

**EUROPEAN STUDIES 804 (UW-Madison)/
POLITICAL SCIENCE 467 (Northwestern University)**

**GOVERNING WORK AND WELFARE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION:
EUROPEANIZATION AND REFORM OF NATIONAL WELFARE STATES**

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This graduate seminar will examine the changing governance of work and welfare in the European Union (EU) as it responds to the twin challenges of globalization and deepening economic and political integration. Although many commentators speak of a “European Social Model” in opposition to American laissez-faire capitalism, Europe in fact comprises a variety of distinct national employment systems and welfare regimes. In this course, we will map out the diversity of social organization within Europe, comparing governance mechanisms, policy arrangements, and performance across national systems, and contrasting them in turn to those of the United States. Layered upon this rich national variety, the EU has now become a complex, multi-level polity, with an increasingly important role in shaping social and employment policies, in which supranational, national and subnational institutions interact with, compete with and supplement one other. And this new Europe is filled with a wide range of actors, from national states, unions, and employers’ associations, to transnational advocacy networks, a supranational European Commission, and the European Court of Justice, all seeking to determine its evolution. This course will explore how these different institutions and actors fit together and are recasting social policy, employment, and industrial relations, at both the European and the national level.

The seminar will focus on the reciprocal interaction between Europeanization and national welfare state reform. How far and through what mechanisms has European integration influenced domestic reforms of welfare and labor market institutions across EU Member States? And how have such national-level reform processes influenced the evolution of EU social and employment policymaking? These mutual influences are particularly significant in the case of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), where EU Member States collaborate with the European Commission in defining common strategic objectives, monitoring each other’s performance in meeting them against agreed indicators, and promoting additional reforms through both precept and example. The OMC has been touted as a major breakthrough in EU governance, adding a third option to the binary choice between imposing a single European rule or allowing multiple national rules and thus risking regulatory competition. We will look at the growing use of the OMC and related new governance arrangements in EU social and employment policy, asking why they have emerged, how they operate, what effect they have on national and local policy, and what they mean for European integration.

Finally, the seminar will situate the problem of Europeanization and national reform in the context of broader debates about the nature and dynamics of institutional change. Does the impact of Europe vary systematically across different countries depending on the pre-existing “goodness of fit” between EU policies and national institutions? Or does EU policymaking instead help to overcome path dependency and institutional lock-in of national welfare states? If so, what are the mechanisms through which such path alteration in fact takes place? And what

are the implication of such processes for the future evolution of Europe's historically distinct welfare regimes and employment systems?

This course will be of special interest to graduate students in Political Science, Sociology, Public Affairs, Law, Geography, and contemporary History. Participants will have extensive opportunity to interact with visiting European scholars and students.

Format: The course will be taught as a seminar, with group discussion led by the instructors. Weeks 5-12 will consist of joint meetings held on each campus simultaneously and linked through an interactive video hook-up. We hope to maintain the interactive video hook-up for weeks 13-15, following the formal end of the Northwestern quarter, and Northwestern students are invited to continue their participation in the seminar on a voluntary basis. There will also be a joint face-to-face workshop, held in Madison on Friday-Saturday October 1-2 (times TBA).

Locations and Times: On the Madison side, we will hold the first meeting of the course on September 7 in 1080 Grainger Hall, as listed in the timetable. On September 14, 21, and 28, we will meet in the Havens Center Seminar Room, 8108 Social Science. From October 5 onwards, we will meet in 274 Van Hise, which is equipped with interactive video facilities. On October 26 and November 23 we will start at 2:15, due to a scheduling conflict in 274 Van Hise.

Office Hours: Jonathan Zeitlin will hold office hours on Mondays and Tuesdays from 12:15-1:30 in 3460 Social Science (phone: 262-1131), or by appointment.

Requirements and Grading: All participants will be expected to: 1) take an active part in class discussions; 2) prepare weekly response papers on the required readings (1-2 pages each); and 3) write a 20-page research paper (typed, double-spaced), on a topic agreed in advance with the instructor and due at the final meeting. Weekly memos and class participation will count together for 50 percent of the final grade. The research paper will count for the remaining 50 percent of the final grade.

