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978-0-521-72395-4 - Religion, Class Coalitions, and Welfare States

Edited by Kees van Kersbergen and Philip Manow

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Religion, Class Coalitions, and Welfare States

This book radically revises established knowledge in comparative welfare state studies and introduces a new perspective on how religion shaped modern social protection systems. The interplay of societal cleavage structures and electoral rules produced the different political class coalitions sustaining the three welfare regimes of the Western world. In countries with proportional electoral systems, the absence or presence of state–church conflicts decided whether class remained the dominant source of coalition building or whether a political logic not exclusively based on socioeconomic interests (e.g., religion) was introduced into politics, particularly social policy. The political class coalitions in countries with majoritarian systems, in contrast, allowed for the residual-liberal welfare state to emerge, as in the United States or the UK. This book also reconsiders the role of Protestantism. Reformed Protestantism substantially delayed and restricted modern social policy. The Lutheran state churches positively contributed to the introduction of social protection programs.

Kees van Kersbergen is a professor of political science at VU University Amsterdam. He served as director of the Centre for Comparative Social Studies until 2007 and has also been professor of political science at the Radboud University (Nijmegen). He is the author of *Social Capitalism* (1995), which won the Stein Rokkan Prize in Comparative Social Science. He has published widely in major journals and books, including the *European Journal of Political Research*, the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, the *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *The Politics of Post-Industrial Welfare States* (2006), and *Culture and the Welfare State* (2008).

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Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion, and Politics

Editors

David C. Leege

University of Notre Dame

Kenneth D. Wald

University of Florida, Gainesville

The most enduring and illuminating bodies of late-nineteenth-century social theory – by Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and others – emphasized the integration of religion, polity, and economy through time and place. Once a staple of classic social theory, however, religion gradually lost the interest of many social scientists during the twentieth century. The recent emergence of phenomena such as Solidarity in Poland; the dissolution of the Soviet empire; various South American, Southern African, and South Asian liberation movements; the Christian Right in the United States; and Al Qaeda have reawakened scholarly interest in religiously based political conflict. At the same time, fundamental questions are once again being asked about the role of religion in stable political regimes, public policies, and constitutional orders. The series Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion, and Politics will produce volumes that study religion and politics by drawing upon classic social theory and more recent social scientific research traditions. Books in the series offer theoretically grounded, comparative, empirical studies that raise “big” questions about a timely subject that has long engaged the best minds in social science.

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Preface

This book is the result of a joint project that began in 2001. After having collaborated on a paper on the problem of welfare without work in continental Europe (see Hemerijck, Van Kersbergen, and Manow 2000), we began discussing some intriguing and unresolved big issues in welfare state research, particularly the incomplete – and therefore unsatisfactory – manner in which the role of religion in welfare state development had been studied. Although early work on the history of the welfare state had included illuminating analyses of the pro-welfare role (e.g., via democratization) of Protestantism, later work had primarily focused on the positive impact of social Catholicism as politically represented by Christian democracy on the European continent. We started to consider the possibility that it had been an unfortunate omission not to consider the impact of (social) Protestantism on the development of the European and the American welfare state more generally.

We took as our example the German case, and we argued that in the beginning the German welfare state seemed to have been a Protestant project. This project was then ‘usurped’ and expropriated by Social Democracy and social Catholicism, as a result of which the bourgeois Protestant middle class, the initial reform faction, was alienated from the welfare state venture. The Protestant middle class responded, among other things, with the development of a new ‘*Sozialreform*’ doctrine, ‘Ordoliberalism’. However, Ordoliberalism – despite the label – was not a simple embracing of the liberal doctrine but contained substantial elements of interventionism with a social reform purpose. Ordoliberalism was concerned with social equality, social harmony, and decent living. It

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was against state redistributive programs, but not against a ‘caring state’ in the sense of caring for social peace and justice – even with the help of massive economic interventions and corrections of the free market. In other words, the renowned ‘*soziale Marktwirtschaft*’ could not – as it usually was – be understood as a compromise between Catholic social doctrine as embodied in the Bismarckian welfare state and economic liberalism. Rather, the *soziale Marktwirtschaft* should be seen as a compromise between Catholic and Protestant social doctrine. Philip Manow elaborated these theses in several articles on Germany (e.g., 2000, 2001, 2004).

