

# The Politics of Social Democracy

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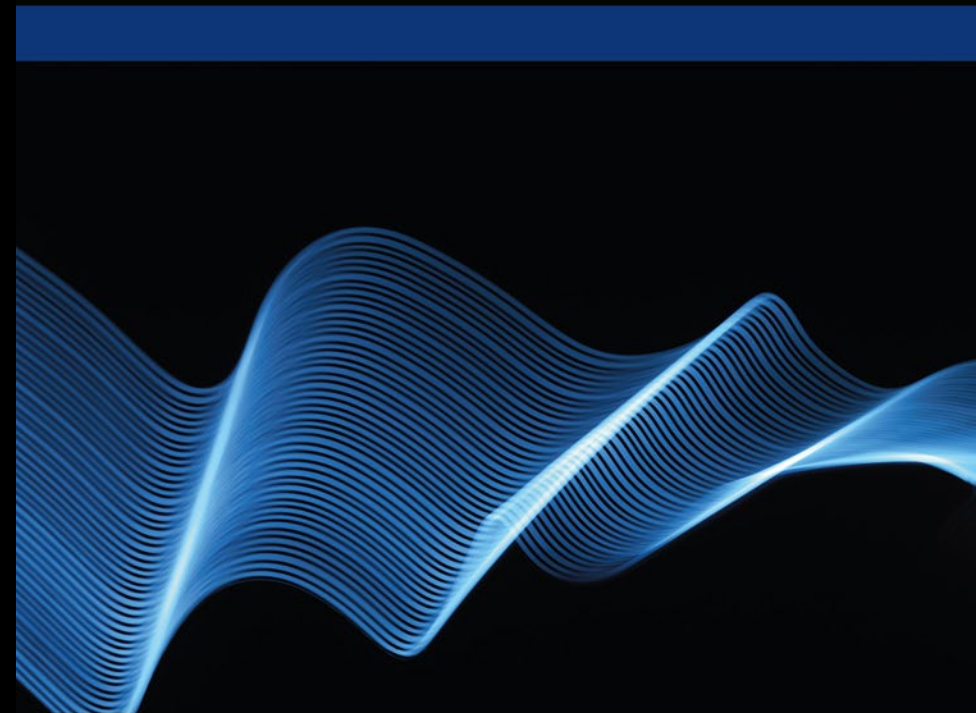
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# THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Issues, Dilemmas, and Future Directions  
for the Centre-Left

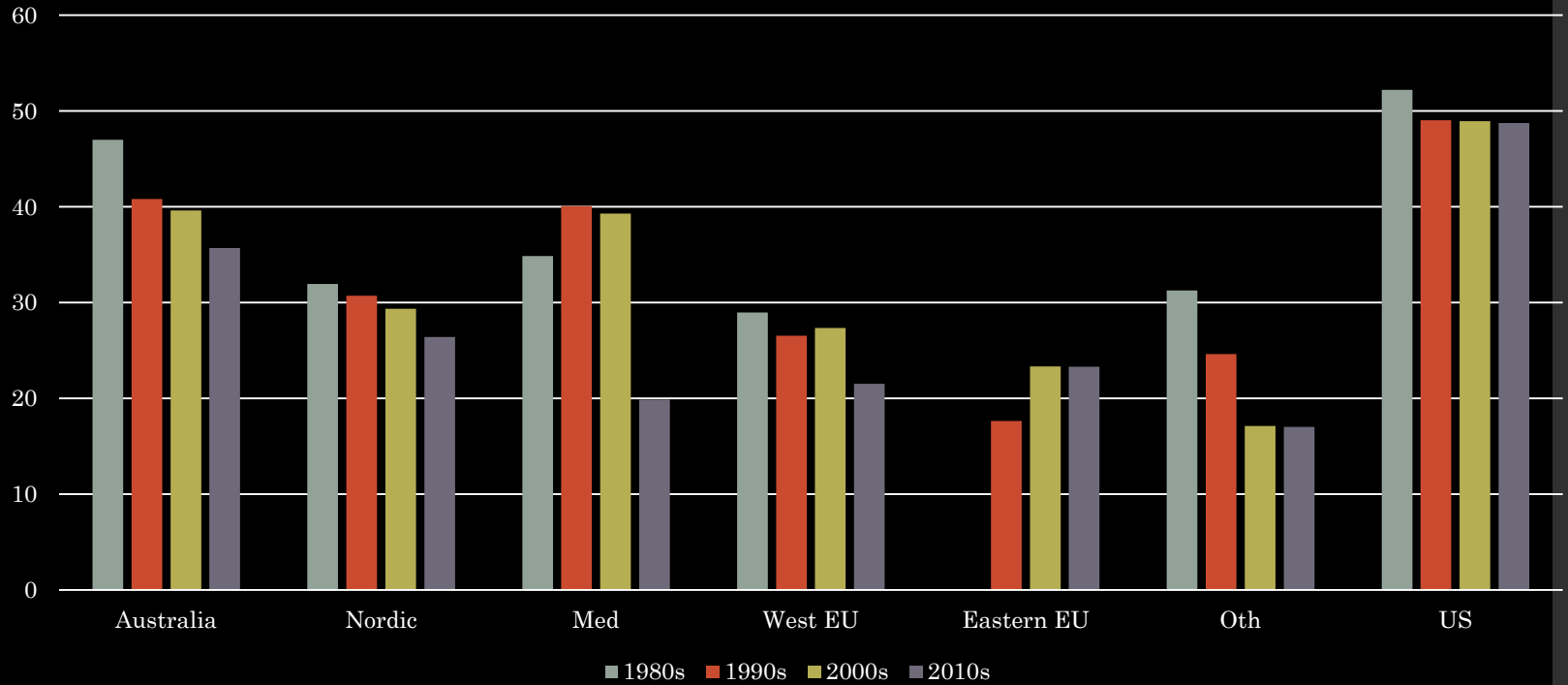
## Overview

- Debates about the Centre-left - Post Third Way?
- Policy Change
- Welfare Strategies