Weekly response papers: These are intended to prepare the ground for good discussions by requiring participants to set out their initial responses to the readings in written form. Memos need not summarize the readings as such, but may take up specific arguments, compare the positions of different authors, raise questions of evidence, or draw attention to particular strengths and weaknesses in the texts. We will arrange to share these memos through email, using the class list, social-europe@lists.students.wisc.edu. In order for everyone to have time to read over each others' comments, these will be due on email by 8 p.m. on the day before the class meets.

Reading: All books listed in this syllabus are on reserve in the Helen C. White College Library (UW) or at the Main Library Reserve Room (NU). Most required readings will be available online from the UW Library or NU Library electronic reserves collection or from other websites listed in the syllabus. Students are also expected to monitor current developments in European social and employment policy by reading publications such as the *Financial Times* (searchable through LEXIS-NEXIS in the UW Electronic Library).

The following books will be available for student purchase at the University Book Store and at the Underground Textbook Exchange (664 State St.):

Required:

Jonathan Zeitlin and David Trubek (eds.), *Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy: European and American Experiments*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Recommended:

Robert R. Geyer, *Exploring European Social Policy*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000.

Online Resources: Students should also become familiar with some of the abundant resources available on the web for researching the topics covered in this course. Among the most useful:

The European Commission's Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/index_en.htm and http://europa.eu.int/comm/dgs/employment_social/index_en.htm

European Industrial Relations Observatory On-line, <http://www.eiro.eurofound.ie/>

The European Trade Union Institute (ETUI), <http://www.etuc.org/ETUI/>

The UW-Madison EU Center Online Research Forum on the Open Method of Coordination, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/index.htm> (password available from the instructor).

The European Research Papers Archive, <http://eiop.or.at/erpa/>

The European Policy Centre, <http://www.theepc.net/home.asp>.

EUobserver.com, <http://www.euobserver.com/index.phtml>.

Seminar Topics and Readings

A. Introduction to Social Europe (UW only)

1. General Introduction to the Course (September 7: 1080 Grainger Hall)

2. Social Europe: Challenges of Globalization and Integration (September 14: 8108 Social Science)

Ebbinghaus, Bernhard, 1999: "Does a European Social Model Exist and Can It Survive?", in: Gerhard Huemer, Michael Mesch, and Franz Traxler (eds.), *The Role of Employer Associations and Labour Unions in the EMU: Institutional Requirements for European Economic Policies*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1-30.

Streeck, Wolfgang, 1996: "Neo-Voluntarism: A New European Social Policy Regime?", in: Gary Marks et al., *Governance in the European Union*, London: Sage, 64-94.

Rhodes, Martin, 1998: “Defending the Social Contract: The EU between Global Constraints and Domestic Imperatives”, in: David Hine and Hussein Kassim (eds.), *Beyond the Market: The EU and National Social Policy*, London: Routledge, 36-59.

Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2003: “Introduction: Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy: European and American Experiments”, in: Jonathan Zeitlin and David Trubek (eds.), *Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy: European and American Experiments*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-30.

3. Governing Europe’s Multi-Level Polity (September 21: 8108 Social Science)

Wallace, Helen, and William Wallace (eds.) 2001: *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 4th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, chs. 1-3 (“The Institutional Setting”, “The Policy Process”, and “Analysing and Explaining Policies”), 3-81.

Cram, Laura, 2001: “Integration Theory and the Study of the European Policy Process: Towards a Synthesis of Approaches”, in: Jeremy Richardson (ed.), *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, 2nd ed., London: Routledge, 51-73.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, 2001: “Multi-Level Governance in Europe”, in Hooghe and Marks, *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1-32.

Scharpf, Fritz, 2001: “Notes Toward a Theory of Multilevel Governing in Europe”, *Scandinavian Political Studies* 24(1): 1-25.

