

JRA401H1/JRA2321H1F  
TOPICS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS  
(Welfare Capitalism in Western Europe)  
Fall 2016

Thursday, 6-8pm  
Room: UC376

Instructor: Francisco Beltran

Room 323N  
Munk School of Global Affairs  
1 Devonshire Place  
Toronto, Ontario, M5S 3K7 Canada  
Phone: 416-946-8959  
E-mail: francisco.beltran@utoronto.ca  
<http://munkschool.utoronto.ca/ceres/profile/francisco-beltran>

*1. Office hours:*

Wednesday and Thursday, 4-6pm, or by appointment.

*2. Course description:*

This course will present the characteristics and evolution of the so called European social models. We will first review some arguments and approaches to the role of governments in market economies, along with a brief introduction to the different social models we find in Europe. Second, key welfare policies such as health care, education, unemployment insurance, family and income support, and retirement pensions will be explained in a European context. Third, we will look in detail at the way governments in Scandinavia, Continental and Anglophone Europe, and the Mediterranean region implement those policies. Finally, we will look at specific challenges to these welfare states, considering recent economic and political developments, i.e. multiculturalism and migration, the global financial crisis, or the regulatory role of the European Union.

*3. Intended learning outcomes:*

- To understand the typology of socioeconomic models in Western Europe.

- To become familiar with the main policies and the political motives and forces that structure the welfare state in the region.
- To comprehend the similarities and differences among social policy and industrial relations in different countries.
- To become familiar with the literature on the Varieties of Capitalism and socioeconomic policy in Europe

#### *4. Prerequisite:*

Two courses in comparative politics or permission of instructor.

#### *5. Lectures, communication, and attendance:*

**Students are required to attend every class meeting.** Accommodation of absences for religious or medical reasons is possible but should be discussed with the instructor. In any case, missing more than two or three classes may imply zero points in the participation component of the final grade.

**Students are expected to read the materials before each class,** according to the schedule outlined in section 7 below. The instructor will devote part of the class to summarize the most relevant concepts and ideas included in the materials, to explain the connections between them, and to respond to any doubts. This lecture part, however, will not cover the materials in their entirety, and that is why students should have read them beforehand. The rest of the class will be devoted to a seminar-type discussion.

**Students are also expected to participate in the discussions and debates held in each class. In addition, every student has to direct a seminar-type discussion in class.** Each week, two students will prepare and lead a class discussion based on the topics addressed in the lectures.

**This course has a Blackboard site.** The instructor will use it to communicate important information regarding the course, including assignments' grades, as well as to upload essential readings and materials. Students are expected to check out the Blackboard site regularly (ie. every other day).

**Email is the preferred way of communication** between the instructor and the students. Students can expect a reply to their messages in the following 24 hours, weekends excepted.

The Faculty of Arts and Science **deadline to cancel the course** without academic penalty is November 7, 2016.

*6. Assessment and assignment submission policy:*

**The course assessment is based on participation, class discussions, and assignments.** There will be no exams. **Term work** requirements consist of:

**(1) Participation** in class discussions (10% of the final grade).

Expectations: Students are expected to participate in the class discussions on a regular basis. An intervention during the seminar discussion may consist in giving a reasoned opinion, posing questions to the rest of the class, or both. you have to show you have read and understood the material. What I value is engaging, provocative interventions, questions, answers or thoughts that establish links among the readings, the questions and/or current events. At the bare minimum, you have to show you have read the material. Rambling or talking at length off-topic, or showing you have not worked on the material, will accrue you no points.

**(2) Preparing and leading a class discussion** based on the topics addressed in the lectures (15% of the final grade).

Requirements and assesment: Class discussions work as follows. Each discussion will last roughly 45 minutes, and will be led by one or two people. Everyone (both the leaders of the discussion and the rest of the class) should do the readings for the day in question. The leaders should prepare questions related to the readings or current topics directly related to the readings or the issues we are discussing that week, and pose these questions to the class. In terms of assessment, what I value of leading the discussion is presenting engaging, provocative questions, answers and thoughts that establish links among the readings, the questions and/or current events.

**(3) Assignment 1: an outline of the research paper** (mandatory, but no points awarded).

The outline is a description of the intended research to be presented (see section 7 below), and should be between 100 and 200 words long. After submitting it, students will get immediate feedback and advice on how to proceed with the paper proposal.

Assignment 1 is due by September 29.

