Three Types of Welfare Regimes

Which is Fairest?

Esping-Andersen: Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism Divides western countries into 3 groups: Liberal, Social Democratic, conservative-"corporatist" Measures them in terms of degree of "decommodification"

Why Typologies?

- Ideal-types to help us understand the different dynamics of different types of welfare regimes
- Previous studies (before 1980s) only concentrated on similarities, world trends and missed important differences in national dynamics
- Different types of regimes have different types of logics and incentive structures

Outline

Define "decommodification"
Explain the 3 types of welfare regimes (social democratic, liberal, conservative)
Why different countries have different regime types
Main criticisms

Decommodification

- Comes from the verb "to commodify" or the noun "commodity"
- When workers are commodified, they must sell their labor-power on the market to survive
- They become a commodity
- Decommodification implies that they do not have to sell their labor to survive
- is the emancipation from market dependency

THE Goal (According to E-A)

- Social Democratic parties strive to make workers independent of the labor market, so they are not forced to work to survive = high level of decom.
- Liberals want to make workers as dependent as possible on the labor market, so that they have incentives to work more to gain higher incomes
 low level of decom

Conservatives want a corporate system that preserves traditional hierarchies = *middle level of decommodification*

Social Democratic policy

- High levels of decommodification requires universalist policies
- Universalism: addresses the *entire* population
- social rights granted on the basis of citizenship rather than performance
- Example: I have the right to good health care not because I can afford to pay, but because I am a *citizen*

Social Democratic Political Strategy

- Marx was wrong: the working class is declining in numbers
- Thus, social democrats need support from the *middle class* in order to win elections
- The middle class is not willing to pay taxes to finance programs that are "meanstested"
- Means-tested=benefits based on need (must be "poor") rather than citizenship

Universalism Builds Political Support

- If programs are means-tested, beneficiaries becomes "stigmatized"
- Middle-class voters think the poor are lazy and do not deserve benefits
- Thus, levels are very low and the middle class votes for rightist parties
- When the middle class believes it benefits from social policies, it supports them
- Thus, to help the poor, one must also help the middle-class!

Decommodification and Working Class Strength

If workers are poor and many are unemployed, then their bargaining position is weak

If they are highly decommodified and do not have to work, their bargaining position becomes stronger

So they can demand higher wages and better conditions

Liberalism

- Belief that the market rewards those who work hardest
- The market brings the greatest amount of personal freedom and prosperity to society
- One should only help the very most needy, who cannot survive without such help
- Social policies should compel people to sell their labor power on the market
- Benefits are very low and means tested
- Low both to force people to enter the market and because beneficiaries are stigmatized

Conservative-Corporatist

- Esping-Andersen uses the term
 "corporatist" but every one else prefers
 "conservative"
- Conservative corresponds to our main political ideologies, as do social democratic and liberal
- He uses corporatism differently than the mainstream literature on corporatism

Characteristics of Conservative Policies

- Subsidiarity principle: decisions at the lowest possible level
- Tries to preserve old hierarchies
- Support to the traditional family, "Beamter"
- Relatively high levels of support, but often paternalistic
- Not universalist: different groups receive different levels of benefits (Beamters receive higher pensions, married families more money than couples living together or divorced, etc.)

Summary

Social Democratic: high levels of decommodification, universalist policies Liberals: low levels of decommodification, means-tested policies Conservatives: medium levels of decommodification, want to preserve traditional hierarchies Which countries belong to each group?

The Question of Efficiency

- Which type increases labor market participation the most?
- Which type makes it easier to switch jobs?
- Which type is the most efficient in eliminating poverty?
- Which do better in integrating immigrants and minorities?
- Affirmative action (EA), country of immigrants (me)

Reason for Development of Different Regime Types

- If the historical legacy is conservative catholic or etatist, then they develop conservative-corporatist regimes
- If the historical legacy is liberal and labor succeeds in mobilizing they develop social democratic welfare states
- If the historical legacy is liberal but labor fails to mobilize then it remains liberal

Criticisms of Esping-Andersen

The Latin Bin

- "Radically liberal" (UK, Australia) and "truly liberal" (USA)
- Is the goal of social democratic parties really decommodification?
- Are social democratic policies really "universalist"?

What are socialist goals?

- EA neglects Power relationships, workplace democracy and ownership issues
- Focused on social benefits and neglects social services
- Policies are not purely universal, because most are insurance based, meaning one receives higher benefits if one has a higher income
- Thus one is somewhat commodified
 But the rules for receiving benefits are universal in contrast to conservative regimes

Feminist Criticisms

- The goal for western feminists has been to commodify women
- Women have struggled for the right to join the labor market and have equal chances as men
- EA neglects the unpaid labor done at the home
- Without domestic labor, we cannot have a labor market (somebody must have children, raise them, make meals, clean the house, etc.)