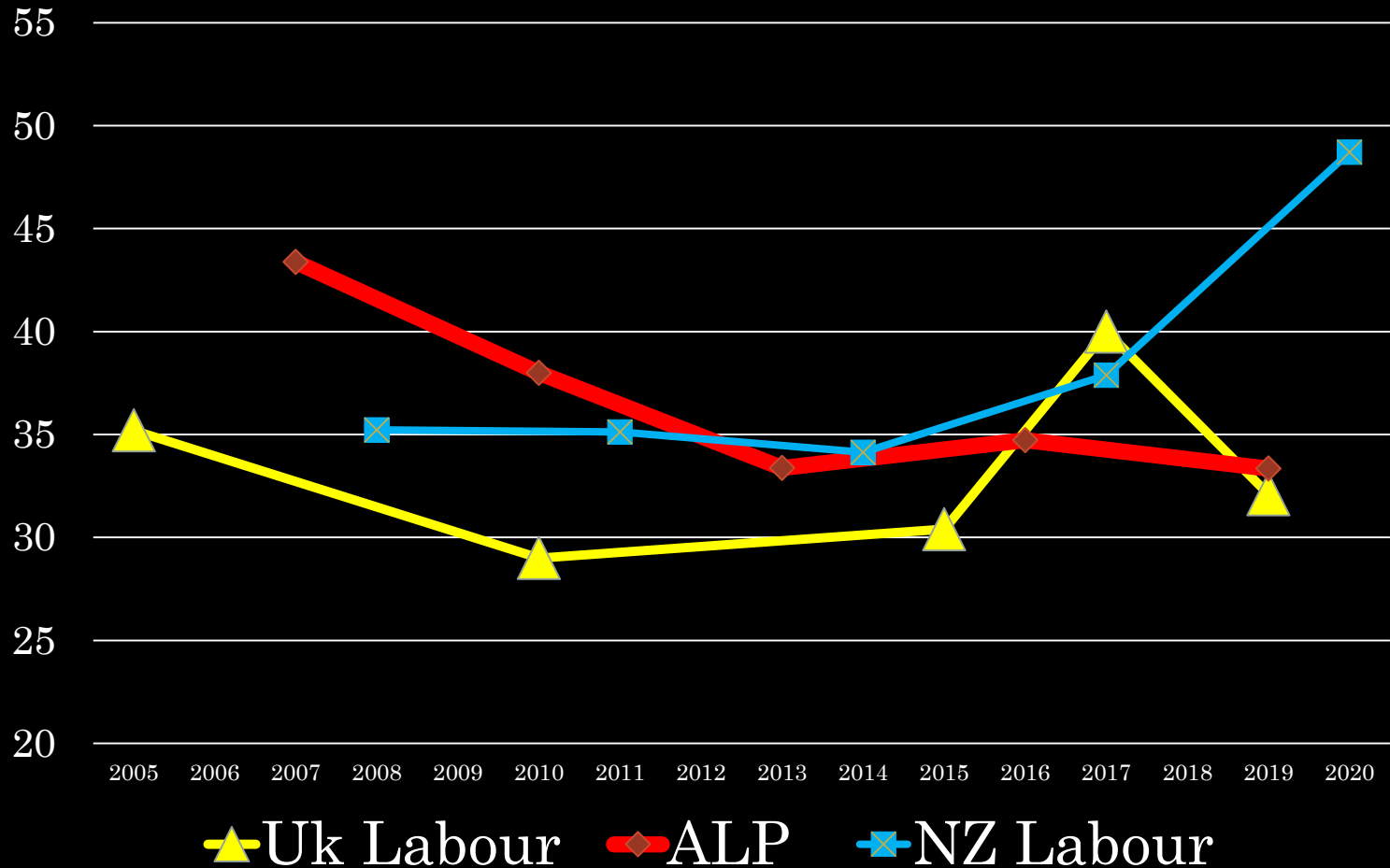
ROB MANWARING

## Centre left - Percentage of Vote 1980s-2010s



Source: (MARPOR) Manifesto on Political Representation

# Labour Governments: Share of the Vote 2005-2020



# The Outline

- 1. The meaning of social democracy
- 2. The ideology of social democracy
- 3. Ideological dilemmas (France, UK, Australia)
- 4. **Policy Change**
- 5. Dilemmas of Political Economy
- 6. **Welfare and Social Policy**
- 7. Immigration
- 8. Electoral dilemmas
- 9. Dilemmas in office
- 10. Organisational dilemmas
- 11. the next wave of social democracy?

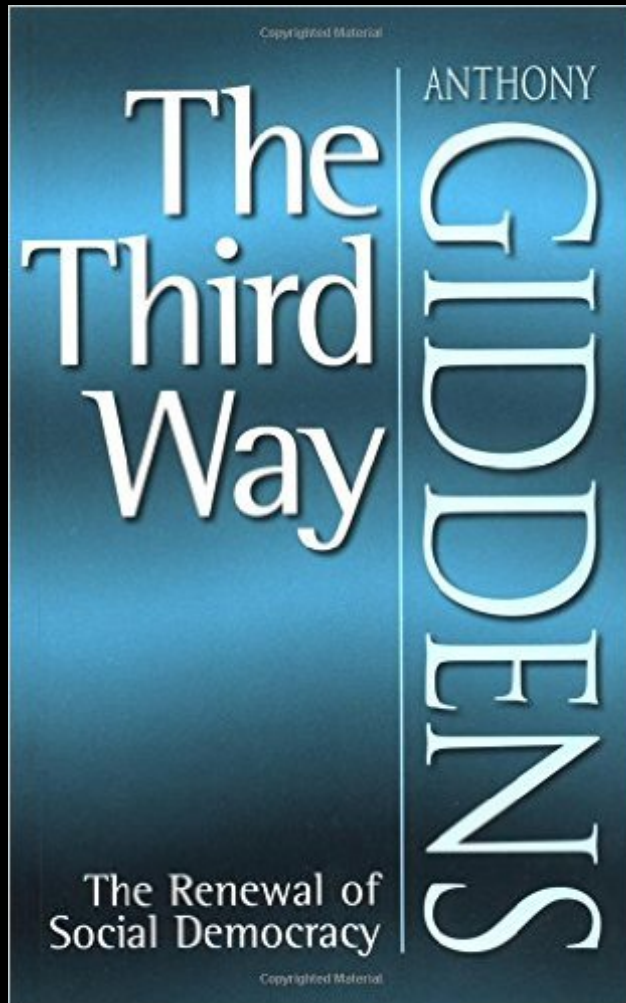
# What is a Social Democracy?

