



POLS0028
Welfare Politics

Lecturer: Dr Roland Kappe

Office Hours: Thursdays 2-4pm

Teaching: Thursdays 10am-12pm, 10 hours of lectures, 10 hours of seminars

Credits: 15 credits/ 4 US Credits/ 7.5 ECTS Credits

Assessment: One 4,000 word research paper (70%), seminar presentation (15%) and research design (15%).

Essay Deadlines: Research Design: Monday 24 February 2020 by 2pm

Final Paper: Wednesday 22 April 2020 by 2pm

Attendance: Compulsory at all lectures and seminars for which students are timetabled. Attendance will be monitored and no student will be entered for assessment unless they have attended and pursued the module to the satisfaction of the department.

USEFUL LINKS

[UCL Timetable](#)

[Extenuating Circumstances](#)

[Essay Extensions](#)

[Penalties for Late Submission](#)

[Penalties for Overlength Essays](#)

[Essay Submission Information](#)

[Examinations](#)

[Plagiarism and TurnItIn](#)

[Plagiarism and Academic Writing - a Guide for Students](#) (you will need to log in and enrol yourself on the page)

Course Content

The goal of this module is to familiarise students with the basic structure of modern welfare states and major theoretical approaches that explain their politics. To this end, the class typically outlines the development of European welfare states, and discusses the emergence of different types of welfare states. The module usually covers major theoretical approaches that explain the creation and change of the welfare state, which may include economic models of inequality and redistribution, power resource theory, party politics, public opinion, and the role of institutions and international influences. It may also include country case studies of specific policy fields or policy reforms. The module typically also covers some practical sessions on research design and data analysis. By the end of the module, students will have learned a set of theoretical tools that help understand past, current and future debates about social policy and the welfare state. Students are expected to give an in-class presentation, typically on a country case study of a specific social policy field. Students are also expected to formulate their own research question and assessed research design, and write a 4000 word research paper that typically includes an empirical analysis.

Lectures and seminars

Each week there will be an introductory lecture followed by a seminar. The lectures will introduce students to the core ideas and issues relating to the topic of the week. The seminars will provide a forum for more focussed discussion.

Seminars will include student presentations (part of the assessment). In the first week students will be asked to indicate what topic they would like to present on. **Everyone will be expected to give a presentation.** Students are required to share ideas and outlines with the tutor ahead of their presentation.

Assessment

The course is assessed on the basis of a 4,000 word research paper (70%), a seminar presentation (15%), and a short research design paper (15%) which should help in setting a good topic for the final paper.

Essay Deadlines

Research Design: **Monday 24 February 2020 by 2pm**

Final Paper: **Wednesday 22 April 2020 by 2pm**

Clear guidance on potential research questions, structure and expectations of the research paper will be provided during the course. Specific questions/topics will be chosen in consultation with the course tutor, taking into account student interests and background. The research design should serve as an opportunity to get detailed feedback on your research project that you complete in the final paper.

You will also find useful guidance for writing and presenting essays on the SPP student website. These guidelines are designed to help you, and you should read them carefully and do your best to follow them. Good essays give clear and focused answers to the question asked, they have clear structures, and they will be adequately and appropriately referenced. They do not provide a vague and unstructured discussion of the topic.

Plagiarism is taken extremely seriously and can disqualify you from the course (for details of what constitutes plagiarism see <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/current-students/study/plagiarism/>). If you are in doubt about any of this, ask the tutor.

Reading for the course

The class makes use of chapters from the excellent *Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State, Castles, Leibfried, Lewis, Obinger and Pierson, eds. (2010), The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State, Oxford University Press*. This can be purchased or borrowed from the library, but is also available for free online as part of [Oxford Handbooks Online](#) via the UCL library.

Other readings are below. Please read all the required (*) reading ahead of each week's lecture and seminar. Additional articles and items will be listed, and it will help deepen your knowledge of the topic the more widely you can read.

Course outline

Week 1: Introduction and overview. What is the welfare state?

Week 2: Comparing welfare states: Types of welfare states and theoretical perspectives

Week 3: Economics: Inequality and redistribution

Week 4: Individual attitudes and public opinion

Week 5: Politics: unions, parties, coalitions

Research Design due after reading week!

