

The Future of the Welfare State and Political Theory

THOMAS J. MAIN

Is the welfare state "the completion of the centuries-long movement toward full and equal citizenship,"¹ as much scholarship has long held, or merely "a particular and debatable version of twentieth-century liberalism,"² as a significant minority of analysts have sedulously maintained? In the past, such skepticism was likely to emanate from the left, with Socialists of various stripes regarding the welfare state as a temporary compromise. Leftist dissatisfaction with the welfare state can be traced back to Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*, although as recently as 1982 even the democratic Socialist Irving Howe could write, "the welfare state must still be regarded as inadequate, precarious and improvisatory."³ More recently, pronouncements of *sic transit gloria mundi* have come from the Right, which sometimes saw an international regime of laissez-faire replacing the welfare state.⁴ The persistence of skepticism about the welfare state, and the fact that very different schools of thought converge in that skepticism, suggest that the case for the permanency of the welfare state be reexamined. Does that case hold, and why is it open to attack from both Left and Right?

These questions remain important today, even though one might argue that the left-wing critique of the welfare state has abated considerably since the late 1970s and that the right-wing attack of the 1980s has been temporarily stalled by the success of "Third Way" politicians in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany. In the United States, at least, conservative critics of the welfare state continue to be active in think tanks and academic institutions

and now receive a sympathetic hearing from the current administration. And somewhere on the Left, postmodernists are beginning to develop their own critique of the welfare state.⁵ Thus, although as a political institution the welfare state continues to endure, its legitimacy and desirability continue to be debated and thus deserve reconsideration.

Here, the question of the permanency of the welfare state will be addressed, not from a historical or economic perspective, but from a theoretical perspective.⁶ And the theoretical perspective we will be concerned with is specifically that of deontological liberalism.⁷ What problems within this perspective did the introduction of the welfare state solve, and what theoretical challenges did it pose? To answer these questions, we will concern ourselves here with the with the *fores et origo* of deontological liberalism, Kant, and with such post-Kantians as Hegel, Marx, Lukacs, Hayek, and Mises. For, as we shall see, these thinkers represent the full range of alternatives, relative to the welfare state, available to political theory rooted in the deontological liberal tradition.

We argue that the welfare state is a response to a dilemma in this tradition of political theory—the dilemma between freedom and determination—that has not otherwise been addressed satisfactorily. Calls for the surpassing or elimination of the welfare state stem from longings for either total revolution or total stasis. Such longings either promise humankind a radical freedom such as never before seen, or justify whatever happens with a sterile stoicism. The welfare state stands as the most satisfactory response to a central dilemma of Western political theory. It is best understood as the completion of a centuries-long march to full citizenship.

Before development of this argument, however, it is necessary to define "welfare state." By the welfare state, we mean those political institutions that make policies designed to manage macrosocial forces that are beyond the control of any private institution, for the purpose of advancing the public interest. A few words must be said

Thomas J. Main is assistant professor at the School of Public Affairs, Baruch College, City University of New York. His research interests include political theory, urban politics, and social policy. He has published in the *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *Public Affairs Quarterly*, and *Commentary*. Copyright © 2006 Heldref Publications.

Political Theory In The Welfare State

Yan Bai



Political Theory In The Welfare State:

Reasons for Welfare Robert E. Goodin, 1988-08-21 Robert Goodin passionately and cogently defends the welfare state from current attacks by the New Right But he contends that the welfare state finds false friends in those on the Old Left who would justify it as a hesitant first step toward some larger ideally just form of society Reasons for Welfare in contrast offers a defense of the minimal welfare state substantially independent of any such broader commitments and at the same time better able to withstand challenges from the New Right's moralistic political economy This defense of the existence of the welfare state is discussed flanked by criticism of Old Left and New Right arguments that is both acute and devastating In the author's view the welfare state is best justified as a device for protecting needy and hence vulnerable members of society against the risk of exploitation by those possessing discretionary control over resources that they require Its task is to protect the interests of those not in a position to protect themselves Communitarian or egalitarian ideals may lead us to move beyond the welfare state as thus conceived and justified Moving beyond it however does not invalidate the arguments for constantly maintaining at least the minimal protections necessary for vulnerable members of society

