



## ***Changing Welfare States: Europe and Beyond***

**Prof. Martin Kohli, Dr. Nadia Steiber**

Second Term Seminar – Winter 2011

**Thursdays 08:45-10:45**

Seminar room 4, Badia Fiesolana

(Please register with [Monika.Rzemieniecka@eui.eu](mailto:Monika.Rzemieniecka@eui.eu))

The seminar will examine the societal changes (e.g., the “new social risks”) that lead to new demands for welfare policies, and the effects of these policies on how people navigate these risks. It will put special emphasis on the changes occurring in and through population, gender and family dynamics – which have been much less studied than the changes emanating from the world of work and production. It will go into comparative issues among European welfare states, including the new members states and accession countries. Moreover, it will go beyond Europe and take a comparative perspective on Asian systems.

The seminar will consist of three parts. First, we will discuss the theoretical approaches to welfare state development in terms of how welfare states respond to changing social needs and risks, and how the latter can be conceptualized. Second, we will briefly go into the debate on welfare regimes, and compare the welfare systems in the ‘old EU’ with post-communist welfare pathways and Asian welfare systems. Third, we will analyze the most important current changes in the spheres of population, gender, family and the generational contract, the policies that have been put in place to respond to them, and the impact of these policies on the fields that they address.

Most sessions are based on readings. Participants will be asked to reflect on these readings with brief questions in advance of each session. In addition, each participant will be required to critically present the readings of one of the sessions and lead the discussion on how they contribute to the key questions of the seminar.

*If you want to write a term paper for this seminar, please send a copy to the seminar's professor and the relevant secretary by 31 May 2011.*



## A. THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Session 1 (January 13)

### **Welfare states as responses to the transformation of macro-social conditions: industrialism, modernization, demographic change, globalization**

#### *General readings*

Wilensky, Harold (1975). *The welfare state and equality. Structural and ideological roots of public expenditures*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Ch. 1 The welfare state as a research problem and ch. 2 Economic level, ideology, and social structure. (L/M I/8)<sup>1</sup>

Myles, John and Jill S. Quadagno (2002). Political theories of the welfare state. *Social Service Review*, 76(1), 34-57. (L/M I/3)

#### *Additional readings*

Offe, Claus (1984). *Contradictions of the welfare state*. London: Hutchinson. Ch. 3 Social policy and the theory of the state (pp. 88-118). (L/M I/9)

Garrett, Geoffrey (1998). Global markets and national politics: Collision course or virtuous circle? *International Organization*, 52(4), 787-824. (L/M II/10)

Rieger, Elmar and Stephan Leibfried (1998). Welfare state limits to globalization. *Politics and Society*, 26(3), 363-90. (L/M II/11)

Banting, Keith (2000). Looking in three directions: Migration and the European welfare state in comparative perspective. In Michael Bommers and Andrew Geddes (Eds.), *Immigration and welfare: Challenging the borders of the welfare state* (pp. 13-33). London and New York: Routledge. (L/M III/17)

Session 2 (January 20)

### **Beyond functionalism: Organized interests, power resources, political institutions**

#### *General readings*

Orloff, Ann Shola (1993). Gender and the social rights of citizenship. The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states. *American Sociological Review*, 58(June), 303-328. (G/M I/2)

Korpi, Walter and Joakim Palme (2003). New politics and class politics in the context of austerity and globalization: Welfare state regress in 18 countries, 1975-1995. *American Political Science Review*, 97(3), 425-446. (L/M I/12)

#### *Additional readings*

Dryzek, John and Robert Goodin (1984). Risk-sharing and social justice: The motivational foundations of the post-war welfare state. *British Journal of Political Science*, 16(1), 1-32. (G/M III/2)

---

<sup>1</sup> Part of the literature listed in the syllabus is included in two three-volume compendia edited by Stephan Leibfried and Steffen Mau (indicated by L/M followed by the volume and text number) and Robert Goodin and Deborah Mitchell (G/M), which you will find on the reserve shelf in the EUI library. The full references are: Stephan Leibfried and Steffen Mau (Eds.) (2008). *Welfare states: Construction, deconstruction, reconstruction*. Vol. I-III. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. Robert Goodin and Deborah Mitchell (Eds.) (2000). *The foundations of the welfare state*. Vol. I-III. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.



Baldwin, Peter (1990). *The politics of social solidarity: Class bases of the European welfare state 1875-1975*. Ch. 1 Introduction: Welfare, redistribution and solidarity (pp. 1-54). (L/M I/13)

Immergut, Elen (1990). Institutions, veto points, and policy results: A comparative analysis of health care. *Journal of Public Policy*, 10(4), 391-416. (L/M I/18)

Rothstein, Bo (1998). *Just institutions matter: The moral and political logic of the universal welfare state*. Ch. 6 The political and moral logic of the universal welfare state (pp. 144-70). (L/M I/20)

Pierson, Paul (2004). *Politics in time*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch. 4 The limits of institutional design.