Further Reading

Wiener, Antje, and Thomas Diez (eds.) 2004: *European Integration Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, esp. editors’ introduction and chapters on neo-neofunctionalism (Schmitter), liberal intergovernmentalism (Schimmelfennig), new institutionalisms (Pollack), and social constructivism (Risse).

4. Europeanization (September 28: 8108 Social Science)

Cowles, Maria Green, James Caporaso, and Thomas Risse (eds.), 2001: *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Introduction and Conclusion, 1-20, 217-37.

Featherstone, Kevin, and Claudio Radaelli (eds.), 2003: *The Politics of Europeanization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chs. 1-3 (“Theorizing Europeanization”), 3-80.

Börzel, Tanya, 2003: “Shaping and Taking EU Policies: Member State Responses to Europeanization”, *Queen’s Papers on Europeanization*, no. 3/2003, <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofPoliticsInternationalStudies/FileStore/EuropeanizationFiles/Filetoupload,5270,en.pdf>.

Bulmer, Simon, and Claudio Radaelli, 2004: "The Europeanization of National Policy?", *Queen's Papers on Europeanization*, no. 1/2004, <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofPoliticsInternationalStudies/FileStore/EuropeanisationFiles/Fileupload,5182.en.pdf>.

B. Governing Work and Welfare at the National Level

Special Joint Workshop with Northwestern: Varieties of Capitalism and Institutional Change (Oct. 1-2 in Madison: time and venue TBA)

Varieties of Capitalism and Its Critics

Hall, Peter A., and David Soskice, 2001: "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism", in Hall and Soskice (eds.), *Varieties of Capitalism: Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1-68.

Jackson, Gregory, 2002: "Varieties of Capitalism: A Review", unpublished paper, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne.

Varieties of Capitalism and Europeanization

Fioretos, Orfeo, 2001: "The Domestic Sources of Multilateral Preferences: Varieties of Capitalism in the European Community", in Hall and Soskice, *Varieties of Capitalism*, xx-xx.

Menz, Georg, 2003: "Re-regulating the Single Market: National Varieties of Capitalism and Their Responses to Europeanization", *Journal of European Public Policy* 10(4): 532-55.

National Systems and Institutional Change

Streeck, Wolfgang, and Thelen, Kathleen, 2004: "Introduction: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies", in Streeck and Thelen (eds.), *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

5. Varieties of National Industrial Relations Systems (Oct. 5: 274 Van Hise)

Visser, Jelle, 1996: "Traditions and Transitions in Industrial Relations: A European View", in: Joris van Ruysseveldt and Jelle Visser (eds.), *Industrial Relations in Europe: Traditions and Transitions*, London: Sage, pp. 1-41.

Hyman, Richard and Anthony Ferner, 1998: "Introduction: Towards European Industrial Relations?", in: Anthony Ferner and Richard Hyman (eds.), *Changing Industrial Relations in Europe*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. xi-xxvi.

Thelen, Kathleen, 2001: "Varieties of Labor Politics in the Developed Democracies", in Hall and Soskice, *Varieties of Capitalism*, 71-103.

Traxler, Franz, 2002: "Wage Regulation between Industrial Democracy and Market Pressures: Towards a European Model?", *European Sociological Review* 18(1), 1-16.

**6. Varieties of National Welfare Regimes (Oct. 12: 274 Van Hise)
Visitor: Mary Daly (Northwestern)**

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (ed.) 1996: *Welfare States in Transition: National Adaptations in Global Economies*, London: Sage, chs. 1 and 3 (Esping-Andersen, "After the Golden Age" and "Welfare States without Work", 1-31, 66-87.

Ferrera, Maurizio, 1997: "The Four 'Social Europes': Between Universalism and Selectivity", in: Yves Mény and Martin Rhodes (eds.), *The Future of Welfare in Europe: A New Social Contract?*, New York: St. Martins, pp. 81-96.

Lewis, Jane, 1992: "Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes", *Journal of European Social Policy* 2(3): 159-73.