**(4) Assignment 2: a formal research paper proposal** (20% of the final grade).

Requirements: The proposal must include a preliminary title, an abstract of 200 words, a clear research question, a clear hypothesis (which is a preliminary answer to the research question, which you would have to validate), and an annotated preliminary list of 7-10 references (5-8 lines per entry, excluding the entry itself, explaining why the reference is useful for the proposed research).

Once submitted, the research proposal topic cannot be changed, since the final research paper develops the submitted proposal (see section 7 below).

Marks for the paper proposal will be available approximately one week after the submission deadline, and students will get feedback and advice on how to proceed with the research paper.

The proposal is due by October 20.

**(5) Assignment 3: 1st short comment on an article** (10% of the final grade).

Requirements: One week before the submission deadline the instructor will upload a few newspaper articles related to topics we will have already seen in class. You will then have a week to submit a short comment (800 words, approx. 1,5 pages) on one of them. You have to use at least the relevant references from the syllabus (ie. if the article you choose is on education, you need to use at least Barr pp. 266-298 and Gringrich 131-174, and other references on the specific country, if appropriate), though you can use more than that. In your comment, you will have to explain the connections between the references and the article. The article you choose cannot have the same topic you chose for your research paper.

Assignment 3 is due by November 3.

**(6) Assignment 4: 2nd short comment on an article** (10% of the final grade).

Requirements: See description for assignment 3 above.

Assignment 4 is due by November 24.

**(7) Assignment 5: a final research paper** (35% of the final grade).

Requirements: Length: around 20 pages, excluding bibliography, double spaced, building on the previous research proposal (see section 7 below). It is compulsory to use in the paper the relevant literature from the list of readings in this syllabus.

The structure of the research paper might vary depending on the chosen topic, number of cases, research question, etc, but at the bare minimum it has to include a general

introduction of the research and explain why it is relevant; a clearly stated comparative research question, that is, one that tries to explain an issue through a comparison of cases, rather than describing events; one or more hypotheses, which are the preliminary answer to our research question, and which will be validated or rejected in the paper, fully or in part; a literature review, that is, what other authors have said about the issue, topic or problem we are researching; an argumentation in support of your hypothesis, based on relevant literature (this is the main part of the paper); a conclusion, where you validate, reject or qualify your hypothesis, and perhaps come up with an alternative explanation for the problem.

The research paper, its requirements and what the instructor expects will be explained in detail in the first class (along with the other assignments), and on meetings during office hours.

The final paper is due by December 1.

**All these assignments must be completed** to receive credit for the course.

**Students should start thinking soon about ideas for the research paper**, and discuss with the instructor the research outline and proposal well before the submission deadlines. **They are both encouraged and expected to discuss the research paper** with the instructor as they are working on it during the term, and to contact him as much as they need. Waiting until the last week or days before the submission deadline to discuss the paper -not to speak of submitting it without discussing it at all- is strongly discouraged.

**Students are required to submit an electronic copy of the assignments by the deadline.** No hard copy is required. **Students are also strongly advised to use Turnitin.com to submit the assignments.** At the beginning of the course, the instructor will give the students the course ID and password needed for them to create their profiles in Turnitin.com.

“Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection for 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”.

That said, the use of Turnitin.com is voluntary. If you prefer not to use this tool, come talk to me regarding alternative means of submitting the assignments.

**Students should email the instructor a signed copy of the *Academic Integrity Checklist*** (the form is at the end of the syllabus and on the course’s blackboard site) by September 29. Otherwise the assignments will not be graded.

**Late delivery of assignments carries a penalty of 3% of the assignment's grade per day, with a limit of seven days.** This means assignments delivered eight or more days after the deadline will not be accepted.

*7. Valid topics and research areas for the final paper:*

**The research paper should compare:**

(1) Either one policy, or one specific policy aspect chosen from the following list of public policy areas:

- Labour market policy
- Unemployment protection policy
- Family or income support
- Retirement pension systems
- Education policy
- Health care policy

(2) Or some aspect of the following topics:

- Migration, multiculturalism, and the welfare state
- Globalization, the EU, the financial crisis, and the welfare state

(3) In either two West European countries chosen from the following list:

- United Kingdom
- Ireland
- France
- The Netherlands
- Belgium
- Germany
- Austria
- Portugal
- Spain
- Italy
- Denmark
- Norway
- Sweden
- Finland

(4) Or in two of the following social models:

- Liberal / anglosaxon model
- Corporatist / continental model
- Social democratic / Nordic model
- Mediterranean model

Example 1: “The reform of the French and the German pension systems in the 2000s.”