- **A model** – a more or less coherent set of policy initiatives (underpinned by meta-values; policy goals, policy mechanisms)
- **An actor** – focus on key agents of SD (primarily centre-left parties in established party systems)
- **An ideology** – a systematic set of values and beliefs

# Context – Changing Models of Social Democracy

Dimensions	Socialism	'Classic' social democracy	Third Way	Fourth Phase Social Democracy
Relationship to capitalism	Overthrow/Replace	Mixed Economy	Globalised economy	?
Equality	Outcome	Outcome and Opportunity	Opportunity	?
Social Protection	Socialised communities	Strong welfare state, universalism	Social investment; social inclusion	?
Liberty	Collective freedom from capitalism	Social liberalism	Rights	?
Role of State	Worker Controlled	Ownership; nationalisation	'Enabling'	?
Agency	Working class	W/C and M/C coalition	'Radical centre'	?

# The Albatross and the Paradox – ‘The Third Way’



- Ensuring State, Less Paternalistic
- ‘active citizenship’
- Embrace globalization
- Equality of Opportunity (not outcome)
- Shift away from public ownership
- Welfare – greater conditionality



# Three views of Social Democracy

- **Dead** (Lavelle) or **half-dead** (Judt)
- **Crisis** (Keating and McCrone)
- **Transformation** (Kitschelt, Moschonas)

So, where are the parties now?

# 21 Countries

Group	Cases
Nordic	Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland
Western Europe	Belgium (Flemish/Francophone), Netherlands, Germany, Luxemburg, France, Italy, Austria, Switzerland
Mediterranean	Spain, Greece, Portugal
Anglo-Labour	UK, NZ, Australia
Other	Ireland, Canada

## Mapping:

MARPOR database – coding of manifestos/comparative documents

Longest running data base in p/s

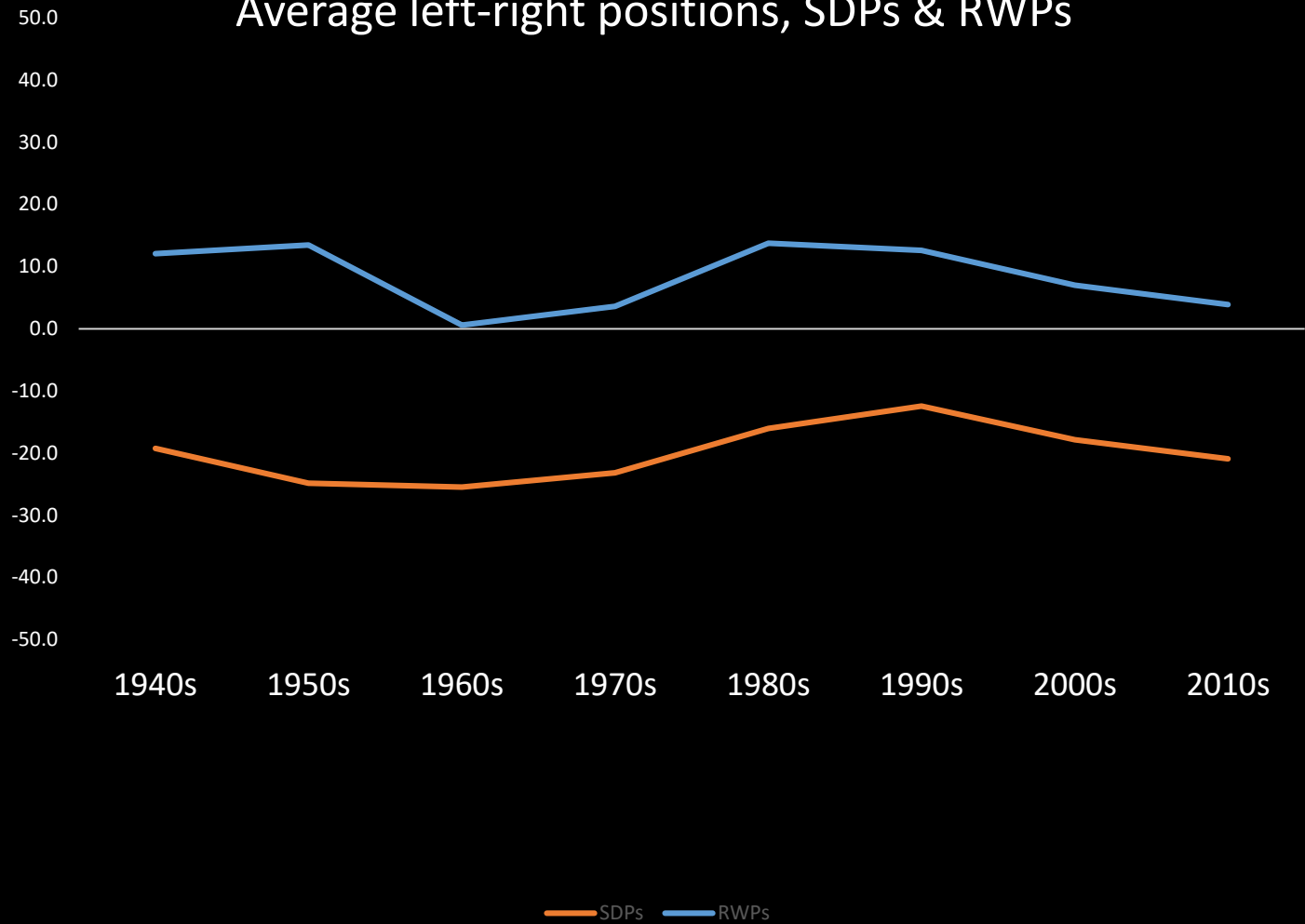
# Left/Right Score (RILE

Right	Left
104 Military Positive	103 Anti-Imperialism
201 Freedom and human rights	105 – Military: Negative
203 Constitutionalism	106 – Peace
305 Political Authority	107 Internationalism: Positive
401 Free Market Economy	403 Market Regulation
402 Incentives: Positive	404 Economic Planning
407 Protectionism: Negative	406 Protectionism: Positive
414 Economic Orthodoxy	412 Controlled Economy
505 Welfare State Limitation	413 Nationalisation
601 National Way of Life: Positive	504 Welfare State Expansion
603 Traditional Morality: Positive	506 Education Expansion
605 Law and Order: Positive	701 Labour Groups: Positive
606 Civic Mindedness: Positive	202 Democracy

