

IR 427
THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL WELFARE IN EUROPE

Course Description

This module is designed to provide an insight to European welfare and social policy, and identify the main patterns that led to its creation and evolution after the Second World War. The first part (7 weeks) focuses on the interplay between national social policy and welfare politics. It analyses the link between social welfare and the 'models of capitalism' literature, before examining the principles underpinning the Continental, Anglo-Saxon, Southern, Nordic and East European social policy regimes. The second part (3 weeks) is devoted to an examination of European Social Policy. It delineates its growth by examining the EU Cohesion Policy and the SEA, before discussing the European Social Dialogue and the role of the social partners. The final part (3 weeks) combines the national and pan-European elements of social welfare, discussing the challenges they face in an era of globalisation.

Course Objectives

This module has two main aims. 1) To familiarise students with the creation, evolution and development of European social and welfare policy, 2) To encourage critical thinking as to the link between equity and efficiency, and relate this to social welfare outcomes. By the end of the module students are expected to be able and:

- Demonstrate knowledge of different welfare regimes and the role of social policy in Europe
- Link labour market regimes to social policy outcomes in different parts of Europe and explain those linkages.
- Apply conceptual tools such as the European Union and globalisation to an understanding of social policy.

Course Evaluation

50% essay and 50% exam

At the end of week 8 students will submit a 3,500-word essay on one of the essay topics provided below. They will also sit an unseen examination at the end of the semester. Format requirements for both the essay and exam will be posted on my office door (H213) in due time.

Essay Topics

- 1) 'Welfare regimes, once established, cannot be altered'. Discuss.
- 2) Are Liberal Welfare Regimes efficient?
- 3) Is the critique exerted upon the German welfare state justified?
- 4) 'The Swedish Model links both equity and efficiency, thereby producing superior economic and social outcomes'. Discuss.

Recommended Reading

There is no one book covering the scope of the entire module. Students should note, however, that some books provide a comprehensive guide to large parts of the module. Gøsta Esping-Andersen's 'Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism' (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1990) is a very good companion for the first part of the module.

Lecture Schedule

PART I: EUROPEAN WELFARE STATES

Week 1: Introduction

In the first lecture we will go through the outline and identify the main themes of the module.

Week 2: Social policy and social welfare

How is social policy to be defined? Is there a trade-off between equity and justice?

RECOMMENDED READING

Hill, M. (1996) Social Policy. A comparative analysis London: Prentice Hall (chs.1 and 2).

Esping Andersen, G. (1990) The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism Cambridge: Polity (chs. 1 and 2).

Arts, W. & Gelissen, J. (2002) 'Three worlds of welfare capitalism or more? A state-of-the-art report', Journal of European Social Policy, vol.12, no.2, pp. 137-58.

GENERAL READING

Titmuss, R. M. (1974) 'What is social policy?' in R. M. Titmuss (ed.) Social Policy London: Allen and Unwin.

Baldwin, P. (1990) The Politics of Social Solidarity. Class Bases of the European Welfare State, 1875-1975 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, A. (1994) Beyond Left and Right Cambridge: Polity (ch.5).

Freeman, R. & Rustin, M. (1999) 'Introduction: welfare, culture and Europe', in P. Chamberlayne, A. Cooper, R. Freeman & M. Rustin (eds.) Welfare and Culture in Europe: towards a New Paradigm in Social Policy London: Jessica Kingsley.

Huber, E. Ragin, C. & Stephens, J.D. (1993) 'Social democracy, Christian democracy, constitutional structure and the welfare state', American Journal of Sociology vol. 99, pp.711-749.

Week 3: Continental Welfare Regimes

What are the main characteristics of the Continental welfare model? An analysis of the German paradigm.

RECOMMENDED READING

Swank, D. (2002) Global Capital, Political Institutions, and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (ch.5).

Daly, M (2001) 'Globalization and the Bismarckian Welfare States' in R. Sykes, B. Palier and P. Prior (eds.) Globalization and European Welfare States Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp.79-102.

GENERAL READING

Hancke, B. (2001) 'Revisiting the French Model: Coordination and Restructuring in French Industry' in P. Hall & D. Soskice (eds.) Varieties of Capitalism. The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Kersbergen, K. (1995) Social Capitalism: a Study of Christian Democracy and the Welfare State London: Routledge (ch. 4).

