

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Department of International Relations

Spring Semester 20120

IR 551/PO 536

**SOCIAL EUROPE:
IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE WELFARE STATE**

Tuesday 6:30-9:15pm

Location: IRB 102

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Mondays 1:15-2:15pm, Tuesdays 3:30-5:30pm and by appointment

**SOCIAL EUROPE:
IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE WELFARE STATE**

IR 551/PO 536

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

Over the past decade, the European Union has been on a roller-coaster ride, moving from crisis to crisis with seemingly little pause for breath. The Eurozone crisis was quickly followed by the refugee crisis, then the British vote on exit from the EU, which was succeeded by growing concerns about the illiberal drift in Central and Eastern Europe. With these crises, the social and political questions that in the past had remained in the background have returned to center stage. EU identity and solidarity have eroded, while the politics in the member-states has become increasingly volatile.

Rising Euroskepticism has sources in socio-economic and socio-cultural discontents as much as political ones. Populist support has been fueled by socio-economic concerns focused on policies seen to have created growing unemployment and poverty along with rising inequalities, in particular subsequent to the Eurozone crisis, and especially in Southern Europe. Adding to these have been socio-cultural fears about the loss of social status, often mixed with worries about the changing ‘faces’ of the nation, which were exacerbated by the refugee and migration crisis. But there have also been purely political sources of discontent, reflected in peoples’ sense of a loss of control as a result of deepening European integration, in particular with regard to issues related to money and borders. The rallying cry of ‘Take back control’ in the British vote on exit from the EU was arguably the clearest expression of such political dissatisfaction.

Although ‘social Europe’ is a relatively new area of concern for an EU long-focused on economic affairs, 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, we will debate the current crises and their responses, including borders and 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, as 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 I
 - 2. EU Social Policy and National Welfare States II
- 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,
- 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

- Kantola, Johanna and Lombardo, Emanuela (Eds.) (2017) *Gender and the Economic Crisis in Europe: Politics, Institutions and Intersectionality* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- McNamara, Kathleen (2015) *The Politics of Everyday Europe* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moro, Giovanni (2013) *The Single Currency and Citizenship: Unveiling the Other Side of the Coin* Bloomsbury Academic 2013.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bu/reader.action?docID=1580820>
- Risse, Thomas (2010) *A Community of Europeans?* Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Taylor-Gooby, Peter, Leruth, Benjamin, and Chung, Heejung (2017) *After Austerity: Welfare State Transformation in Europe after the Great Recession* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017
- Wilson, Robin (2018) *Meeting the Challenge of Cultural Diversity in Europe: Moving Beyond the Crisis* Edward Elgar <https://www-elgaronline-com.ezproxy.bu.edu/view/9781786438164/9781786438164.xml>

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. Also find a short guide at 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>

ONLINE PARTICIPATION

We will be using **Piazza** to facilitate class logistics as well as class discussion through posting of comments on the readings prior to the class session.

Logistics: Piazza has two functions: one for practical course questions, and the other for facilitating online discussion. For practical questions, I prefer you first post any inquiries to Piazza (logistics) before emailing the professor. It is likely that you will get an answer to your question much faster if you pose it to your peers first on Piazza, and then I can validate or follow up on any answer when I'm available to do so. Piazza has an anonymous function for this purpose.

Written comments for class discussion: We will also use Piazza to host a weekly online discussion prior to the start of class.

- The online comment will be due by 2pm the day of class. Participating in the online discussions in piazza is very important, particularly to encourage student-to-student interaction through the system.
- ***In order to receive participation credit, you must have at least one meaningful (2+ paragraph or 300 word +) discussion contribution in every week of the course, except for the first and last sessions. You also should have at least 3 additional contributions, as answers and follow-up comments to fellow students.***
- The comment or contribution must take at least 2-3 readings into account. It is not a work of perfection or brilliance: it is a conversation. It can pose more questions than answers. I want you to take risks and really enter an evolving debate and conversation. In dealing with critical moments and memory in culture and politics, there is no 'right' answer. The only way to be wrong is to not participate.

Find our class page at: <https://piazza.com/class/k5h1fkldt8q6x3> and sign

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. This means reading and reflecting analytically on the readings, posting online comments on Piazza before class, attending class regularly, and engaging in the seminar discussion (20 percent of the grade). It also means providing one or two oral presentations and participating in a debate plus presenting a final report in class on the final paper (20 percent), a write-up analysis of one of the oral presentations (20 percent), and a final paper (40 percent).

The oral presentation(s) will be a group presentation (2 or 3 students) based on readings from the syllabus and presented in class (15 minute presentation in total). Each student will then write a paper analyzing the full set of readings for the session, due two weeks after presentation (2000 words). The final paper (4000 words) will be a research paper focused on a theme of interest related to Social Europe.

ABSENCES AND LATE WORK

Students are expected to attend all class sessions and to hand in assignments at the scheduled times, unless documentation is given excusing an absence for medical, religious or personal reasons, or for official university business. Every effort should be made to notify the instructor **in advance** of the reason for the absence. Unexcused late papers will be penalized 5% for the first day late, and 2% each day thereafter.

INFORMATION

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 Feb. 25. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is April 3. 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.