Political Theory in the Welfare State Niklas Luhmann, 1990 *Handbook of Political Theory* Gerald F Gaus, Chandran Kukathas, 2004-08-21 The Handbook of Political Theory is a latest addition to the SAGE Handbook collection As with all of our handbooks this is a

definitive and benchmark publication that covers all aspects of a given subject This handbook is an essential purchase for everyone interested in Political Theory **The Possibility of Politics** Stein Ringen, *The Possibility of Politics* explores the power of political reform specifically reform of the modern welfare state Can reform be effective if limited to cautious and piecemeal interventions that avoid radicalism and revolution Can it also avoid unwanted consequences Will the welfare state survive in the future Stein Ringen views the welfare state as a large scale experiment in political reform To ask if the welfare state works is to ask if political reform is possible at all By its nature the welfare state is reform on a grand scale for it attempts to change the circumstances individuals and families live under without changing and disrupting society itself But is it realistic to believe a population can get together set goals and then try to meet these goals through collective actions specifically public policies without causing unintended consequences and destroying the state in the process The welfare state attempts idealistically to redistribute welfare without reshaping the economic processes that cause inequities in the first place Ringen considers how well redistribution has met the test in terms of political legitimacy its intended effects on poverty and inequality as well as its undesired and unintended effects on economic efficiency and the quality of private life Ultimately does the welfare state work Further is the welfare state a good thing In considering these questions *The Possibility of Politics* should be of particular value to academics and advanced students interested in political theory public economics social administration and political sociology Stein Ringen is professor of sociology and social policy at Oxford University and a Fellow of Green College He teaches social and political theory and research methodology for graduates in

social policy sociology politics economic and social history and other subjects **Politics, Regulation and the Modern Welfare State** J. Torfing, 1998-02-28 This book presents an alternative theoretical approach to the study of the transformation of the modern welfare state It draws upon the undogmatic Marxism of Gramsci in order to deconstruct the Marxist tradition and develop a general theory of capitalist regulation which emphasizes the primacy of the political In so doing it seeks to integrate French regulation theory and British state theory within the broader framework of discourse analysis This theoretical framework is applied in an empirical analysis of the Danish variant of the Scandinavian welfare state model The book is written for advanced undergraduates postgraduates and professionals within the field of political theory institutional economics and sociology *Welfare Reform and Political Theory* Lawrence M. Mead, Christopher Beem, 2006-01-05 During the 1990s both the United States and Britain shifted from entitlement to work based systems for supporting their poor citizens Much research has examined the implications of welfare reform for the economic well being of the poor but the new legislation also affects our view of democracy and how it ought to function By eliminating entitlement and setting behavioral conditions on aid welfare reform challenges our understanding of citizenship political equality and the role of the state In *Welfare Reform and Political Theory* editors Lawrence Mead and Christopher Beem have assembled an accomplished list of political theorists social policy experts and legal scholars to address how welfare reform has affected core concepts of political theory and our understanding of democracy itself *Welfare Reform and Political Theory* is unified by a common set of questions The contributors come from across the political spectrum each bringing different perspectives to bear Carole Pateman argues that welfare reform has compromised the very tenets of democracy by tying the idea of citizenship to participation in the marketplace But William Galston writes that American citizenship has in some respects always been conditioned on good behavior work requirements continue that tradition by promoting individual responsibility and self reliance values essential to a well functioning democracy Desmond King suggests that work requirements draw invidious distinctions among citizens and therefore destroy political equality Amy Wax on the other hand contends that ending entitlement does not harm notions of equality but promotes them by ensuring that no one is rewarded for idleness Christopher Beem argues that entitlement welfare served a social function acknowledging the social value of care that has been lost in the movement towards conditional benefits Stuart White writes that work requirements can be accepted only subject to certain conditions while Lawrence Mead argues that concerns about justice must be addressed only after recipients are working Alan Deacon is well to the left of Joel Schartz but both say government may actively promote virtue through social policy a stance some other contributors reject The move to work centered welfare in the 1990s represented not just a change in government policy but a philosophical change in the way people perceived government its functions and its relationship with citizens *Welfare Reform and Political Theory* offers a long overdue theoretical reexamination of democracy and citizenship in a workfare society *The Work of Politics* Steven Klein, 2020-09-24 This theoretically

innovative book shows how democratic social movements can use the welfare state to challenge domination in society

