

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Department of International Relations

Spring Semester 2012

SOCIAL EUROPE:
IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE WELFARE STATE

Wednesday 9-12
Location: IRC 220

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SOCIAL EUROPE: IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE WELFARE STATE

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

Now that European economic integration is a reality, the social and political questions that in the past had remained in the background have returned to center stage. The ‘no’ votes in the referenda on the Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands and in Ireland for the Lisbon Treaty suggest that national publics have become increasingly concerned about the challenges to national identity and sovereignty while the economic crisis brings questions about the economic impact of the EU on social justice. The Lisbon Treaty may take care of the institutional issues, but it does not address the issues of policy or democracy at the heart of citizen concerns in the member-states.

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 ‘open method of coordination’ is a new mode of governance that has been touted to create a new dynamic of interaction on employment and social policy that would push member-states to reform themselves by learning from one another, without any clearly specified EU-level directives. 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. And the EU’s proposals on immigration are beginning to alter national rules on immigration, which in turn have important ramifications for national ideas about citizenship.

Finally, the EU has had an important albeit indirect 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 legitimize 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.

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 Democracy
 - 4. Identity and Legitimacy
 - 5. Identity, Democracy, and the Political Extremes
- C. EU Policies for a Social Europe
 - 1. EU Immigration and Integration
 - 2. EU Gender Issues
 - 3. EU Human Rights Policies
 - 4. EU Rights and Lifestyle Issues: Abortion, Alcohol and Drugs
 - 5. Other Identity-Related EU Policies: Global Warming, Food Safety, Biotech
- D. The Underpinnings: The Welfare State in Europe
 - 1. EU Social Policy and National Welfare States
 - 2. National Economic and Social Policy Reform
 - 3. Politics, Values, and Discourse in Social Policy Change
- E. Conclusion and Class Presentations

REQUIRED TEXTS:

- Art, David, *Inside the Right* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Cerutti, Furio, Lucarelli, Sonia and Schmidt, Vivien eds: *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union*. (London: Routledge, 2011)
- Cerutti, Furio and Lucarelli, Sonia eds., *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union* (London: Routledge, 2008)
- Joppke, Christian *Veil: Mirror of Identity* (London: Polity Press 2010)
- Kantola, Johanna *Gender and the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
- Kastoryano, Riva *Negotiating Identities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
- Kurzer, Paulette (2001) *Markets and Moral Regulation: Cultural Change in the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Risse, Thomas *A Community of Europeans?* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010)
- Scharpf, Fritz W. and Schmidt, Vivien A. *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy. Volume 1: From Vulnerability to Competitiveness* vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Schmidt, Vivien A *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Zippel, Kathrin S. *The Politics of Sexual Harassment* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

The books are all available at Barnes and Noble. Other readings are on reserve, accessible through the web, or from me via email.

Students are also strongly encouraged to get a subscription to the *Financial Times* 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.

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 (each worth 25 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 10 percent of the grade). The paper (15-20 pages for undergraduates, 20-25 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 last few classes (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 21. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is March 30. 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

SOCIAL EUROPE

A. Introduction: What is Social Europe?

Class 1: Wed. Jan. 18

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

1. Identity and Culture

Class 2: Wed. Jan. 25

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 (will email)

2. Identity and Borders

Class 3: Wed. Feb 1

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

Sjursen, Helen "Enlargement in Perspective: EU Identity in Perspective" Recon Online Working Paper 2007/15

URL: www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers.html

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

3. Identity and Democracy

Class 4: Wed. Feb. 8

Schmidt, Vivien *Democracy in Europe*, chapters 1, 4, 5 and conclusion, pp. 1-45, 155-256, 267-273.

Schmidt, Vivien "Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output, and 'Throughput,'" *Political Studies* (forthcoming) (will email)

4. Identity and legitimacy

Class 5: Wed. Feb 15 *(guest lecturer or reschedule)

Cerutti, Furio "How not to (mis)understand political identity in the European Union in *"Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union"* eds. Furio Cerutti, Sonia Lucarelli, and Vivien A. Schmidt. London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 3-15.

De Beus, Jos and Mak, Jeannette, "Gaining European legitimacy and identity through unlocking the public spheres of nation states: the case of the Netherlands" in *"Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy"*, 131-147

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 A. "In the Light and Shadow of the Single Currency: European Identity and Citizenship" in *The Other Side of the Coin: The Euro and Citizenship* ed. Giovanni Moro.

5. Identity, Democracy, and the Political Extremes

Class 6: Wed. Feb 22

Art, David, *Inside the Right* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) (entire)

Hans-Jörg Trezn and Pieter de Wilde "Denouncing European Integration:

Euroscepticism as Reactive Identity Formation" [RECON Online Working Paper 2009/10](#) Download from:

<http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2009.html>

C. EU Policies for a Social Europe

1. EU Immigration and Integration

Class 7: Wed. Feb 29

(takehome essay #1 due on Part A)

Riva Kastoryano, *Negotiating Identities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), Introduction, Chapters 1, 3, 4, 8 and conclusion.

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

2. EU Gender Issues

Class 8: Wed. Mar. 7

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 *JCMS*, vol. 48, issue 1, January 2010, pp. 155 – 174. [download from e-journals]

3. EU Human Rights Policies

Class 9 Wed. 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:

<http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2011.html>

Börzel, Tanja and Risse, Thomas "One Size Fits All: EU Policies for the Promotion of Human Rights, Democracy, and the Rule of Law." Paper prepared for the Workshop on Democracy Promotion, Center for Development and Democracy, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University (Oct 4-5, 2004). (Find online or will email)

4. EU Rights and Lifestyle Issues: Abortion, Alcohol and Drugs

Class 10 Wed. Mar 28

Kurzer, Paulette *Markets and Moral Regulation: Cultural Change in the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011),

5. Other Identity-Related EU Policies: Global Warming, Food Safety, Biotech

Class 11 Wed. Apr 4

Furio Cerutti and Sonia Lucarelli, eds., *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union* London: Routledge, 2008
(chapters: 3 on global warming, 4 on food safety, 5 on biotech)

C. The Underpinnings: European Social Welfare and Social Justice

1. EU Social Policy and National Welfare States

Class 12 Wed. Apr 11

(Take home midterm #2 due on Part B)

Ferrera, Maurizio "The European Welfare State: Golden Achievements, Silver Prospects," *West European Politics* no. 1 (2008) (download from ejournals)

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>

2. National Economic and Social Policy Reforms

Class 13 Wed. Apr. 18 * (guest lecturer or reschedule)

Anton Hemerijck and Martin Schludi, "Sequences of Policy Failures and Effective Policy Responses" in *Welfare and Work, vol. 1* ed. Scharpf and Schmidt, pp. 125-228.

Cerami, Alfio and Vanhuyse, eds., *Post-Communist Welfare Pathways: Theorizing Social Policy Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009). Country Studies, Chapters 5, 6, 7, pp. 73-128 (**on reserve**)

Class Presentations

3. Politics, Values, and Discourse in Social Policy Change

Class 14 Wed. Apr. 25

Schmidt, Vivien A. "Values and Discourse in the Politics of Adjustment" in *Welfare and Work, vol. 1* ed. Scharpf and Schmidt, pp. 229-309.

Risse, Thomas, "The Europeanization of Public Spheres" *A Community of Europeans*, pp. 127-174.

Class Presentations

Class 15 Wed. May 2

Conclusion and Class Presentations [Papers due]