activation culture 17–18
concept of 205–6
Denmark 208–9
development of in Norway 212–22, 213–14
elite 210–11
Finland 209
identification of 206–7
Sweden 208
Adloff, Frank 97
Alexander, Jeffrey 3, 10, 94
Alm, S. 211
Aly, Götz 104
Anderson, P. 59
Arbeiterbewegen, Die (The Labour Movement) 54
Archer, Margaret 10, 189
Arendt, Hannah 95
Assmann, Jan 105
Augustinian doctrine 95
Austria
cultural changes and welfare reform 17
modernization of family values 196–8
Bad Godesberg programme 54, 59, 62
Baldock, J. 1
Baldwin, P. 55
Bane, Mary Jo 96
Barbier, J.-C. 207
Baumann, Z. 10
Belgium
conservatism and childcare 80–82
intergenerational care 82–3
Benedict XVI, Pope 95
Berger, P.L. 101–2
Bernstein, Eduard 54
Beugelsdijk, S. 247
Beveridge, William 37
Bismarck, Otto von 78–9
Blair, Tony 56, 61, 233
Blekesaune, M. 249, 251
Block, F. 164–5
Blunkett, David 232–3
Bobbio, Norberto 58
borders 239
Bourdieu, Pierre 90
Britain see Great Britain
British Nationality Act (1948) 236–7
Bühler, E. 199
Calhoun, C. 226
Castel, R. 146
Castells, M. 228
Castles, F.G. 99–100
Catholic Church
and welfare in Germany 98
and welfare in the US 96
Central and East Europe
character defects of Homo Sovieticus 142–6
deservingness of needy groups 279
impact of switch to capitalism 149–51
public opinion on freedom, equality and security 151–8, 152, 153, 155, 156
welfare culture compared to Western Europe 15–16
Chaves, Mark 94–5
childcare
and conservativism 79–85
Germany, Austria and Switzerland 190–94
Christian democracy
values compared to social democracy's 64–8
values of 64–5, 66
Christianity
influence of 14
and new institutionalism scholarship 92–5
research into influence of 91–2
citizenship
anti- and false citizens 235–9
development of rights of 37–8
and the labour market 38–9
and neo-liberalism 42–4
rights 29–30
and welfare 226–7, 227
and welfare reform 18–19
civilisations, typology of 99
Clarke, John 18–19
classical liberalism 31–2
Clinton, Bill 119, 120
Collins, Randall 101
Combination Model of childcare 83–5
commodification of labour power 76–9
Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962) 237
communism 104, 142–6
conditionality of public opinion on solidarity 273–5, 279, 281, 281–5
Confucian principles 162, 166
conservatism
attitudes towards women 77
basis of 72–3
childcare and women’s employment 80–85
ideals of 72–6
influence of 13–14
and modernization 76, 79
and traditional gender relations 73–4
corporatism 79
Coughlin, R. 269
cultural institutionalism 94–5
culture
changes in and welfare reform 16–19, 178–9
definitions 9–10, 185–6, 226
international comparisons 7–9
research into influence of 163–5
in the social sciences 225–6
and the social system 10
and welfare 1–2, 3–9

deservingness
criteria for 271–3
European Values Study (1999/2000) survey 275–85, 278, 280, 281
developmental states 166–7
Diamantopoulos, Anna 118
disability in an activation culture 219
diversity and the European social model 7
Dobbelaere, Karel 94–5
East and Central Europe
character defects of Homo Sovieticus 142–6
deservingness of needy groups 279
impact of switch to capitalism 149–51
public opinion on freedom, equality and security 151–8, 152, 153, 155, 156
security under socialism 148–9
welfare culture compared to Western Europe 15–16
East Asia
Confucian values and the welfare state 162, 166
developmental states 166–7
ideational shifts in welfare systems 16
see also Japan, Korea
economic liberalism 32
education
and citizenship 238–9
and scope-of-government beliefs 248–9, 252–3
and women’s attitudes to work and care 303
eerepositie der vrouw, De (Kuyper) 73–4
Eisenstadt, Shmuel 10
Elazar, D. 121
Elias, N. 149
employment status
public support for benefits 271
and scope-of-government beliefs 253
Engels, Friedrich 60
equality 13, 58–60
Esping-Andersen, G. 8–9, 34–5, 78, 99, 207, 250–51