Wilson, M. (1993) 'The German Welfare State: A Conservative Regime in Crisis' in A. Cochrane & J. Clarke (eds.) Comparing Welfare States. Britain in International Context London: Sage, pp.141-171.

Vail, M. (2003) 'Rethinking corporatism and consensus: the dilemmas of German social protection reform' West European Politics vol.26, no.4, pp. 41-66.

Streeck, W. & Hassel, A. (2003) 'The crumbling pillars of social partnership' West European Politics vol.26, no.4, pp.101-124.

Bleses. P. & Seelieb-Kaiser, M. (2004) The Dual Transformation of the German Welfare State Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Week 4: Liberal Welfare regimes

What are the main characteristics of the Liberal model of welfare? An analysis of the UK social policy and welfare regime.

RECOMMENDED READING

Ginsburg, N. (2001) 'Globalization and the Liberal Welfare States' in R. Sykes, B. Palier and P. Prior (eds.) Globalization and European Welfare States Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp.173-191.

GENERAL READING

Swank, D. (2002) Global Capital, Political Institutions, and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (ch.6).

Clarke, J. & Langan, M. (1993) 'The British Welfare State: Foundation and Modernization' in A. Cochrane & J. Clarke (eds.) Comparing Welfare States. Britain in International Context London: Sage, pp.19-48.

Clarke, J. & Langan, M. (1993) 'Restructuring Welfare: The British Welfare Regime in the 1980s' in A. Cochrane & J. Clarke & (eds.) Comparing Welfare States. Britain in International Context London: Sage, pp.49-76.

Annesley, C. (2003) 'Americanised and Europeanised: UK social policy since 1997' The British Journal of Politics & International Relations vol.5, no.2, pp.143-165.

Holden, C. (2003) 'Decommodification and the Workfare State' Political Studies Review vol.1, no.3, pp.303-316.

Garrett, G. (1993) 'The Politics of Structural Change. Swedish Social Democracy and Thatcherism in Comparative Perspective' Comparative Political Studies vol. 25, no.4, pp.521-47.

Myles, J. (1998) 'How to Design a "Liberal" Welfare State: A Comparison of Canada and the United States' Social Policy and Administration vol.32, issue 4, pp.341-364.

McLaughlin, E. (1993) 'Ireland: Catholic Corporatism' in A. Cochrane & J. Clarke (eds.) Comparing Welfare States. Britain in International Context London: Sage, pp.205-237.

Week 5: Southern European Welfare Regimes

What are the main characteristics of the Southern European model of welfare? The case of Italy analysed.

RECOMMENDED READING

Rhodes, M. (1997) 'Southern European Welfare States: Identity, Problems and Prospects for Reform' in Southern European Welfare States. Between Crisis and Reform London: Frank Cass, pp. 1-22.

GENERAL READING

Ferrera, M. (1996) 'The "southern model" of welfare in social Europe' Journal of European Social Policy vol. 6, no.1, pp.17-37.

Guillén, A.M. & Alvarez, S. (2001) 'Globalisation and the southern welfare states', in R. Sykes, B. Palier & P.M. Prior (eds.) Globalization and European Welfare States: Challenges and Change London: Palgrave, pp.103-126.

Saraceno, C. & Negri, N. (1994) 'The changing Italian welfare state' Journal of European Social Policy vol. 4, no.1, pp.19-34.

Ferrera, M. & Gualmini, E. (2000) 'Reforms guided by consensus: the welfare state in the Italian tradition' West European Politics vol.23, no.2, pp.187-208.

Katrougalos, G.S. (1996) 'The South European Welfare Model: the Greek Welfare State in Search of an Identity' Journal of European Social Policy vol.6, no.1, pp.39-60.

Matsaganis, M. (2000) 'Social Assistance in Southern Europe: The Case of Greece Revisited', Journal of European Social Policy vol. 10, no.1, pp. 68–80.

Week 6: Nordic Welfare Regimes

What are the main features of the Scandinavian/Nordic welfare regime? The Swedish Model.

RECOMMENDED READING

Andersen, J.G., Pettersen, P.A., Svallfors, S. & Uusitalo, H. (1999) 'The legitimacy of the Nordic welfare states' in M. Kautto, M. Heikkilä, B. Hvinden, S. Marklund & N. Ploug (eds.) Nordic Social Policy. Changing Welfare States London and New York: Routledge, pp.235-261.

