about Viktor” November 2014 <http://www.cer.org.uk/insights/hungary-and-west-we-need-talk-about-viktor>

**(Mar 4: takehome essay #1 due—please email)**

## **B. EU Policies for a Social Europe**

### **1. EU Gender Issues**

Class 7: Mon. Mar. 14

Kantola, Johanna *Gender and the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), Chapters 1-6, pp. 1-147.

Zippel, Kathrin S. *The Politics of Sexual Harassment* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), Chapters 3-5, pp. 82-201

Heather Macrae: “The EU as a Gender Equality Polity: Myths and Realities” in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 48, issue 1, 2010, pp. 155 – 174. [download from e-journals]

*Debate: Why should anything be done about Glass Ceilings in politics or business?*

\* Georgina Waylen, “ Gender, Institutions, and the Quality of Democracy” Quality of Government Institute (2015)

<https://www.google.com/search?q=waylen+Gender%2C+Institutions+and+the+Quality+of+Democracy&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8>

\* Germany sets Gender Quotas in Boardrooms *New York Times* (March 2, 2015)

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/07/world/europe/german-law-requires-more-women-on-corporate-boards.html>

***Special EVENT: in class March 21 talk: Peter De Wilde on politicization of the EU 1-2:30pm***



## 2. EU Human Rights Policies: Inside and Outside

Class 8 Mon. Mar 21

- \*“The Charter of Fundamental Human Rights.” European Union document.  
([http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/default\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/default_en.htm) ) See also:  
[http://europa.eu/pol/rights/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/pol/rights/index_en.htm) for the EU on Human Rights more generally
- Türkeş, Merzuka Selin, “Human Rights in the European Union's Foreign Policy: Universal in Discourse, Flexible in Practice” *Recon Online Working Paper 2011/21* (August 2011) Find at:  
<http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2011.html>
- \*Council of Europe, “Safeguarding Human Rights in times of Crisis,” Issue paper November 2013. download [http://www.enetenglish.gr/resources/article-files/prems162913\\_gbr\\_1700\\_safeguardinghumanrights\\_web.pdf](http://www.enetenglish.gr/resources/article-files/prems162913_gbr_1700_safeguardinghumanrights_web.pdf)

*Debate: The Refugee Crisis as a Human Rights Issue*

- \* Human Rights Watch on Europe’s Refugee Crisis:  
<https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/11/16/europes-refugee-crisis/agenda-action>
- \* “Mandatory Pork: Menu Rule in Denmark...” *New York Times* Jan 20, 2016  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/21/world/europe/randers-denmark-pork.html>
- A proposal for reform of Asylum Policy, FEPS (Foundation for Progressive European Studies): <http://www.feps-europe.eu/assets/e395b30f-68a6-4781-957d-38ad1a89a043/call-to-europe-iv-twelve-proposalspdf.pdf>

## 3. EU Immigration and Integration

Class 9 Mon. Mar. 28

- Hochschild, Jennifer and Mollenkopf, John, *Bringing Outsiders In: TransAtlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation* Ithaca: Cornell, 2009), Chapter 1 “Setting the Context,” Ch. 1, pp. 3-14
- Martiniello, Marco, “Immigrants and Their Offspring in Europe as Political Subjects” in *Bringing Outsiders In*, Chap. 3, 33-47
- Duyvendak, Jan Willem, Pels, Trees, and Rijkschroeff, Rally, “A Multicultural Paradise? The Cultural Factor in Dutch Integration Policy” in *Bringing Outsiders In* Chap. 9, pp., 129-139
- Modood, Tariq, “The State and Ethno-Religious Mobilization in Britain” in *Bringing Outsiders In*” Ch. 15, pp. 233-249.
- Immigration and Integration Forum *European Politics and Society Newsletter APSA*  
<http://community.apsanet.org/eps/newsletter> download summer 2015

***Special Event: in class April 4 1-2:30pm: Amandine Crespy on the European Welfare State***

## 4. EU Immigration, Integration, and Politics

Class 10: Mon. Apr 4

- Joppke, Christian *Veil: Mirror of Identity* (London: Polity Press 2010), entire

Lauren McClaren, “The Cultural Divide in Europe: Migration, Multiculturalism, Political Trust,” *World Politics*, Vol. 64, no. 2, (2012): 199-241  
 The Roma: <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/01/13/the-people-who-pass>

*The Refugee Crisis as Political Issue*

- \* “Barbed Wire Rhetoric” *Financial Times* Nov. 6, 2015  
<http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/fd9db706-9296-11e5-bd82-c1fb87bef7af.html?siteedition=intl#axzz3xtSkdkis>
- \* “Backlash over Refugees leaves Merkel Looking Vulnerable” *Financial Times* Nov. 13, 2015 <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/3a4c96ea-8a27-11e5-90de-f44762bf9896.html#axzz3xtSkdkis>
- \* “EU Refugee Crisis: End of an Ideal” *Financial Times*, Sept 4, 2015  
<http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/416d5eb0-52ea-11e5-b029-b9d50a74fd14.html#slide0>

## C. The Underpinnings: European Social Welfare and Social Justice

### 1. EU Social Policy and National Welfare States

Class 11 Mon. Apr 11

- Hay, Colin and Wincott, Daniel *The Political Economy of European Welfare Capitalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), entire
- Bruzelius, Cecilia, Chase, Elaine, and Seeleib-Kaiser, Martin (2014) “Semi-Sovereign Welfare States, Social Rights of Citizens, and the Need for Strong State Capacities” *SE Journal* Oxford Institute of Social Policy and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, no 3 (Dec.)  
<http://www.feslondon.org.uk/cms/files/fes/pdf/FES%20Seeleib%20Oxford%2012%202014%20Welfare%20States.pdf>
- Erne, Roland (2015) “A supranational regime that nationalizes social conflict: Explaining European trade unions' difficulties in politicizing European economic governance,” *Labor History*, 56:3, 345-368 (get from ejournals)

### 2. National Economic and Social Policy Reforms, Values, and Discourse

Class 12 Mon. Apr. 20

- Schmidt, Vivien A. “Values and Discourse in the Politics of Adjustment” in *Welfare and Work*, vol. 1 ed. Scharpf and Schmidt, pp. 229-309. (Will email)
- Mark Thomson, “Democracy, Inclusion and the Governance of Active Social Policies in the EU: Recent Lessons from Denmark, the UK and France *Recon Online Working Paper 2011/27* (December 2011) Find at:  
<http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2011.html>
- David G. Mayes and Zaidah Mustaffa, “Social Models in the Enlarged EU” [RECON Online Working Paper 2010/20](#) Find at:  
<http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2010.html>

*Debate: Final Stocktaking--What happened to Social Europe?*

- \* <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/future-eu/jean-michel-de-waele-european-project-needs-be-re-established-321173>

**(Apr. 22 *Take home essay #2 due*)**

Class 13 Mon. Apr 25

Conclusions and Class Presentations

[Papers due via email on Monday May 4]