



# Post-Industrial Democracies

Tutor: Anette Stimmer

Tutorials: Weekly; Week 1 – Week 8

Date & Time: TBD, suggestion: Mondays 11:00 – 12:00

Room: Nuffield College, Staircase B, Room 11 (top floor)

## Introduction:

Put simply, post-industrial democracies are those countries with an economy that is predominantly based on services rather than agriculture or manufacturing and with a democratic political system. Post-industrialisation is a fairly recent phenomenon that can mainly be witnessed in developed countries. Post-industrialisation only started in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but it has presented new challenges to democratic societies, which we will discuss in this course. As most post-industrial democracies are situated in Europe, there will be a special focus on European countries. We will compare and discuss institutional features and trends in post-industrial democracies such as electoral reforms and pressures on the welfare state.

## Readings:

Please make sure to at least complete all of the starred readings before each tutorial. All of the readings are available at Oxford University; most of them can be consulted online via SOLO (apart from the readings in Week 6, I will send you those via email). This reading list is a general plan for the course; it may be necessary to add or change some readings, which I will announce at the latest in the preceding tutorial.

## Course Evaluation:

- Essays (75%)
- Participation (25%)

**Essays (75%):** You are expected to write **five essays** (2,000 words). The first essay is due in **2<sup>nd</sup> week**. Please submit your essays by 5pm before the day of the tutorial. The questions for these are given in this reading list at the end of each section. In total, the essays will count for (75%) of your grade.

**Participation (25%):** The tutorials mainly consist of discussions of each week's topic. Hence, your participation is key. Please make sure to at least complete all of the starred readings before the tutorials, so that we can have interesting discussions.

## Grading:

I will return your essays with a mark at the tutorial for which it is due and provide you with feedback in class. Grades range from A to F.

## Course Outline

### Week 1: Post-industrial democracies

In this first session, we will clarify conceptual issues. What are post-industrial societies? What characterizes democratic regimes and what different forms do they take? We will in particular discuss the influential typology of democratic regimes developed by Arend Lijphart. Even though Lijphart's typology has received much criticism over the years, it is still widely used. We will discuss whether Lijphart's models are still useful in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### Readings:

\* Bell, D. (1976). 'The Coming of the Post-Industrial Society.' *The Educational Forum*, 40 (4), p. 574-579.

\* Lijphart, A. (2012). *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press), chapters 1-3.

\* Bormann, N.-C. (2010). 'Patterns of Democracy and Its Critics.' *Living Reviews in Democracy*, Vol. 2, p. 1-14. Available at:

<http://lrd.ethz.ch/index.php/lrd/article/viewArticle/lrd-2010-3/2>

- Provides an excellent summary of Lijphart's work and criticism of it.

Crouch, C., 'Social Change,' in Hay, C. and Menon, A. eds. (2007), *European Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 218-237.

Taagepera, R. (2003). 'Arend Lijphart's Dimensions of Democracy: Logical Connections and Institutional Design.' *Political Studies*, Vol. 51, p. 1-19.

- Taagepera is one of the most influential critics of Lijphart's work.

Lijphart, A. (2003). 'DEBATE: Measurement Validity and Institutional Engineering – Reflections on Rein Taagepera's Meta-Study.' *Political Studies*, Vol. 51, p. 20-25.

### Week 2: Electoral Systems and Electoral Reform

Electoral systems play an important role in the distribution of power in a democratic system. Hence, the process through which electoral systems are chosen or changed is highly political and has considerable effects on the relative power of political actors. Political Scientists mainly distinguish between proportional and majoritarian electoral systems, but mixed forms are becoming more common. Some scholars find puzzling that electoral reforms have been rare in post-industrial democracies; others find surprising that they have occurred at all. We will discuss the respective arguments these scholars bring forward and why they reach such different conclusions.

#### Readings:

\* Katz, R.S. (2005). 'Why Are There So Many (Or So Few) Electoral Reforms' in Gallagher, M. and Mitchell, P. eds. *The Politics of Electoral Systems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 57-76.