david, p. 186
Dean, H. 211
Denmark
activation culture 208–9
social democratic welfare policies 43
Index

etatism 78–9
Europe
  East compared to West 15–16
  public opinion on welfare culture 123–6, 125, 126
Social Model 118–19
  welfare cultures in 121–3
European Union (EU) and globalization 41

facism 104
family policies
  in conservative welfare states 190–94, 194–6, 196
  stagnation of in Switzerland 198–200
  United Kingdom 231–2
family values, modernization of in
  Germany and Austria 196–8
Ferge, Zsuzsa 15–16
Ferreira, L. 122
Ferrera, M. 121, 207
Figueiredo, A. 122
Fink, Janet 18–19
Finland, activation culture in 209
Flanders, conservatism and childcare in 80–83
Flora, Peter 93
Forma, P. 250
Freeden, M. 33, 34, 51
freedom 56–8
Friedman, M. 39–40, 40
Friedman, R. 40

Gallie, D. 211
Gallie, W.B. 51
Geertz, Clifford 3
Gelissen, John 19–20
gender
  and the labour market 38–9
  and scope-of-government beliefs 253
gender relations
  traditional, and conservatism 73–4
George, V. 37
Germany
  challenges to social democracy 68
  cultural changes and welfare reform 17
  and equality 59
  and individual freedom 58
modernization of family values 196–8
religious influence on welfare policy 97–8
  and social democratic values 54–5
welfare reform 131–2, 136–7
Giddens, A. 10
  globalization and neo-liberalism 41–2
Gray, J. 31–2
Great Britain
  welfare reform 129–31, 135–6
Green-Pederson, C. 43
Gregory, D. 240
Gupta, A. 234, 241
Hall, Peter 188
Handler, J.F. 120
Hanegraaff, W.J. 102
Hartz Reforms, Germany 131–2
Hasenfield, Y. 120, 253
Haveman, R. 119–20
Hay, C. 41
Hayek, F.A. 39–40
health insurance 33
Hearl, D.J. 249
Hechter, Michael 90
Hemerijck, A. 207
Hervieu-Léger, Danièle 100–101
Himenan, P. 228
historical institutionalism 93
Hofäcker, Dirk 20–21
Homo Sovieticus 142–6
human rights 104
Hungary 144
Huntington, S.P. 99
Huseby, B. 250
Hvinden, Bjørn 17–18
ID cards (UK) 237–8
ideas
  influence on welfare reform 179
  research into influence of 163–5
ideational leadership and welfare reform 100
ideology
  influence of on welfare states 12–14
  and welfare state types 8–9
Immergut, Ellen M. 91–2
immigration conditionality of solidarity 274, 284
and the European social model 7
United Kingdom 232
income and scope-of-government
beliefs 252–3
industrials and scope-of-government
beliefs 251–4
Inglehart, R. 123, 291–2
institutionalism
  cultural 94–5
  historical 93
  organization theory 93
  rational choice approach 92
Italy
  challenges to social democracy 68
  and social democratic values 54–5
Japan
  American influence post World
  War II 168
  and developmental states 166–7
  ideational shifts in welfare systems
  16
  reform due to low fertility rates
  169–73, 172
  reform in early 1970s 168–9
  social spending in 165–6, 166
  welfare reform in 178
  welfare state expansion 167–8
Jaurès, Jean 54
Johansson, H. 208
justice 60–62
Kangas, O.E. 250
Kaufman, Franz-Xaver 91
Keating, M. 247
Kersbergen, Kees van 13–14, 93, 97, 100
Keynes, John Maynard 36–7
King, D. 42–3
Kluegel, J.R. 253
Korea
  and developmental states 166–7
  ideational shifts in welfare systems
  16
  social spending in 165–6, 166
  welfare reform in 173–8, 174, 176, 178–9
  welfare state expansion 167–8
Kornai, J 145
Kremer, Monique 13–14
Kuyper, Abraham 73–4
labour market and citizenship 38–9
labour movement 52
  and equality 59
  and justice 61
  and solidarity 62
Labour Party (UK)
  and basic values 56
  and equality 60
  and justice 61
  welfare reforms 129–31
labour power, commodification of
  76–9
Layard, Richard 130
learned helplessness 142, 145
legitimacy of welfare state
  interventions 19
Lepsius, Rainer 10
liberalism
  classical 31–2
  economic 32
  influence of 12–13
  and the market economy 32–3
  social 33–6
  unifying tenets of 31–2
  variations in meaning 30
see also neo-liberalism
Lieberman, R.C. 164
Lin, Ka 101
Lipsky, M. 210
Lister, R. 43
lone parents 220
Lück, Detlev 20–21
Macpherson, C.B. 31
Madsen, Richard 101
Marody, M. 142
Marquand, D. 50, 52
Marshall, T.H. 38
Marx, Karl 58, 60
Marxism
  and religion 104
  and values 52, 54
Mau, Steffen 19
Mead, Lawrence M. 96, 127
Meier-Jaeger, M. 251
men
  as breadwinners 21, 35, 194–5
Index