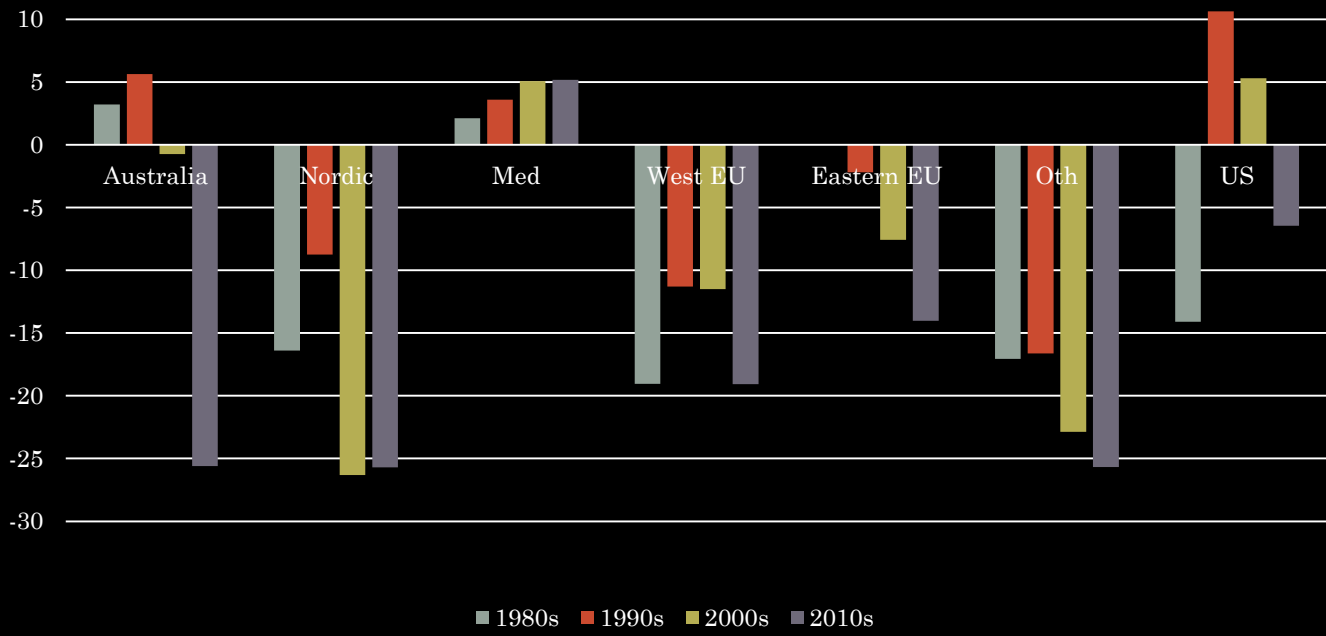
*Table 4.1: The RILE Index*

Note: RILE final score is summed right percentage minus summed left percentage (See Budge and Meyer 2013, 88).