Stephens, John, Evelyn Huber, and Leonard Ray, 1999: "The Welfare State in Hard Times", in: Kitschelt et al., *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, 273-99.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta, 1999: *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ch. 5 ("Comparative Welfare Regimes Re-examined"), pp. 73-94.

7. European Labor Markets in the American Mirror: Social Protection vs. Job Creation? (Oct. 19: 274 Van Hise)

Siebert, Horst, 1997: "Labor Market Rigidities: At the Root of Unemployment in Europe", *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 11(3): 37-54.

Nickell, Stephen, 1997: "Unemployment and Labor Market Rigidities: Europe versus North America", *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 11(3): 55-74.

Iversen, Torben, and Anne Wren, 1998: "Equality, Employment, and Budgetary Restraint: The Trilemma of the Service Economy", *World Politics* 50: 507-46.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta, and Marino Regini (eds.) 2000: *Why Deregulate Labour Markets?*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chs. 1 (Regini, "The Dilemmas of Labour Market Regulation"), 3-4 (Esping-Andersen, "Who Is Harmed by Labour Market Regulations" and "Regulation and Context"), 11-29, 66-112.

Freeman, Richard B., 2000: "Single-Peaked vs. Diversified Capitalism: The Relation Between Economic Institutions and Outcomes", National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 7556, <http://www.nber.org/papers/w7556>.

Blanchard, Olivier, 2004: “The Economic Future of Europe”, Working Paper 10310, <http://www.nber.org/papers/w10310>.

**8. Recalibrating European Welfare States and Labor Markets? I
(Oct. 26: 274 Van Hise. Class begins at 2:15)**

Pierson, Paul, 2001: “Coping with Permanent Austerity: Welfare State Restructuring in Affluent Democracies”, in Paul Pierson (ed.), *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 410-56.

Ferrera, Maurizio and Anton Hemerijck, 2003: “Recalibrating Europe’s Welfare Regimes”, in: Zeitlin and Trubek, *Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy*, 88-128.

Samek Lodovici, Manuela, 2000: “The Dynamics of Labor Market Reform in European Countries”, in: Esping-Andersen and Regini, *Why Deregulate Labour Markets?*, pp. 30-65.

Rhodes, Martin, 2001: “The Political Economy of Social Pacts: ‘Competitive Corporatism’ and European Welfare Reform”, in: Pierson *New Politics of the Welfare State*, 165-94.

Rhodes, Martin, 2003: “National ‘Pacts’ and EU Governance in Social Policy and the Labor Market”, in: Zeitlin and Trubek, *Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy*, 129-57.

Palier, Bruno, 2004: *Social Protection Reforms in Europe: Strategies for a New Social Model*, Canadian Policy Research Networks (CPRN) Social Architecture Papers, Research Report F/37, <http://www.cprn.org/en/doc.cfm?doc=515>, ch. 1, pp. 1-20.

International Conference on “Enlarging Social Europe: The Open Method of Coordination and the EU’s New Member States” (Oct. 29-30 in Madison)

Speakers: **Anton Hemerijck**, Director of the Netherlands Scientific Council on Government Policy (WRR) and Associate Professor of Public Administration, University of Leiden; **Denis Crowley**, Secretary, EU Social Protection Committee; **Maria Lado**, Leader, Inter-Ministerial Working Group on Social Policy, Hungarian Ministry of Economic Affairs, and senior advisor to the Budapest Employment Office; **David Natali**, Researcher, European Social Observatory (OSE); **Wolfgang Ohndorf**, German Member of the EU Social Protection Committee, and advisor on the European Employment Strategy to the Government of Latvia; **Kerstin Jacobsson**, Senior Researcher, Stockholm Centre for Organizational Research (SCORE) and Associate Professor of Sociology, Södertörn University College; **Tatjana Evas**, Researcher, Riga Graduate School of Law.

9. Recalibrating European Welfare States and Labor Markets? II (Nov. 2: 274 Van Hise) Visitor: Wolfgang Ohndorf (UW)

Madsen, Per Kongshøj 2002): “The Danish Model of *Flexicurity*: A Paradise – with Some Snakes”, in Hedva Sarfati and Giuliano Bonoli (eds.), *Labour Market and Social Protection Reforms in International Perspective: Parallel or Converging Tracks?* Aldershot: Ashgate, 243-65.

