

The Liberal Welfare State: the US and the UK in Comparative Perspective

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Summary module description:

This course is designed to provide students with the tools to understand the recent transformations of Anglo-American welfare capitalism. It helps students contextualise and situate what has been referred to as the Anglo-Saxon model. It is hoped that by the end of this introductory module students will have gained a nuanced and up-to date comprehension of the Anglo-American liberal welfare state.

The course begins by explaining the concept of the welfare state as well the liberal welfare state regime. Both the US and the UK social security models are based on different premises, especially in relation to health care (universal in the UK, logic of entitlement vs. private provision and residual, fragmented state-managed means-tested benefits in the US). We move on to explore the ideologies of the New Right (Reagan-Thatcher) and of the Third Way (Blair/Clinton/Obama). We then analyse the contrasting policy responses to the financial crisis of 2008-2009. Finally, we explore how and why the US and the UK have recently experienced a right wing populist backlash in the form of the Brexit vote and the election of Donald Trump. The roots of this Anglo-American anger can be partially traced back to the Great Disconnect, where the state is seemingly unable to address citizens' most pressing needs, thus eroding the social contract. How did we get there? And does the post-2008 politics of social policy help explain the current political gridlock in both countries?

Aims:

- To acquire a good understanding of the welfare state concept. What is it for? What are its functions?
- To understand the typology of welfare capitalism (Three Worlds of Welfare, Esping-Andersen 1990)
- To understand the legacy of New Right and Third Way in Britain and the USA
- To understand key developments in the politics of social policy post 2008 in Britain and the USA

Assessment: a four-page essay to be uploaded to Moodle three weeks after the end of the course.

Each session will be 1,5 hours, in the form of a lecture (with slides available on Moodle), followed by a seminar discussion and tutorial session.

Required readings: Garland D (2016), *The Welfare State: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, <https://www.amazon.co.uk/Welfare-State-Short-Introduction-Introductions/dp/0199672660>

Additional readings:

Bonikowski, B., 2016. Three lessons of contemporary populism in Europe and the United States. *Brown J. World Aff.*, 23, p.9.

Clark, T and Heath, A. (2014), *Hard Times*, Yale, Yale University Press, <https://www.amazon.com/Hard-Times-Divisive-Economic-Slump/dp/0300203772>

Daguerre A (2017), *Obama's Welfare Legacy*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Daguerre, A., 2004. Importing workfare: policy transfer of social and labour market policies from the USA to Britain under New Labour. *Social Policy & Administration*, 38(1), pp.41-56.

Pierson, P. (1994). *Dismantling the Welfare State?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spicker P. (2013), Liberal welfare states, in B Greve (ed) *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State*, London: Routledge, pp 193-201, <http://www.spicker.uk/open-access/2013%20Liberal%20welfare%20states.pdf>

Taylor-Gooby, P., 2016. The divisive welfare state. *Social Policy & Administration*, 50(6), pp.712-733.

Traub J. (June 2019), Trump Is Trying to Trap Democrats on Immigration, *Foreign Policy*, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/07/trump-is-trying-to-trap-democrats-on-immigration/>

Schedule

1- Class 1- Varieties of welfare capitalism: the liberal model

Readings: Garland Chapter 5. 'Varieties', p. 59-80, + Garland, 'What is the welfare state?' p.1-12.

Spicker P. (2013), Liberal welfare states, in B Greve (ed) *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State*, London: Routledge, pp 193-201, <http://www.spicker.uk/open-access/2013%20Liberal%20welfare%20states.pdf>

2- Class 2: The first crisis of the welfare state: The New Right

Required Readings: Garland 81-114

Additional readings: Pierson (1994: 1-24)

3- Class 3: Third Way politics in the United States and the UK

Welfare 2-0 (Garland), p. 98-114

US: From Clinton to Obama

UK: Faucher, F. and Le Galès, P., 2010, 'Le business model britannique', *Les gouvernements New Labour*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, p.31-68

4- Class 4: The Great Recession 2008: The Obama administration response: an assessment

Readings Clark T. (2014), p. 170-215

Obama's expansion of social programmes: the Recovery Act + Affordable Care Act, but austerity at state level (Daguerre, ch.5, p. 95-111)

5- Class 5: the UK: Keynesian responses followed by austerity politics

Brief Keynesian period followed by massive spending cuts *The Coalition Government and Social Policy: Restructuring the Welfare State*. Hugh Bochel and Martin Powell (eds). Policy Press. 2016, ch 1.

6- Class 6: The Great Disconnect

UK: Taylor-Gooby, P., 2016. The divisive welfare state. *Social Policy & Administration*, 50(6), pp.712-733.

US: Suzanne Mettler, The Great Disconnect

<https://www.vox.com/2018/8/17/17675100/suzanne-mettler-government-citizen-disconnect-welfare>

7- Class 7- Politics of social policy in the Trump era

What does Donald Trump stand for on the welfare state? Answer: death by a thousand cuts, see Capps (2019, CityLab) The Brutal Austerity of Trump's Huge 2020 Budget, <https://www.citylab.com/equity/2019/03/trumps-2020-budget-cuts-social-security-medicare-food-stamps/584440/>

8- Class 8: Divided We Stand?

Erosion of social contract in USA and the UK

How to maintain social cohesion in the era of hyper-diversity and rapid social change (with working class losing out). Hence 'welfare chauvinism', a winning political formula, at least for now.

Working class no longer votes Labour or Democrat?

Bonikowski, B., 2016. Three lessons of contemporary populism in Europe and the United States. *Brown J. World Aff.*, 23, p.9.

Traub J. (June 2019), Trump Is Trying to Trap Democrats on Immigration, Foreign Policy <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/07/trump-is-trying-to-trap-democrats-on-immigration/>