

How Welfare States Shape the Democratic Public

Policy Feedback, Participation,
Voting, and Attitudes

Edited by

Staffan Kumlin • Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen



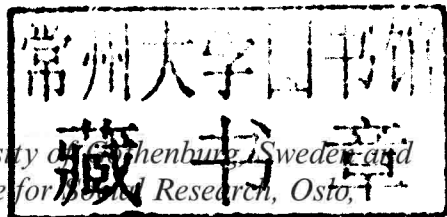
How Welfare States Shape the Democratic Public

Policy Feedback, Participation,
Voting, and Attitudes

Edited by

Staffan Kumlin

*Associate Professor, University of Göttingen, Sweden and
Research Professor, Institute for Social Research, Oslo,
Norway*



Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen

*Assistant Professor for Comparative Politics, University of
Berne, Switzerland*

GLOBALIZATION AND WELFARE

Edward Elgar

Cheltenham, UK • Northampton, MA, USA

© Staffan Kumlin and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen 2014

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical or photocopying, recording, or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

Published by
Edward Elgar Publishing Limited
The Lypiatts
15 Lansdown Road
Cheltenham
Glos GL50 2JA
UK

Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
William Pratt House
9 Dewey Court
Northampton
Massachusetts 01060
USA

A catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013949879

This book is available electronically in the ElgarOnline.com
Social and Political Science Subject Collection, E-ISBN 978 1 78254 549 1



ISBN 978 1 78254 548 4

Typeset by Servis Filmsetting Ltd, Stockport, Cheshire
Printed and bound in Great Britain by T.J. International Ltd, Padstow

How Welfare States Shape the Democratic Public

GLOBALIZATION AND WELFARE

Series Editors: Jane Lewis, *London School of Economics, UK*, Giuliano Bonoli, *Swiss Graduate School of Public Administration (IDHEAP), Switzerland* and Jochen Clasen, *University of Edinburgh, UK*.

This important series is designed to make a significant contribution to the principles and practice of comparative social policy. It includes both theoretical and empirical work. International in scope, it addresses issues of current and future concern in both East and West, and in developed and developing countries.

The main purpose of this series is to create a forum for the publication of high quality work to help understand the impact of globalization on the provision of social welfare. It offers state-of-the-art thinking and research on important areas such as privatization, employment, work, finance, gender and poverty. It includes some of the best theoretical and empirical work from both well established researchers and the new generation of scholars.

Titles in the series include:

Governing Home Care

A Cross-National Comparison

Viola Burau, Hildegard Theobald and Robert H. Blank

Party Politics and Social Welfare

Comparing Christian and Social Democracy in Austria, Germany and the Netherlands

Martin Seeleib-Kaiser, Silke van Dyk and Martin Roggenkamp

Families, Ageing and Social Policy

Intergenerational Solidarity in European Welfare States

Edited by Chiara Saraceno

The Labour Market Triangle

Employment Protection, Unemployment Compensation and Activation in Europe

Edited by Paul de Beer and Trudie Schils

Governance of Welfare State Reform

A Cross National and Cross Sectoral Comparison of Policy and Politics

Edited by Irene Dingeldey and Heinz Rothgang

Beyond Welfare State Models

Transnational Historical Perspectives on Social Policy

Edited by Pauli Kettunen and Klaus Petersen

Older Workers in an Ageing Society

Critical Topics in Research and Policy

Edited by Philip Taylor

How Welfare States Shape the Democratic Public

Policy Feedback, Participation, Voting, and Attitudes

Edited by Staffan Kumlin and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen

Contributors

Eva Anduiza is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain.

Christoph Arndt is postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Political Science and Government, Aarhus University, Denmark.

Marius R. Busemeyer is Professor of political science at the University of Konstanz, Germany.

Claire Dupuy is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institut de Sciences Politiques Louvain-Europe, Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium, and an associate research fellow at the Centre for European Studies, Sciences Po Paris, France.