Week 6: Practical session: Data Lab I

Week 7: Practical session: Data Lab II

Week 8: Welfare reforms and austerity I: Food poverty and foodbanks

Week 9: Welfare reforms and austerity II: Housing and homelessness and/or rhetoric

Week 10: Research seminar

Readings

Required readings are marked with an asterisk (*). Please read all the required readings ahead of each week's lecture and seminar. Feel free to get in touch about additional readings on specific topics or policies for your presentation or research design. A good starting point for specific topics is always the Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State (free online as part of [Oxford Handbooks Online](#) via UCL library).

1. Introduction and overview. What is the welfare state?

* Introduction week: no required readings.

General overview:

Kersbergen, K., & Vis, B. (2013). *Comparative Welfare State Politics: Development, Opportunities, and Reform*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Myles, J. & Quadagno, J. (2002), 'Political theories of the welfare state', *Social Service Review* **76**(1), 34--57.

Alesina, A. & Glaeser, E. (2004), *Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A world of difference*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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

Historical Development:

Kuhnle, S & Sander, A. (2012), 'The Emergence of the Western Welfare State', In: Castles, F.G., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Editors), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, **Chapter 5**

Nullmeier, F & Kaufmann, F. (2012), 'Post-War Welfare State Development', In: Castles, F.G., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Editors), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, **Chapter 6**

Pierson, C. (2006), *Beyond the Welfare State?: The New Political Economy of Welfare*, Cambridge: Polity Press., **Chapters 4, 5 and 6**

2. Comparing welfare states: Typologies and measurement

*O'Grady, T. (n.d.) Preface: Welfare Stories, in *Talking Down Benefits: Political Rhetoric and the Transformation of British Welfare Provision*. Unpublished book manuscript. (*This is a draft chapter of my colleague Tom O'Grady's interesting new book project.*)

*Esping-Andersen, G. (1990), *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*, Polity Press. **Chapter 1,2**

Kersbergen, K., & Vis, B. (2013). Welfare State Regimes. Chapter 4 in *Comparative Welfare State Politics: Development, Opportunities, and Reform* (pp. 53-77). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Further Reading:

Alesina, A. & Glaeser, E. (2004), *Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A world of difference*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Chapter 2**

- Hall, P. & Soskice, D. (2001), *Varieties of capitalism: the institutional foundations of comparative advantage*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Chapter 1**
- Kersbergen, K., & Vis, B. (2013). What Do Welfare States Actually Do? In *Comparative Welfare State Politics: Development, Opportunities, and Reform* (pp. 78-102). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139021852.006
- Kersbergen, K., & Vis, B. (2013). The Logics of the Welfare State. In *Comparative Welfare State Politics: Development, Opportunities, and Reform* (pp. 31-52). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139021852.004
- Scruggs, L. A., & Allan, J. P. (2008). Social stratification and welfare regimes for the twenty-first century: Revisiting the three worlds of welfare capitalism. *World Politics*, 60(4), 642-664.
- Obinger, H. & Wagschal, U, (2012), 'Social Expenditure and Revenue', In: Castles, F.G., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Editors), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, **Chapter 23**

3. Economics: Inequality and redistribution

- *Meltzer, Allan H., and Scott F. Richard. "A rational theory of the size of government." *Journal of political Economy* 89, no. 5 (1981): 914-927. (NB: Don't worry if you struggle with the mathematical model. It's enough to understand the basic logic of the argument. The next reading provides a summary of sorts as well.)
- Alesina, A. & Glaeser, E. (2004), *Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A world of difference*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Chapter 3**
- *Bonica, Adam, Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. "Why hasn't democracy slowed rising inequality?." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 27, no. 3 (2013): 103-24.
- Corak, M. (2013). Income inequality, equality of opportunity, and intergenerational mobility. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 27(3), 79-102.

Further Reading:

- Iversen, T. (2012), 'Democracy and Capitalism', In: Castles, F.G., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Editors), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, **Chapter 12**

4. Individual attitudes and public opinion

Please choose (or be assigned) one of the following (and read the abstracts of the others):

- *Margalit, Y. (2013). Explaining social policy preferences: Evidence from the Great Recession. *American Political Science Review*, 107(01), 80-103.
- *Neundorf, A., & Soroka, S. (2018). The origins of redistributive policy preferences: political socialisation with and without a welfare state. *West European Politics*, 41(2), 400-427.
- *Sands, M. L., & de Kadt, D. (2019). Local exposure to inequality among the poor increases support for taxing the rich. Working paper.
- *Ford, R. (2016). Who should we help? An experimental test of discrimination in the British welfare state. *Political Studies*, 64(3), 630-650.
- *van Oorschot, W. (2006) Making the Difference in Social Europe: Deservingness Perceptions Among Citizens of European Welfare States, *Journal of European Social Policy* 16(1): 23-42.

