

# Welfare States in the Current Era: Origins, Issues and Challenges

POLS5828

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Quellenstrasse 51, Vienna

Classroom: A-214

## Fall Term, AY 2022/2023

Credit value: 8 ECTS (4 CEU credits)

Elective course for

- Master of Arts in Political Science (1 and 2 years)
- Master of Arts in International Public Affairs
- Master of Arts in Public Policy (incl. Mundus MAPP)
- Master of Public Administration
- Advanced Certificate in International Political Economy
- Advanced Certificate in Professional Ethics and Integrity

**Class meetings: Tuesdays 15:40-17:20, Thursdays 13:30-15:10**

**Office hours: Thursdays 15:30-17:00, Office A-403, [szaboi@ceu.edu](mailto:szaboi@ceu.edu)**

## COURSE INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>:

In this course, we examine welfare states and current social policies from a comparative perspective. To achieve this, we analyze different approaches to the role of states and markets in welfare provision. In the first part, we review the fundamental concepts, origins and typologies of welfare states. This part revolves around the question of what a welfare state is, what its goals and functions are, why it exists and how it differs across countries. The second part covers pension, health care and housing policies. Given the complexity of the welfare state, we are not able to cover all the policies that are relevant for welfare state research, but the course captures the highly relevant areas and provides a comparative and systematic perspective on them. In the final part of the course, we examine welfare state challenges to understand the impact of globalization, post-industrialization, migration and political change on social policy. At the end of this part, we will be able to understand the extent of and reasons for retrenchment, liberalization and recalibration of social policies. Throughout the class we cover both theoretical and empirical material. Our perspective will be mostly at the macro-level of social policies and welfare regimes, but we also explore individual attitudes towards the welfare state and the experience of welfare state clients and workers.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES:

At the end of this course, you are expected to

- have a systematic understanding of social policy making
- understand the basic concepts in welfare state research
- have sufficient knowledge to apply these concepts in your research
- have the skills to find, gather and critically interpret data on welfare states
- to be able to follow and understand the literature related to the subject matter
- be able to follow theoretical and empirical debates about social policy
- have skills for presenting and critically discussing scholarly work

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<sup>1</sup> In designing this course, I relied on Anil Duman's syllabus with the same title from Fall AY 2020/2021 at CEU. I retained the main goals of the course and the structure along concepts, policies and challenges. I changed the assessment methods and updated the literature to match my expertise in the field.

## ASSESSMENT

Component	Weight	Due date
<b>In-class participation</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>Continuous</b>
<b>1<sup>st</sup> Position paper/Data story</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>October 28</b>
<b>Final exam</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>December 6</b>
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Position paper/Data story</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>December 16</b>

[Departmental policies](#) apply, including on grading, late submission, academic honesty, conduct during exams

### ***Two position papers/data stories (together 60% of the final grade)***

You will write *two short essays* on two topics of the course, maximum 1500 words each, including references. The essay format means that you need to structure the text into paragraphs, give it a title, and include an introduction and a conclusion. You need to argue logically and rely on the precise use of the concepts we discussed in class. You are required to formulate an informed opinion on the subject and make your position explicit. Regarding the content, you have two options in each essay.

- Position paper
- Data story

#### ***Position paper***

You can choose to *write a position paper on one of the readings* in this course outline. Select a reading from our course outline and pick an aspect that you find particularly relevant/interesting. Alternatively, you can contrast a key statement in the selected reading to another reading of our course. As this is a position paper, you also need to outline your own position. What have you learnt, how did this reading contribute to your understanding of welfare states and social policy, which reading did you find the most convincing and why, did the reading help you explain important new cases/data that you came across during your research? These could be guiding questions for your position paper. You can bring in additional literature too (with adequate referencing and paraphrasing), but you do not have to.

#### ***Data story***

Data does not speak for itself and these days we are often swamped with “big data”. Therefore, in this exercise I ask you *to select a data point and interpret it*. A data point can be any number (statistical figure/trend/historical year). You can choose the data point from our readings (for example from a graph/table of the reading) or from the main databases of social policy research (for example from the [OECD](#), [Eurostat](#) or the [LIS](#)). The data story starts with a short statement on this data point and its context (where it comes from). Then you have to explain the significance of this data point, why it is relevant for welfare state research, why it is so big/small/typical, what debates surround it, etc. You have to use the essay format in this exercise too. You can find inspiration (although with different topics) [here](#).

Email me your topic for each essay the latest by October 14 and December 2 (two weeks before their due date). Topics will be distributed on a first come first served basis. You need to upload essays to moodle by their due date.

## **ASSESSMENT- continued**

### ***Final exam (30% of final grade)***

In the final exam, you will demonstrate your familiarity with the main concepts, arguments, and analytical tools we discussed during the term. It is going to be a 100-minute, in-class, closed book and switched-off electronic device exam. You will get three essay questions and I will not count your weakest answer in the grade.

### ***In-class participation (10% of final grade)***

Participation is mandatory in our sessions. Our discussions during the sessions are based on the readings, and you need to demonstrate that you have read the assigned texts by making relevant comments and engaging in constructive discussion with your colleagues and the instructor.

# TOPICS AND READINGS

## PART ONE: CONCEPTS AND ORIGINS

### Week 1: Introduction, welfare regimes

Class 1: September 20, Tuesday

Required:

- Read the Course outline and
- Piketty, T. (2022) [\*A Brief History of Equality\*](#) (Harvard University Press). Chapter 6. The “Great Redistribution”: 1914-1980. pp. 121-150

Class 2: September 22, Thursday:

Required:

- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) [\*The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism\*](#) (Cambridge: Polity). Chapter 1: The Three Political Economies of the Welfare State. pp. 9-34.

