

Global Welfare States
Political Science 4215F
Fall 2022

Dr. Bruce Morrison

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Seminar Meetings: Wednesday 2:30-4:30

Office hours: Thursday 12-1 pm, 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 interpreted. It is certainly true that the conditions that supported the western 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 economic, 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. Arguably, this number has grown as many countries from the global South have developed substantial and in some respects quite different welfare states. However, in recent decades, demographic change, globalization, and post-industrialization, among other developments, have exerted great pressure on the global welfare states. The case that the established welfare state had become unsustainable or, worse, a hindrance to progress, has supported attempts to challenge or retool welfare states in significant ways. While this might initially have involved retrenchment, more recently it has involved the redirection of state spending toward measures that stand as investments in a more dynamic and competitive society. Are we seeing signs of global convergence in welfare state development? What might this look like? Or are different welfare regimes changing in ways that reflect the distinctiveness of their economic, social, and political settings, as well as the legacies of past policies? This seminar will explore these and other questions by devoting particular attention to processes of welfare state formation and reform in Europe, East Asia, and Latin America.

Course Format:

This seminar will be conducted in person. It will be a pleasure to see you all in seminar every week! I do, however, reserve the right to move the course online should public health circumstances require it.

Learning Outcomes:

Participants in this seminar will:

- (a) acquire an understanding of the role of the welfare state and the relationship between the welfare state and such key elements of modernity as economic development and state formation;
- (b) become able to critically assess the case for the existence of three or more welfare regime types rather than a singular welfare state, and explore the applicability of this framework to a significant number of countries across at least three global regions;
- (c) develop the ability to relate welfare regime types to their characteristic policy types;
- (d) 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 the retrenchment and/or recasting of welfare states have occurred and may continue to do so.

Prerequisites: Political Science 2245E or 2545F/G or 2231E or 2531F/G or International Relations 2701E or 2702E or 2704G.

Antirequisite: Political Science 4406F/G.

Requirements and Grading:

The breakdown of the grade will be as follows:

- (a) presentation (10 minutes): 15%;
- (b) participation: 20%
- (c) first take-home exam, due October 30 (8-10 pages): 25%
- (d) second take-home exam, due December 16 (14-16 pages): 40%

Presentation (15%): Students are expected to find one additional journal article or book segment (roughly 20-25 pages) that sheds fresh light on the relevant week's assigned materials. The presentation will involve: (a) elaboration upon the question, thesis, argumentation, and evidence in the selected article; (b) discussion of the major points of contact with one or more of the assigned readings; (c) an attempt to spell out the key analytical implications and bases for criticism; and (d) identification of two discussion questions. The presentations will be timed, in order to make all possible accommodation for the subsequent seminar discussion.

Participation (20%): Students are expected to attend the seminar regularly and be prepared to participate in discussions of the assigned topics and readings. Participation will be assessed based not just on the frequency of the student's contributions, but more fully on the extent to which they are relevant, well-informed, and at the highest level also insightful. Any student who fails to attend at least **nine** sessions without well-supported cause may not be permitted to submit the final take home exam.

Mid-Term Take-Home Exam (25%): Students will respond to a series of questions related to the seminar coverage up to that point, while also incorporating one additional reading item (journal article or book segment) that enhances their understanding of the material they are addressing in a significant way. One week will be provided for completion of this assignment. The due date will be October 30.

Final Take-Home Exam (40%): The format will be similar to that of the first review assignment, but in this case students will incorporate two carefully selected additional research items (journal articles or book segments). As before, one week will be provided for completion of the assignment. The due date will be December 16.

Readings

Week One: Introduction

(September 14)

No assigned readings.

Week Two: Theorizing the Worlds of Welfare

(September 21)

Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton University Press, 1991), chapters 1-3.

Kees van Kersbergen and Barbara Vis, *Comparative Welfare State Politics: Development, Opportunities, and Reform* (Cambridge, 2014), chapter 3.

Week Three: The Liberal Regime (September 28)

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

David Edgerton, "War and the Development of the British Welfare State," in Herbert Obinger, Klaus Petersen, and Peter Starke, eds., *Warfare and Welfare: Military Conflict and Welfare State Development in Western Countries* (Oxford, 2018).

Theda Skocpol, *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective* (Princeton University Press, 1995), chapter 6.

Week Four: The Social Democratic Regime (October 5)

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

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

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).

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), pp. 99-108, 127-30.

Week Five: The Conservative Corporatist Regime (October 12)

John S. Ambler, ed., *The French Welfare State: Surviving Social and Ideological Change* (New York University Press, 1991), chapters 2 and 5.

