

Summaries

Hans Günter Hockerts, From Problem Solver to Problem Maker? The Social State in the Twentieth Century

This article begins with a view of the rapid rise of the guiding idea of ›social security‹ in the 1930s and 1940s. It argues that its ascent may be seen as a response of liberal and democratic-socialist reformers to the world economic crisis of 1930, the menacing emergency situation of the war years, and the rise of totalitarian movements. The new conceptual approaches bound up with this idea are presented in the example of the Beveridge-Plan, the ›Magna Charta‹ of the welfare state. Also discussed is why the specifically German idea of the *Sozialstaat* (i. e., social state) proved to be resistant for so long to the term ›welfare state‹. The article then describes the boom period, extending from the beginning of the 1950s to the mid-1970s, as the ›heyday of the welfare state‹. In this context it qualifies the well-known typology of Gøsta Esping-Andersen. The second part of the article presents the economic and structural social challenges that have afflicted Western social and welfare states since the mid-1970s. There follows a view of disputed interpretations and controversial positions that have emerged in the crisis discourse about the reform agenda. Finally, using quantitative indicators and referring to concrete steps of reform, the article inquires into changing tendencies in the recent development of the social state in which responses may be recognised to the pressure of its besetting problems and the search for a viable future.

Alexander Nützenadel, Economic Crisis and the Transformation of the Social State in the Twentieth Century

Economic crises are among the formative experiences of the twentieth century. This article studies the question how far economic crises have contributed to the genesis, transformation and dismantling of systems of social security. To this end it makes use of Hansjörg Siegenthaler's concept of crisis, which relates economic crises, institutional change and social learning to each other. Siegenthaler describes modern economic developments as a sequence of periods of structural stability in which, although economic fluctuations occur, social norms and systems of rules remain unchanged, and periods of crisis which are marked by an elementary loss of trust in regulatory capacities. In point of fact the history of the twentieth century shows that social-economic reforms were not realised in acute phases of economic recession. At such times the foreground was generally occupied by short-term crisis management that aimed at the financial consolidation of the social system. These crises led, in the long run, to the erosion of faith in the prevalent rules and so enabled comprehensive reforms that then followed mainly under more favourable economic conditions.

Martin H. Geyer, The Present of the Past. The Debates about the Social State in the 1970s and the Controversial Projects of Modernity

Against the background of debates about the manifold ›crises‹ of modern societies, including not least those of the social and welfare state, programmatic formulations have accumulated since the 1970s whose authors postulate, with descriptive but also with prescriptive intention, historical ruptures and the end or at least the drastic transformation of industrial modernity. This article pursues the question how and why discourses about modernisation and modernity that have determined the scholarly debate with growing

intensity could establish themselves in connection with justifications and criticism of the social state.

In the first part of the article the extension of the social state, beginning at the end of the 1960s, is set in relation to the theories of modernisation that established themselves at this time. At the centre of this section is the moulding of a theoretical social-political modernity in the Federal Republic of Germany. In addition to the insecurity of industrial society and the consequences of the social and political catastrophes of the first half of the twentieth century, the world economic crisis played a major role in the justification of this social-political modernity. The coming to terms with these different crises by means of the social state became a programme of political reform that pinned its hopes on the socially defined distribution of economic wealth. The second part of the article presents the double line of attack of variously motivated political debates about the crisis since the 1970s. This may be seen on the one hand pragmatically, in the criticism of the previous extension of social services and its negative economic and social side effects, and on the other hand fundamentally, in the form of a criticism of the theoretical justifications and postulates of social-political modernity.

It is argued that the abstract and mainly critical discourse about ›modernity‹ established itself at exactly the time that critics, across a broad front, questioned the prevalent models of modernisation and the models of politics based on them by diagnosing and postulating a new ›post‹ condition in the shape of a ›second modernity‹, the end of the ›basic social-democratic consensus‹, and the ›crisis of the work society‹.

Winfried Süß, The Hard-Pressed Welfare State. German and European Perspectives on the Social Politics of the 1970s

This article focuses on four areas of problems: it provides a survey of the social-political development of the post-war boom years, investigates the explanatory power of the concept of crisis with respect to the social security system of the 1970s, situates the Federal Republic of Germany within the European context, and sketches main features of social-political development in times of diminished economic growth. In conclusion, it discusses the explanatory approaches for the specific West German form of treating these social-political problems, which began early in comparison with the rest of Europe, but was committed above all to the primacy of consolidating the budget and barely included structural reforms. Here the focus falls on the interpretations of reality and expectations of a generation of actors whose political experience was shaped by the boom years. It is proposed to operate with an open concept of transformation, which takes account of structural processes of social change, instead of a narrowly economic concept of crisis. In this perspective the social-political problems since the 1970s can be interpreted as welfare state arrangements that have been growing old and obsolete, and have rested on specific expectations of stability from the boom years. Here the rupture appears that was caused by the second oil shock at the beginning of the 1980s, when it became clear that the prosperity of the ›golden age‹ had finally lost its foundation.

