

# **Seminar on EU Social Governance and EU Legitimacy**

## **General description:**

This seminar fulfills the objective of introducing students to the general notions and issues of the Welfare State, the Europeanization of social policies and its implication to the legitimacy of European governance. Defining legitimacy as responsive and responsible government, the objective of this course is to develop and discuss different aspects of political legitimacy, especially revealed in the Europeanization of the Welfare State, in the multi-level system of EU social governance. The questions tackled are: why the integration of social policies prove difficult, and why such methods as OMC the OMC the “open-method-of-coordination” have to be deployed. How the fragile balance between democratic legitimacy and economic efficiency of the EU maintained and why it becomes a difficult issue during the debt and financial crisis of the Euro-zone.

## **Goals and objectives:**

This seminar aims to provide students with a dynamic perspective on the EU social governance and legitimacy. Students should be able to analyze European Welfare reform challenges from the conjunction of economic common market and national social welfare states, and from the perspective of European legitimacy.

## **Main themes and Issues covered**

1. The origins of the European welfare states and their diversities
2. Legitimacy for welfare state on the national level
3. The Europeanization of the Welfare State
4. Transformation of welfare state on the national level
5. Lisbon Strategy and OMC on the EU level
6. Challenges ahead for both the EU and Members in social governance

## **Course Outline:**

### **Session 1: The origins of the European welfare states in western Europe and their diversities**

#### **Issues covered:**

- **Common Origins of the European Welfare States**
  - Industrialism
  - Mass Democracy
  - Emergence of European Nation States
- **Sources of Diversity of European Welfare States**
- **Limits of Industrial Capitalism**

#### **Required reading:**

Peter Flora (ed.) *Growth to Limits, The Western European Welfare States Since WWII*, Introduction. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York, 1986, pp. XII-XXI.

Gaston V. Rimlinger, *Welfare Policy and Industrialization in Europe, America and Russia*. Department of Economics, Rice University, 1966, pp. 35-46, 51-62, 87-191.

**Recommended reading:**

Karl Polanyi, *Great Transformation, the Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, Beacon Press, 1957. First published 1944.

**Session 2: Legitimacy for welfare state on the national level**

**Issues covered:**

- Market failure and social reactions
- Welfare states and de-commodification
- Democratization and the legitimacy of national welfare states

**Required readings**

Anthony Forder, “Neo-classical and micro-economic theory”, in: Terry Caslin, Geoffrey Ponton & Sandra Walklate (ed.), *Theories of Welfare*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London and Boston, 1984, pp. 26-50.

Robert e. Goodin & John Dryzek, “Risk-Sharing and Social Justice: the Motivational Foundations of the Post-War Welfare State”, in Robert E. Goodin & Julian le Grand (ed.), *Not Only the Poor. The Middle Classes and the Welfare State*. Allen & Unwin, London, 1987, pp.37-76.

Richard M. Titmuss, *Commitment to Welfare*, Unwin University Books, London 1964, pp.188-199.

Gøsta Esping-Andersen (ed.), *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1990, pp.35-54.

**Recommended readings**

Harold L. Wilensky & Charles N. Lebeauex, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare*. A free press paperback, New York, London, 1965. Introduction and pp. 337-351.

Gøsta Esping-Andersen (ed.), *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1990, pp. 9-34.

Jens Alber, “Some Causes of Social Security Expenditure Development in Western Europe 1949-1977”, in: Martin Loney, David Boswell & John Clarke (ed.), *Social Policy and Social Welfare*. Open University Press, Milton Keynes, Philadelphia, 1985, pp.156-170.

Michael O’Higgins, “Issues of Redistribution in State Welfare Spending”, *Ibid.*, pp170-182.

**Session 3: The Europeanization of the Welfare State**

**Issues covered**

- Slow development of Europeanisation of social policies
- Programs and institutions of EU social governance

**Required readings**

Robert R. Geyer, *Exploring European Social Policy*, Polity Press (2000). Chapter I and II, pp.11-57.

- Kohler-Koch, Beate/Conzelmann, Thomas/Knodt, Michele(2004): European Integration-European Governance, Beijing( in Chinese), Chapter 11.
- Paul Pierson (ed.), *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 410-456.
- Jack Hayward and Anand Menon (ed.), *Governing Europe*. Oxford University Press, 2003, pp346-366.
- Leibfried, Stephan/Pierson, Paul(2000): Social Policy. Left to Courts and Markets?,in: Wallace, Helen and Wallace, William(eds.): Policy-making in the European Union, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.269-292.