\* Bowler, S. (2008). 'Electoral Systems', in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Chapter 29.

\* Bol, D., Pilet, J-B. and Riera, P. (2013) 'The international diffusion of electoral systems: The spread of mechanisms tempering proportional representation across Europe.' *European Journal of Political Research*, 54(2), p. 384-410.

Boix, C. (1999). 'Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies', *American Political Science Review*, 93 (3), p. 609-624.

Renwick, A. (2010). *The Politics of Electoral Reform: Changing the Rules of Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

**Essay question:** "Electoral reforms are a surprisingly rare occurrence in established democracies." Discuss.

Explain why you agree or disagree that electoral reforms are surprisingly rare in established democracies. You may also discuss what explanations for electoral reforms you find particularly convincing.

### **Week 3: Political Parties**

In this session, we will look at the role of political parties. Since the mid-60s, scholars have asserted that due to changes in the social, economic and political structures of established Western democracies, mass bureaucratic party organizations and their influence are declining. Some scholars still see parties as fulfilling important functions in post-industrial democracies; others argue that their effect on democracy is detrimental. Do political parties still matter? Do they still fulfil important functions such as to represent specific social groups?

#### **Readings:**

\* Allern, E.H. and Pedersen, K. (2007). 'The Impact of Party Organisational Changes on Democracy,' *West European Politics*, 30 (1), p. 68-92.

\* Clark, Roberts W., Golder, M. and Golder, S. (2013). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. (Washington DC: CQ Press), Chapter 13.

- Excellent introduction to the literature on parties and party systems.

\* Dalton, R.J. and Weldon, S. A. (2005). 'Public images of political parties: A necessary evil?' *West European Politics*, 28 (5), p. 931-951.

\* Lipset, S.M. and Rokkan, S. (1967). *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* (New York: Free Press). Introduction.

- Develops the argument of frozen cleavages. Part of this chapter is excerpted in Mair, P. ed. (1990). *The West European Party System* (Oxford: OUP).

\* Katz, R. and Mair, P. (1995). 'Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy. The Emergence of the Cartel Party.' *Party Politics*, 1 (1), p. 5-28.

Kirchheimer, O. (1996). 'The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems,' in La Palombara, J. and Weiner, M. *Political Parties and Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 177-200.

- Sets out the model of the 'catch-all party' and discusses the nature of such a party's links with voters. Part of this chapter is excerpted in Mair, P. ed. (1990). *The West European Party System* (Oxford: OUP).

Rueda, D. (2005). 'Insider-Outsider Politics in Industrial Democracies: The Challenge to Social Democratic Parties,' *American Political Science Review*, 99, p. 61-74.

Farrell, D. (2006). 'Political Parties in a Changing Campaign Environment.' In Katz, R.S. and Crotty, W. eds. *Handbook of Party Politics* (London: SAGE), p. 122-133.

Wolinetz, S.B. (2002). "Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies,' in Gunther, R. Montero, J.R. and Linz, J. *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 58- 83.

Panbianco, A. (1988). *Political Parties: Organization and Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Final Chapter.

**Essay question:** "Party organizations of a traditional kind are no longer needed – either for running election campaigns or for any other purpose." Do you agree?

#### **Week 4: Federalism and the European Union**

Federalism is an important institutional feature of many European countries and the United States, which is increasingly adopted around the world.

Decentralisation of power has been a recent global trend that not only, but also, affects post-industrial democracies. How does federalism come about and evolve? An important recent federal organisation that post-industrial democracies established is the European Union. European Union federalism and its dynamics will be at the centre of our discussion.

#### **Readings:**

\* Kelemen, R.D. (2003) 'The Structure and Dynamics of EU Federalism', *Comparative Political Studies*, 36(1/2), 184-208.

- Very useful discussion of the different accounts of evolution offered by the rational choice and constructivist (aka normative institutionalist) perspectives.

\* Moravcsik, A. (1993). 'Preferences and power in the European Community: a liberal intergovernmentalist approach', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31, p. 473-524.