## Average left-right positions, SDPs & RWPs



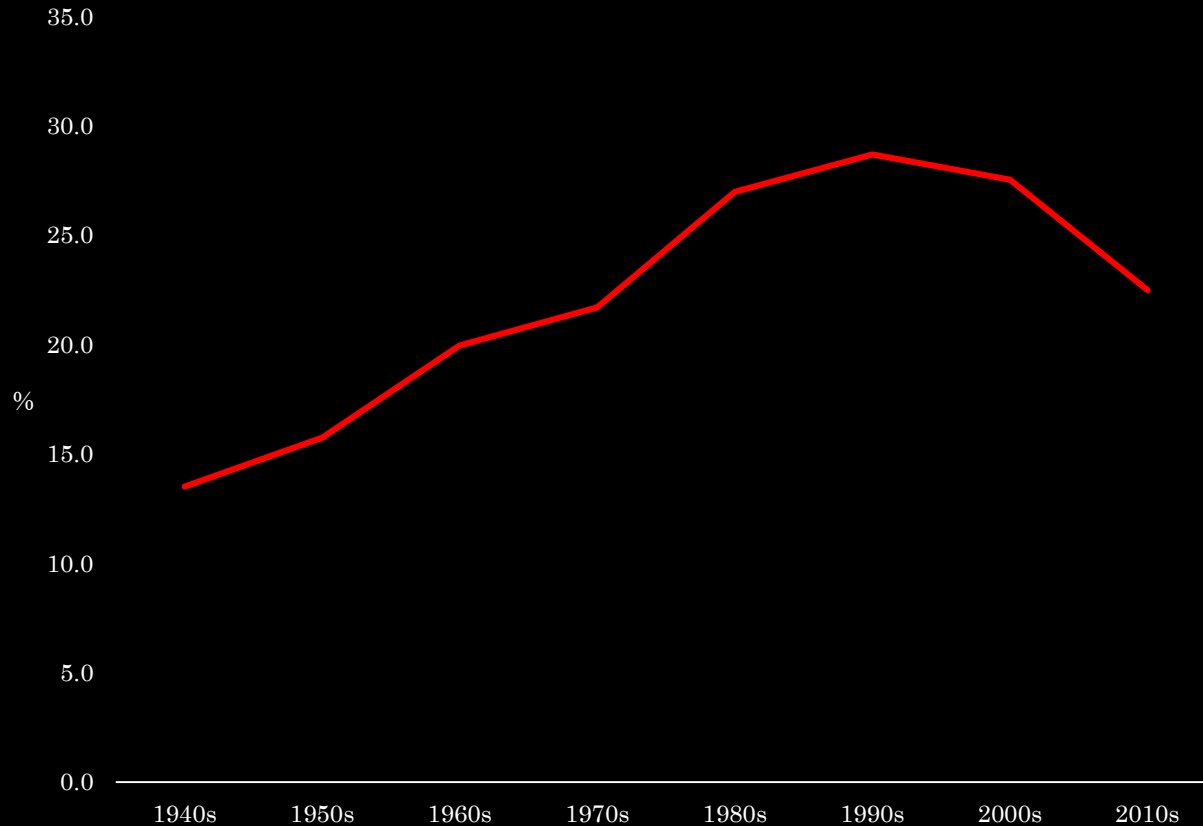
# Left/Right Index (RILE) 1980s - 2010s



Source: MARPOR

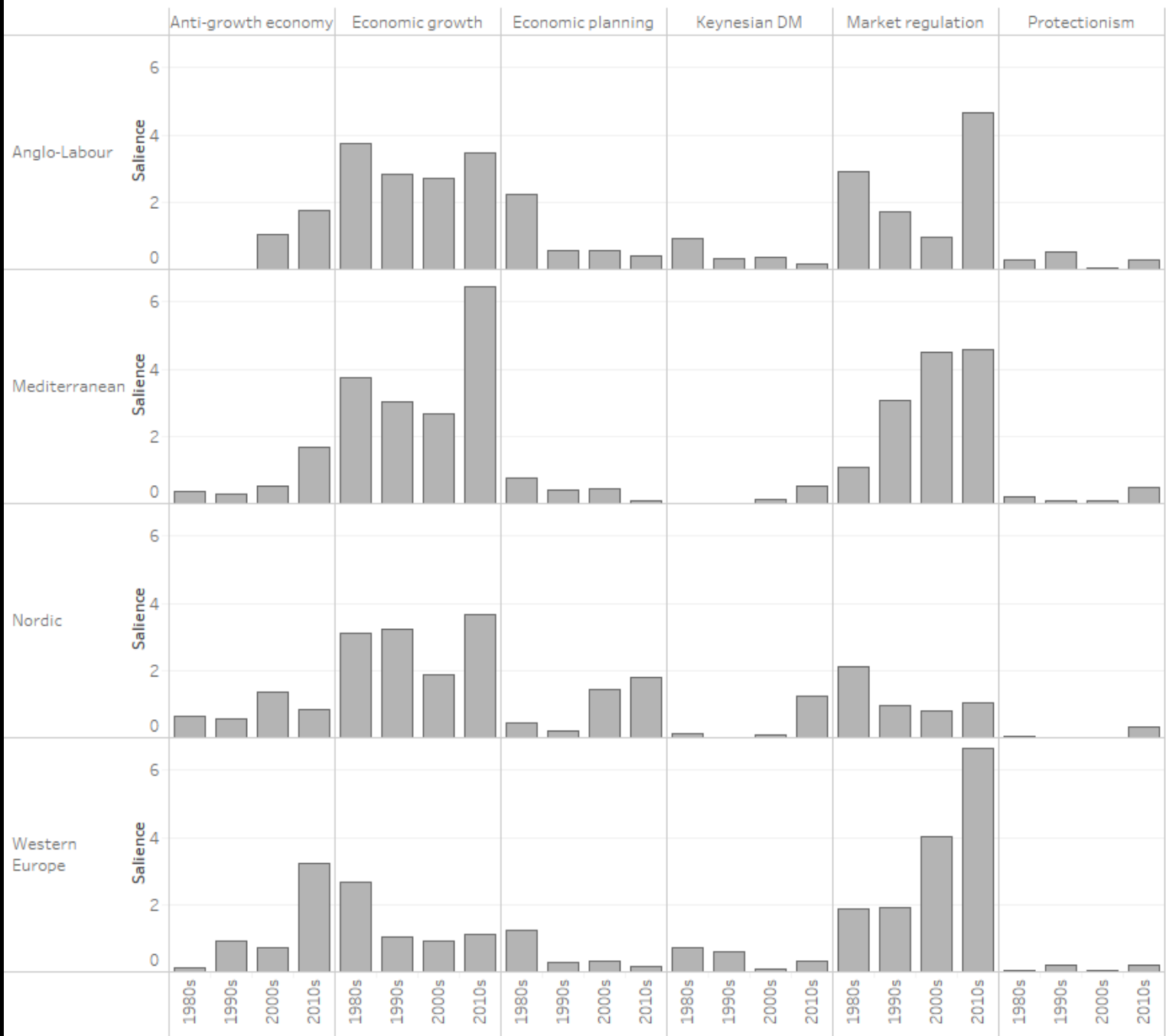
Aus 2010s: 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016