GENERAL READING

Therborn, G. (1994) 'Classes and States: Welfare State Developments, 1881-1981' in W. Clement & R. Mahon (eds.) Swedish Social Democracy. A Model in Transition Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, pp.13-43.

Baldwin, P. (1989) 'The Scandinavian Origins of the Social Interpretation of the Welfare State' Comprehensive Studies in Society and History vol. 31, no.1, pp.3-24.

Elvander, N. (2002) 'The Labour Market Regimes in the Nordic Countries: A Comparative Analysis' Scandinavian Political Studies vol.25, no.2, pp.117-137.

- Kosonen, P. (2001) 'Globalization and the Nordic Welfare States' in R. Sykes, B. Palier & P.M. Prior (eds.) Globalization and European Welfare States: Challenges and Change London: Palgrave, pp.153-172.
- Torring, J. (2001) 'Path-Dependent Danish Welfare Reforms: The Contribution of the New Institutionalisms to Understanding Evolutionary Change' Scandinavian Political Studies vol. 24, no. 4, pp.277- 309.
- Castles, F.G. (1976) 'Policy Innovation and Institutional Stability in Sweden' British Journal of Political Science vol. 6, no.2, pp.203-216.
- Delsen, L. & Van Veen, T. (1992) 'The Swedish Model: Relevant for Other European Countries?' British Journal of Industrial Relations vol. 30, no.1, pp.83-105.
- Gould, A. (1993) 'The end of the middle way? The Swedish welfare state in crisis' in C. Jones (ed.) New Perspectives on the Welfare State in Europe London: Routledge, pp.157-176.
- Gould, A. (1999) 'The Erosion Of the Welfare State: Swedish Social Policy And The EU' Journal of European Social Policy vol. 9, no. 2, pp.165-174.

Week 7: Central and Eastern European Welfare Regimes

What are the main characteristics of Central and Eastern European social policy? Has the process of EU accession had any effect on social and labour market policies in CEE?

RECOMMENDED READING

- Guillen, A. & Palier, B. (2004) 'Does Europe matter? Accession to EU and social policy developments in recent and new member states', Journal of European Social Policy, vol. 14, no.3, pp.203-209.
- Ferge, Z (2001) "Welfare and 'ill-fare' systems in Central-Eastern Europe" in R. Sykes, B. Palier & P. Prior (eds.) Globalization and European Welfare States. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp.127-152.

GENERAL READING

- Deacon, B. (2000) 'Eastern European welfare states: the impact of the politics of globalization' Journal of European Social Policy vol. 10, no.2, pp.146-161.
- Barr, N. (ed.) (1994) Labor Markets and Social Policy in Central and Eastern Europe. (esp. chs. 1, 9 and 10).
- Wagener, H-J. (2002) 'The welfare state in transition economies and accession to the EU' West European Politics vol. 25, no.4, pp.152- 174.
- Kovacs, J. M. (2002) 'Approaching the EU and reaching the US? Rival Narratives on Transforming Welfare Regimes in East-Central Europe' West European Politics vol. 25, no.4, pp.175-204.

PART II: PAN-EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY

Week 8: Origins and evolution of European Social Policy

The Treaty of Rome and Cohesion Policy: Structural Funds and the SEA

RECOMMENDED READING

- Anderson, J.J. (1995) 'Structural Funds and the Social Dimension of EU Policy: Springboard or Stumbling Block?' in S. Leibfried & P. Pierson (eds.) European Social Policy. Between Fragmentation and Integration Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp.123-158.

Ross, G. (1995) 'Assessing the Delors Era and Social Policy' in S. Leibfried & P. Pierson (eds.) European Social Policy. Between Fragmentation and Integration Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp.357-388.

GENERAL READING

- Hantrais, L. (1995) Social Policy in the European Union. Basingstoke: McMillan (chs. 1 and 2).
- Springer, B. (1992) The Social Dimension of 1992 London: Praeger (chs. 4 & 10).
- Chrysochoou, D. N. (2001) Theorizing European Integration. London: Sage.
- Barnouin, B. (1986) The European Labour Movement and European Integration. London: Francis Pinter.
- Delors, J. (1992) Our Europe. The Community and National Development. London: Verso.
- Tsoukalis, L. (1993) The New European Economy. Oxford: oxford University Press (ch. 6)

Week 9: The European Social Dialogue I

When was the European Social Dialogue inaugurated and why? Who benefited from its creation and who stood to lose?

