

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

***The Canadian Welfare State in Comparative Perspective***  
***Fall 2018***

**Professor:** Rodney Haddow

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

**Class location:**

**My office location:** 3119 Sydney Smith Hall; 100 St. George Street

**Office hours:** Wednesday, 4:15-5:15 PM; Thursday, 4:15-5:15 PM; or by appointment.

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**Telephone:** (416) 978-8710 [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 you may choose to do otherwise).

**There is one textbook:**

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

All other readings are available electronically from our course Quercus page.

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

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

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

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

5 short essays (5-6 pages each) (each essay is worth 15%)	75%
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, 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 25<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 account 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 5th.***

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 6: Introduction to the Course***

***[2] September 13: Are welfare states justifiable? How much should the state reduce inequality and poverty?***

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

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

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

Amartya Sen, *Inequality Reexamined* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), chapter 9.

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

***[3] September 20: Welfare State Varieties: How do welfare states differ? Why?***

Gøsta Esping-Andersen, "Power and Distributional Regimes," *Politics and Society*, 14: 2 (1985), 223-256.

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 David Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 145-183.

Paul Pierson, "The New Politics of the Welfare State," *World Politics*, 48: 2 (1996), 143-179.

David Rueda, "Insider-Outsider Politics in Industrialized Democracies: The Challenge to Social Democratic Parties," *American Political Science Review*, 99: 1 (2005), 61-74.

**[4] September 27: Canada's Welfare State: Liberal, with 'special characteristics'?**

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

Jane Jenson, "Historical Transformations of Canada's Social Architecture," in Banting and Myles, eds., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, 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*, 47: 4 (2014), 717-740.

Alain Noel, "Quebec's New Politics of Redistribution," in Banting and Myles, eds., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 11.

**[5] October 4: Gender and the Welfare State: When does the welfare state promote equity for women?**

Ann Orloff, "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship," *American Sociological Review*, 58: 3 (1993), 303-328.

Nicole Detraz and Dursun Peksen, "'Women Friendly' Spending? Welfare Spending and Women's Participation in the Economy and Politics," *Politics and Gender* 14 (2018), 137-161.

Jennifer Hook, "Incorporating 'Class' into Work-Family Arrangements: Insights from and for Three Worlds," *Journal of European Social Policy*, 25: 1 (2015), 14-31.

Hanna Kleider, "Paid and Unpaid Work: The Impact of Social Policies on the Gender Division of Labour," *Journal of European Social Policy*, 25: 5 (2015), 505-20.

**[6] October 11: Class and the Welfare State: Are redistribution and the welfare state supported more by the socially less advantaged than by the advantaged? Why might this pattern vary across countries and over time?**

James Alt and Torben Iversen, "Inequality, Labour Market Segmentation, and Preferences for Redistribution," *American Journal of Political Science* 61: 1 (2017) 21-36.

Robert Andersen and Meir Yaish, "Preferences for the Distribution of Incomes in Modern Societies: The Enduring Influence of Social Class and Economic Context," *Canadian Public Policy* 44: 2 (2018), 190-205.

Robert Andersen and Josh Curtis, "Public Opinion on Social Spending in Canada, 1980-2005," in Banting and Myles, eds., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 6.

Jane Gingrich and Ben Ansell, "Preferences in Context: Micro Preferences, Macro Contexts, and the Demand for Social Policy", *Comparative Political Studies* 45: 12 (2012), 1624-1654.

**[7] October 18: Multiculturalism and Immigration: Does ethno-cultural diversity undermine support for the welfare state?**

David Brady and Ryan Finnigan, "Does Immigration Undermine Public Support for Social Policy?" *American Sociological Review*, vol. 79: 1 (2014), 17-42.

Edward Koning, "Selecting, Disentitling, or Investing? Exploring Party and Voter Responses to Immigrant Welfare Dependence in 15 West European Welfare States." *Comparative European Politics* 15 (2017), 628-660.

Keith Banting, Stuart Soroka and Edward Koning, "Ethnic Diversity and Solidarity: Support for Redistribution in a Multicultural Welfare State," in Banting and Myles, eds., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 7.

Kristian Hansen and Carsten Jensen, "Politized Coalitions: Social Affinity and the Politics of Redistribution", *Comparative European Politics* 15: 2 (2017), 204-219.

**[8] October 25: The Welfare State and Poverty: When do welfare states, and individual programs, alleviate poverty the most? Is the answer different for children and adults?**

David Brady and Amie Bostic, "Paradoxes of Social Policy: Welfare Transfers, Relative Poverty, and Redistribution Preferences," *American Sociological Review*, 80: 2 (2015), 268-98.

Yekaterina Chzhen, "Unemployment, Social Protection Spending and Child Poverty in the European Union During the Great Recession." *Journal of European Social Policy* 27: 2 (2017), 123-137

Ron Diris, Frank Vandenboucke and Gerlinde Verbist, "The Impact of Pensions, Transfers and Taxes on Child Poverty in Europe: The Role of Size, Pro-Poorness and Child Orientation." *Socio-Economic Review* 15: 4 (2017), 745-775

Therese Saltkjel and Ira Malmberg-Heimonen, "Welfare Generosity in Europe: A Multi-level Study of Material Deprivation and Income Poverty Among Disadvantaged Groups." *Social Policy and Administration* 51: 7 (2017), 1287-1310

**[9] November 1: The Welfare State and Happiness: Are ampler welfare states and more equality conducive to greater 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., eds. *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 357-380.

Jonathan Kelley and M.D.R. Evans, "Social Inequality and Individual Subjective Well-Being", *Social Science Research* 62 (2017), 1-23

Laura Ravazzini, and Florian Chavez-Juarez, "Which Inequality Makes People Dissatisfied with Their Lives?" *Social Science Indicators* 137 (2018), 1119-1143.

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* 31: 4 (2015), 477-489.

**November 8:** Reading week; no class.

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

**[10] November 15: 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., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 8.

Susan Phillips, "Restructuring Civil Society in Canada; Muting the Politics of Redistribution," in Banting and Myles, eds., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 5.

David Good, "The New Bureaucratic Politics of Redistribution," in Banting and Myles, eds., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 9.

William Coleman, "Business, Labour and Redistributive Politics," in Banting and Myles, eds., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 4.

**[11] November 22: 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?**

Miles Corak, "'Inequality is the Root of Social Evil,' or Maybe Not? Two Stories About Inequality and Public Policy", *Canadian Public Policy* 42: 4 (2016), 367-414.

Lars Osberg, *The Age of Increasing Inequality* (Toronto: Lorimer, 2018), chapter 1.

Rodney Haddow, "Labour Market Income Transfers and Redistribution in Canada," in Banting and Myles, eds., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 16.

Robin Boadway and Katherine Cuff, "The Recent Evolution of Redistribution in Canada," in Banting and Myles, eds., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 14.

**[12] November 29: Health Insurance, Public Pensions and Children: 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., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 12.

John Myles, "Path Dependency and Income Security for Seniors in Canada", in Banting and Myles, eds., *Inequality and the Fading of Redistribution*, chapter 13.

Peter Burton and Shelley Phipps, "Economic Well-Being of Canadian Children", *Canadian Public Policy* 43: 4 (2017), 299-330.