Jane Gingrich is a University Lecturer at Magdalen College, University of Oxford, UK.

Achim Goerres is Professor of empirical political science at the University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany.

Troels Fage Hedegaard is a PhD Fellow at the Centre for Comparative Welfare Studies (CCWS) at Aalborg University, Denmark.

Virginie Van Ingelgom is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institut de Sciences Politiques Louvain-Europe, Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium, and an associate research fellow of the Centre for European Studies, Sciences Po Paris, France.

Staffan Kumlin is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, and Research Professor at the Institute for Social Research, Oslo, Norway.

Christian Albrekt Larsen is Professor of political science at the Centre for Comparative Welfare Studies (www.ccws.dk), Aalborg University, Denmark.

Anders Lindbom is Professor of political science at the Department of Government, Uppsala University and the Institute for Housing and Urban Research, Uppsala University, Sweden.

Paul Marx is Assistant Professor at the Centre for Welfare State Research, University of Southern Denmark and Research Fellow of the Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA), Germany.

Bart Meuleman is Assistant Professor at the Centre for Sociological Research of the University of Leuven, Belgium.

Jordi Muñoz is ‘Juan de la Cierva’ postdoctoral researcher at the Political Science Department, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain.

Elias Naumann is a PhD candidate at the Graduate School of Economic and Social Sciences in Mannheim and a doctoral researcher at the Research Centre “The Political Economy of Reforms”, University of Mannheim, Germany.

Wim van Oorschot is Professor of social policy at the Centre for Sociological Research of the University of Leuven, Belgium.

Georg Picot is Lecturer in comparative social policy at the University of Oxford, UK.

Guillem Rico is a postdoctoral researcher at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain.

Jennifer Shore is a PhD candidate at the Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany.

Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen is Assistant Professor of comparative politics at the Institute of Political Science, University of Berne, Switzerland.

Acknowledgements

This volume brings together a group of political scientists and sociologists from nine European countries and the US. Most contributors met in Antwerp, Belgium, in April 2012 during a five-day workshop organized by the editors under the auspices of the ECPR Joint Sessions. We would like to thank all participants for fun, stimulating, and animated discussions during the week. They convinced us this book was a good idea and enhanced the quality of the subsequent chapters, not least the introductory and concluding chapters. Most importantly, however, we would like to thank all chapter authors for time and energy spent, and for their willingness to engage with our comments. We really appreciated this process.

We have also profited from other sources of “feedback,” including anonymous reviewers, as well as various people and institutions supporting us. We would like to thank everyone contributing to the enriching and productive research environments offered by our home institutions: the Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg, Sweden; Institute for Social Research, Oslo, Norway; and the Institute of Political Science, University of Berne, Switzerland. Additionally, Staffan Kumlin would like to acknowledge financial support from Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, the Research Council of Norway, and Swedish Research Council for Health, Working Life, and Welfare. Finally, many thanks go to Jennifer Shore for linguistic assistance and to Edward Elgar for making this volume possible, in particular to Emily Neukomm for efficient support and communication.

Staffan Kumlin and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen
Oslo and Berne, June 2013

Contents

<i>List of contributors</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix

PART I INTRODUCTION

1 Citizens, policy feedback, and European welfare states <i>Staffan Kumlin and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen</i>	3
---	---

PART II PARTICIPATION AND INVOLVEMENT

2 Empowering cuts? Austerity policies and political involvement in Spain <i>Jordi Muñoz, Eva Anduiza and Guillem Rico</i>	19
3 How welfare states shape participatory patterns <i>Jennifer Shore</i>	41
4 Varieties of capitalism, education and inequalities in political participation <i>Marius R. Busemeyer and Achim Goerres</i>	63

PART III VOTING BEHAVIOUR AND ELECTIONS

5 Structuring the vote: welfare institutions and value-based vote choices <i>Jane Gingrich</i>	93
6 Labour market policies and party preferences of fixed-term workers <i>Paul Marx and Georg Picot</i>	113
7 The electoral consequences of reforming a Bismarckian welfare state <i>Christoph Arndt</i>	132