and conservatism 73–4
and scope-of-government beliefs 253
see also women attitudes to work and care
Midgely, James 107–8
migration 229
Mill, John Stuart 34
Mishra, Ramesh 41
Mivano, M. 253
modernization
and conservatism 76, 79
of family values 196–8
and security 146–7
Morissens, A. 228
Murray, Charles 120, 127
nation
continuous processes of formation 239–41
de-centering of 234–5
and the state and welfare, changes in 230–34
national identity
ID cards (UK) 237–8
United Kingdom 231
and welfare 228–30
and welfare reform 18–19
nations, characteristics of and scope-of-government beliefs 250–51
neo-liberalism
characteristics of 39–40
and citizenship 42–4
and globalization 41–2
reasons for emergence of 40
and the welfare state 40–41, 45
Netherlands
conservatism and childcare 80, 83–5
social democratic welfare policies 43
New Deal policies 42–3
New Liberalism 33–6
New Right see neo-liberalism
North, Douglass 186
Norway
development of activation culture in 212–22, 213–14
and individual freedom 58
policy elites and welfare reforms 17–18
Nullmeier, Frank 93
O’Connor, Julia 12
Old Age Pension Act (1908) 33
Oorschot, Wim van 20, 271, 273
Opielka, Michael 14, 102, 103, 104
organization theory 93
ownership of property 146–9
parents, single 220
Parsons, Talcott 94, 101
path dependence and departure
concept of 185
family policies models 195–6, 196
family policy in Germany, Austria and Switzerland 190–94
family values in Germany and Austria 196–8, 200
stagnation of family policies in Switzerland 198–200
and welfare state change 189
Peng, Ito 16
pensions 33, 35
privatization of 151
Swedish reforms 133–4
Pfau-Effinger, B. 11, 17, 292–3
Pierson, P. 50–51, 186–7
Polanyi, K. 32–3
policy elites and welfare reforms 17–18
policy instruments and values 50–51, 51, 65, 65–6
politics and scope-of-government beliefs 249, 253–4
primary actors 189
property ownership 146–9
Protestant religion and welfare policies 96, 97
public opinion
conditionality of 273–5, 279, 281, 281–5
deservingness criteria 271–3
on freedom, equality and security in ECE 151–8, 152, 153, 155, 156
on welfare culture 123–6, 125, 126, 269–73
Sweden 133–4, 134
United States 270–71
Quadagno, J. 249, 251
racism in US attitudes to welfare recipients 270–71
impact of switch to capitalism 149–51
and values 52, 54–5
sociology, levels of institutional analysis 92–5
solidarity 13, 62–3
European Values Study (1999/2000) survey 275–85, 278, 280, 281
with needy groups, conditionality of 273–5, 279, 281, 281–5
Somers, M. 164–5
Song, H.K. 175
South Korea
ideational shifts in welfare systems 16
see also Korea
Spain and social democratic values 54
state, nation and welfare changes in 230–34
continuous processes of formation 239–41
states, developmental 166–7
Stewart, K. 247
Stiller, S. 100
Stjernø, Steinar 13
Strong, Tracy B. 101
structure, social 164, 179
Susser, I. 235–6
Svallfors, S. 252
Swaan, A. De 147, 271