This discussion and approach, taken as our point of departure, made us more sensitive to the impact of Protestantism on the trajectory of welfare state development in European countries other than Germany. The Protestant influence had often been ignored because Protestantism was usually not in favor of large-scale welfare expansion. But this did not imply that Protestantism had not been important. Especially where historically the sects and Protestant groups had been significant (e.g., Switzerland, Netherlands, the UK), we argued that one could notice a retarding (delaying) influence as well as a much stronger emphasis on individual responsibility and thrift (an aspect already noticed in the early literature; see Manow and van Kersbergen, Chapter 1, this volume). But how exactly had this worked in the relevant cases other than Germany? And why and how, as in the case of the Netherlands, could this retarded development be turned into a frontrunner expansion in the period after World War II? Moreover, and perhaps more disturbingly, if the underemphasized role of Protestantism had to be reinvestigated and reevaluated along the lines we suggested, did this not imply that the very mainstream view of welfare state development – the widely supported Social Democratic power resources and welfare regime model – was also in need of revision?

We decided to try and bring together researchers in the field working on these and related issues. With the financial and logistical help of the Max Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung (Max-Planck Institute for the Study of Society) in Cologne, we were able to organize two conferences (April/May 2004 and May 2006) to discuss our main conjecture about the role of Protestantism (and religion more generally) in welfare state development and the many other questions and issues that it inspired. We are extremely grateful to the directors of the Max-Planck Institute, Fritz W. Scharpf and Wolfgang Streeck, and later Jens Beckert,

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for their valuable support of our project. The papers and discussions at the first conference were of high value for further developing our own ideas. We then wrote a first version of a theoretical context paper to be used for the first drafts of the chapters that we discussed at the second conference. After this, we had several rounds of revisions in light of the chapters' findings, making this enterprise a truly collaborative venture. We want to thank the contributors to the volume and other participants in the conferences for their much-needed and appreciated input.

Over several years, we have benefited substantially from critical comments and suggestions given at the many opportunities we had to present our work in progress. We want to thank our colleagues at the Center of European Studies (Harvard); the CEVIPOF (Centre de Recherches Politiques de Sciences Po) and the CEPREMAP (Centre pour la Recherche Economique et ses Applications) (Paris); the Max-Planck Institute for the Study of Society (Cologne); Korea University (Seoul); the Political Economy seminar at Oxford University; Cambridge University; VU University Amsterdam; Sichuan University (Chengdu); and the universities of Amsterdam, Bern, Münster, Berlin (Humboldt), Konstanz, Zürich, Helsinki, and St. Gallen. In particular, we want to express our thanks to Daniele Caramani, Peter Gourevitch, Silja Häussermann, Torben Iversen, Franz-Xaver Kaufmann, Hans Keman, Hans-Peter Kriesi, Gerhard Lehmbruch, Andreas Nölke, Phillippe Schmitter, David Soskice, Peter van Rooden, and Barbara Vis.

We also want to thank the University of Konstanz's Centre of Excellence, "Cultural Foundations of Integration," and especially its Institute for Advanced Study, which hosted Kees van Kersbergen in 2008, for their generous hospitality and support for this project. The faculty of social sciences and the members of the Department of Political Science at the VU University Amsterdam were so generous and kind to grant Kees van Kersbergen a one-year leave of absence to finish the book manuscript. We are also grateful to two anonymous referees of Cambridge University Press for their thought-provoking comments. Finally, we acknowledge that the volume as a whole and every single chapter benefited greatly from the unusually stimulating comments and helpful suggestions from the editors of the Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion, and Politics, David C. Leege and Kenneth D. Wald.

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