

The European Welfare State
4406G/9710B
Winter Term, 2017

Professor Bruce Morrison

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Office hours: Tuesday 2-3, Thursday 10-11, or by appointment

Course Description:

As is perhaps to be expected in the case of a complex political phenomenon subjected to intense politicization, the welfare state has been variously and often erroneously interpreted. It is certainly the case that the conditions that supported the welfare state in earlier decades have weakened, if not dissolved, but the meaning of this remains far from clear. As we will see, the welfare state was always plural, deriving from a number of different social, ideological, and institutional sources, and assuming qualitatively different forms in different contexts. There are at least three welfare ‘worlds’ or regimes rather than just one welfare state. However, in the face of powerful changes which surfaced during the final third of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, the argument has been made in many quarters that the welfare state has become unsustainable or, worse, a hindrance to progress. Evaluating such a claim will draw us deeply into the following questions. What contribution, if any, did the welfare state make to the functioning of advanced European economies and polities? Is the welfare state in Europe on the way out, or are the reports of its death greatly exaggerated? Are the pressures for retrenchment directed at the whole of the welfare state, or just at certain of its component parts? Should the welfare state be abandoned, either in whole or in part? Are we seeing a contribution, process of convergence, according to which the welfare regime types will be replaced by a single liberal model? The attempt to treat these questions will also shed light on such related matters as citizenship, ideology, state formation, and economic development.

Learning Outcomes

Participants in this seminar will:

- (a) acquire an understanding of the relationship between the welfare state and the key elements of modernity;
- (b) become able to critically assess the case for the existence of three or more welfare regime types rather than a singular welfare state, as well as the application of this framework to a significant number of countries;
- (c) learn to make sense of and apply the major theories explaining both the emergence and reform of welfare states, and to evaluate the extent to which retrenchment or other forms of change have occurred and may continue to do so.

Assignments and Grading:

In addition to keeping up with the weekly readings, you will be required to provide one substantial presentation and submit two take-home examinations over the course of the term. The presentation and the take-home examinations will require some additional research and reading. I will also expect active, informed, and consistent participation from the members of the seminar. The breakdown of the grade will be as follows:

Undergraduates (4406G):

- (a) presentation (15 minutes): 20%
- (b) seminar participation: 20%
- (c) mid-term take-home exam (8-10 pages): 20%
- (d) final take-home exam (14-16 pages): 40%

Graduate Students (9710B):

- (a) presentation (20 minutes): 15%
- (b) seminar participation: 20%
- (c) mid-term take-home exam (12-14 pages): 15%
- (d) final take-home exam (20-22 pages): 35%
- (e) research and presentation of one additional country case: 15%

Readings

Unit One: Modernity and the Welfare State

(January 18, 25)

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Beacon Press, 1944), pp. 43-102, 135-50.

T.H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in Christopher Pierson, Francis G. Castles, and Ingela K. Naumann (eds.), *The Welfare State Reader* (Polity, 2014).

Kathleen Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain: From the Poor Law to New Labour* (The Athlone Press, 2000), chapters 1, 2, 5, 6.

Christopher Pierson, *Beyond the Welfare State? The New Political Economy of Welfare* (Polity, 2006), pp. 9-40, 49-62.

Unit Two: The Different Welfare Worlds

A. *Theory* (February 1)

Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton University Press, 1991), chapters 1-3. Graduate students read chapter 4 as well.

Philip Manow, "Workers, Farmers and Catholicism: A History of Political Class Coalitions and the South-European Welfare State Regime." *Journal of European Social Policy* vol. 25, no. 1 (2015).

B. *Social Democratic* (February 8)

Bo Rothstein, "Labour-Market Institutions and Working-Class Strength," in Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth, eds., *Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Dimitris Tsarouhas, *Social Democracy in Sweden: The Threat from a Globalized World* (Tauris Academic Studies, 2008), chapter 2.

Lars Bo Kaspersen, "The Formation and Development of the Welfare State," in John L. Campbell, John A. Hall, and Ove K. Pedersen, eds., *National Identity and the Varieties of Capitalism: The Danish Experience* (DJOF Publishing, 2006).

Jukka Pekkarinen, "Keynesianism and the Scandinavian Models of Economic Policy," in Peter A. Hall, ed., *The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism Across Nations* (Princeton University Press, 1989).

C. *Liberal* (February 15)

Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain*, chapters 7, 9-12.

Theda Skocpol, *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective* (Princeton University Press, 1995), chapter 6. Graduate Students read Chapter 3 as well.

