

***University of Toronto***  
***Department of Political Science***  
***Pol 439/2139H-F***

***The Canadian Welfare State in Comparative Perspective***  
***Fall 2015***

**Professor:** Rodney Haddow

**Class time:** Thursday, 2 - 4 PM

**Class location:** UC 148

**My office location:** 3030 Sydney Smith Hall; 100 St. George Street

**Office hours:** Thursday, 4:15-5:15, or by appointment earlier in the week

**E-mail:** r.haddow@utoronto.ca

**Telephone:** (416) 978-3342 [NB: It is much easier to reach me by e-mail than to contact me by phone at this number, except during office hours!]

**Course description:** Welfare states now receive considerable attention in political science due to their prominence among state functions, and because of the fiscal and demographic pressures they face in an age of globalization. They are the focus of some of the most interesting theoretical and empirical debates on the comparative politics of industrial societies and in scholarship about Canadian politics. This course examines recent trends in Canadian social policy in light of this comparative scholarship.

The first substantive seminar addresses the legitimacy of the welfare state from the perspective of political theory. Section A then reviews leading themes in the comparative study of welfare states in industrial societies, with one week devoted to the application of this literature to Canada. Section B treats aspects of Canada's welfare state.

**Format:** This is a seminar course; classroom sessions will be devoted to a discussion of the readings assigned for that session. Students are expected to complete the readings required of them, even when they are not submitting a paper or making an oral presentation.

**Readings:** There are four articles listed for each week of the course. *All four of these readings are required for graduate students, and must be incorporated into submitted essays. Undergraduate students are required only to read three of these readings each week, and to write about those three when preparing a paper.* (I recommend that undergraduates read the first three readings listed as required, but they may choose to do otherwise).

**There is one textbook:**

Keith Banting and John Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013).

All other readings are available electronically. Many are from scholarly journals, available from UTL; below, I let you know which link I used to get the article. Some others are in books; in these cases, I have posted the reading on our course web page. They are identified below as *electronic readings*.

### **Grading Scheme and Course Requirements:**

#### **Pol 439H:**

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 4 short essays (4-5 pages each)                              | 75% |
| (each is worth 20%, except your weakest, which is worth 15%) |     |
| 1 oral presentation  | 10% |
| Oral participation   | 15% |

#### **Pol 2139H:**

|                                 |     |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| 5 short essays (5-6 pages each) | 75% |
| (each essay is worth 15%)       |     |
| 1 oral presentation             | 10% |
| Oral participation              | 15% |

*Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the turnitin.com web site. If, as a student, you object to using turnitin.com, please see me to establish alternative arrangements for submission of your written assignments.*

**Written and oral assignments:** The most important responsibility for students in the course is to prepare four 4-5 page (1000-1250 words) (undergraduate) or five 5-6 page (graduate) (1250-1500 word) papers during each term, based on the assigned readings. There is considerable flexibility regarding which topics you write on, but at least one paper **must be submitted by October 29<sup>th</sup>** to comply with the university's course-drop decline.

These essays will be expected to accomplish two tasks: [a] they should provide a clear review of the main arguments made by each of the readings assigned for that week, indicating where they differ and where they converge; and [b] they should make an argument, by pointing to a major issue or theme addressed in the readings, comparing what the different authors have to say about this question, and evaluating these different

perspectives. Needless to say, papers should be written in good Standard English, and with appropriate references to the sources used

Essays are due in class, at the beginning of the class, on the date when their topic will be discussed in the seminar. Because the seminar discussion should serve to clarify the readings for all participants, it would not be fair for me to accept papers submitted late without significant penalty. Consequently, ***late papers will be subject to a penalty of 10% during the first 24 hours after they are due, and of 20% thereafter.*** The 10% penalty will rise to 20% for a second or subsequent one-day-late assignment. ***Please note that all term work must, according to University regulations, be submitted by December 8th.***

In conjunction with one of these essays, each student will also make one 10 minute presentation of their argument, in class. ***Students will sign up for a presentation topic during the second week of the course.*** Presentations should ***not*** simply summarize the readings. They should be argumentative, and provide a cogent analysis of a theme relevant to the readings. The presenter should assume that other seminar participants are familiar with the readings.

