

**The European Welfare State**  
**4406G/9710B**  
**Winter Term, 2015**

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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 welfarism 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 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 retrenchment 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 final take-home examination will require limited 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:

- (a) presentation (15-20 minutes): 20%;
- (b) seminar participation: 20%;
- (c) mid-term take-home exam (6-8 pages; 12 pages for graduate students, based on course materials): 20%;
- (d) final take-home exam (12-14 pages; 20 pages for graduate students, based on course materials plus three additional articles or book chapters of choice): 40%.

## **Readings**

### **Unit One: Modernity and the Welfare State**

(January 14, 21)

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

T.H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles (eds.), *The Welfare State Reader* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000).

Kathleen Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain: From the Poor Law to New Labour* (London: 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*

(January 28)

Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton University Press, 1991), chapters 1, 2, 3, 5 (pp. 105-11, 133-8), and 6 (pp. 144-50, 157-8). Chapter 4 recommended.

*B. Social Democratic*  
(February 4)

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

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 11)

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. Chapter 3 recommended.

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 February 25<sup>th</sup>.

*D. Conservative Corporatist*  
(February 25, March 4)

*i. Germany*

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

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

Christian Toft, "German Social Policy," in Maurice Mullard, ed., *The Politics of Social Policy in Europe* (Edward Elgar, 1997).

*ii. France*

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).

David R. Cameron, "Continuity and Change in French Social Policy: The Welfare State Under Gaullism, Liberalism, and Socialism," in Ambler, ed., *The French Welfare State*.  
Remi Lenoir, "Family Policy in France Since 1938," in Ambler, ed., *The French Welfare State*.

### **Unit Three: Reforming the Welfare States**

#### *A. Forces for Change:* (March 11)

Christine Cousins, *Society, Work and Welfare in Europe* (Macmillan, 1999), chapter 4.

Duane Swank, "Globalization," in Francis Castles, Stephan Leibfried, Jane Lewis, Herbert Obinger, and Christopher Pierson, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 318-26.

Jan Zutavern and Martin Kohli, "Needs and Risks in the Welfare State," in Francis Castles, Stephan Leibfried, Jane Lewis, Herbert Obinger, and Christopher Pierson, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 175-82.

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.

#### *B. Neo-conservatism and the Sources of Social and Institutional Resistance* (March 18)

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), selections.

#### *C. Third Ways, New Ways, No Ways:* (March 25, April 1, 8)

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

Kathleen Thelen and Wolfgang Streeck, "Introduction," in Kathleen Thelen and Wolfgang Streeck, eds., *Beyond Continuity*.

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

Bruno Palier, "Turning Vice into Virtue: How Bismarckian Welfare States Have Gone from Unsustainability to Dualization," in Giuliani Bonoli and David Natali, eds., *The Politics of the New Welfare State* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

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

Wolfgang Streeck and Anke Hassel, "The Crumbling Pillars of Social Partnership." *West European Politics* vol. 26, no. 4 (October 2003).

Stephen Driver, "What is to Be Done? Welfare Reform from Blair to Brown." *Policy Studies* vol. 30, no. 1 (February 2009).

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).

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

*iii. The Reworking of the Social Democratic Welfare State?*

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).

Peter Abrahamson, "Welfare Reform: Renewal or Deviation?" in Campbell, Hall, and Pedersen, *National Identity and the Varieties of Capitalism: The Danish Experience*.

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

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

\*\*Final Take-Home Exam Due April 27<sup>th</sup> at 5 pm.

