

Western University
Department of Political Science

**The European Welfare State
4406G/9710B
Winter Term, 2013**

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Office hours: Th 10:30-12, 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 consensus and conditions that supported the welfare state in earlier decades have 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. In its various manifestations, meanwhile, it stood from the outset as a response to fundamentally different economic, social, and political dilemmas, though overlap certainly existed from one welfare 'world' to the other. 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 irrelevant 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 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? The attempt to treat these questions will also shed light on such related matters as citizenship, ideology, and economic development.

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. 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 minutes maximum): 20%;
- (b) seminar participation: 20%;
- (c) mid-term take-home exam (6-8 pages; 12 pages for graduate students): 20%;
- (d) final take-home exam (12-14 pages; 20 pages for graduate students): 40%.

Book Available for Purchase at the Campus Bookstore:

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

Readings

Unit One: Modernity and the Welfare State

(January 17, 24)

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944), pp. 43-112, 135-62.

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 1-7.

Christopher Pierson, *Beyond the Welfare State?* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 6-37, 46-59.

Unit Two: The Different Welfare Worlds

A. Theory

(January 31)

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

B. Social Democratic

(February 7)

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 16)

Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain*, chapters 8-12.

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 16th.

D. Conservative Corporatist
(February 28, March 7)

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).

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 14)

Krishan Kumar, *From Post-Industrial to Post-Modern Society: New Theories of the Contemporary World* (Blackwell, 1995), chapter 3.

Christine Cousins, *Society, Work and Welfare in Europe* (Macmillan, 1999), pp. 43-113.

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.

B. Neo-conservatism and the Sources of Social and Institutional Resistance:
(March 21, 28)

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).

Richard Clayton and Jonas Pontusson, "Welfare State Retrenchment Revisited: Entitlement Cuts, Public Sector Restructuring, and Inegalitarian Trends in Advanced Capitalist Societies." *World Politics* vol. 51 (October 1998).

C. *Third Ways, New Ways, No Ways:*
(April 4, 11)

Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain*, chapter 15.

Ruth Lister, "The Third Way's Social Investment State," in Jane Lewis and Rebecca Surender, eds., *Welfare State Change: Towards a Third Way?* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

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*.

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

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

Bernhard Ebbinghaus, "Reforming Bismarckian Corporatism: The Changing Role of Social Partnership in Continental Europe," in Bruno Palier, ed., *A Long Goodbye to Bismarck? The Politics of Welfare Reform in Continental Europe* (Amsterdam University Press, 2010).

Anton Hemerijck, "Stress-Testing the New Welfare State," in Giuliano Bonoli and David Natali, eds., *The Politics of the New Welfare State* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

**Final Take-Home Exam Due April 29th at 5 pm.