## Third Way issue salience (averaged, Social Democratic Parties)



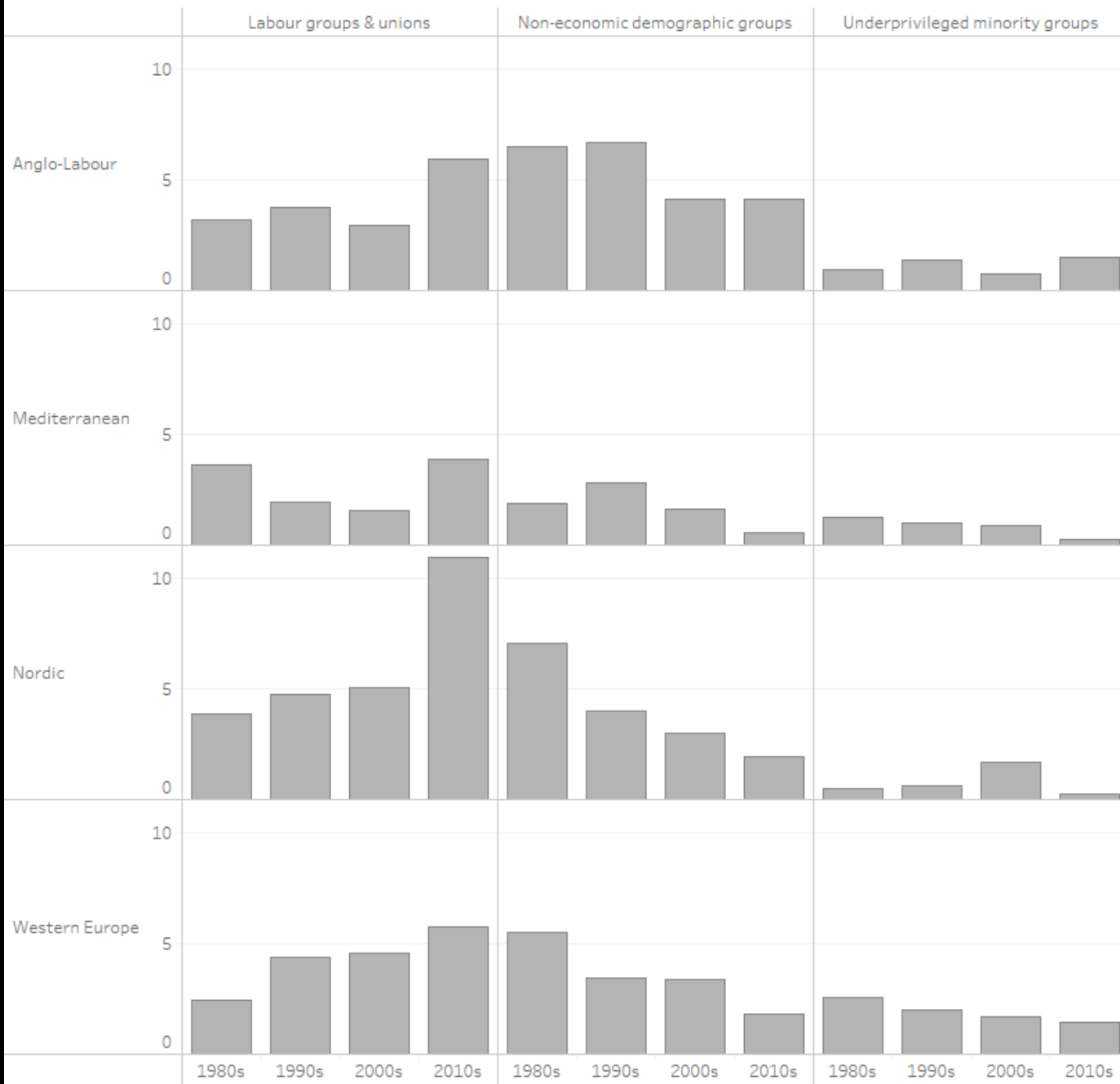
Third Way (modified Volkens)	
PER107	Internationalism: Positive
PER301	Decentralisation Govt and Admin efficiency
PER303	Corruption (—)
PER304	Technology & Infrastructure
PER411	Environmental protection
PER501	National way of life: negative
PER602	Traditional morality: negative
PER604	Multiculturalism: positive
PER607	Underprivileged minority groups
PER705	Non-economic demographic groups
PER706	

# Saliency of selected economic policy issues, social democratic parties (1980s - 2010s)





# Saliency of policy issues supporting social groups, social democratic parties (1980s - 2010s)



# New Directions in Welfare?

“The paradox of the welfare state, and indeed of all social democratic (and Christian democratic) states of Europe, was quite simply, that their success would over time undermine their appeal” Tony Judt, 2009)

# Changing Welfare States - Debates

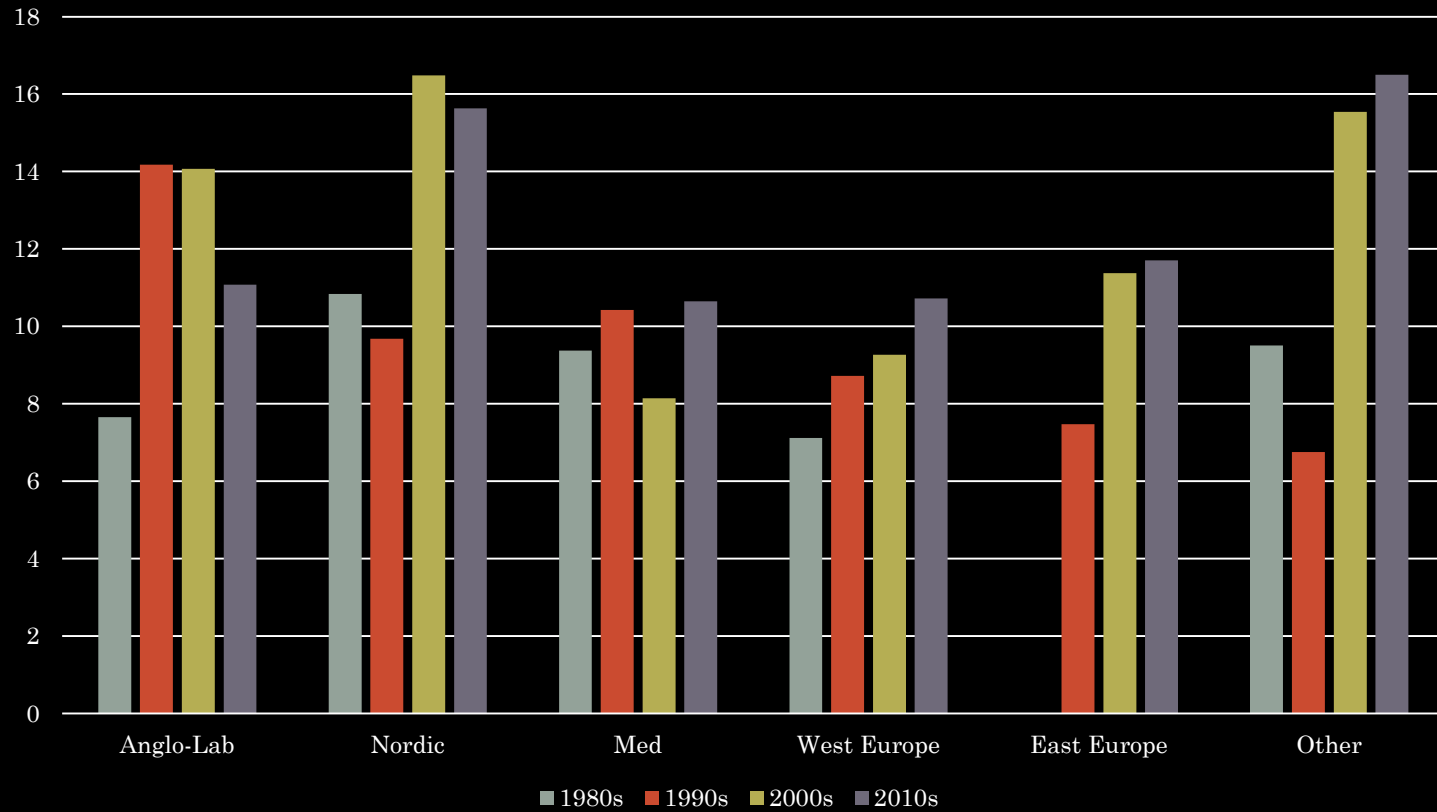
- WS has been central to SD account of Politics
  - 3 Worlds of Esping-Anderson (1990): Liberal, Conservative and Social Democratic (de facto Nordic)
- Keman – the ‘dual welfare state’: social and economic dimensions: (1) Build Citizenship (2) economic redistribution
  1. ‘Social democratisation’ (1960s project to shift away from capitalism)
  2. Universal Welfare – state key role in providing generous welfare state
  3. Safety net – shift to neo-liberal, minimalist approach