### Session 3 (January 27)

#### **From expansion to retrenchment to reconstruction**

##### *General readings*

Pierson, Paul (2001). Coping with permanent austerity. Welfare state restructuring in affluent democracies. In Paul Pierson (ed.) *The new politics of the welfare state* (pp. 410-456). Oxford: Oxford University Press. (L/M II/7)

Hacker, Jacob S. (2004). Privatizing risk without privatizing the welfare state: The hidden politics of welfare state retrenchment in the United States. *American Political Science Review*, 98(2), 243-260.

##### *Additional readings*

Pierson, Paul (1996). The new politics of the welfare state, in *World Politics*, 48(2), 143-179. (L/M II/6)

Taylor-Gooby, Peter (2004). New risks and social change. In Peter Taylor-Gooby (ed.) *New risks, new welfare: The transformation of the European welfare state* (pp. 1-28). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bonoli, Giuliano (2005). The politics of the new social policies: Providing coverage against new social risks in mature welfare states. *Policy & Politics*, 33(3), 431-449. (L/M I/15)

## **B. COMPARATIVE WELFARE STATE ANALYSIS**

### Session 4 (February 3)

#### **Welfare regimes: Which ones? And do they converge?**

##### *General readings*

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1999). *Social foundations of postindustrial economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 5 Comparative welfare regimes re-examined.

Arts, Will and John Gelissen (2002). Three worlds of welfare capitalism or more? A state-of-the-art report. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 12(2), 137-158.

##### *Additional readings*

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lewis, Jane (1992). Gender and the development of welfare regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2(3), 159-173. (G/M II/13)

Schröder, Martin (2009). Integrating Welfare and Production Typologies: How Refinements of the Varieties of Capitalism Approach Call for a Combination of Welfare Typologies. *Journal of Social Policy*, 38(1), 19-43.

Walby, Sylvia (2004). The European Union and gender equality: Emerging varieties of gender regime. *Social Politics* 11, 4-29.

## Session 5 (February 10)

### **Enlarging the Scope: New Member States and Accession Countries**

#### *General readings*

Aidukaite, Jolanta (2009). Old Welfare State Theories and New Welfare Regimes in Eastern Europe: Challenges and Implications. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 42, 23-39.

Cerami, Alfio and Vanhuyse, Pieter (eds.) (2009). Post-Communist Welfare Pathways. Theorizing Social Policy Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke. Ch. 3 and Ch. 13.

#### *Additional readings*

Fenger, H.J.M (2007). Welfare regimes in Central and Eastern Europe: Incorporating post-communist countries in a welfare regime typology. *Contemporary Issues and Ideas in Social Sciences*, August 2007.

Deacon, Bob (2000). Eastern European Welfare States: The Impact of the Politics of Globalization. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 10(2), 146-161.

Lendvai, Noemi (2008). EU Integration and the Transformation of Post-communist Welfare: Traversing a 'Quantum Leap'? *Social Policy and Administration*, 42(5):504-523.

Lendvai, Noemi (2010). Economic Crisis and Welfare Developments in the New EU Member States: Back to the Future? Paper presented at the ESPAnet Conference 2010.

Österle, August (2010). Long-Term Care in Central and South-Eastern Europe: Challenges and Perspectives in Addressing a 'New Social Risk'. *Social Policy & Administration*, 44(4), 461-480.

## Session 6 (February 17)

### **The Asian Welfare Regime(s)**

#### *General readings*

Kwon, H.-J. (1997). Beyond European Welfare Regimes : Comparative Perspectives on East Asian Welfare Systems. *Journal of Social Policy*, 26(4), 467-484.

Park, Chan-ung. And Jung, Dongchul (2009). Making Sense of the Asian Welfare Regimes. *Korean Journal of Sociology*, 43(3), 57-85.

#### *Additional readings*

Frazier, M.W. (2006). Welfare State Building: China in Comparative Perspective. Paper Presented on the Panel 'Asian Welfare States: A Cross-National Perspective' at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association 2006.

- Gough, Ian and Wood, Geof (2004). *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Social Policy Development Contexts*. Cambridge University Press.
- Holliday, Ian (2000). Productivist Welfare Capitalism: Social Policy in East Asia. *Political Studies*, 48(4), 706-723.
- Leisering, Lutz (2003). Die Entstehung „Neuer Wohlfahrtsstaaten“ in Ostasien – Stichworte aus der neueren soziologischen Debatte mit perspektivischen Anwendungen auf Behindertenpolitik in Asien. In: Bernd von Maydell, Rainer Pitschas und Bernd Schulte (Hg.), *Behinderung in Asien und Europa im Politik- und Rechtsvergleich. Mit einem Beitrag zu den USA*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 425-440.
- Takegawa, Shogo (2010). Liberal Preferences and Conservative Policies: The Puzzling Size of Japan's Welfare State. *Social Science Japan Journal*, 13(1): 53-67.

