

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Department of International Relations

Spring Semester 2014

IR 551/PO 536

SOCIAL EUROPE:
IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE WELFARE STATE

Wednesday 9-12
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, 2nd floor
Boston, MA 02215
Tel: 358-0192

Email: 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 11:30 am-12:30 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 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 '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. The crisis of the Euro adds questions of social justice, in particular for countries in the periphery, as well as even greater concerns about the loss of national decision-making authority and, with this, national democracy. The Lisbon Treaty 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.

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 had 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 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.

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, 2011)
- Hay, Colin and Wincott, Daniel *The Political Economy of European Welfare Capitalism* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012
- Hochschild, Jennifer and Mollenkott, John H. *Bringing Outsiders In: TransAtlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation* (Ithaca: Cornell, 2009)
- Joppke, Christian *Veil: Mirror of Identity* (London: Polity Press 2010)
- Kantola, Johanna *Gender and the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
- Kurzer, Paulette (2001) *Markets and Moral Regulation: Cultural Change in the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moro, Giovanni *The Single Currency and Citizenship: Unveiling the Other Side of the Coin* Bloomsbury Academic 2013
- Risse, Thomas *A Community of Europeans?* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010)
- 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 20. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is March 28. 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

Introduction: What is Social Europe?

Class 1: Wed. Jan. 15

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

1. Identity and Culture

Class 2: Wed. Jan. 22

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

McNamara, Kathleen, "Imaginary Europe: The Euro as a Symbol and Practice" in *The Single Currency and Citizenship* ed., Giovanni Moro (London: Bloomsbury Academic 2013)

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

2. Identity and Borders

Class 3: Wed. Jan. 29

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

Vivien A. Schmidt (2012) European Member State Elites' Diverging Visions of the European Union: Diverging Differently since the Economic Crisis and the Libyan Intervention?, *Journal of European Integration*, 34:2, 169-190 (download from ejournals)

3. Identity and Democratic legitimacy

Class 4: Wed. Feb. 5 *(reschedule)

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.

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*, pp. 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 “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: Wed. Feb 12

Schmidt, Vivien A. “Forgotten Democratic Legitimacy: ‘Governing by the Rules, Ruling by the Numbers’ in the Euro Crisis.” Chapter for *The Future of the Euro*, eds. Mark Blyth and Matthias Matthijs (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming) (will email)

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

Schmidt, Vivien A. “In the Light and Shadow of the Single Currency: European Identity and Citizenship” 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

(Feb 26 takehome essay #1 due on Part A, 1-4)

5. Identity, Democracy, and the Political Extremes

Class 6: Wed. Feb 26

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

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)

Hans-Jörg Trenz and Pieter de Wilde “Denouncing European Integration: Euroscepticism as Reactive Identity Formation” [RECON Online Working Paper 2009/10](http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2009.html) Download from:
<http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2009.html>

*“Right Wing surge in Europe has the Establishment Rattled,” *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 2013 http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/09/world/europe/right-wings-surge-in-europe-has-the-establishment-rattled.html?pagewanted=2&_r=0&nl=todaysheadlines&emc=edit_th_20131109&pagewanted=print

B. EU Policies for a Social Europe

Special event: Transatlantic Workshop on Gender and Politics (Mar 3-4) details to be supplied—all invited

1. EU Gender Issues

Class 7: Wed. Mar. 5

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]

2. EU Human Rights Policies: Inside and Outside

Class 8 Wed. Mar 19

*"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>

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

Kurzer, Paulette *Markets and Moral Regulation: Cultural Change in the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Ch. 7 on Abortion Rights (or lack thereof) in Ireland vs. the EU, pp. 143-169

3. EU Rights and Lifestyle Issues: Alcohol and Drugs

Class 9 Wed. Mar. 26

Kurzer, Paulette *Markets and Moral Regulation: Cultural Change in the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Chapter 1 on Markets vs Morality; Chapters 2, 3, 4 on alcohol and morality in Nordic Europe; Chapter 5 on drug control policy in the Netherlands; and Chapters 6 on harm reduction and public health, Chapter 8 on the emergence of a European Morality—pp. 1-142, 170-185.

(Apr. 2, Take home essay #2 due on Par A5 and Part B 1-3)

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

Class 10 Wed. Apr. 2

Furio Cerutti and Sonia Lucarelli, eds., *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union* London: Routledge, 2011

(chapters: 3 on global warming, 4 on food safety, 5 on biotech)

5. EU Immigration and Integration

Class 11: Wed. Apr 9

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 Rijkshroeff, 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.

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

C. The Underpinnings: European Social Welfare and Social Justice

1. EU Social Policy and National Welfare States

Class 12 Wed. Apr 16

Hay, Colin and Wincott, Daniel *The Political Economy of European Welfare Capitalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), entire

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

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

Class 13 Wed. Apr. 23

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>

(Apr. 30 *Take home essay #3 due on Part B.7 and Part C*)

Class 14 Wed. Apr 30

Class Presentations

[Papers due Tuesday May 6]