

IR 551/PO 536

Social Europe:
Identity, Citizenship, and the Welfare State

Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University
Wed 8-10:45AM, Location: CAS B06B

Spring 2018

Contact Information

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Course Description

This course examines the past, present, and future of 'social Europe.' We begin with a focus on the impact of European political as well as economic integration on national identities, cultures, politics, and citizenship, follow with an examination of the policies that have had or will have the greatest impact on these social constructions, and end with an examination of the changes in the welfare state over time. In many sessions, moreover, in addition to considering long standing academic discussions, we will debate the current crises and their responses, including borders and the 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 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 group oral presentation in class based on readings from the syllabus (15 minute presentation)

in addition to a presentation of their final paper during the last week of class (5-10 minute presentation), 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. Late papers or missed presentations without acceptable excuse or prior notification will be docked 3 percentage points.

Important deadlines:

- Essay #1: *Wed. 3/2*
- Exchange proposals with your review partner: *3/16*
- Provide feedback on your partner's proposal: *3/23*
- Essay #2: *Fri. 4/20*
- Presentation of research paper: *Wed. 5/2*
- Research paper: *Fri. 5/4*

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 22. 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 Dean's Office. See: <http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>

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.

Required Texts

Art, David. 2011. *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clarke, Harold D., Matthew Goodwin, and Paul Whiteley. 2017. *Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Goodman, Sara Wallace. 2014. *Immigration and Membership Politics in Western Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kantola, Johanna. 2010. *Gender and the European Union*. Houndsmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

McNamara, Kathleen. 2015. *The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Risse, Thomas. 2010. *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Thelen, Kathleen. 2014. *Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zippel, Kathrin S. 2006. *The Politics of Sexual Harassment: A Comparative Study of the United States, the European Union, and Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Note: The books are all available at Barnes and Noble. Other readings are on reserve, accessible through the web, or from me via email. Journal articles can be found using Google Scholar: <https://scholar-google-com.ezproxy.bu.edu>

Students are also strongly encouraged to get a subscription to the *Financial Times* (available free for BU students) as well as to the *Economist*. In addition, see the list of internet sites on the Center for the Study of Europe website: <http://www.bu.edu/European>

Schedule and Required Readings

1 Introduction: What is Social Europe? (Wed., Jan. 24)

No reading required for this meeting.

Background reading on the EU:

- “The European Union: A Guide for Americans” Download: https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/united-states-america/32485/eu-guide-americans_en
- Website of the European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/index_en

2 The Building Blocks: Identity, Citizenship, and Democracy

2.1 Identity and Culture (Wed., Jan. 31)

Discussion leader(s): Angela and Victoria

Required reading:

- McNamara, *The Politics of Everyday Europe*, p. 1-90.
- Risse, *A Community of Europeans?*, p. 19-106.
- Sonntag, Albrecht. 2011. “False Expectations: The Counterproductive Side Effects of the EU’s Use of Political Symbols.” In *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union*. London: Routledge. [p. 115-130]

2.2 Identity and Borders (Wed., Feb. 7)

Discussion leader(s): Adrien and Emily

Required reading:

- Lucarelli, Sonia. 2011. "Mirrors of Us: European Political Identity and the Others' Image of the EU." In *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union*. London: Routledge. [p. 148-167]
- McNamara, *The Politics of Everyday Europe*, p. 91-112, 135-160.
- Risse, *A Community of Europeans?*, p. 204-225.

2.3 Identity and Borders in the Case of Brexit (Wed., Feb. 14)

Discussion leader(s): Sonya and Yoann

Required reading:

- Clarke et al., *Brexit*, entire.
- "Disbanding the tribes—what the referendum told us about Britain (and what it didn't)" British Future, 26 July 2016. <http://www.britishfuture.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Disbanding-the-tribes-report.27-July-2016.pdf>

2.4 Identity and Democratic legitimacy (Wed., Feb. 21)

Discussion leader(s): Inna and Jaewook

Required reading:

- Cerutti, Furio. 2011. "How Not to (Mis)Understand Political Identity in the European Union." In *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union*. London: Routledge. [p. 3-15]
- Hobolt, Sara B., and James Tilley. 2014. "Who's in Charge? How Voters Attribute Responsibility in the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (May): 795–819.
- Levrat, Nicolas. 2011. "Do the Powers Exerted by the EU Need a Legitimacy Based on the Citizens' European Identity?" In *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union*. London: Routledge. [p. 76-90]
- Schmidt, Vivien A. 2013. "Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output and 'Throughput'." *Political Studies* 61: 2–22.

2.5 Identity, Citizenship, Legitimacy, and the Euro (Wed., Feb. 28)

Discussion leader(s): Luciano and Sergio

Required reading:

- Heidbreder, Eva. 2013. "Why Money Can't Buy Democracy: On the Detachment of the Euro from EU Citizenship." In *The Single Currency and European Citizenship*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- McNamara, *The Politics of Everyday Europe*, p. 113-134.