*McArthur, D., & Reeves, A. (2019). The rhetoric of recessions: how British newspapers talk about the poor when unemployment rises, 1896–2000. *Sociology*, 0038038519838752.

Further Reading:

Alesina, A. & Glaeser, E. (2004), *Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A world of difference*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Chapter 6-7**

Roosma, Femke, Wim van Oorschot & John Gelissen (2016) The Achilles' heel of welfare state legitimacy: perceptions of overuse and underuse of social benefits in Europe, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23:2, 177-196.

Oswald, A.J., and N. Powdthavee (2014) Money makes people right-wing and inegalitarian. *LSE British politics and policy blog*: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/money-makes-people-right-wing-and-inegalitarian/>

Fong, C. M., Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (2005). Chapter 10 Reciprocity and the Welfare State. *Moral sentiments and material interests*, 277.

Dahlberg, M., Edmark, K., & Lundqvist, H. (2012). Ethnic diversity and preferences for redistribution. *Journal of Political Economy*, 120(1), 41-76.

Rehm, P. (2009). Risks and redistribution an individual-level analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(7), 855-881.

Sands, M. L. (2017). Exposure to inequality affects support for redistribution. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(4), 663-668.

Svallfors, S. (2012), 'Public Attitudes', In: Castles, F.G., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Editors), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, **Chapter 16**

5. Politics: unions, parties and political institutions

*Iversen, T., & Soskice, D. (2006). Electoral institutions and the politics of coalitions: Why some democracies redistribute more than others. *American Political Science Review*, 100(2), 165-181.

*Fetzer, T., Sen, S., & Souza, P. C. (2019). *Housing insecurity, homelessness and populism: Evidence from the UK*. CEPR Discussion Paper No. DP14184

Korpi, W., & Palme, J. (2003). New politics and class politics in the context of austerity and globalization: Welfare state regress in 18 countries, 1975-95. *American Political Science Review*, 97(3), 425-446.

Ebbinghaus, B. (2012), 'Unions and Employers', In: Castles, F.G., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Editors), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 13

Further Reading:

Hibbs, D. (1977), 'Political parties and macroeconomic policy', *American Political Science Review*, 1467--1487. (Focus on content, not the technical section.)

Schmidt, M. G. (2012), 'Parties', In: Castles, F.G., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J., Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (Editors), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 14

Hicks, A. & Swank, D. (1992), 'Politics, institutions, and welfare spending in industrialized democracies, 1960-82', *The American Political Science Review*, 658--674.

Tsebelis, G. & Chang, E. (2004), 'Veto players and the structure of budgets in advanced industrialized countries', *European Journal of Political Research* 43(3), 449--476.

Alesina, A. & Glaeser, E. (2004), *Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A world of difference*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Chapter 4**

6. Practical session: Data Lab I

Homework tasks and readings tba

7. Practical session: Data Lab II

Homework tasks and readings tba

8. Welfare reforms and austerity I: Food poverty and foodbanks

*Loopstra, R., Fledderjohann, J., Reeves, A., & Stuckler, D. (2018). Impact of Welfare Benefit Sanctioning on Food Insecurity: A Dynamic Cross-Area Study of Food Bank Usage in the UK. *Journal of Social Policy*, 47(3), 437-457.

*Herd, P. (2015). How administrative burdens are preventing access to critical income supports for older adults: the case of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program. *Public Policy & Aging Report*, 25(2), 52-55.

Sosenko, F. et al. (2019) State of Hunger Report 2019: A study of poverty and food insecurity in the UK. The Trussell Trust: <https://www.stateofhunger.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/State-of-Hunger-Report-November2019-Digital.pdf>

Moynihan, D., Herd, P., & Harvey, H. (2014). Administrative burden: Learning, psychological, and compliance costs in citizen-state interactions. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 25(1), 43-69.

9. Welfare reforms and austerity II: Homelessness and/or Rhetoric

*Fetzer, T., Sen, S., & Souza, P. C. (2019). *Housing insecurity, homelessness and populism: Evidence from the UK*. CEPR Discussion Paper No. DP14184

*McArthur, D., & Reeves, A. (2019). The rhetoric of recessions: how British newspapers talk about the poor when unemployment rises, 1896–2000. *Sociology* 53(6): 1005-1025

10. Research seminar

No readings. Presentations of student research projects.