The Possibility of Politics Professor of Sociology and Social Policy Oxford University and Fellow Stein Ringen, Stein Ringen, 2017-09-20 *The Possibility of Politics* explores the power of political reform specifically reform of the modern welfare state Can reform be effective if limited to cautious and piecemeal interventions that avoid radicalism and revolution Can it also avoid unwanted consequences Will the welfare state survive in the future Stein Ringen views the welfare state as a large scale experiment in political reform To ask if the welfare state works is to ask if political reform is possible at all By its nature the welfare state is reform on a grand scale for it attempts to change the circumstances individuals and families live under without changing and disrupting society itself But is it realistic to believe a population can get together set goals and then try to meet these goals through collective actions specifically public policies without causing unintended consequences and destroying the state in the process The welfare state attempts idealistically to redistribute welfare without reshaping the economic processes that cause inequities in the first place Ringen considers how well redistribution has met the test in terms of political legitimacy its intended effects on poverty and inequality as well as its undesired and unintended effects on economic efficiency and the quality of private life Ultimately does the welfare state work Further is the welfare state a good thing In considering these questions *The Possibility of Politics* should be of particular value to academics and advanced students interested in political theory public economics social administration and political sociology Stein Ringen is professor of sociology and social policy at Oxford University and a Fellow of Green College He teaches social and political theory and research methodology for graduates in social policy sociology politics economic and social history and other subjects

Political Failure by Agreement Gerhard Wegner, 2008-01-01 Gerhard Wegner provides new insight into the relation between democracies and market economies He recognizes conflict between the two but he doesn't propose constitutional controls over political action Such proposals are grounded in the comparative static manipulation of equilibrium models In contrast Wegner advances an evolutionary theory of political economy and uses this theory to explain how processes of societal learning might be set in motion that could expand support for market arrangements through time This thoughtful and challenging book will repay examination by all students of political economy Richard E Wagner George Mason University US In drawing particular attention to the implications of evolutionary market theory for public policy Gerhard Wegner adds a novel and instructive line of argument to the long standing debate on the inherent tension between democratic politics and economic liberalism His concept of learning liberalism addresses an important dimension of political failure that has been neglected in this debate Viktor J Vanberg Universitaet Freiburg Germany The purpose of this book is to reconsider economic liberalism from the viewpoint of political liberalism The author argues that advocates of economic liberalism largely overlook empirical political preferences which in many societies go far beyond a limited role of the state Recent difficulties of reforming the welfare state provide evidence that political preferences are at odds with liberal economic policy in numerous

cases This fact challenges a political conception which demands a limited state role but also claims that citizens preferences as they are should determine the content of policies Using an evolutionary perspective on economic liberalism the book develops new arguments about how economic liberalism can be brought into line with political liberalism Drawing on an evolutionary theory of markets Gerhard Wegner reinforces the claim that liberal economic policies are conducive to prosperity in society but he argues that the liberal promise of prosperity does not translate into corresponding political preferences on the part of citizens A tension between political and economic liberalism arises which lies at the centre of this book Political Failure by Agreement will strongly appeal to postgraduate students and researchers of global governance political theory political economy and institutional economics The Possibility of Politics Stein Ringen, 2017 The Possibility of Politics explores the power of political reform specifically reform of the modern welfare state Can reform be effective if limited to cautious and piecemeal interventions that avoid radicalism and revolution Can it also avoid unwanted consequences Will the welfare state survive in the future Stein Ringen views the welfare state as a large scale experiment in political reform To ask if the welfare state works is to ask if political reform is possible at all By its nature the welfare state is reform on a grand scale for it attempts to change the circumstances individuals and families live under without changing and disrupting society itself But is it realistic to believe a population can get together set goals and then try to meet these goals through collective actions specifically public policies without causing unintended consequences and destroying the state in the process The welfare state attempts idealistically to redistribute welfare without reshaping the economic processes that cause inequities in the first place Ringen considers how well redistribution has met the test in terms of political legitimacy its intended effects on poverty and inequality as well as its undesired and unintended effects on economic efficiency and the quality of private life Ultimately does the welfare state work Further is the welfare state a good thing In considering these questions The Possibility of Politics should be of particular value to academics and advanced students interested in political theory public economics social administration and political sociology Stein Ringen is professor of sociology and social policy at Oxford University and a Fellow of Green College He teaches social and political theory and research methodology for graduates in social policy sociology politics economic and social history and other subjects Provided by publisher

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The Welfare State Paul Spicker, 2000-11-13 A major original work of social theory this book presents a distinctive and tightly argued theoretical model for understanding the basis of welfare in society The author develops a theory of welfare based on a series of basic propositions that people live in society and have obligations to each other that welfare is obtained and maintained through social action and that the welfare state is a means of promoting and maintaining welfare in society Each of these propositions is examined and developed to suggest a clear way of understanding the foundations of social welfare The book makes a lively and informative contribution to debates in social policy as well as moral philosophy political theory

