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

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http://www.bu.edu/european

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

Cerutti, Furio, Lucarelli, Sonia and Schmidt, Vivien, eds. (2011) *Debating Political
Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union*. London: Routledge,
Capitalism* Basingsroke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Hochschild, Jennifer and Mollenkopt, John H. *Bringing (2009) Outsiders In:
TransAtlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation* Ithaca: Cornell.
Macmillan
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.


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](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/](http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/)

GRS: [http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/graduate/grs-forms-policies-procedures/academic-discipline-procedures/](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), 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
Risse, Thomas, Community of Europeans? (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. 19-106
*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

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

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


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)


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

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


*Debate: The Greek Eurozone Crisis*


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

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


* [http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/16/across-europe-disillusioned-voters-turn-to-outsiders](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?**


**(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


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


**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) See also:
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:


*Debate: The Refugee Crisis as a Human Rights Issue
* Human Rights Watch on Europe’s Refugee Crisis:


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

C. The Underpinnings: European Social Welfare and Social Justice

1. EU Social Policy and National Welfare States

Class 11 Mon. Apr 11

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

Class 12 Mon. Apr. 20
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: 
David G. Mayes and Zaidah Mustaffa, “Social Models in the Enlarged EU” RECON Online Working Paper 2010/20 Find at: 

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]