- Moro, Giovanni. 2013. "Building Citizenship in the Post-Modern Era: Dimensions of the Other Side of the Coin." In *The Single Currency and European Citizenship*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Schmidt, Vivien. 2015. "Forgotten Democratic Legitimacy: 'Governing by the Rules, Ruling by the Numbers' in the Euro Crisis." In *The Future of the Euro*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shore, Chris. 2013. "Divided by a Common Currency: The Euro Crisis and European Citizenship." In *The Single Currency and European Citizenship*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Debate: The Greek Eurozone Crisis

- Anna Sauerbrey, "European Political Poker," *International New York Times*, August 10, 2015 <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/10/opinion/anna-sauerbrey-european-political-poker.html>
- Jürgen Habermas on the Greek Debt Deal, *The Guardian*, July 16, 2015 <https://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 <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/08/03/the-greek-warrior>
- For those who are interested: https://www.ft.com/topics/themes/Greece_Debt_Crisis

Mar. 2: takehome essay #1 due—please email.

2.6 Identity, Democracy, and the Political Extremes (Wed., Mar. 14)

Discussion leader(s): Cullin and Darnell

Required reading:

- Art, *Inside the Right*, entire (especially p. 106-230).
- European Forum. 2014. "The Rise of the Far Right?" In *APSA European Politics and Society Newsletter*. [read articles by David Art, Terri Givens, Michael Minkenberg, Cas Mudde]
- "Across Europe disillusioned voters turn to outsiders for solutions" *The Guardian* 15 November 2014 <https://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)
- Andrzej Ancygier "Poland's Law and Justice party is losing its lustre" <https://www.euractiv.com/section/central-europe/opinion/poland-s-law-and-justice-party-is-losing-its-lustre/>
- Dan Kelemen, "Europe's Hungary Problem" *Foreign Affairs* Sept. 20, 2015. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2015-09-20/europes-hungary-problem>

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

March 16: Exchange proposals with your review partner.

3 EU Policies for a Social Europe

3.1 EU Gender Issues (Wed., Mar. 21)

Discussion leader(s): Diana and Haley

Required reading:

- Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, p. 1-147.
- Macrae, Heather. 2010. “The EU as a Gender Equal Polity: Myths and Realities.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48 (January): 155–174.
- Zippel, *The Politics of Sexual Harassment*, p. 82-201.

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) http://qog.pol.gu.se/digitalAssets/1530/1530035_waylen.pdf
- “Germany Sets Gender Quota in Boardrooms” *New York Times* (March 6, 2015) <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/07/world/europe/german-law-requires-more-women-on-corporate-boards.html>

Mar. 23: Provide feedback on your partner’s proposal.

3.2 EU Human Rights Policies: Inside and Outside (Wed., Mar. 28)

Discussion leader(s): Caroline and Veronica

Required reading:

- “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.
- Türkes, Merzuka Selin. 2011. “Human Rights in the European Union’s Foreign Policy: Universal in Discourse, Flexible in Practice.” *RECON Online Working Paper* 2011/21. 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 <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806daa3f>

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>

- “Denmark’s New Front in Debate Over Immigrants: Children’s Lunches” *New York Times* January 20, 2016 <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/21/world/europe/randerson-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>

3.3 EU Immigration and Integration (Wed., Apr. 4)

Discussion leader(s): Janos and Rebekah

Required reading:

- Goodman, *Immigration and Membership Politics in Western Europe*, Introduction and Chapters 1-4.
- Immigration and Integration Forum, *European Politics and Society Newsletter APSA*. <http://community.apsanet.org/eps/newsletter> [download summer 2015]

3.4 EU Immigration, Integration, and Politics (Wed., Apr. 11)

Discussion leader(s): Yagiz and Yun

Required reading:

- Goodman, *Immigration and Membership Politics in Western Europe*, Chapters 5-7 and Conclusion.
- McLaren, Lauren M. 2012. “The Cultural Divide in Europe: Migration, Multiculturalism, and Political Trust.” *World Politics* 64 (April): 199–241.
- The Roma: <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/01/13/the-people-who-pass>

Debate: The Refugee Crisis as Political Issue

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

No class on Apr. 18 (Monday schedule).

Apr. 20: takehome essay #2 due—please email.

4 The Underpinnings: European Social Welfare and Social Justice

4.1 The Future of the European Social Model (Wed., Apr. 25)

Discussion leader(s): Mehmet and Thomas

Required reading:

- Mayes, David G., and Zaidah Mustaffa. 2010. "Social Models in the Enlarged EU." *RECON Online Working Paper 2010/20*. Find at: <http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2010.html>
- Thelen, *Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity*, entire.
- Thomson, Mark. 2011. "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*. Find at: <http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2011.html>

Debate: Final Stocktaking—What happened to Social Europe?

- Jean-Michel de Waele: 'The European project needs to be re-established' <http://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/interview/jean-michel-de-waele-the-european-project-needs-to-be-re-established/>

5 Class Presentations (Wed., May 2)

Conclusions and presentations of final papers.

Papers due via email by 5PM on Fri., May 4.