

BOSTON UNIVERSITY  
Department of International Relations

Spring Semester 2009

SOCIAL EUROPE:  
IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE WELFARE STATE

Wednesday 9-12  
Location: IRC 220

Vivien A. Schmidt  
Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration  
154 Bay State Road, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor  
Boston, MA 02215  
Tel: 358-0192  
Email: [vschmidt@bu.edu](mailto:vschmidt@bu.edu)

Office Hours:  
Tuesdays 2:00 – 4:00 pm, Wednesdays 2:00 – 5:00 pm,  
and by appointment

## 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 are 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 as well as 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 which has created a new dynamic of interaction on employment and social policy which pushes 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 economic crisis beginning in the mid-1970s, 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 and Citizenship
  - 1. Identity
    - a. Identity and History
    - b. Identity and Borders
  - 2. Citizenship
    - a. Politics and Democracy
    - b. Politics and Social Citizenship
- C. EU Policies for a Social Europe
  - 1. EU Human Rights Policies
  - 2. EU Immigration Policies
  - 3. EU Gender Policies
  - 4. EU Employment and Social Policies
  - 5. The Impact of Policies on Identity and Legitimacy
- D. The Underpinnings: The Welfare State in Europe
  - 1. The EU and National Welfare States
  - 2. National Economic and Policy Responses
  - 3. Politics, Values, and Discourse in Social Policy Change
- E. Conclusion and Class Presentations

## REQUIRED TEXTS:

- Kastoryano, Riva *Negotiating Identities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
- 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)
- Schimmelfennig, France and Sedelmeier, Ulrich, eds. *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005)
- Schmidt, Vivien A. *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

The books are all available at Barnes and Noble. Other readings are either 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](http://www.eurunion.org). Also find a short guide at [www.eurunion.org/infores/eurguide/eurguide.htm](http://www.eurunion.org/infores/eurguide/eurguide.htm). In addition, see the list of internet sites on my website at: <http://people.bu.edu/vschmidt>

## 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 one mid-term exam (worth 40 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 (worth 10 percent) 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) 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 Feb. 21. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is Mar 21. 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

Class 1: Wed. Jan. 14

**A. Introduction: What is Social Europe?**

**B. The Building Blocks: Identity and Politics**

Class 2: Wed. Jan. 21

**1. Identity**

**a. Identity and Culture**

Jolyon Howorth, "Being and Doing in Europe since 1945: Contrasting Dichotomies of Identity and Efficiency" in Andrew, Joe, Crook, Malcolm, and Waller, Michael, eds., *Why Europe? Problems of Culture and Identity* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), pp. 85-97. [will provide copy]

Medrano, Juan Diez, "Unpacking European Identity." Paper prepared for presentation at CEVIPOF, Sciences Po (Sept. 22, 2008) (will email)

Foret, François "Power and symbols at the time of European Governance." Paper prepared for presentation for the Conference 'The Europeans in Search of Political Identity and Legitimacy, JERP 5.2.1 (Florence May 25-26, 2007). (will email)

Martin Marcussen, Thomas Risse, Daniela Engemann-Martin, Hans Joachim Knopf and Klaus Roscher, "Constructing Europe? The Evolution of French, British and German Nation State Identities," *Journal of European Public Policy* vol. 6, no. 4 special issue (1999): 614-33. [download from ejournals]

Class 3: Wed. Jan 28

**b. Identity and Borders**

Schmidt, Vivien, "European Elites on the European Union: What Vision for the Future?" in: *European Union and World Politics: Consensus and Division* eds., Andrew Gamble and David Lane London: Palgrave Macmillan (forthcoming 2009)

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

URL: [www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers.html](http://www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers.html)

Delanty, Gerard, "Borders in a Changing Europe: Dynamics of Openness and Closeness," *Comparative European Politics* 4, (2006): 183-202 [download from ejournals]

Wimmel, Andreas "Beyond the Bosphorus: Comparing German, French and British Discourses on Turkey's Application to Join the European Union." Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna. Mss (will email)

Class 4: Wed. Feb. 4

**2. Politics, Citizenship, and Democracy**

**a. Politics and Democracy**

- Schmidt, Vivien “The European Union as Regional State” Chapter 1 in *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-45.
- Schmidt, Vivien “The EU and National Politics.” Chapter 4 in *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schmidt, Vivien “The Prospects for Democracy in Europe” Conclusion in *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 267-73.
- Rupnik, Jacques. “Is East-Central Europe Backsliding? From Democracy Fatigue to Populist Backlash,” *Journal of Democracy* vol. 18, no. 4 (2007): 17-25.

Class 5: Wed. Feb 11

**b. Politics, Identity, and Social Citizenship**

**Special Session:**

**Jean-Claude Barbier, University of Paris and CNRS, guest speaker: 10am to 12pm**

- Barbier, Jean-Claude “The European Social Model (ESM) and cultural diversity in Europe” Inaugural lecture (March, 4, 2007) University of Aalborg (will email)
- Jenson, Jane. “The European Union’s Citizenship Regime: Creating Norms and Building Practices,” *Comparative European Politics* (2007) 5, (53-69) [download from ejournals]
- Darina Malovà and Tim Haughton, “Making Institutions in Central and Eastern Europe, and the Impact of Europe” *West European Politics*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (2002): 101-120 [download from ejournals].