Anne Marie Cammisa, *From Rhetoric to Reform? Welfare Policy in American Politics* (Westview Press, 1998), chapter 2.

****Mid-Term Take-Home Exam Due in Class on March 1st.**

D. *Conservative Corporatist*
(March 1)

Douglas E. Ashford, "Advantages of Complexity: Social Insurance in France," in John S. Ambler, ed., *The French Welfare State: Surviving Social and Ideological Change* (New York University Press, 1991).

Remi Lenoir, "Family Policy in France Since 1938," in Ambler, ed., *The French Welfare State*.

Thomas Paster, "Business and Welfare State Development: Why Did Employers Accept Social Reforms?" *World Politics* vol. 65, no. 3 (July 2013).

Christopher S. Allen, "The Underdevelopment of Keynesianism in the Federal Republic of Germany," in Hall, ed., *The Political Power of Economic Ideas*.

Unit Three: Reforming the Welfare States?

A. *Taking Stock, Facing Challenges:*
(March 8)

Kees van Kersbergen and Barbara Vis, *Comparative Welfare State Politics: Development, Opportunities, and Reform* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 78-102, 123-55.

Jan Zutavern and Martin Kohli, "Needs and Risks in the Welfare State," in Francis G. Castles, Stephan Leibfried, Jane Lewis, Herbert Obinger, and Christopher Pierson, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

Volker Meier and Martin Werding, "Ageing and the Welfare State: Securing Sustainability." *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* vol. 26, no. 4 (2010), pp. 655-62.

Carl-Ulrik Schierup, "Migration, Minorities and Welfare States," in Christopher Pierson, Francis G. Castles, and Ingela K. Naumann, eds., *The Welfare State Reader* (Polity, 2014).

B. *Neo-conservatism and the Sources of Social and Institutional Resistance*
(March 15)

Christopher Pierson, *Beyond the Welfare State? The New Political Economy of Welfare* (Polity, 2006), pp. 41-49.

Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain*, chapters 13-14.

Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), Introduction, chapters 1 and 2.

C. *Third Ways, New Ways, No Ways:*
(March 22, 29, April 5)

i. *Vices, Virtues, and Path Dependent Change?*

Jonah Levy, "Vice into Virtue? Progressive Politics and Welfare Reform in Continental Europe." *Politics & Society* vol. 27, no. 2 (June 1999).

Bruno Palier and Kathleen Thelen, "Institutionalizing Dualism: Complementarities and Change in France and Germany." *Politics and Society* vol. 38, no. 1 (2010).

Dimitris Tsarouhas, "A New Swedish Model? Swedish Social Democracy at the Crossroads," in John Callaghan, Nina Fishman, Ben Jackson and Martin McIvor, eds., *In Search of Social Democracy: Responses to Crisis and Modernisation* (Manchester University Press, 2009).

Claes Belfrage and Magnus Ryner, "Renegotiating the Swedish Social Democratic Settlement: From Pension Fund Socialism to Neoliberalization." *Politics and Society* vol. 37, no. 2 (June 2009).

ii. *Convergence or Regeneration as a Social Investment State?*

Kees van Kersbergen and Anton Hemerijck, "Two Decades of Change in Europe: The Emergence of the Social Investment State." *Journal of Social Policy* vol. 41, no. 3 (2012).

Giuliani Bonoli, "The Political Economy of Active Labour Market Policy." *Politics & Society* vol. 38, no. 4 (2010).

Bea Cantillon and Wim Van Lancker, "Three Shortcomings of the Social Investment Perspective." *Social Policy and Society* vol. 12, no. 4 (2013).

Kati Kuitto, "From Social Security to Social Investment? Compensating and Social Investment Welfare Policies in a Life-Course Perspective." *Journal of European Social Policy* vol. 26, no. 5 (2016).

iii. *Parties, Electoral Competition, and Welfare Reform*

Gus Schumacher, "'Marx' or the Market? Intra-Party Power and Social Democratic Welfare State Retrenchment." *West European Politics* vol. 35, no. 5 (September 2012).

Jane Gingrich and Silja Hausermann, "The Decline of the Working-Class Vote, the Reconfiguration of the Welfare Support Coalition and Consequences for the Welfare State." *Journal of European Social Policy* vol. 25, no. 1 (2015).

Barbara Vis, "Taking Stock of the Comparative Literature on the Role of Blame Avoidance Strategies in Social Policy Reform." *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* vol. 18, no. 2 (2016).

Peter Taylor-Gooby, "The Divisive Welfare State." *Social Policy and Administration* vol. 50, no. 6 (November 2016).

****Final Take-Home Exam Due April 26th at 5 pm.**