- 8 Waking up the giant? Hospital closures and electoral punishment in Sweden 156
Anders Lindbom

PART IV ATTITUDES AND EVALUATIONS

- 9 Policy feedback in political context: unemployment benefits, election campaigns, and democratic satisfaction 181
Staffan Kumlin
- 10 Social policy, legitimation and diverging regional paths in Belgium 198
Claire Dupuy and Virginie Van Ingelgom
- 11 Raising the retirement age: retrenchment, feedback and attitudes 223
Elias Naumann
- 12 Popular deservingness of the unemployed in the context of welfare state policies, economic conditions and cultural climate 244
Wim van Oorschot and Bart Meuleman
- 13 How proximate and visible policies shape self-interest, satisfaction, and spending support: the case of public service production 269
Troels Fage Hedegaard and Christian Albrekt Larsen
- 14 Informed performance evaluation of the welfare state? Experimental and real-world findings 289
Staffan Kumlin

PART V CONCLUSIONS

- 15 How welfare states shape the democratic public: borrowing strength across research communities 311
Staffan Kumlin and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen
- Index* 327

PART I

Introduction

1. Citizens, policy feedback, and European welfare states

Staffan Kumlin and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen

In democracies, citizens' attitudes and behaviour should influence future public policies. In practice, however, the reverse may also be true: attitudes and behaviour can be results of past policies. This book brings together a group of political scientists and sociologists developing and testing propositions about such *policy feedback* in European welfare states. The welfare state domain has long been of great significance in these countries; it has occupied roughly half of state expenditures, generated visible political conflict, and been clearly present in many people's lives. Equally important, of course, there are well-documented and long-standing country differences in spending patterns, benefit generosity, and redistributive impact, such as those captured by terms like welfare state "effort" (Wilensky 1975) or "regimes" (Esping-Andersen 1990). In fact, as we shall see, one of the earliest questions asked by comparative research on citizens and the welfare state had to do with possible feedback effects of such long-standing, slowly accumulating policy legacies (e.g. Coughlin 1980).

More recent impetus for studying feedback and citizens comes from the fact that welfare states are changing. The expansionist "golden age" of the first post-war decades is often said to have been succeeded by a more sinister "era of permanent austerity" (Pierson 2001), spurred by some combination of external and internal reform pressures (i.e. sluggish growth, structural unemployment, international competition, population ageing, immigration, and European integration). While apocalyptic "race to the bottom" scenarios have clearly not materialized, the "old" politics of welfare expansion appears transformed into a "new politics of the welfare state" (Pierson 2001) with a focus on cost control, resource efficiency (Taylor-Gooby 2001; Palier and Martin 2007), coupled with moderate cutbacks of entitlements and services in the face of the multiple pressures (Korpi and Palme 2003; Scruggs 2008). These slow processes were recently accelerated in several countries by "the great recession" and the Eurozone sovereign debt crisis with its associated austerity packages.

Austerity-driven retrenchment, however, is not the "only game left in

town” (Vis et al. 2013). Some scholars highlight a more subtle “dualization” process where benefits and services remain rather stable for “insiders,” but where growing groups cannot access them due to part-time, fixed-term, or otherwise non-standard employment patterns (Emmenegger et al. 2012). By the same token, the notion that welfare states are being “recalibrated” has gained currency (Ferrera 2008). This entails a re-balancing of policy activity in which “new” risks (Bonoli 2005)—examples include work–life imbalances and skills obsolescence—receive more attention and resources, resulting in expansive reforms in family- and active labour market policy. Relatedly, scholars have identified a partial shift from traditional welfare state goals such as income security and equality to a “social investment” oriented welfare state (Morel et al. 2012), geared towards the creation, preservation, and efficient use of human capital. Finally, Europe’s welfare states have become increasingly affected by “multilevel governance” and European integration, which challenges national social protection and public services in multiple ways (Scharpf 1999; Ferrera 2005). Multilevel complexity, however, also emanates from regionalization and decentralization processes, where lower level actors have a keen eye for welfare responsibilities as a vehicle for gaining legitimacy (McEwen and Moreno 2005).