Young-Sun Hong, *Welfare, Modernity, and the Weimar State, 1919-1933* (Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 16-36.

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

Week Six: Taking Stock, Facing New Challenges (October 19)

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 Naumann, eds., *The Welfare State Reader* (Polity, 2014).

Week Seven: The New Politics of the Welfare State (October 26)

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

Martin Seeleib-Kaiser, "The End of the Conservative German Welfare State Model." *Social Policy and Administration* vol. 50, no. 2 (March 2016).

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).

****Mid-Term Take-Home Exam**

The exam will be due on October 30 at 11:55 pm.

****Break week** (November 2)

Week Eight: Reform and Reconfiguration (November 9)

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).

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).

Kees van Kersbergen and Jonas Kraft, "De-universalization and Selective Social Investment in Scandinavia?" in Anton Hemerijck, ed., *The Uses of Social Investment* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

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

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).

Week Nine: East Asia I: Productivism and South Korea in Comparative Perspective (November 16)

Ian Holliday, "Productivist Welfare Capitalism: Social Policy in East Asia." *Political Studies* vol. 48 (2000).

Mason MS Kim, *Comparative Welfare Capitalism in East Asia: Productivist Models of Social Policy* (Palgrave, 2016), chapter 2 (18-35), chapter 3 (pp. 46-68), chapter 4.

Niccolo Durazzi, Timo Fleckenstein, and Soohyun Christine Lee, "Social Solidarity for All? Trade Union Strategies, Labor Market Dualization, and the Welfare State in Italy and South Korea." *Politics & Society* vol. 46, no. 2 (2018), pp. 205-10, 218-26 (the rest recommended).

Week Ten: East Asia II: Comparing Japan and Considering Reform (November 23)

Gregory J. Kasza, "Welfare Policy and War in Japan," in Herbert Obinger, Klaus Petersen, and Peter Starke, eds., *Warfare and Welfare: Military Conflict and Welfare State Development in Western Countries* (Oxford, 2018).

Margarita Estevez-Abe, *Welfare and Capitalism in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, 2008), chapter 1.

Ito Peng, "The Social Protection Floor and the 'New' Social Investment Policies in Japan and South Korea." *Global Social Policy* vol. 14, no. 3 (2014).

Soohyun Christine Lee, "Democratization, Political Parties and Korean Welfare Politics: Korean Family Policy Reforms in Comparative Perspective." *Government and Opposition* vol. 53, no. 3 (2018).

Week Eleven: Latin America I: Historical Origins and Neoliberalism

(November 30)

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe* (Princeton University Press, 2008), chapters 1 (pp. 56-59, 69-71 optional) and 2.

Evelyn Huber and John D. Stephens, *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), chapter 6 (pp. 155-77).

Week Twelve: Latin America II: The Left Turn, Basic Universalism, and the Return of the Right

(December 7)

Huber and Stephens, *Democracy and the Left*, chapter 6 (pp. 177-207).

Candelaria Garay, *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America* (Cambridge, 2016), chapter 1 (pp. 1-20).

Theodoros Papadopoulos and Ricardo Velazquez Leyer, "Two Decades of Social Investment in Latin America: Outcomes, Shortcomings and Achievements of Conditional Cash Transfers." *Social Policy and Society* vol. 15, no. 3 (2016).

Gabriel Vommaro and Marana Gené, "Policy Legacies, Sociopolitical Coalitions, and the Limits of the Right Turn in Latin America: The Argentine Case in Comparative Perspective." *Latin American Politics and Society* vol. 64, no. 1 (2022).

*****Final Take-Home Exam**

The exam will be due on Thursday, December 16 at 11:55 pm.

APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning. Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

Security and Confidentiality of Student Work (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* <http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>)

"Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

Duplication of work

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

Grade adjustments

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

Academic Offences

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site: http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/scholastic_discipline_undergrad.pdf

Submission of Course Requirements

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS MUST BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Attendance Regulations for Examinations

EXAMINATIONS/ATTENDANCE (Sen. Min. Feb.4/49, May 23/58, S.94, S.3538, S.3632, S.04-097) A student is entitled to be examined in courses in which registration is maintained, subject to the following limitations: 1) A student may be debarred from writing the final examination for failure to maintain satisfactory academic standing throughout the year. 2) Any student who, in the opinion of the instructor, is absent too frequently from class or laboratory periods in any course will be reported to the Dean of the Faculty offering the course (after due warning has been given). On the recommendation of the Department concerned, and with the permission of the Dean of that Faculty, the student will be debarred from taking the regular examination in the course. The Dean of the Faculty offering the course will communicate that decision to the Dean of the Faculty of registration.