Class 6 Wed. Feb. 18 **In-Class Midterm**

Class 7 Wed. Feb 25

**1. EU Human Rights Policy**

- \*“The Charter of Fundamental Human Rights.” Section 2 of the Constitution. European Union document. (download from: <http://europa.eu.int/eurlex/lex/JOhtml.do?uri=OJ:C:2004:310:SOM:EN: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).
- Schimmelfennig, Frank, Engert, Stefan, and Knobel, Heiko „The Impact of EU Political Conditionality“ in *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* F. Schimmelfennig and U. Sedelmeier, Cornell (2005) pp. 29-50
- Schweltnus, Guido “The Adoption of Nondiscrimination and Minority Protection Rules in Romania, Hungary, and Poland” in *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* F. Schimmelfennig and U. Sedelmeier, Cornell (2005)pp. 51-70

Class 8 Wed. Mar. 4

## 2. EU Immigration Policies

**Special Session: Riva Kastoryano, University of Paris, guest speaker**

- Riva Kastoryano, *Negotiating Identities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).  
 Andrew Geddes and Virginie Guiraudon, "Britain, France, and EU Anti-Discrimination Policy: The Emergence of an EU Paradigm," *West European Politics* (2004) vol. 27: 334-353. [download from ejournals]  
 Grabbe, Heather "Regulating the Flow of People across Europe" in *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* F. Schimmelfennig and U. Sedelmeier, Cornell (2005) pp. 112-134.  
 Savage, Timothy M. "Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing" *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2004  
[http://www.twq.com/04summer/docs/04summer\\_savage.pdf](http://www.twq.com/04summer/docs/04summer_savage.pdf)

Class 9 Wed. Mar. 18

## 3. EU Gender Policy

**Special Session: Kathrin Zippel, Northeastern University, guest speaker**

- APSA European Politics and Society Forum: "Women, Gender and Public Policy in Europe" vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2007) (will email)  
 Mazur, Amy "Gendering the Fifth Republic: New Beginnings or the Legacy of the Past?" in *Developments in French Politics*, 3. Cole, Le Galès and Levy, eds. London: Palgrave. 2005. 212-229 (will email)  
 Linda Haas, "Parental Leave and Gender Equality: Lessons from the European Union," *Review of Policy Research* vol. 20, no. 1 (2003): 89-114. [ejournal]  
 Kathrin Zippel, Gender Equality Politics in the Changing European Union: The European Union Anti Discrimination Directive and Sexual Harassment. Paper prepared for presentation at the Center for European Studies, Harvard University (2006) (will email)  
 Kathrin Zippel, "Practices of Implementation of Sexual Harassment Policies: Individual versus Collective Strategies," *Review of Policy Research* vol. 20, no. 1 (2003): 175-197. [ejournal]

Class 10 Wed. Mar. 25

## 4. EU Employment and Social Policies

- Scharpf, Fritz W. "The European Social Model: Coping with the Challenges of Diversity," *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 40, no. 4 (2002): 645-70. [ejournal]  
 Mosher, James and Trubek, David M. "Alternative Approaches to Governance in the EU: EU Social Policy and the European Employment Strategy," *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 41, no. 1 (2003): 63-88.  
 Jenson, Jane "Europeanisation of a child-centered investment perspective: Is the European Union playing with Lego?" Mss. (February 2007) [will email]

Hamann, Kerstin and Kelly, John “Party Politics and the Reemergence of Social Pacts in Western Europe *Comparative Political Studies* (2007) download from:  
<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/40/8/971>

Class 11 Wed. Apr 1

### **5. The Impact of EU Policies on Identity and Legitimacy**

#### **Special session:**

**Furio Cerutti and Sonia Lucarelli, University of Florence, guest speakers: 9 to 12**

Furio Cerutti and Sonia Lucarelli, eds., *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union* London: Routledge, 2008  
 (especially chapters 1 and 2 on identity, 3 on global warming, 4 on food safety, 5 on biotech, 8 on social model, 10 on human rights)

### **C. The Underpinnings: The Welfare State in Europe**

Class 12 Wed. Apr. 8

#### **1. The EU and National Welfare States**

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

Crouch, Colin “Change in European Societies since the 1970s,” *West European Politics* no. 1 (2008) (will email)

Fritz W. Scharpf and Vivien A. Schmidt “Introduction” in *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy Vol I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 1-20.

Fritz Scharpf, “Economic Changes, Vulnerabilities, and Institutional Capabilities” in Scharpf and Schmidt, eds., *Welfare and Work, vol. 1*, pp. 21-124.

Class 13 Wed. Apr. 15

#### **2. National Policy Responses**

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.

Jacoby, Wade, “External Incentives and Lesson-Drawing in Regional Policy and Health Care” in *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* F. Schimmelfennig and U. Sedelmeier, Cornell (2005) pp. 91-111.

Sissneich, Beate “The Transfer of EU Social Policy to Poland and Hungary” in *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* F. Schimmelfennig and U. Sedelmeier, Cornell (2005) pp. 156-177.

Class 14 Wed. Apr. 22

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

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

János Mátyás Kovács, “Approaching the EU and Reaching the US? Rival Narratives on Transforming Welfare Regimes in East-Central Europe” *West European Politics* Vol. 25, No. 2, (2002): 175-204 [download from ejournals]

Class 13: Wed. April 29

Conclusion and Class Presentations [Papers due]