Finally, students will be graded for participation. Five marks will be assigned based on attendance at class. Only documented medical grounds will be accepted as an explanation of non-attendance. ***I reserve the right to count a student as absent who persistently shows up late for class (i.e., more than 5 minutes after the normal start time).*** Students will lose one per cent of their term grade for each class missed without evidence of such grounds. (If more than five classes are missed, further grades will be deducted). The other ten marks will be based on the quality and quantity of each student's involvement in oral discussions. It is not essential that you be talking all the time. But I do expect each student to make an effort to contribute to each week's seminar discussion. In evaluating this participation, I am particularly interested in the extent to which the oral contribution shows an accurate understanding of the readings, and gives evidence that the student has reflected upon them. Particular emphasis will be attached to each student's contribution during weeks when they are *not* submitting an essay.

## **Seminar themes and readings:**

**[1] September 17: Introduction to the Course**

**[2] September 24: Are welfare states justifiable? If so, how? What should they look like?**

Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 161-176, 190-195 [Electronic reading]

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971), 11-17, 54-80 [Electronic reading]

G.A. Cohen, "Why not Socialism?" in Edward Broadbent, ed., *Democratic Equality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), chapter 4 [Electronic reading]

Amartya Sen, *Inequality Reexamined* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), chapter 9 [Electronic reading]

## Section A: Comparing Welfare States in Industrial Societies:

### [3] October 1: In what ways, and how much, do welfare states vary? Why?

Gøsta Esping-Andersen, “Power and Distributional Regimes,” *Politics and Society*, vol. 14 (2) (1985), 223-256 [on-line; Scholars Portal]

Margarita Estevez-Abe, Torben Iversen and David Soskice, “Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State,” in Peter Hall and Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 145-183 [Electronic reading]

Paul Pierson, “The New Politics of the Welfare State,” *World Politics*, vol. 48 (2) (1996), 143-179 [on-line; JSTOR]

David Rueda, “Insider-Outsider Politics in Industrialized Democracies: The Challenge to Social Democratic Parties,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 99 (1) (2005), 61-74 [on-line; Cambridge University Press]

### [4] October 8: Canada: A liberal welfare state with ‘special characteristics’?

Keith Banting and John Myles, “Introduction: The Fading of Redistributive Politics,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 1.

Jane Jenson, “Historical Transformations of Canada’s Social Architecture,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 2.

Rodney Haddow, “Power Resources and the Canadian Welfare State: Unions, Partisanship and Interprovincial Differences in Inequality and Poverty Reduction,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 47 (4) (2014), 717-740 [on-line; Cambridge University Press]

Alain Noel, “Quebec’s New Politics of Redistribution,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 9.

### [5] October 15: Gender and the Welfare State: How are gender relations shaped by, and how do they shape, welfare states?

Ann Orloff, “Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship,” *American Sociological Review*, vol. 58 (3) (1993), 303-328 [on-line; JSTOR]

Jennifer Hook, “Incorporating ‘Class’ into Work-Family Arrangements: Insights from and for Three Worlds,” *Journal of European Social Policy*, vol. 25 (1) (2015), 14-31 [on-line; Scholars Portal]

Evelyne Huber, John Stephens, David Bradley, Stephen Moller and Francois Nielsen, “The politics of women’s economic independence,” *Social Politics*, vol. 16 (1) (2009), 1-39 [on-line; Oxford Journals]

Torben Iversen, and Frances Rosenbluth, “The Political Economy of Gender,” *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 50 (1) (2006), 1-19 [on-line; Scholars Portal]

**[6] October 22: Is public opinion a ‘bulwark’ against welfare state cuts? What influences public attitudes about the welfare state?**

Nathalie Giger and Moira Nelson, “The Welfare State or the Economy? Preferences, Constituencies, and Strategies for Retrenchment,” *European Sociological Review*, vol. 29 (5) (2013), 1083-1094 [on-line; Oxford Journals]

Jason Jordan, “Policy Feedbacks and Support for the Welfare State,” *Journal of European Social Policy*, vol. 23 (2) (2013), 134-148 [on-line; Scholars Portal]

Robert Andersen and Josh Curtis, “Public Opinion on Social Spending in Canada, 1980-2005,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 7.