# Centre-Left Responses

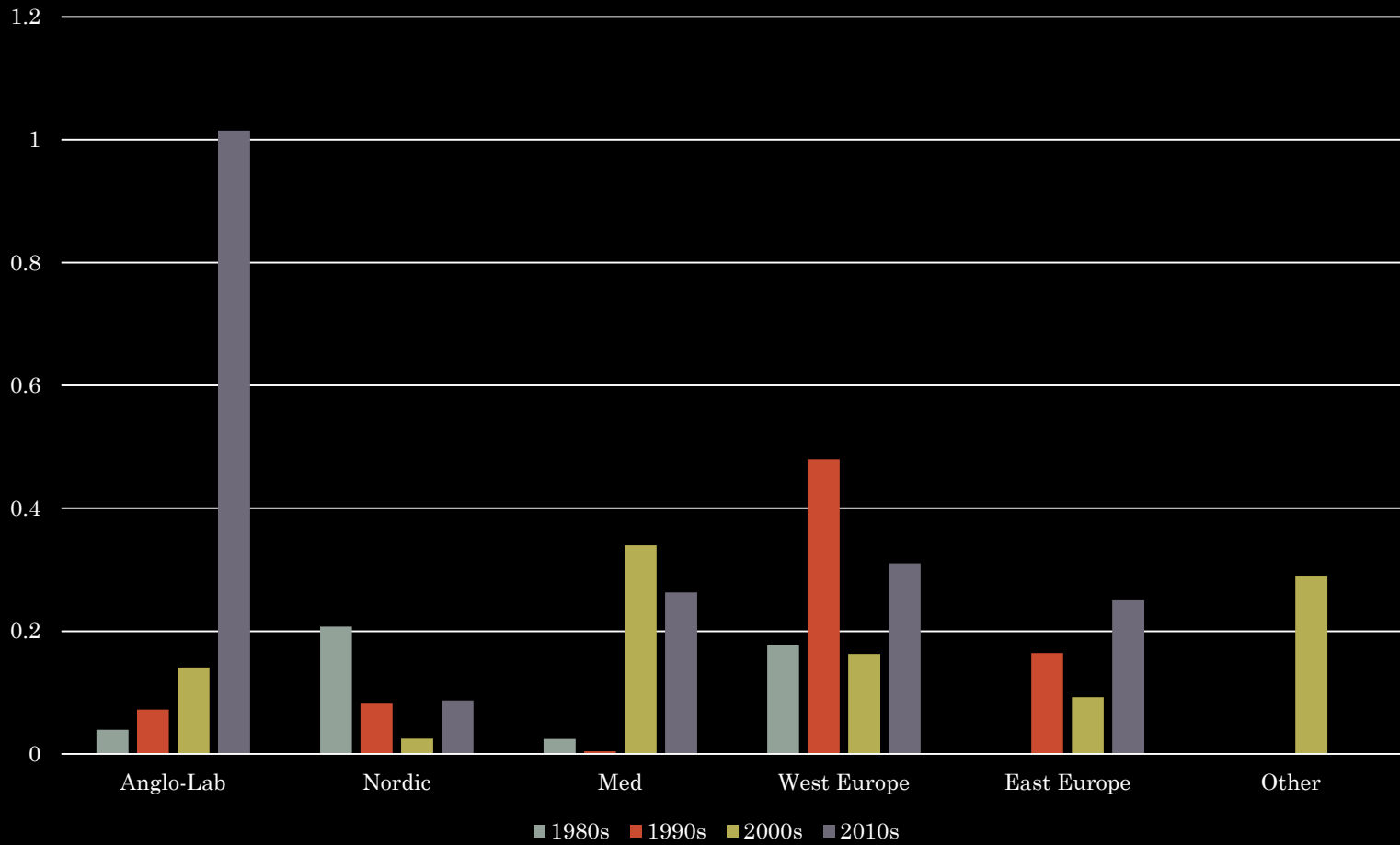
- TW – shift to ‘Social Investment State’
- Stronger focus on labour market and life course transitions; invest in human capital; strong minimum safety nets
  - Life-long learning
  - Greater role for private enterprise
  - ‘portability’ (transfer standards)
  - Family-friendly workplaces
- Rhodes (2013) – failure of 2 big ideas in centre-left: labour market flexibility, and ‘social investment’
- Fails to capture public imagination; very little appeal for low paid workers

Post Third way – where are  
the parties now on welfare?