RECOMMENDED READING

- Gold, M. (1998) 'Social Partnership at the EU Level' in D. Hine & H. Kassim (eds.) Beyond the Market. The EU and National Social Policy. London and New York: Routledge, pp.107-133.
- Streeck, W. (1995) 'From Market making to State Building? Reflections on the Political Economy of European Social Policy' in S. Leibfried & P. Pierson (eds.) European Social Policy. Between Fragmentation and Integration Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp. 389-431.

GENERAL READING

- Dinan, D. (1999) Ever Closer Union. Basingstoke: McMillan.
- Streeck W. (1995), "From Market Making to State Building? Reflections on the Political Economy of European Social Policy", in: LEIBFRIED Stephan, PIERSON Paul (eds.), European Social Policy. Between Fragmentation and Integration, Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution.
- Marks, G. (1993) 'Structural Policy and Multilevel Governance in the EU', in A.W. Cafruny & G.G. Rosenthal (eds.) The State of the European Community. Harlow: Longman, pp.391-410.
- Rhodes, M. (1995) 'A regulatory Conundrum: Industrial Relations and the Social Dimension' in S. Leibfried & P. Pierson (eds.) European Social Policy. Between Fragmentation and Integration. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp.78-122.

Week 10: The European Social Dialogue II

How did the ESD develop after the Maastricht Treaty of 1991? Has it justified the expectations of its advocates?

RECOMMENDED READING

- Springer, B. (1992) The Social Dimension of 1992. New York and London: Praeger.

Vobruba, G. (1997) 'Social Policy for Europe' in W. Beck, L. Van der Maesen & A. Walker (eds.) The Social Quality of Europe. The Hague: Kluwer Law International, pp. 105-120.

GENERAL READING

Rhodes, M. (1998) 'Defending the Social Contract. The EU between global constraints and domestic imperatives' in D. Hine & H. Kassim (eds.) Beyond the Market. The EU and National Social Policy. London and New York: Routledge, pp.36-60.

Rhodes, M. (1995) 'A regulatory Conundrum: Industrial Relations and the Social Dimension' in Leibfried, S & Pierson, P. (eds.) European Social Policy. Between Fragmentation and Integration Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp.78-122.

Goetschy, J. (2003) 'The Employment Strategy and European Integration', in D. Foden and L. Magnusson (eds.) Five Year's Experience of the Luxembourg Employment Strategy Brussels: European Trade Union Institute.

Traxler, F. (1995) 'Farewell to labour market associations? Organized versus disorganized decentralization as a map for industrial relations' in C. Crouch & F. Traxler (eds.) Organized Industrial Relations in Europe: What Future? Aldershot: Avebury, pp.3-19.

Crouch, C. (1996) 'Revised Diversity: from the neo-liberal decade to beyond Maastricht' in J. Van Ruijsseveldt & J. Visser (eds.) Industrial Relations in Europe. Traditions and Transitions. London: Sage, pp.358-376.

Green Cowles, M. (1995) 'Setting the Agenda for a New Europe: The ERT and EC 1992' Journal of Common Market Studies vol. 33, no.4, pp. 501-26.

Foden, D. & Magnusson, L. (2003) 'The European Employment Strategy after five years: introductory remarks' in D. Foden & L. Magnusson (eds.) Five years' experience of the Luxembourg Employment Strategy. ETUI: Brussels pp.1-12.

PART III: *PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES FOR SOCIAL POLICY*

Week 11: Unsocial Europe I

Is welfare retrenchment occurring in Europe? Where has it been more pronounced and why?

RECOMMENDED READING

Gray, A. (2004) Unsocial Europe. Social Protection or Flexploitation? London: Pluto Press.

Begg, I. & Berghman, J. (2002) 'Introduction: EU social (exclusion) policy revisited?' Journal of European Social Policy 12 (3) pp.179-94.

GENERAL READING

Begg, I. & Nectoux, F. (1995) "Social protection and economic union", Journal of European Social Policy, 5, 285-302.