David Brady and Amie Bostic, “Paradoxes of Social Policy: Welfare Transfers, Relative Poverty, and Redistribution Preferences,” *American Sociological Review*, vol. 80 (2) (2015), 268-98 [on-line; Sage Journals]

**[7] October 29: Multiculturalism and Immigration: Does ethno-cultural diversity undermine support for the welfare state?**

Brian Burgoon, “Immigration, Integration, and Support for Redistribution in Europe,” *World Politics*, vol. 66 (3) (2014), 365-405 [on-line; Cambridge Journals]

David Brady and Ryan Finnigan, “Does Immigration Undermine Public Support for Social Policy?” *American Sociological Review*, vol. 79 (1) (2014), 17-42 [on-line; Sage Journals]

Keith Banting, Stuart Soroka and Edward Koning, “Ethnic Diversity and Solidarity: Support for Redistribution in a Multicultural Welfare State,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 8.

Markus Crepaz, and Regan Damron, “Constructing tolerance: How the welfare state shapes attitudes about immigration,” *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 42 (3) (2009), 437-463 [on-line; Scholars Portal]

**[8] November 5: How does the welfare state, including its erosion, condition partisan conflict about the welfare state?**

Erling Barth, Henning Finseraus, and Karl Moene, “Political Reinforcement: How Rising Inequality Curbs Manifested Welfare Generosity,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 59 (3) (2015), 566-77 [on-line; Scholars Portal]

Margit Tavits and Joshua Potter, “The Effect of Inequality and Social Identity on Party Strategies,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 59 (3) (2015), 744-58 [on-line; Scholars Portal]

Walter Korpi and Joakim Palme, “New Politics and Class Politics in the Context of Austerity and Globalization: Welfare State Regress in 18 Countries, 1975-95,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 97 (3) (2003), 425-446 [on-line; Cambridge Journals]

Thomas Cusack, Torben Iversen and Phillip Rehm, “Risk at Work: The Demand and Supply Sides of Government Redistribution,” *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, vol. 22 (3) (2006), 365-89 [on-line; Oxford Journals]

**[9] November 12: Is a more ample welfare state more conducive to happiness and well-being?**

Christopher Anderson and Jason Hecht, “Happiness and the Welfare State: Decommodification and the Political Economy of Subjective Well-Being,” in Pablo Beramendi, et al. *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 357-380 [Electronic Reading]

Kadri Luhiste, “Social Protection and Satisfaction with Democracy: a Multilevel Analysis,” *Political Studies*, vol. 62 (4) (2014), 784-803 [on-line; Scholars Portal]

Frederico Podesta, “Partisanship, State Intervention and Economic Well-Being in 13 Developed Countries, 1980-2000,” *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 12 (1) (2014), 76-100 [on-line; ProQuest Central]

Ioana Van Deurzen, Erik van Ingen and Wim van Oorschot, “Income Inequality and Depression: The Role of Social Comparisons and Coping Resources,” *European Sociological Review*, vol. 31 (4) (2015), 477-489 [on-line; Oxford Journals]

## **Section B: Canadian Social Policy and Politics**

**[10] November 19: Inputs: What changes occurred in the factors influencing Canada’s welfare state since the 1980s? What have been the consequences?**

Richard Johnston, “The Party System, Elections and Social Policy,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 4.

Susan Phillips, “Restructuring Civil Society in Canada; Muting the Politics of Redistribution,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 6.

David Good, “The New Bureaucratic Politics of Redistribution,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 9.

William Coleman, “Business, Labour and Redistributive Politics,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 5.

**[11] November 26: Outputs: How much less successful is Canada’s welfare state now than in the past in achieving equality? It is because of changes in market income, redistribution, or both?**

David Green and James Townsend, “Drivers of Increasing Market Income Inequality: Structural Change and Policy,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 3.

Robin Broaday and Katherine Cuff, “The Recent Evolution of Redistribution in Canada,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 12.

Rodney Haddow, “Labour Market Income Transfers and Redistribution in Canada,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 13.

Kneebone, Ronald and Katherine White, “Fiscal Retrenchment and Social Assistance in Canada,” *Canadian Public Policy*, vol. 35 (1) (2009), 21-40 [on-line; JSTOR]

[12] December 3: *Health Insurance, Public Pensions and Child Care: What broad design emerged in Canada in these areas during the post-war years? How has it changed recently? Why?*

Carolyn Tuohy, “Health Care Policy after Universality: Canada in Comparative Perspective,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 15.

John Myles, “Path Dependency and Income Security for Seniors in Canada,” in Banting and Myles, eds., *The Fading of Redistribution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), chapter 16.

Rodney Haddow, *Comparing Quebec and Ontario: Political Economy and Public Policy at the Turn of the Millennium* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), chap. 6 [on child care] [Electronic reading]