Palier, Bruno, forthcoming: “Ambiguous Agreement, Cumulative Change: French Social Policy in the 1990s”, in Streeck and Thelen, *Beyond Continuity*.

Kitschelt, Herbert, and Wolfgang Streeck, 2003: special issue of *West European Politics* 16(4) on *Germany: Beyond the Stable State* (Kitschelt and Streeck, “From Stability to Stagnation: Germany at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century”, 1-34; Streeck and Anke Hassel, “The Crumbling Pillars of Social Partnership”, 101-23; Stefan Leibfried and Herbert Obinger, “The State of the Welfare State: German Social Policy between Macroeconomic Retrenchment and Microeconomic Recalibration”, 199-217.

Bahle, Thomas, 2003: “The Changing Institutionalization of Social Services in England and Wales, France and Germany: Is the Welfare State on the Retreat?”, *Journal of European Social Policy* 13(1): 5-20.

Irish National Economic and Social Council, 2004: *Social Protection and Social Welfare: Integrating Services, Income Support Systems and Activist Measures*, chs. 3-5, pp. 55-101.

Recommended

Auer, Peter, 2000: *Employment Revival in Europe: Labour Market Success in Austria, Denmark, Ireland and the Netherlands*, Geneva: International Labour Office.

C. Work and Welfare at the European Level

**10. Social and Gender Policy (Nov. 9: 274 Van Hise)
Visitor: Maurizio Ferrera (UW)**

Leibfried, Stephan, and Paul Pierson, 2001: “Social Policy: Left to Courts and Markets?”, in Wallace and Wallace, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 267-92.

Falkner, Gerda, 1999: “European Social Policy: Towards Multi-Level and Multi-Actor Governance”, in: Beate Kohler Koch and Rainer Eising (eds.), *The Transformation of Governance in the European Union*, London: Routledge, 83-97.

Ferrera, Maurizio, 2003: “European Integration and National Social Sovereignty: Changing Boundaries, New Structuring?”, *Comparative Political Studies* 36(6): 611-52.

Mazey, Sonia, 1998: “The European Union and Women’s Rights: From the Europeanisation of National Agendas to the Nationalisation of a European Agenda?”, in: Hine and Kassim, *Beyond the Market*, 134-55.

Pollack, Mark A., and Emilie Hafner-Burton, 2000: “Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 7(3): 432-56.

Zippel, Kathrin, 2004: “Transnational Advocacy Networks and Policy Cycles in the European Union: The Case of Sexual Harassment”, *Social Politics* 11(4): 57-85.

Recommended

Geyer, Robert, 2000: *Exploring European Social Policy*, Cambridge: Polity, chs. 1-2, 5-6, pp. 11-57, 104-55.

11. Industrial Relations (Nov. 16: 274 Van Hise)

Visitor: Jelle Visser (UW)

Streeck, Wolfgang, 1998: “The Internationalization of Industrial Relations in Europe: Prospects and Problems”, *Politics & Society* 26(4): 429-459.

Hoffmann, Jürgen et al., 2002: *The Europeanisation of Industrial Relations in a Global Perspective: A Literature Review*, Dublin/Luxembourg: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions/Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, ch. 3, pp. 45-87,
<http://www.eurofound.eu.int/publications/files/EF02102EN.pdf>.

Marginson, Paul and Keith Sisson, 2002: “European Industrial Relations: A Case of Convergence and Divergence?”, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 671-92.

Recommended

Visser, Jelle, (ed.) forthcoming: *Industrial Relations in Europe 2004*, Brussels: European Commission, chs. 1 and 3.

12. The European Employment Strategy: A Governance Breakthrough?

(Nov. 23: 274 Van Hise. Class begins at 2:15. Last joint meeting with Northwestern)

Trubek, David, and James Mosher, 2003: “New Governance, EU Employment Policy, and the European Social Model”, in: Zeitlin and Trubek, *Governing Work and Welfare*, 33-58.