Absences from Final Examinations

If you miss the Final Exam, please contact the Academic Counselling office of your Faculty of Registration as soon as you are able to do so. They will assess your eligibility to write the Special Examination (the name given by the University to a makeup Final Exam).

You may also be eligible to write the Special Exam if you are in a "Multiple Exam Situation" (e.g., more than 2 exams in 23-hour period, more than 3 exams in a 47-hour period).

Note: Missed work can only be excused through one of the mechanisms above. Being asked not to attend an in-person course requirement due to potential COVID-19 symptoms is **not** sufficient on its own. Students should check the Western website to see what directives for Covid are to be followed. Western has been and will continue to follow directives established by the Middlesex-London Health Unit. That directive will state whether students should or should not come to campus/class and any other requirements (e.g., masks are mandatory). Please check on your own and do not email the instructor, the Department Undergraduate Advisor/Coordinator or the Faculty of Social Science Academic Counselling Office.

Accommodation and Accessibility

Religious Accommodation

When a course requirement conflicts with a religious holiday that requires an absence from the University or prohibits certain activities, students should request accommodation for their absence in writing at least two weeks prior to the holiday to the course instructor and/or the

Academic Counselling office of their Faculty of Registration. Please consult University's list of recognized religious holidays (updated annually) at

<https://multiculturalcalendar.com/ecal/index.php?s=c-univwo>.

Accommodation Policies

Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact Accessible Education, which provides recommendations for accommodation based on medical documentation or psychological and cognitive testing. The policy on Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities can be found at:

[https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/Academic Accommodation_disabilities.pdf](https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/Academic_Accommodation_disabilities.pdf).

Academic Policies

The website for Registrarial Services is <http://www.registrar.uwo.ca>.

In accordance with policy,

https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/policies_procedures/section1/mapp113.pdf,

the centrally administered e-mail account provided to students will be considered the individual's official university e-mail address. It is the responsibility of the account holder to ensure that e-mail received from the University at their official university address is attended to in a timely manner.

During exams/tests/quizzes, no electronic devices (e.g. a phone, laptop, iPad) are allowed and must be powered down and stored out of reach.

Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site:

http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/scholastic_discipline_undergrad.pdf.

All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>).

Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating.

If a course uses remote proctoring, please be advised that you are consenting to the use of this software and acknowledge that you will be required to provide **personal information** (including

some biometric data) and the session will be **recorded**. Completion of a course with remote proctoring will require you to have a reliable internet connection and a device that meets the technical requirements for this service. More information about this remote proctoring service, including technical requirements, is available on Western's Remote Proctoring website at:

<https://remoteproctoring.uwo.ca>.

Support Services

Please visit the Social Science Academic Counselling webpage for information on adding/dropping courses, academic considerations for absences, appeals, exam conflicts, and many other academic related matters: [Academic Counselling - Western University \(uwo.ca\)](https://www.uwo.ca/ssac/)

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western (<https://uwo.ca/health/>) for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

Western is committed to reducing incidents of gender-based and sexual violence and providing compassionate support to anyone who has gone through these traumatic events. If you have experienced sexual or gender-based violence (either recently or in the past), you will find information about support services for survivors, including emergency contacts at

https://www.uwo.ca/health/student_support/survivor_support/get-help.html.

To connect with a case manager or set up an appointment, please contact support@uwo.ca.

Please contact the course instructor if you require lecture or printed material in an alternate format or if any other arrangements can make this course more accessible to you. You may also wish to contact Accessible Education at

http://academicsupport.uwo.ca/accessible_education/index.html

if you have any questions regarding accommodations.

Learning-skills counsellors at the Learning Development and Success Centre (<https://learning.uwo.ca>) are ready to help you improve your learning skills. They offer presentations on strategies for improving time management, multiple-choice exam preparation/writing, textbook reading, and more. Individual support is offered throughout the Fall/Winter terms in the drop-in Learning Help Centre, and year-round through individual counselling.

Western University is committed to a thriving campus as we deliver our courses in the mixed model of both virtual and face-to-face formats. We encourage you to check out the Digital Student Experience website to manage your academics and well-being: <https://www.uwo.ca/se/digital/>.

Additional student-run support services are offered by the USC, <https://westernusc.ca/services/>.

Plagiarism:

Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

Plagiarism Checking: "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>)."

Multiple-choice tests/exams: "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic_policies/index.html

PLAGIARISM*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

*Reprinted by permission of the Department of History

Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History August 13, 1991