\* Haas, E. (1961). 'International integration: the European and the universal process', *International Organization*, 15, p. 366-92.

\* Schimmelfennig, F. (2001). 'The Community trap: Liberal norms, rhetorical action, and the eastern enlargement of the European Union.' *International Organization*, 55, 47-80.

\* Burley, A.-M. & Mattli, W. (1993). 'Europe before the court: A political theory of legal integration.' *International Organization*, 47, p.41-76.

March, James G., & Olsen, Johan P. (1998). The institutional dynamics of international political orders. *International Organization*, 52(4), 943-969.

- Classic text on the difference between the logic of appropriateness (constructivism) and the logic of consequences (rationalism).

Risse, Thomas. (2000). 'Let's argue!': Communicative action and world politics.' *International Organization*, 54(1), 1-39.

- Also a classic text on different logics of action.

Checkel, Jeffrey T., & Moravcsik, Andrew. (2001). A constructivist research programme in EU studies? (Forum Section) *European Union Politics*, 2(2), 219-249.

Risse, Thomas (2005). 'Neofunctionalism, European identity, and the puzzles of European integration,' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12 (2), p. 291-309.

Checkel, J. (2005), 'International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework, *International Organization*, 59 (4), p. 801-826.

**Essay question:** What explains the evolution of European Union federalism?

### **Week 5: Social Change and Welfare State Reform – 'old politics' and 'new politics'**

While the welfare state is facing pressures for reform, welfare state retrenchment is generally seen as a policy that is unpopular and difficult to pursue. This raises several questions: what makes the welfare state relatively resilient? Can the 'old politics', i.e. reasons for welfare state expansion, explain it? Or are 'new politics' a better explanation, as Paul Pierson argues? Despite the resilience of the welfare states, cutbacks have occurred in recent decades. Why and under what conditions do they take place?

**Readings:**

\* Pierson, P. (1996). 'The New Politics of the Welfare State.' *World Politics*, 48 (2), pp. 143-179.

\* Korpi, W. and Palme, J. (2003). 'New Politics and Class Politics in the Context of Austerity and Globalization. Welfare State Regress in 18 Countries 1975-1995,' *American Science Review*, 97 (3), p. 425-446.

\* Vis, B. and Van Kersbergen (2007), K. 'Why and how do political actors pursue risky reforms?', *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 19 (2), p. 153-172.

\* Ross, F. (2000). 'Beyond left and right: new partisan politics of welfare,' *Governance*, 13 (2), p. 155-183.

Allan, J. and Scruggs, L. (2004). 'Political partisanship and welfare state reform in advanced industrial societies, *American Journal of Political Science*, 48 (3), p. 496-512.

- See for a similar argument as Korpi and Palme.

Béland, D. (2005). 'Ideas and social policy: an institutionalist perspective,' *Social Policy & Administration*, 39 (1), p. 1-18.

- Interesting article on the role of ideas and framing

Giger, N. and Nelson, M. 'The electoral consequences of welfare state retrenchment: Blame avoidance or credit claiming in an era of permanent austerity.' *European Journal of Political Research*, 50 (1), pp. 1-23.

Starke, Peter (2006). 'The Politics of Welfare State Retrenchment: A Literature Review.' *Social Policy & Administration*, 40 (1), pp. 104-130.

- Excellent summary of the literature on welfare state retrenchment

Levy, J.D. (1999), 'Vice into virtue? Progressive politics and welfare reform in Continental Europe,' *Politics and Society*, 27 (2), p. 239-273.

Vis, Barbara (2010). *Politics of risk-taking: welfare state reform in advanced democracies* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press).

- Good overview of the literature on welfare state reform in Chapter 5; more in-depth development of her argument based on prospect theory (see Vis and Van Kersbergen 2007)

**Essay Question:** Under what conditions do politicians reform the welfare state? Are arguments that explain the establishment of the welfare state suitable to explain today's welfare state policies?