### Week 2: Welfare state goals: Redistribution and de-commodification

Class 1: September 27, Tuesday

Required:

- Pontusson, J. (2005) [\*Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe vs. Liberal America\*](#) (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press). Chapter 7: Welfare States, Redistribution and Economic Growth pp.142-181.

Class 2: September 29, Thursday

Required:

- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) [\*The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism\*](#) (Cambridge: Polity). Chapter 2: De-Commodification in Social Policy. pp. 35-54.

### Week 3: Origins of the welfare state: class politics or production regimes?

Class 1: October 4, Tuesday

Required:

- Estevez-Abe, M., Iversen, T. and Soskice, D. W. (2001) ‘Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State’. In Hall, P. A. and Soskice, D. W. (eds) [\*Varieties of capitalism: the institutional foundations of comparative advantage\*](#) (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 145–183.

Class 2: October 6, Thursday

Required:

- Korpi, W. (2006) ‘[Power Resources and Employer-Centered Approaches in Explanations of Welfare States and Varieties of Capitalism: Protagonists, Consenters, and Antagonists](#)’. *World Politics*, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 167–206.

#### **Week 4: Pensions and “generational politics”**

Class 1: October 11, Tuesday

Required:

- Lynch, J. (2006) [\*Age in the Welfare State: The Origins of Social Spending on Pensioners, Workers and Children\*](#) (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press). Chapters 1 and 2. pp. 1-40.

Class 2: October 13, Thursday

Required:

- Ebbinghaus, B. (2019) “[Pension reforms and old age inequalities in Europe: From old to new social risks](#)”. European Sociological Association Conference

#### **Week 5: Health**

Class 1: October 18, Tuesday

Required:

- Winant, G. (2021) ‘[Deindustrialization, Working-Class Decline, and the Growth of Health Care](#)’. *New Labor Forum*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 54–61.

Class 2: October 20, Thursday

Required:

- Wendt, C. and Naumann, E. (2018) ‘[Demand for Healthcare Reform by Public Opinion and Medical Professionals: A Comparative Survey Analysis](#)’. In Ebbinghaus, B. and Naumann, E. (eds) *Welfare State Reforms Seen from Below: Comparing Public Attitudes and Organized Interests in Britain and Germany* (Cham: Springer International Publishing), pp. 129–152.

#### **Week 6: Housing, welfare and finance**

Class 1: October 25, Tuesday

Required:

- Schwartz, H. (2012) ‘[Housing, the Welfare State, and the Global Financial Crisis: What Is the Connection?](#)’. *Politics & Society*, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 35–58.

Class 2: October 27, Thursday

Required:

- Bohle, D. and Seabrooke, L. (2020) ‘[From Asset to Patrimony: The Re-Emergence of the Housing Question](#)’. *West European Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 412–434.

**October 28, Friday: Deadline for submitting the first position paper/data story**

## PART THREE: CHALLENGES AND RESTRUCTURING

### Week 7: The neoconservative challenge and the return of the penal state

No class on November 1 (Public holiday in Austria)

Class 2: November 3, Thursday

Required:

- Kohler-Hausmann, J. (2015) '[Welfare Crises, Penal Solutions, and the Origins of the "Welfare Queen"](#)'. *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 41, No. 5, pp. 756–771.

### Week 8: Are the challenges economic or political?

Class 1: November 8, Tuesday

Required:

- Huber, E. and Stephens, J. D. (2014) '[Income Inequality and Redistribution in Post-Industrial Democracies: Demographic, Economic and Political Determinants](#)'. *Socio-Economic Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 245–267.

Class 2: November 10, Thursday

Required:

- Hacker, J. S. and Pierson, P. (2010) '[Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States](#)'. *Politics & Society*, Vol. 38, No. 2, pp. 152–204

### Week 9: Welfare state restructuring: mechanisms and trajectories

Class 1: November 15, Tuesday

Required:

- Pierson, P. (2002) '[Coping with Permanent Austerity: Welfare State Restructuring in Affluent Democracies](#)'. *Revue française de sociologie*, Vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 369–406.

Class 2: November 17, Thursday

Required:

- Thelen, K. (2012) '[Varieties of Capitalism: Trajectories of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity](#)'. *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 137–159.

## Week 10: Migration and transnational social policy making

Class 1: November 22, Tuesday

Required:

- Brady, D. and Finnigan, R. (2014) '[Does Immigration Undermine Public Support for Social Policy?](#)' *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 79, No. 1, pp. 17–42.

Class 2: November 24, Thursday

Required:

- Stan, S., Erne, R. and Gannon, S. (2021) '[Bringing EU Citizens Together or Pulling Them Apart?](#)' *The European Health Insurance Card, East–West Mobility and the Failed Promise of European Social Integration*. *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 409–423.

## Week 11: Globalization and post-industrialization

Class 1: November 29, Tuesday

Required:

- Rudra, N. and Haggard, S. (2005) '[Globalization, Democracy, and Effective Welfare Spending in the Developing World](#)'. *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 9, pp. 1015–1049.

Class 2: December 1, Thursday

Required:

- Yang, J. (2014) '[Welfare States' Policy Response to New Social Risk: Sequence Analysis for Welfare Policy](#)'. *Development and Society*, Vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 269–296.

## Week 12:

Class 1: December 6, Tuesday

**Final exam**

No class on December 8, Thursday (Public holiday in Austria)

**December 16, Friday: Deadline for submitting the second position paper/data story**