## C. POLICY FIELDS

### Session 7 (February 24)

#### **Family policies: gender and care**

##### *General readings*

- Lewis, Jane and Giullari, Susanna (2005). The Adult Worker Model Family, Gender Equality and Care: The Search for New Policy Principles and the Possibilities and Problems of the Capabilities Approach. *Economy and Society* 34(1): 76-104.
- Knijjn, T. and Kremer, M. (1997). Gender and the Caring Dimension of Welfare States: Toward Inclusive Citizenship. *Social Politics*, 4(3): 328-361.

##### *Additional readings*

- Bettio, Francesca and Plantenga, Janneke (2004). Comparing Care Regimes in Europe. *Feminist Economics*, 10(1), 85-113.
- Del Boca, D., Pasqua, S., Pronzato, Ch. (2005). Motherhood and Market Work Decisions in Institutional Context: A European Perspective. *Oxford Economic Papers* 61: 147-171.
- Gauthier, Anne Héline (1996). *The state and the family. A comparative analysis of family policies in industrialized countries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Haas, B., Steiber, N., Hartel, M., Wallace, C. (2006). Household Employment Patterns in an Enlarged European Union. *Work, Employment and Society*, 20(4): 751-771.
- Hochschild, A. (2000). Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value. In Giddens, A. and Hutton, W. (eds.) *On the Edge: Globalization and the New Millennium*, London: Sage.
- Lewis, Jane (2001). The decline of the male breadwinner model: Implications for work and care. *Social Politics*, 8, 152-169.
- Sainsbury, Diane (1994). *Gendering Welfare States*. London: Sage.

### Session 8 (March 3)

#### **Family policies and fertility**

##### *General readings*

- McDonald, Peter (2006). Low fertility and the state: The efficacy of policy. *Population and Development Review*, 32, 485-510.
- Neyer, Gerda and Andersson, Gunnar (2009). Consequences of Family Policies on Childbearing Behaviour: Effects or Artifacts? *Population and Development Review*, 34(4): 699-724.

#### *Additional readings*

- Billari, Francesco C., and Hans-Peter Kohler. 2002. *Patterns of lowest-low fertility in Europe*. Rostock: MPIDR Working Paper 2002-040.
- Hakim, Catherine (2003). A new approach to explaining fertility patterns: Preference theory. *Population and Development Review* 29:349-374.
- McDonald, Peter (2000). Gender equity, social institutions and the future of fertility. *Journal of Population Research*, 17, 1-16.
- Preston, Samuel H. , and Caroline S. Hartnett. 2008. *The future of American fertility*. NBER Working Paper No. 14498. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Vos, Allison E. (2009). Falling Fertility Rates: New Challenges to the European Welfare State. *Socio-Economic Review* 7: 485-503.

### Session 9 (March 10)

#### **Pension reform**

#### *General readings*

- Kohli, Martin and Arza, Camila (2010). The Political Economy of Pension Reform in Europe. In Robert H. Binstock & Linda K. George (eds.) *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences* (7<sup>th</sup> edition). San Diego: Elsevier, 2010
- Börsch-Suppan...

#### *Additional readings*

- Arza, Camila and Martin Kohli (2008). Introduction: The political economy of pension reform. In Camila Arza and Martin Kohli (Eds.), *Pension reform in Europe: Politics, policies and outcomes* (pp. 1-21). London: Routledge.
- Cerami, Alfio (2010). Ageing and the Politics of Pension Reforms in Central Europe, South-Eastern Europe and the Baltic States. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, Advance Print 24 June 2010.
- Myles, John (2002). A new social contract for the elderly? In Gösta Esping-Andersen (Ed.), *Why we need a new welfare state* (pp. 130-172). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### Session 10 (March 17)

#### **Intergenerational relations: transfers**

#### *General readings*

- Kohli, Martin (2008). Generational equity: Concepts and attitudes. In Camila Arza and Martin Kohli (Eds.), *Pension reform in Europe: Politics, policies and outcomes* (pp. 196-214). London: Routledge.
- Albertini, Marco, Martin Kohli & Claudia Vogel (2007). Intergenerational transfers of time and money in European families: Common patterns - different regimes? *Journal of European Social Policy*, 17, 319-334.

#### *Additional readings*

- Harper, Sarah (2004). The challenge for families of demographic ageing. In Sarah Harper (Ed.), *Families in ageing societies: A multi-disciplinary approach* (pp. 6-30). Oxford: Oxford University Press.



Kohli, Martin (1999). Private and public transfers between generations: Linking the family and the state. *European Societies, 1*, 81-104.

Saraceno, Chiara (Ed.). (2008). *Families, ageing and social policy: Intergenerational solidarity in European welfare states*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.