Academic Misconduct: All class members are expected to maintain high standards of academic honesty and integrity. You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than your own original thoughts. Boston University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe, and can include permanent expulsion from the university. For more on the definition of plagiarism and the standards to which you will be held, see the [CAS Academic Conduct Code](#), or the [GRS Academic Conduct Code](#).

Disabilities: 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 to the instructor. After you turn in your letter, please meet with me to discuss the plan for accommodations so that 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).

SOCIAL EUROPE

Introduction: What is Social Europe?

Class 1: Tues. Jan. 21

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

1. Identity and Culture

Class 2: Tues. Jan 28

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

Francis Fukuyama (2018) [Why National Identity Matters](#) *Journal of Democracy*, 29 (4): 5-15

*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: Tues. Feb. 4

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?

*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

* 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/>

* Visit the website 'The UK in a Changing Europe' and read some of the essays in the sections on Analysis and Facts for background. And listen to the latest info at: <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/multimedia/brexit-breakdown-with-professors-meg-russell-and-tim-bale/>

* John Olver on Brexit: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iAgKHSNqxa8&feature=youtu.be>

3. Citizenship and Democratic Legitimacy

Class 4: Tues. Feb. 11

Shaw, Jo (2018) "[EU Citizenship, Still a Fundamental Status?](#)" in Bauböck, Rainer (2018) *Debating European Citizenship*

Ferrera, Maurizio (2018) [EU Citizenship needs a Stronger Social Dimension and Soft Duties](#)"

Schmidt, Vivien (2020) *Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy: Governing by Rules and Ruling by Numbers in the Eurozone* Chapter 2: "Conceptualizing Legitimacy" (Posted on Piazza)

Debate: Should EU Citizens have the right to vote in national elections?

Cayla, Philippe and Seth, Catriona (2018) "[EU Citizens should have the Right to Vote in National Elections](#)" in Rainer Bauböck (2018) *Debating European Citizenship*

Bauböck, Rainer (2018) "[EU Citizens should have the Right to Vote in National Elections, but in which country?](#)" in Rainer Bauböck (2018) *Debating European Citizenship*

Brun, Alain (2018) "[A European or a National Solution to the Democratic Deficit](#)" in Rainer Bauböck (2018) *Debating European Citizenship*

4. Identity, Citizenship, Legitimacy, and the Euro

Class 5: Tues. Feb. 25

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

Schmidt, Vivien (2020) *Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy: Governing by Rules and Ruling by Numbers in the Eurozone* Chapter 3: "Split-Level Legitimacy and Politicization in the EU" (Posted on Piazza)

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

* 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

5. Identity, Democracy, and the Political Extremes

Class 6: Tues. March 3

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

Pappas, Takis (2019) "[Populists in Power](#)" *Journal of Democracy*, 30(2)

Sheri Berman, Maria Snegovaya (2019) "[Populism and the Decline of Social Democracy](#)" *Journal of Democracy*, 30(3): 5-19

Anna Grzymala-Busse (2019) [Failure of Europe's Mainstream Parties](#) *Journal of Democracy*, 30(4): 35-47
 Roberto D'Alimonte (2019) [How the Populists won Italy](#) *Journal of Democracy*, 30 (1): 114-127

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

Péter Krekó, Zsolt Enyed (2018) Explaining Eastern Europe: [Orbán's Laboratory of Illiberalism](#) *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 29, No. 3, (July): 39-51

* 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>

B. EU Policies for a Social Europe

1. EU Gender Issues

Class 7: Tues. March 17

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

Kantola, Johanna and Lombardo, Emanuela (Eds.) (2017) *Gender and the Economic Crisis in Europe: Politics, Institutions and Intersectionality* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapters 2, 5, 6, 7, 10

**A gender issue you may not have thought about—public toilets

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/nov/14/queue-ladies-loo-feminist-issue-public-toilets>

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>

2. EU Human Rights Policies and Refugees

Class 8 Tues. March 24

**"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

**EU Human Rights Policy: Fact Sheets* European Parliament (2020)

<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/165/human-rights>

Katharina L. Meissner & Lachlan McKenzie (2019) The paradox of human rights conditionality in EU trade policy: when strategic interests drive policy outcomes, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:9, 1273-1291

- * 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
- * "What has the European Convention on Human Rights ever done for us?"—funny video by the *Guardian* (April 25, 2016) in light of the British referendum debates prior to the vote. See: [video](#) or <https://www.facebook.com/theguardian/videos/506897629498005/>

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/randens-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 Tues. March 31

- Wilson, Robin (2018) [Meeting the Challenge of Cultural Diversity in Europe](#), Edward Elgar. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7.
- 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
- Modood, Tariq, "The State and Ethno-Religious Mobilization in Britain" in *Bringing Outsiders In* Ch. 15, pp. 233-249.

4. EU Immigration, Integration, and Politics

Class 10: Tues. April 7

- 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 I

Class 11 Tues. April 14

Taylor-Gooby et al. (2017) [After Austerity: Welfare State Transformation in Europe after the Great Recession](#) Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7

2. EU Social Policy and National Welfare States II

Class 12 Tues. April 21

Taylor-Gooby et al. (2017) [After Austerity: Welfare State Transformation in Europe after the Great Recession](#) Chapters 6, 8, 9, 10

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)

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>

Class 13 Tues. April 28

Conclusions and Class Presentations

[Papers due via email on Tuesday May 5]