Goetschy, Janine, 2003: “The European Employment Strategy, Multi-level Governance, and Policy Coordination”, in: Zeitlin and Trubek, *Governing Work and Welfare*, 59-87.

van Riel, Bart, and Marc van der Meer, 2002: “The Advocacy Coalition for European Employment Policy - The European Integration Process after EMU”, in Horst Hegmann

and Bernhard Neumärker (eds.), *Die Europäische Union aus politökonomischer Perspektive*, Marburg: Metropolis Verlag,
<http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/EES/vanRielvanderMeer.pdf>.

de la Porte, Caroline, and Philippe Pochet, 2004: “The European Employment Strategy: Existing Research and Remaining Questions”, *Journal of European Social Policy* 14(1): 71–78.

Jacobsson, Kerstin, and Åsa Vifell (forthcoming): “New Governance Structures in Employment Policy-making? Taking Stock of the European Employment Strategy”, in Ingo Linsenmann, Christoph Meyer, and Wolfgang Wessels (eds), *Economic Governance in the EU*, London: Palgrave Macmillan,
<http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/EES/jacobssonVifell.pdf>.

Rubery, Jill, forthcoming: “Gender Mainstreaming and the Open Method of Coordination: Is the Open Method Too Open for Gender Equality Policy?” , in Jonathan Zeitlin and Philippe Pochet, with Lars Magnusson (eds.), *The Open Method of Coordination in Action: The European Employment and Social Inclusion Strategies*, Brussels: PIE-Peter Lang.

Commission of the European Communities, 2003: *Proposal for a Council Decision on Guidelines for the Employment Policies of the Member States*,
http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/employment_strategy/prop_2003/gl_en.pdf.

Council of the European Union, 2003: *Guidelines for the Employment Policies of the Member States*,
http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/employment_strategy/report_2002/jer2002_final_en.pdf.

Recommended

Commission of the European Communities, 2003: *The Future of the European Employment Strategy*, http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/com/pdf/2003/com2003_0006en01.pdf.

EU Employment Task Force, 2003: *Jobs, Jobs, Jobs: Creating More Employment in Europe. Report of the Employment Task Force chaired by Wim Kok*, Brussels, November,
http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/employment_strategy/pdf/etf_en.pdf.

13. Open Coordination and Social Protection (Nov. 30)

Vandenbroucke, Frank, 2002: “Sustainable Social Justice and ‘Open Coordination’ in Europe”, Foreword to Gøsta Esping-Andersen et al. *Why We Need a New Welfare State*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, x-xxiv.

Palier, Bruno, 2004: *Social Protection Reforms in Europe: Strategies for a New Social Model*, Canadian Policy Research Networks (CPRN) Social Architecture Papers, Research Report F/37, <http://www.cprn.org/en/doc.cfm?doc=515>, ch. 2, pp. 21-29.

- Ferrera, Maurizio, Manos Matsaganis, and Stefano Sacchi, 2002: “Open Coordination Against Poverty: The New EU ‘Social Inclusion Process’”, *Journal of European Social Policy* 12(3): 226-39.
- Armstrong, Kenneth, 2003: “Tackling Social Exclusion through OMC: Reshaping the Boundaries of European Governance”, in: Tanja Börzel and Rachel Cichowski (eds.), *The State of the European Union, vol. 6: Law, Politics, and Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 170-94.
- Pochet, Philippe, 2003: “Pensions: The European Debate”, in: Gordon L. Clark and Noel Whiteside (eds.), *Pension Security in the 21st Century: Redrawing the Public-Private Debate*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 44-63.
- Schludi, Martin, 2003: “Chances and Limitations of ‘Benchmarking’ in the Reform of Welfare State Structures – The Case of Pension Policy”, unpublished paper, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/Protection/schludi.pdf>.
- Baeten, Rita, 2003: “Health Care on the European Political Agenda”, in Chrystophe Degryse and Philippe Pochet (ed.), *Social Developments in the European Union 2002*, Brussels: European Trade Union Institute/European Social Observatory/SALTSA, 145-76.