### **Recommended readings**

- Hix, Simon(1999): Redistributive Policies, in Hix, Simon: The Political System of the European Union, London: Macmillan, pp.241-277
- Kleinman, Mark(2002): “European Union Social Policy: Policy Development and Policy-making” , in Kleinman, Mark, A European Welfare State? European Union Social Policy in Context, New York: Palgrave pp. 82-109
- Taylor-Gooby, Peter(2004): “Introduction--Open Markets versus Welfare Citizenship: Conflicting Approaches to Policy Convergence in Europe”, in Taylor-Gooby, Peter(ed.) Making a European Welfare State? Convergences and Conflicts over European Social Policy, Oxford: Blackwell, pp.1-16.

## **Session 4: Transformation of welfare state on the national level**

### **Issues covered**

- Demands for a more cohesive national social policy after 1992
- Characteristics of European interest intermediation
- The changing social partnership in the multi-level governance system of the EU

### **Required readings**

- Kohler-Koch, Beate/Conzelmann, Thomas/Knodt, Michele(2004): European Integration-European Governance, Beijing( in Chinese), Chapter 14.
- Greenwood, Justin(2003): EU Decision-Making and Channels of Influence, in: Greenwood, Justin: Interest Representation in the European Union, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.29-73.
- Marginson, Paul(2012): The Case of European Social Dialog, in de Munck, Jean, Didry, Claude, Ferreras, Isabelle & Jobert, Annette(eds.), Renewing Democratic Deliberation in Europe: The Challenge of Social and Civil Dialogue. Brussels: Peterlang, pp97-111.
- Anton Hemerijck, “The Self-Transformation of the European Social Model(s)” , in: Gøsta Esping-Andersen (ed.), Why We Need a New Welfare State. Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.173-213.

### **Recommended readings**

- Linda Hantrais, *Social Policy in the European Union*. Second Edition, MacMillan Press LTD, 2000.

Robert R. Geyer, *Exploring European Social Policy*, Polity Press, 2000  
De la Porte, Pochet and Room, "Social Benchmarking, policy making and new governance in the EU", in: *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2001, 11 (4), SAGE Publisher, London, pp. 291-307

## **Session 5: Lisbon Strategy and OMC on the EU level**

### **Issues covered**

- Converge different social priorities for common social goals
- OMC and new modes of governance within the EU
- Asymmetrical interest representation implied by OMC and its impacts on the EU's democratic deficiency

### **Required readings**

Zeitlin, Jonathan(2005) "The Open Method of Co-ordination in Question", in Zeitlin, Jonathan & Pochet, Philippe (eds.), *The Open Method of Co-ordination in Action*, P.I.E-Peterlang, pp.19-33  
Pochet, Philippe(2005), "The Open Method of Co-ordination and the Construction of Social Europe:A Historical Perspective", in Zeitlin, Jonathan & Pochet, Philippe (eds.), *The Open Method of Co-ordination in Action*, P.I.E-Peterlang, pp.37-82  
Zhou, Hong (2007) "A Chinese Perspective on Lisbon Strategy". *Asia Europe Journal*, Springer, September, Volume 5-Number 3.  
Zhang, Jun(2014): "Predicaments of welfare states, de-democratization and the European Common Market: the European approach towards a political transformation", in *Chinese Journal of European Studies*, vol. 32, No. 1, 2014(in Chinese)

### **Recommended readings**

Scharpf, Fritz W.(2003): *Problem-solving Effectiveness and democratic accountability in the EU*, Max-Planck-Institut fuer Gesellschaftsforschung(MPIfG) Working Paper 03/1, February 2003.

## **Session 6: Challenges ahead for both the EU and Members in social governance**

### **Issues covered**

- Social policy issues in the process of re-structuring the European economy after the fiscal crisis
- Retrenchments of social welfare and its impacts on the EU's legitimacy
- The future of social integration against the backdrop of increasing economic gap among member states

### **Required readings**

Anton Hemerijck (2013), *Changing Welfare States*, Oxford University Press, Chapter 8: Escaping the Double Bind of Social Europe. Pp. 290-332.

Rodrigues, Maria Jo ã(2009): “Beyond Lisbon”, in Hemerrijck, Anton, Knapen, Ben & van Doorne, Ellen (eds.), *After Shocks: Economic Crisis and Institutional Choice*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp235-244.

**Recommended readings**

Giddens, Anthony(2006): “A Social Model for Europe?”, in Giddens, Anthony, Diamond, Patrick & Liddle Roger (eds.): *Global Europe, Social Europe*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp.14-36.