Politics and Social Theory Peter Lassman, 2013-09-05 First published in 1989 this Routledge Revival is a major collection of essays on the competing traditions of social and political theory The contributions by international scholars reflect the re-examination of the boundaries between the political and the social the public and private and state and society The reissue will be of great value to students in both sociology and political science Bringing new arguments to bear on the debate about the place of political theory in social science the contributors discuss such issues as the different languages used by sociologists to describe the state Marxist and socialist theory class analysis the welfare state feminist political theory and the impact of post modernity on contemporary social thought

Indian Political Thought Urmila Sharma, S.K. Sharma, 2001 The Book Covers University Syllabi In Political Science In The Papers Of Hindu Polity Indian Political Thought And Modern Indian Political Thought Etc Divided Into Three Parts The Ancient The Modern And The Contemporary This Book Analyses Indian Political Thought From Manu To M N Roy In Order To Keep It Brief And Precise Only Selected Thinkers Have Been Included While Those Of Only Historical Importance Have Been Left Out The Method Followed Is Construction Through Criticism So That Besides Knowing The Thought Of Eminent Indian Political Thinkers The Reader May Develop An Insight Into Political Processes Their Causes And Consequences While Matter Has Been Drawn From Authentic Sources It Has Been Narrated In Simple Language A Balanced Holistic Approach Has Been Maintained In Controversial Matters The Authors Have Left No Stone Unturned To Make This Book An Ideal Textbook For Students And Reference Book For Teachers

Theories and Concepts of Politics Richard Paul Bellamy, 1993 An introduction to social and political theory discussing such topics as freedom citizenship and rights social justice and equality and constitutionalism and democracy The authors show how people view these concepts in different ways They also offer solutions for resolving disputes

The Politics of the Welfare State in Turkey Erdem Yoruk, 2022-05-23 In The Politics of the Welfare State in Turkey author Erdem Y r k provides a politics based explanation for the post 1980 transformation of the Turkish welfare system in which poor relief policies have replaced employment based social security This book is one of the results of Y r k s European Research Council funded project which compares the political dynamics in several emerging markets in order to develop a new political theory of welfare in the global south As such this book is an ambitious analytical

and empirical contribution to understanding the causes of a sweeping shift in the nature of state welfare provision in Turkey during the recent decades part of a global trend that extends far beyond Turkey Most scholarship about Turkey and similar countries has explained this shift toward poor relief as a response to demographic and structural changes including aging populations the decline in the economic weight of industry and the informalization of labor while ignoring the effect of grassroots politics In order to overcome these theoretical shortages in the literature the book revisits concepts of political containment and political mobilization from the earlier literature on the mid twentieth century welfare state development and incorporates the effects of grassroots politics in order to understand the recent welfare system shift as it materialized in Turkey where a new matrix of political dynamics has produced new large scale social assistance programs To Promote the General Welfare Richard E Wagner,2019-03-18 Volumes have been written about the welfare state covering everything from taxation and regulation to bureaucracy and Social Security But what are the institutions that make such a state possible and what alternatives exist to create a better outcome First published in 1989 and now reprinted with a new preface from the author To Promote the General Welfare explores this question and demonstrates that economic and political theory are inextricably linked In this book Wagner suggests that the current welfare state results from an institutional framework in which governments acting on behalf of dominant political coalitions attempt to redistribute wealth through piecemeal welfare legislation But this government intervention runs counter both to economic theory which states that such intervention is likely to be offset by market processes and to political theory which examines the incentives that shape collective choices Wagner proposes an alternative institutional framework that restrains government power and creates a contractarian state This book will be of interest to Austrian and public choice economists and more generally to all concerned with the expanding reach of the welfare state **Encyclopedia of Modern Political Thought (set)** Gregory Claeys,2013-08-20 This groundbreaking new work explores modern and contemporary political thought since 1750 looking at the thinkers concepts debates issues and national traditions that have shaped political thought from the Enlightenment to post modernism and post structuralism Encyclopedia of Modern Political Thought is two volume A to Z reference that provides historical context to the philosophical issues and debates that have shaped attitudes toward democracy citizenship rights property duties justice equality community law power gender race and legitimacy over the last three centuries It profiles major and minor political thinkers and the national traditions both Western and non Western which continue to shape and divide political thought More than 200 scholars from leading international research institutions and organizations have provided signed entries that offer comprehensive coverage of Thought of regions and countries including African political thought American political thought Australasian political thought Australian and New Zealand Chinese political thought Indian political thought Islamic political Thought Japanese political thought and more Thought regarding contemporary issues such as abortion affirmative action animal rights European integration feminism humanitarian intervention international law race and racism and more

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