In conclusion, the long-standing country variation in policy legacies, as well as more recent policy change along several and intertwined dimensions call for a better understanding of how welfare states shape the attitudes and behaviour of the democratic public. This volume, of course, can only address a fraction of the questions raised by such complex patterns of variation and change. On the positive side, however, all chapters in this book analyse policy feedback and citizens in ways that connect with one or several of the broader debates and processes hinted at above.

In this introductory chapter we first consider the background and possible meaning of policy feedback. We then discuss past research on the three “dependent variables” around which the volume is organized (political participation, voting behaviour, and political attitudes and evaluations). A subsequent section samples the book’s methodological approaches, before we briefly tour its sections and chapters. We end with a brief appetizer for some of the broader themes that tacitly evolve throughout the book, and which will be explicitly revisited in the concluding chapter.

BROAD CONCEPT—SCATTERED RESEARCH COMMUNITIES

There is hardly an available standard definition of policy feedback. Following Theda Skocpol (1992:58), we define it in broad and simple

terms; that is, as the many ways in which “policies, once enacted, restructure subsequent political processes” (cf. Béland 2011). Such a general definition naturally opens up for many types and targets of feedback. As Skocpol points out, policies may transform both structural factors like state capacities and administrative arrangements, but also identities, goals and capabilities of elite actors and citizens.

Of course, this book limits itself to welfare state policies and citizens. But which attitudes and behaviour could and should, in principle, be studied? In the course of editing this book it has sometimes been suggested to us that the concept of policy feedback should be reserved for processes that fundamentally reshape the political “playing field”. From this vantage point, the dependent variables of interest are usually patterns of participation and deep-seated norms and values. Thus, policy feedback would refer to consequences of especially overarching and enduring relevance for future political behaviour and processes, while effects on more concrete and seemingly fleeting phenomena, such as party preferences, or very specific policy opinions and evaluations, are less worthy of the feedback label. Still, we would like to retain the broad scope of Skocpol’s definition. As we hope to demonstrate in the concluding chapter, it is in fact fruitful to *simultaneously* consider policy consequences for seemingly different aspects of citizens’ relationship with politics.

Our reasons can be explained by briefly considering how the concept of policy feedback found its way into research on citizens. On the one hand, the very idea is certainly an “oldsaw in political science” (Soss and Schram 2007:212), traceable through the intellectual history of this and neighbouring disciplines. On the other hand, it was only in the last two decades that it received more systematic theoretical and empirical attention. It was first reinvigorated theoretically by the broad “neo-institutionalist turn” in social science. Influential scholars associated with various brands of neo-institutionalism such as March and Olsen (1989), Pierson (1993), and Rothstein (1998) have analysed how past public policies can become part of the enduring institutional landscape that structures future politics and policy. While most work in this vein concerns elite-level change and stability, these scholars frequently rely also on far-reaching auxiliary assumptions about reactions of ordinary citizens, many of which are examined in the empirical contributions of this book.

As stimulating as such macro work can be, however, it has rarely been rooted in individual-level empirical knowledge about citizens. To be fair, there was at the beginning of the 1990s not all that much systematic research that macro theorists could have consulted. Even some ten years ago Mettler and Soss (2004:1), in their programmatic article on citizens and feedback, argued that “aside from some notable exceptions, political

science has had little to say about the consequences of public policy for democratic citizenship.”