Recommended

- Commission of the European Communities, 2000: *Social Policy Agenda*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/general/com00-379/com379_en.pdf.
- Council of the European Union, 2002: *Fight Against Poverty and Social Exclusion: Common Objectives for the Second Round of National Action Plans*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/soc-prot/soc-incl/counciltext_en.pdf.
- Commission of the European Communities and Council of the European Union, 2003: *Joint Report on Social Inclusion*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/soc-prot/soc-incl/final_joint_inclusion_report_2003_en.pdf, esp. Executive Summary and Introduction, 3-11.
- Commission of the European Communities and Council of the European Union, 2003: *Joint Report on Adequate and Sustainable Pensions*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/soc-prot/pensions/2003jpr_en.pdf, esp. Executive Summary and General Conclusions, 5-9, 102-7.
- Commission of the European Communities, 2003: *Strengthening the Social Dimension of the Lisbon Strategy: Streamlining Open Coordination in the Field of Social Protection*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2003/may/lisbonstratIP280503_en.pdf.
- Social Protection Committee of the European Union, 2003: “Opinion of the Social Protection Committee on the Commission's Communication, *Strengthening the Social Dimension of the Lisbon Strategy: Streamlining Open Coordination in the Field of Social Protection*”,

http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/social_protection_committee/streamlining_en.pdf.

Commission of the European Communities, 2004: *Modernising Social Protection for the Development of High-Quality, Accessible and Sustainable Health Care and Long-Term Care: Support for the National Strategies Using the “Open Method of Coordination”*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/soc-prot/healthcare/com_04_304_en.pdf.

14. Assessing the Open Method of Coordination (Dec. 7)

Zeitlin, Jonathan, forthcoming: “Introduction: The Open Method of Coordination in Question” and “Conclusion: The Open Method of Coordination in Action: Theoretical Promise, Empirical Realities, Reform Strategy”, in Zeitlin and Pochet, with Magnusson, *The Open Method of Coordination in Action*, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/EUC/JZPP/introduction.pdf> and <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/EUC/JZPP/conclusion.pdf>.

Borrás, Susanna, and Kerstin Jacobsson, 2004: “The Open Method of Co-ordination and New Governance Patterns in the EU”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(2): 185-208, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/borrasJacobssonJEPP.pdf>.

de la Porte, Caroline, and Pochet, Philippe, 2003: “The OMC Intertwined with the Debates on Governance, Democracy and Social Europe”, report prepared for Frank Vandembroucke, Minister for Social Affairs and Pensions, Belgium, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/delaportePochet.pdf>.

Radaelli, Claudio, 2003: “The Open Method of Coordination: A New Governance Architecture for the European Union?” *Sieps Report* no. 1 (March), Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies, <http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/Papers/radaelli.pdf>.

15. Experimental Governance and the Future of Social Europe (Dec. 14)

Scharpf, Fritz, 2002: “The European Social Model: Coping with the Challenges of Diversity”, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 645-70.

Offe, Claus, 2003: “The European Model of ‘Social Capitalism’: Can It Survive European Integration?”, *Journal of Political Philosophy* 11(4): 437-69.

Sabel, Charles, and Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2004: “Active Welfare, Experimental Governance, Pragmatic Constitutionalism: The New Transformation of Europe”, unpublished paper.

Daly, Mary, 2004: “European Social Policy after Lisbon – A New Approach?”, unpublished paper, <http://www.wisc.edu/wage/events/04papers/Dalypaper04.pdf>.

Hemerijck, Anton, 2004: "Recasting Europe's Semi-Sovereign Welfare States: The Role of the EU", unpublished paper,
<http://www.europeanstudiesalliance.org/calendar/fall04events/hemerijckPaper.pdf>.

Ferrera, Maurizio, 2004: "New Boundaries, New Structuring? On the Future of Social Protection in the EU", unpublished paper,
<http://daadcenter.wisc.edu/events/fall04/FerreraPaper04.pdf>.