Sweden
activation culture 208
and individual freedom 58
pension reform 62
SAP and equality 60
welfare reform 136–7
welfare reforms 132–4
Switzerland
cultural changes and welfare reform 17
stagnation of family policies in 198–200
Sztompka, P. 142, 151–2
Tawney, Richard 54
Taylor-Gooby, P. 211, 259–60, 279
Therborn, Gorán 46, 99
Thomson, S. 50
Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, The (Esping-Andersen) 250–51
totalitarianism
abolition of property ownership under 148–9
impact of switch to capitalism 149–51
socio-psychological impact of 142–6
trust and conditionality of solidarity 274
unemployed people 6
unemployment 46
in a region and scope-of-government beliefs 249–50
unemployment insurance 33
United Kingdom
family policies 231–2
immigration 232
national identity 231
transition to modernity 233
United States
different political cultures 121
public opinion on welfare culture 123–6, 125, 126, 270–71
welfare culture of compared to European 15
welfare in 119–20
welfare reform 127–9, 135
values
ambiguities of social democratic 63–4
basic, of social democratic parties 55–6
equality 58–60
identified in party programmes 53
individual freedom 56–8
and policy instruments of social democracy 50–51, 51, 65, 65–6
social and Christian democracy compared 64–7
social justice 60–62
and socialism and Marxism 52, 54–5
solidarity 62–3
Walker, Robert 15
Weber, Max 10
welfare
comparative research 163–5
continuous processes of formation 239–41
as creating social problems 6–7
emergence of in the West 147–8
ideology and types of state 8–9
international comparisons of support for 7–9
and national identity 228–30
popular values and beliefs 19–21
and the state and nation, changes in 230–34
welfare and culture
growing interest in 1–2, 3–9
relationship between 1
welfare culture
concept of 11
in Europe 121–3
levels of 188–9
public opinion 123–6, 125, 126
in the US 121
welfare reform
Germany 131–2, 136–7
Great Britain 129–31, 135–6
and ideational leadership 100
Japan 168–73, 178
Korea 173–8, 174, 176, 178–9
and policy elites 17–18
Sweden 136–7
United States 127–9, 135
welfare regimes, classification of and religion 99–100

Welfare State and Equality, The 4
welfare states
cultural foundations of 11–14
development of post WWII 36–7
family policies in conservative
190–94
Welzel, C. 123
Wiarda, H.J. 143
Wigforss, Ernst 54
Wilding, P. 37
Wilensky, H. 4, 250
women
attitudes of conservatism towards 73–4, 77
attitudes to work and care based on individual characteristics 294–6, 296
and cultural background 291–2
International Social Survey Program research 296–309,
300, 302, 305, 306
and national institutions 292–4, 294
theory and hypotheses 290–91
employment of and childcare 80–85
and equality 59
marginalization of in the labour force 35
and scope-of-government beliefs 253
work and care of children 20–21
Wong, J. 173
workfare in the US 42–3