This has clearly begun to change. A more recent review article points to “great strides in a few short years” at the same time as “outstanding questions linger as to the mechanisms and conditions under which feedbacks emerge” (Campbell 2012:334). Specifically, as the next section illustrates, various feedback-inspired hypotheses have been examined in empirical studies employing a host of dependent variables. More often than not, however, these studies have been pitched as contributions to research on these particular variables. Relevant findings are therefore scattered over these large and self-contained research communities. While this is understandable, policy feedback understood as the broad phenomenon defined above has become less visible. A contribution of this book, then, is to bring together scholars and studies from three important subareas of the vast political behaviour field. As we hope to eventually demonstrate, this yields mutual profit and analytical leverage in understanding overall democratic and political repercussions of welfare state stability and change.

AREAS OF RESEARCH: PARTICIPATION, VOTING AND ELECTIONS, ATTITUDES AND EVALUATIONS

The increased empirical attention to policy feedback came first to the study of *welfare state-related attitudes*. Specifically, it started with studies on whether cross-national differences and similarities in attitudes conform to the “regime” clusters Esping-Andersen (1990) and others discerned for policies, politics, and policy outcomes. The causal mechanisms identified in this literature are usually twofold. One entails a psychological *adaptation* to institutionalized realities; taking a simple example, support for redistribution and social protection should be more developed in social democratic institutional settings than in liberal ones. The other mechanism has to do with how policies structure material *interests*. For example, in social democratic regimes, where the welfare state more clearly protects also the middle classes, the impact of structural factors like class on welfare support might be diluted.

The jury still is out on many of these issues (for overviews, see Mau 2003; Kumlin 2007b; Svallfors 2010). While some authors have indeed discerned regime-consistent country differences in welfare state support there is much variation also among countries belonging to the same regime. Moreover, effects of socio-economic characteristics on attitudes vary tremendously, but only sometimes in ways suggested by regime classifications. In the face of such inconsistencies, Svallfors (2003) suggested

that policy feedback might be best captured by “unpacking” welfare regimes, i.e. by analysing policy effects and attitudinal reactions specific to key policy areas. As we shall see, several chapters follow down this path.

Most research in this vein has analysed normative support, whether for concrete policy areas or more generalized support for spending and redistribution. Less attention has been reserved for evaluations and perceptions of how the welfare state actually functions in practice (short-hand: performance evaluations). This imbalance is especially apparent in comparative research where normative support measures are abundant in most available data sets, whereas performance evaluations are not. This has now begun to change, however (e.g. Edlund 2006; Kumlin 2007a; Wendt et al. 2011). A key finding so far is that while normative support is rather strong and stable, concrete performance assessments are considerably more lukewarm all throughout Europe (van Oorschot and Meuleman 2012). Against this background, several chapters seek to fit performance evaluations into a policy feedback framework. Are such evaluations affected by actual policy variation and change? Do performance evaluations in turn affect the attitudes and behaviour of the democratic public?

A second area of past research concerns *political involvement and participation*. In contrast to studies on welfare attitudes, which grew mainly in comparative politics and sociology in Europe, this area developed primarily in the United States, particularly in the political science subfield of American politics (Mettler and Soss 2004; but see Solevid 2009; Stadelmann-Steffen 2011). Scholars have investigated a number of mechanisms through which the nature and scope of American social policies stimulate or suppress participation. Often, they have analysed policy feedback operating through the standard determinants (i.e. networks, resources, and motivation) identified by Verba et al. (1995). Additionally, several contributions in this field have been guided by Pierson’s (1993) notion of “interpretive” feedback effects through which citizens may learn political lessons that go beyond their immediate self-interest and material resources (cf. Schneider and Ingram 1993). Such lessons can concern deservingness and sense of entitlement, possibilities to influence politics, norms related to participation and policies, as well as views on the functioning and performance of policy areas.

Three influential pieces may illustrate this field. Campbell’s (2005) study on American “social security” and participation of the elderly showed that reliance on this program generally stimulates, but also equalizes, participatory patterns: effects tend to be stronger among those for whom benefits represent a larger share of the total income. Similarly, Mettler’s (2002)