## **Week 6: Politics of adaption: new social risks**

Some scholars in the recent literature have argued that there are new social risks in post-industrial democracies, which resist the pressure towards welfare state cut-backs. On the contrary, they rather create pressures for more and new social

protection. In this session we are going to look at the following questions: What are new social risks, and who is affected by them? How do they differ from old risks? Is it likely that welfare states will find a way to deal with these new social risks?

### **Readings:**

- \* Bonoli, Giuliano (2006). "New social risks and the politics of post-industrial social policies", in Klaus Armingeon and Giuliano Bonoli (eds.). *The Politics of Post-Industrial Welfare States*. London and New York: Routledge.
- \* Huber, Evelyne and John D. Stephens (2006). "Combating old and new social risks", in Klaus Armingeon and Giuliano Bonoli (eds.). *The Politics of Post-Industrial Welfare States*. London and New York: Routledge.
- \* Taylor-Gooby, P. (2004). *New risks and social change*. New risks, new welfare, 66.
- \* Levy, Jonah (1999). "Vice into Virtue? Progressive Politics and Welfare State Reform in Continental Europe", *Politics and Society* 27(2): 239-273.
- \* Armingeon, Klaus (2006). "Reconciling competing claims of the welfare state clientele. The politics of old and new social risk coverage in comparative perspective." In Klaus Armingeon and Giuliano Bonoli (eds.). *The Politics of Post-Industrial Welfare States*. London and New York: Routledge.
- \* Esping-Andersen, G.. (1990). *The Three Political Economies of the Welfare State*. *International Journal of Sociology*, 20(3), 92–123.
  - Esping-Andersen's welfare state typology, i.e. his three different models, is important background knowledge. This article succinctly summarizes them. See in particular pp. 111-118.

**Essay question:** What makes adaptation of the welfare state to new social risks more or less likely?

### **Week 7: Globalization and post-industrialisation: What challenges, if any, do they pose to the welfare state?**

While politics were concerned with constructing and extending the welfare state after WWII, the signs turned to financial consolidation and austerity from the 1980s onwards. The transition to a service economy and globalization, some say, has posed pressures on the welfare state. We will look at questions such as: How do these economic changes affect policy, or would they at all? How has the transition into a service economy affected workers and how has or should government respond? To what extent are these challenges different according to different welfare regimes?

### **Readings:**

\*Iversen, Torben and Anne Wren (1998). "Equality, Employment, and Budgetary Restraint: The Trilemma of the Service Economy", *World Politics*, 50(July): 507-546.

\*Walter, Stefanie (2010). "Globalization and the Welfare State. Testing the Microfoundations of the Compensation Hypothesis", *International Studies Quarterly*.

\*Pierson, Paul (2001). "Post-Industrial Pressures on the Mature Welfare States", in Paul Pierson (ed.). *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

\*Schwarz, Herman 2001. "Round Up the Usual Suspects! Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Welfare State Change", pp. 17-44 in *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, edited by Paul Pierson, Oxford University Press.

### **Week 8: Post-industrial democracies – the re-emergence of right-wing extremism (and review of the course)**

Extreme right-wing parties such as the Front National, UKIP and the AfD have had electoral successes in several post-industrial democracies in the past two decades. Scholars have found different answers to the puzzle of how extreme right parties could re-emerge as a political force after WWII had delegitimised them. Some argue that this is not only a trend that affects many post-industrial countries but that post-industrialisation itself is an important cause of the success of these parties. This gives rise to several questions: Why does post-industrialisation contribute to the success of the extreme right? Is post-industrialisation the (only) cause or rather other factors?

#### **Readings**

\*Rydgren, Jens (2007). "The Sociology of the Radical Right." *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 241-262.

\*Swank, Duane and Betz, Hans-Georg (2003). "Globalization, the welfare state and right-wing populism in Western Europe." *Socio-Economic Review*, Vol. 1, pp. 215-245.

\*Carter, E.L. (2002). "Proportional Representation and the Fortunes of Right-Wing Extremist Parties," *West European Politics*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 125-146.

\*Betz, Hans-Georg (1994). *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*. London: MacMillan. Chapter 1.