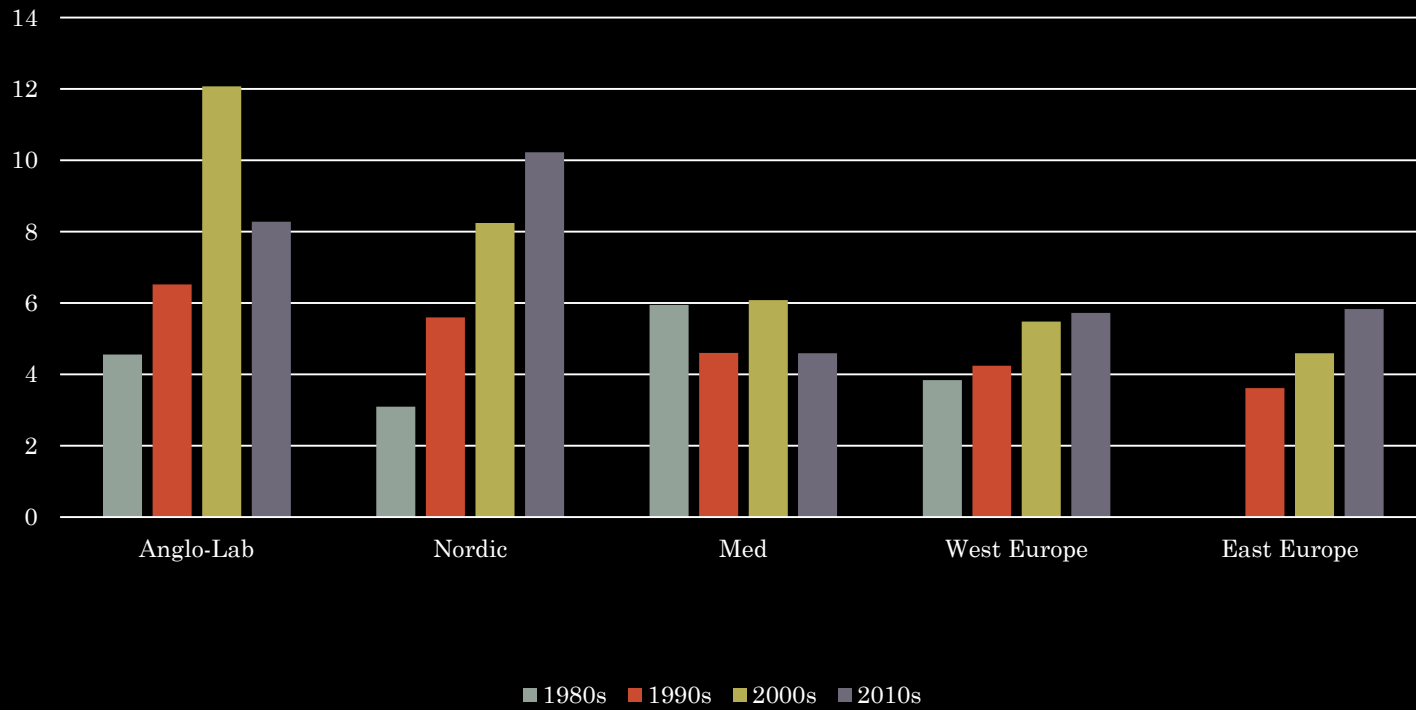
### per 504 - Welfare State Expansion



# per505 - Welfare State Limitation



## Education Expansion (per506) Social Democrats: 1980s - 2010s





# 9 Centre-left Cases

- Sweden (SAP), Norway (AP), France (PS), Germany (SPD), Netherlands (PvdA), NZ, Australian, British Labour, Spain (PSOE)
- Manifestos presented at last main election (2017-2019)
- Examine across 4 key areas;
  - Unemployment and social security measures
  - Pensions and aged-people
  - Childcare and gender issues
  - Training and education (predominately vocational sector)

# Analysis of SD Welfare Policies

- Salience of Welfare At Election
- Approaches to Welfare
  1. Social Democratisation
  2. Welfare State
  3. Safety net
  4. Third Way
- Strategy
  1. Transformative
  2. Corrective
  3. Neutralisation
  4. Incremental

	Key Themes	Flagship Tax Policies	Flagship Welfare Policies	Saliency of Welfare	Approach to Welfare*	Strategy*
Australia – ALP (2019)	‘Fair go for all’  Dignity of Work	Budget repair levy (2% high income); tax break low income groups; reverse coalition tax cuts	\$1.7bn for childcare access extension; Subsidies for aged-care; \$1bn for TAFE/VT apprenticeships	Low	3, 4	N, I
France – PS (2017)	Project for the ‘heart’ of France	Robot Tax, tax justice – focus on large companies; tax on Banks; green taxes, low income tax breaks	Universal Basic Income; Raise minimum wage; Old age pension increased 10%;	High	1, 2	T
Germany – SPD (2017)	‘Social Justice’; ‘Strong Welfare State’	Tax relief low and middle income; tax justice; Raise top rate of income (up 3%) to 45%; increase inheritance tax	Expand unemployment benefit – with link to training; stabilise current pension levels	High	2	C
Netherlands – PvdA (2017)	Active and Connected Society	Change tax burden away from employees to employers; remove ‘deductible’ threshold on health insurance	Tackle less secure jobs; relax some mutual obligations for some benefits; anti-poverty measures at local gov level; expand after school care	Med	2, 4	I, N
Norway – AP (2017)	Freedom, Opportunities, Security	Green taxes; Raise overall tax base to 15 NOK; Link between people in work and welfare funding	Basic welfare not commercialised/marketized; ‘Working Life Skills Agreement’; Pension reform; extend childcare	High	2, 4	C
New Zealand Labour (2017)	‘Shared Prosperity’	Reverse health cuts; Establish Tax working group	Boost wages through fair pay agreements; reinstate earner income Tax credit; restart contributions to NZ super fund; Increase working family payments	Low	3, 4	C
Spain – PSOE (2019)	‘What Spain Needs’ Strengthening Pillars of the Welfare State	Green taxes; digital tax; increase on companies and high earners;	Launch ‘State minimum vital Income’; simplify contracts to tackle precariat employment; increase minimum wage; extend unemployment benefits -esp. those over 52; predistribution anti-poverty measures; life-long learning; reverse PP pension reforms	High	2, 4	C, I
Sweden – SAP	‘Stronger Society, Safer Sweden’; full employment; ‘referendum on welfare system’	Tax on Banks; restrict tax deductions for companies; increase tax on private health insurance; green tax (cars)	Welfare Spending increase by 70bn CR; restrictive immigration measures; Additional training places; defend unemployment insurance; raise pensions, and reduce tax burden for retirees; additional parental leave	High	1, 2	I, C
UK Labour (2019)	‘Fairer Britain’; Investment, Nationalisation, tackle poverty and inequality	Fairer tax system; increase in income tax for those earning £80K; £11bn windfall tax on gas and oil; tax on financial transactions; reverse cuts to	Introduce ‘living wage’ (£10/hr); scrap universal credit’ scrap child benefit cap; increase disability support; Create National education service; lifelong entitlement to training;	High	1, 2	T, C

# In Summary: 3 Broad Groups

Sweden, UK and France – Transformative, Strongly de-commodifying

- France – UBI; UK – National Education Service, Swe – Full Employment

Germany, Spain – Corrective, Schulz – ‘we have made mistakes’

Australia, NZ – Neutralise, corrective – (NZ focus on child poverty)