Chapter 1:
“The first welfare states ...emerged as a moral response to the plight of the working poor in the new industrial capitalism...pragmatic response to political danger of the state ignoring the working class”

“Expanding the state became the solution.....about nation-building....modern citizens were all members of the same nation with certain entitlements, expectations, obligations and responsibilities.”

“War was a great catalyst...the intensity of the struggle for national survival brought with it the demand for a new domestic order’....[FDR]

“The period in which the welfare state was relatively uncontested---1950s-60s, was relatively short-lived”

“..end of the economic boom...1970s...undermined the settlement. ...central issues of dispute came to be the welfare state...new politics dismantled Bretton Woods and applied neo-liberal reforms (p.24)

“1990s>>divergence in character of welfare states....the 3 worlds of welfare capitalism: all three models delivered welfare through a combination of markets, households, and states....differed in the relative emphasis of each dimension....”

“2000s, the future of the welfare state is in question again. Neo-liberal order crashes (2008)....new political conflict over distribution and growth....politics of austerity established advocating cutting back public spending in order to eliminate budget deficits....control national debt”

“...slow growth, stagnant living standards, rising inequality, deflationary pressures ......revival of calls for radical surgery dismantling much of the structure of collective welfare provision built up over the last century...plans for returning size the state to 19th c”
Chapter 2:

“There are 3 important moral positions in relation to desirability of welfare states: socialist, conservative, market libertarian”

“First question that divides them is whether welfare should be provided collectively, and if so, should it be done by the state....”

“Second question is how great the involvement of the state ought to be........appropriate scope and scale”

“Socialist case for collective welfare and for the welfare state------solidarity based on mutual dependence; share resources on socially agreed criteria of fairness and need; place community above the individual (Israeli kibbutz); universality---all citizens treated the same....entitled to the same service as everyone else....solidarity and equality; funded by taxes....involving redistribution”

“welfare, like defense, is a public good which the state should provide because the market will not....a consequentialist argument (p. 39-40)

“Conservative case rooted in paternalism...social order depends on strong and stable families...against universalism......provided services selectively using means tests; prioritize delivering welfare through voluntary organizations rather than the state”

“Market libertarians reject the idea that some form of collective has a higher claim than the individual....arguing since ‘70s that the welfare state should not survive; as privatization of health, education, and pensions takes hold, expectations will come back into line with resources resulting in free economy and minimal state......the moral vision is that the direction of policy should be to reduce state spending and taxation so as to enlarge the sphere of individual liberty, self-realization, individual projects; social security, welfare, etc. should be a matter of individual responsibility...health, education, risks of employment are private goods (p.53) Moral and practical problem: what to do about the poor?”
Chapter 3:

“The new hard times ushered in by the financial crash have once again put the future of the welfare state in question. Will sufficient voters continue to support it? Can it handle the major challenges it faces?”

“Affordability: the problem is not really one of money.....the problem is one of political will........the acceptability of very high taxation has declined as opportunities for personal consumption have mushroomed”

“In denying themselves the ability to raise taxes, they have to put all the emphasis on reductions in spending...This race to the bottom in the Western tax states means that they come to suffer from a chronic shortage of revenue to fund public services; the areas of spending which are targeted are those which benefit minorities: the disabled, the unemployed, and low-income working families......these benefit recipients can much more easily be stigmatized than can pensioners, or those who use schools and hospitals.

“As societies get richer, so the quality threshold in providing entitlements rises. Should welfare states provide only the basics, or should they strive to make available the best that there is? (p.70)

“Capitalism has always depended on non-market institutions to be viable; households were for a long time the crucial support, gradually that role was taken over by welfare states, and women were emancipated to pursue lives on a more equal basis with men.....with a new bout of austerity, the state suddenly starts shoveling responsibilities back on to families”

“International competitiveness: “The 20th century welfare states were always projects of nation-states...the community in which resources were to be shared was always a national one......many programs were universal, but they were universal within national spaces....
“The paradox at the heart of modern welfare states: they were developed to mitigate extreme inequality and insecurity which laissez-faire capitalism generated....they succeeded....civil, political, and social rights......rich and stable”

“In the era of globalization, they have become not only a magnet for the poor of the world, but at the same time uncompetitive with new forms of capitalism arising in Asia, unencumbered by employment rights and welfare. The Western welfare states become little oases of prosperity and harmony, and to preserve their privileges populist movements increasingly demand restrictions on immigration and restrictions on trade.

“New social risks: associated with the transition from a manufacturing economy to a service economy......the emergence of a more individualist society and political culture, of which neo-liberalism is one manifestation......new social risks are centered on new patterns of work, households, and dependency (p.85)......the rise of a more individualist exchange and contract-oriented culture is that the market invades more and more spheres of social life, and individuals want more control over the choices which affect them......result: deregulated markets, state no longer provides or purchases services on citizens behalf, radically reducing taxation and leaving it up to individuals how they choose to spend their money.......logic of a more individualist society is clearly against the ethos and purpose of collectivist institutions like the welfare state...can make citizens less attentive to the needs of others, less convinced of the need for solidarity, less willing to pay taxes needed to keep universal protection in place”

“Ageing and its effects on sustainability and legitimacy of the welfare state.....based as it is on redistribution of resources from young people to old people.......decline in rate of population growth + increase in life expectancy = extra resources extracted from a relatively declining
pool of younger workers to maintain pensioner benefits..........and pensioners wield much political influence......more likely to vote”

**Solution = immigration** rejuvenates a nation’s age profile......it’s the perfect solution for a country with an ageing population, but it has become one of the most toxic of political issues.....resistance from local communities to the impact believed on housing, jobs, and schools......migrants are made the scapegoat......the problem seems unmanageable. (p. 99)

Chapter 4:

“The biggest obstacles hold back the development of the welfare state are the divisions and resentments between citizens over who is entitled to benefits, who is deserving, and who is undeserving.

“Rising inequality threatens to undermine social cohesion and reduce social mobility......also, inequality between rich and poor countries---one manifestation of this is the rising tide of immigration.....has sparked sharp political reactions with the rise of populist anti-immigrant parties.....growing ethnic divisions in many rich democracies threaten the solidarity necessary to sustain the welfare state.

“It has been a central tenet of welfare regimes that one of the reasons for having a welfare state is to make life-chances more equal, to provide social minimums, and to create a common citizenship in which everyone enjoys civil, political, and social rights”