Example 2: “The effects of the European financial crisis on the Mediterranean welfare states.”

### 8. *Course overview:*

The following is a list of the classes held during the term, with their respective dates, readings, and the assignments’ due dates.

Students should read the materials before each class. Some of the materials will be placed on reserve (CR) at the Robarts Library at the beginning of the term, or included in a course pack (CP) available from the U of T Bookstore. The rest will be available from the course Blackboard site (BB), either as a link to the source or a pdf document.

The list of readings might be complemented with specific materials (journal and newspaper articles, statistics) for each session. The additional materials will be available from the Blackboard site as well.

## **PART 1: Varieties of capitalism and social models**

### **Sep. 14: The economic and social role of the state (and how to write a comparative research paper)**

Readings:

Tanzi, Vito, *The Changing Economic Role of the State*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 3-36; 107-128 (BB).

Hall, Peter A., and David Soskice, “An Introduction to the Varieties of Capitalism”, in Peter A. Hall and David Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Competitiveness*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 2-15 (BB).

**Sep. 21: European social models and the welfare state**

Readings:

Van Kersbergen, Kees, and Barbara Vis, *Comparative Welfare State Politics. Development, Opportunities, and Reform*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 53-77 (CP).

Sapir, André, *Globalisation and the Reform of European Social Models*, Policy Contribution, Brussels, Bruegel Institute, 2005 (BB).

Esping-Andersen, Gosta, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990, pp. 9-34 (CP).

**PART 2: Policy areas****Sep. 29: Unemployment protection and labour market policies**

Readings:

Barr, Nicholas, *The Economics of the Welfare State*, 5th ed., Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 135-151 (CR).

Clansen, Jochen, and Daniel Clegg, “Adapting Labour Market Policy to a Transformed Employment Structure: The Politics of ‘Triple Integration’”, in Giuliano Bonoli and David Natali, eds., *The Politics of the New Welfare State*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 135-157 (CP).

Discussion 1

Research project outline (assignment 1) and Academic Integrity Checklist due

**Oct. 6: Family and income support, and retirement pensions**

Readings:

Barr, Nicholas, *The Economics of the Welfare State*, pp. 189-209; 152-188 (CR).

Van Kersbergen, Kees, and Barbara Vis, *Comparative Welfare State Politics. Development, Opportunities, and Reform*, pp. 78-102 (CP).



Discussion 2

**Oct. 13: Education policy**

Readings:

Barr, Nicholas, *The Economics of the Welfare State*, pp. 266-298 (CR).

Gingrich, Jane R., *Making Markets in the Welfare State. The Politics of Varying Market Reforms*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 131-174 (BB).

Discussion 3

**Oct. 20: Health care**

Readings:

Barr, Nicholas, *The Economics of the Welfare State*, pp. 231-265 (CR).

Gingrich, Jane R., *Making Markets in the Welfare State. The Politics of Varying Market Reforms*, pp. 79-130 (BB).

Discussion 4

Research proposal (assignment 2) due

**PART 3: Models**

**Oct. 27: Liberal capitalism: The UK**

Readings:

Mayhew, Ken, and Mark Wickham-Jones, “The United Kingdom’s Social Model”, in Jon Erik Dølvik and Andrew Martin, eds., *European Social Models from Crisis to Crisis. Employment and Inequality in the Era of Monetary Integration*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 144-176 (CP).

Kaufman, Franz-Xaver, *Variations of the Welfare State. Great Britain, Sweden, France and Germany Between Capitalism and Socialism*, Berlin, Springer-Verlag, 2013, pp. 92-114 (CP).

Discussion 5

### **Nov. 3: The corporatist model: Germany, the Netherlands and France**

Readings:

Palier, Bruno, “Continental Western Europe”, in Francis G. Castles et al., eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 601-615 (BB).

Palier, Bruno, “Turning Vice into Vice: How Bismarckian Welfare States have Gone from Unsustainability to Dualization”, in Giuliano Bonoli and David Natali, eds., *The Politics of the New Welfare State*, pp. 233-255 (CP).

Discussion 6

1st article comment (assignment 3) due

### **Nov. 10: The social democratic model: Scandinavia**

Readings:

Kautto, Mikko, “The Nordic Countries”, in Francis G. Castles et al., eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, pp. 586-600 (BB).

Tanzi, Vito, *The Changing Economic Role of the State*, Cambridge, pp. 267-302 (BB).

