IR 551/PO 536

Social Europe:
Identity, Citizenship, and the Welfare State

Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University
Wed 8-11AM, Location: SOC B61

Spring 2017

Contact Information

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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 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 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) Deans 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 March 31. The last day you may elect to take the course ‘Pass/Fail’ is May 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. 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.

**Required Texts**


*Note: 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* (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).

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)

**Schedule and Required Readings**


No reading required for this meeting.
2 The Building Blocks: Identity, Citizenship, and Democracy

2.1 Identity and Culture (Wed., Feb. 1)

- Henning Wehn on Dave’s One Night Stand (German stand-up comic in and on Scotland) [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MNNCqAmZzTA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MNNCqAmZzTA)

2.2 Identity and Borders (Wed., Feb. 8)

- Risse, *A Community of Europeans*?, pp. 204-225.

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

- Jean-Claude Piris, “If the UK votes to leave: The seven alternatives to EU membership” Centre for European Reform, 12 January 2016 [https://www.cer.org.uk/sites/default/files/pb_piris_brexit_12jan16.pdf](https://www.cer.org.uk/sites/default/files/pb_piris_brexit_12jan16.pdf)

2.3 Identity and Democratic legitimacy (Wed., Feb. 15)

2.4 Identity, Citizenship, Legitimacy, and the Euro (Wed., Feb. 22)


- McNamara, The Politics of Everyday Europe, pp. 113-134.


Debate: The Greek Eurozone Crisis


2.5 Identity, Democracy, and the Political Extremes (Wed., Mar. 1)

- Art, Inside the Right, entire (esp pp. 106-230).


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

• 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/


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

Mar. 3: takehome essay #1 due—please email.

3 EU Policies for a Social Europe

3.1 EU Gender Issues (Wed., Mar. 15)

• Kantola, Gender and the European Union, pp. 1-147.


• Zippel, The Politics of Sexual Harassment, pp. 82-201.

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


3.2 EU Human Rights Policies: Inside and Outside (Wed., Mar. 22)


Debate: The Refugee Crisis as a Human Rights Issue


• 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., Mar. 29)

• Bringing Outsiders In, Chapters 1, 3, 9, 15.

• 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. 5)

• Joppke, Veil: Mirror of Identity, entire.


• 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

4 The Underpinnings: European Social Welfare and Social Justice

4.1 EU Social Policy and National Welfare States (Wed., Apr. 12)


• Hay and Wincott, The Political Economy of European Welfare Capitalism, entire.
4.2 National Economic and Social Policy Reforms, Values, and Discourse (Wed., Apr. 19)


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/

Apr. 21: takehome essay #2 due—please email.

5 Class Presentations (Wed., Apr. 26)

Conclusions and presentations of final papers.

Papers due via email on Wed., May 3.