Bruegel, I. & Hegewisch, A. (1994) 'Flexibilization and part-time work in Europe' in P. Brown & R. Crompton (eds.) A New Europe? Economic Restructuring and Social Exclusion (London: UCL Press) pp.33-57

Bieler A. (2003) 'Swedish Trade Unions and Economic and Monetary Union: the European Union membership debate revisited?' Cooperation and Conflict 38 (4) pp.385-407.

Bieling H-J. (2001) 'European Constitutionalism and Industrial Relations' in Bieler, A. & Morton A.D. (eds.) Social Forces in the Making of the New Europe (Basingstoke: Palgrave) pp.93-114.

European Industrial Relations Observatory (2002) 'Industrial relations in the EU Member States and candidate countries' <http://www.eiro.eurofound.eu.int/print/2002/07/tfeature/tn0207104f.html>

Week 12: Unsocial Europe II

Is welfare retrenchment really occurring everywhere in Europe? Is this inevitable or politically motivated?

RECOMMENDED READING

Goodhart D. (1998) 'Social Dumping Within the EU' in Hine D. & Kassim H (eds.) Beyond the Market. The EU and National Social Policy (London and New York: Routledge) pp.79-90.

GENERAL READING

Alber, J & Standing, G (2000) "Social dumping, catch-up or convergence? Europe in a comparative global context", Journal of European Social Policy, 10, 99-119.

Kvist, J (2004) "Does EU enlargement start a race to the bottom?" Journal of European Social Policy, 14, 301-18.

Bieling, H-J. (2001) 'European Constitutionalism and Industrial Relations' in A. Bieler & A.D. Morton (eds.) Social Forces in the Making of the New Europe. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp.93-114.

Keller, B. (2001) 'The Emergence of Regional Systems of Employment Relations: The Case of the European Union' Journal of Industrial Relations 43(1) pp.3-26

Lemke, C. & Marks, G. (1992) The Crisis of Socialism in Europe (Durham: Duke University Press).

Gould A. (2000) 'Swedish Social Policy and the EU Social Dimension' in Miles L. (ed.) Sweden and the European Union Evaluated (London and New York: Continuum) pp.201-214.

Week 13: The European Social Model

Can it be said that there is 'a' European Social Model? Can it retain its relevance in an era of globalisation?

RECOMMENDED READING

Swank, D. (2002) Global Capital, Political Institutions, and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (ch.2).

GENERAL READING

Featherstone, K. (2004) 'The political dynamics of external empowerment: the emergence of EMU and the challenge to the European social model', in Martin A., & Ross G. (eds.) Euros and Europeans. Monetary Integration and the European Model of Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) pp.226-247.

Esping Andersen, G. (1990) The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism Cambridge: Polity (chs. 8 and 9).

- Esping Andersen, G. (1999) Social Foundations of Post-industrial Economies Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Prior, P. & Sykes, R. (2001) 'Globalization and the European Welfare States: Evaluating the Theories and the Evidence' in R. Sykes, B. Palier & P.M. Prior (eds.) Globalization and European Welfare States: Challenges and Change London: Palgrave, pp.195-210.
- Wincott, D. (2000) 'Globalization and European Integration' in C. Hay & D. Marsh (eds.) Demystifying Globalization Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Garrett G. (1998) Partisan Politics in the Global Economy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Korpi, W. & Palme, J. (1998) 'The Paradox of Redistribution and Strategies of Equality: Welfare State Institutions, Inequality, and Poverty in the Western Countries' American Sociological Review 63 (5): 661-687.
- Geyer, R. (2003) 'Globalization, Europeanisation, Complexity, and the Future of Scandinavian Exceptionalism' Governance 16(4) pp.559-76.
- Hirst, P. & Thompson, G. (1996) Globalization in Question (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huber, E. & Stephens, J.D. (2002) 'Globalisation, Competitiveness, and the Social Democratic Model' Social Policy & Society 1(1) pp.47-57.
- Laatikainen, K.V. (2000) 'Equality and Swedish Social Democracy: The Impact of Globalization and Europeanization' in Geyer R., Ingebritsen C. & Moses J.W. (eds.) Globalization, Europeanization and the end of Scandinavian Social Democracy? (Basingstoke: Palgrave) pp.139-165.