Discussion 7

### **Nov. 17: A Mediterranean variety: Southern Europe**

Readings:

Ferrera, Maurizio, “The South European Countries”, in Francis G. Castles et al., eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, pp. 616-629 (BB).

Perez, Sofia A., and Martin Rhodes, “The Evolution and Crisis of the Social Models in Italy and Spain”, in Jon Erik Dølvik and Andrew Martin, eds., *European Social Models from Crisis to Crisis*, pp. 177-213 (CP).

Naldini, Manuela and Teresa Jurado, “Family and Welfare State Reorientation in Spain and Inertia in Italy from a European Perspective”, *Population Review*, Vol. 52, No. 1, 2013, pp. 43-61 (CP).

Discussion 8

## **PART 4: Challenges**

### **Nov. 24: Challenges to the Welfare State I: Multiculturalism and Migration**

Readings:

Schierup, Carl-Ulrik, and Stephen Castles, “Migration, Minorities and the Welfare States”, in Christopher Pierson et al., eds., *The Welfare State Reader*, Cambridge, Polity, 2014, pp. 254-272 (CP).

Gerdes, Christer, and Eskil Wadensjö, “Is immigration challenging the economic sustainability of the Nordic welfare model?”, in John Kvist et al, eds., *Changing Social Equality. The Nordic Welfare Model in the 21st Century*, Chicago, Policy Press, 2012, pp. 187-199 (CP).

Discussion 9

2nd article comment (assignment 4) due

### **Dec. 1: Challenges to the Welfare State II: Globalization, the EU, and the Financial Crisis**

Readings:

Hay, Colin, and Daniel Wincott, *The Political Economy of the European Welfare State*, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 69-74; 90-96; 194-226 (CP).

Alber, Jens, *What – if anything – is undermining the European Social Model?*, Discussion Paper, Berlin, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB), 2010, pp. 8-37 (BB).

## Discussion 10

Research paper (assignment 3) due

### 9. *Academic integrity:*

Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the U of T degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement, and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves.

Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* ([www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm](http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm)). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including
  - working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work,
  - having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

To remind you of these expectations, and help you avoid accidental offences, I will ask you to include a signed Academic Integrity Checklist with every assignment (see checklist at the end of this document). If you do not include the statement, your work will not be graded.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the *Code*. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from me, or from other available campus resources like the U of T Writing Website (<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca>). If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to me or seek the advice of your college registrar.

Also, it is worth checking the Academic Integrity Section on the Faculty of Arts and Science site: [www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/students/academic-integrity-basics](http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/students/academic-integrity-basics)

### *10. Accommodations for Disability:*

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or Accessibility Services at 416-978-8060, [accessibility.utoronto.ca](http://accessibility.utoronto.ca).

### *11. Religious Accommodations:*

The University has a general policy of accommodating absences for reasons of religious obligation, strongly articulated on the Provost's webpage ([www.viceprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/publicationsandpolicies/guidelines/religiousobservances.htm](http://www.viceprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/publicationsandpolicies/guidelines/religiousobservances.htm)). Students are expected to give reasonable advance notice of their absence.

*Academic Integrity Checklist*

JRA401H1/JRA2321H1F

TOPICS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS (Welfare Capitalism in Western Europe)

Fall 2016

Instructor: Francisco Beltran

I, \_\_\_\_\_, affirm that the five written assignments listed in the section 6 of the syllabus represent entirely my own efforts.

I confirm that:

- I have acknowledged the use of another's ideas with accurate citations.
- If I used the words of another (e.g., author, instructor, information source), I have acknowledged this with quotation marks (or appropriate indentation) and proper citation.
- When paraphrasing the work of others, I put the idea into my own words and did not just change a few words or rearrange the sentence structure
- I have checked my work against my notes to be sure I have correctly referenced all direct quotes or borrowed ideas.
- My bibliography includes only the sources used to complete this assignment.
- This is the first time I have submitted these assignments (in whole or in part) for credit.
- Any proofreading by another was limited to indicating areas of concern which I then corrected myself.
- This is the final version of my assignments and not a draft.
- I have kept my work to myself and did not share answers/content with others, unless otherwise directed by my instructor.
- I understand the consequences of violating the University's academic integrity policies as outlined in the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*.

By signing this form I agree that the statements above are true.

If I do not agree with the statements above, I will not submit my assignments and will consult the course instructor immediately.

Student name: \_\_\_\_\_ Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_