Beatrix Bouvier, Social Policy as a Factor in Legitimation? The GDR since the 1970s

Dictatorships like National Socialist Germany and the German Democratic Republic have repeatedly employed social policy for legitimacy purposes and taken up elements of the social state without combining them with the constitutional framework, participatory rights and self-regulatory mechanisms characteristic of the modern social state. This article shows that in major social-political fields the social policy of the GDR had indisputably positive effects, but that it could not achieve the legitimacy results for which

the regime hoped. The effects were contradictory, for the social policy of the GDR called forth both recognition and protest. The legitimisation crisis was at the same time a social crisis that set in when the economic basis of the state began to crumble. The expected and hoped-for loyalty of the population had always to be dearly bought. The multiply conditioned economic problems of the GDR, with its increasing economic inefficiency and heavy debts, scarcely permitted noticeable improvements for the individual citizen because the scope for a paternalistic social policy of gratification dwindled. This contributed to sapping the policy's power of legitimisation as confidence in the problem-solving competence of the regime ebbed. That, in turn, aggravated in the 1970s the at first latent, and then in the mid-1980s overt, social crisis. In spite of the SED's monopoly of power, its leadership came up against limits that forced its hand: the mere existence of the Federal Republic as an attractive counter-model forced the SED to maintain the path taken by Honecker's social policy under all circumstances. The uprising of June 17th had taught the SED that it had long lacked the political backing of the population; something like that was not to happen again.

Gerhard A. Ritter, A Unification Crisis? Main Features of German Social Policy in Reunification

This article summarises the results of the author's book *Der Preis der deutschen Einheit. Die Wiedervereinigung und die Krise des Sozialstaats* (i. e., *The Price of German Unity. Reunification and the Crisis of the Social State*, München 2006), which is largely based on archival sources, and supplements it with further considerations. It shows how the transference of the West German social system to the former GDR essentially changed the framework of the economy and state, and in particular how the enormous Western transfer payment to the East distinctly aggravated the latent crisis of the German social state. The article treats the positions of political and social forces towards the social policy of unification and the discussion initially within the government of the Federal Republic and finally between the negotiating delegations of the Federal Republic and the Democratic Republic about the treaty of May 18 for the creation of a currency, economic and social union and the Treaty of Unification from August 31, 1990, and their implementation in legislation and administration. In particular it treats the policy pertaining to the old age pension scheme, war victims care, social welfare, unemployment insurance, the health system, family and women, and labour law. It is shown how a new system, resting on autonomous labour unions and employers' associations, organised labour relations and how the active labour market policy was broadly extended to cushion mass unemployment in the East. In conclusion, the article considers the questions whether there was a practical political alternative to the transference of the West German system, what avoidable errors were made in the social policy of unification, and what effects the unification had on the social state and political system of the Federal Republic. Finally, an epilogue sketches the position of the German social state before and after unification in international comparison.

Christiane Kuller, Social Security for Women – an Unsolved Structural Problem in the Masculine Welfare State. The Federal Republic of Germany: A European Comparison

This article first views typologies of the European social state and presents indicators of gender relations in the welfare state. In the second part, it looks more closely at the trends and ruptures in the gender-political development of the social state in the German Federal Republic since 1945, where the social security system for familial nursing care, the gender-political Achilles Heel of the social state, was comparatively little developed.

The German social state, with its traditionally especially strong connection to earning, extended social security to familial nursing care independently of gainful employment only in the 1980s, although the debate about this had already begun in the late 1960s. Decisive remained the orientation on marriage as the basis of parenthood. The specific tensions that resulted from this were characteristic of the West German development and considerably contributed to the ›strong male breadwinner-model‹ being able to maintain itself through all phases of crisis and reform. In a third section, the article discusses explanatory factors for these developments within an international comparison, including the significance of institutional structures, the role of women in politics, and the influence of the specific historical experience of National Socialism and the partition of Germany. In conclusion, the article summarily compares the various types of social state with respect to the category of gender. In a retrospect of the second half of the twentieth century, it appears that the processes of change of the welfare state's gender regime can hardly be grasped in an integrated typology; on the contrary, an approach sensitive to gender indicates the great spectrum of variation and the multiplicity of developmental factors within the traditional categories of the social state.

Wilfried Rudloff, Educational Policy as Social Policy. The Federal Republic of Germany in the 1960s and 1970s: An International Comparison

Educational systems are always assigned a multiplicity of functions and goals. Their significance and ranking is neither stable nor undisputed, but stand under conditions of continual revision. In the 1960s and 1970s, the starting-point of this article, social-political goals took a salient place in the spectrum of tasks assigned to educational policy in the Federal Republic of Germany, as in many other Western states. The institutions of the educational system were to be measured positively according to how far they succeeded in guaranteeing a social ›equality of opportunity‹, or negatively according to how they contributed to perpetuating the existing pattern of social inequality. Although in an international comparison a kind of dominating reform strategy was recognisable in the transition from a tiered to an integrated school system, special instruments and paths for a new social-political direction in educational policy developed at the same time, depending on the various national perceptions of the problems, discursive constellations and general political framework. This process is illustrated by the examples of Sweden, Great Britain, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. As far as the intention of changing society through the schools is concerned, considerable disillusionment frequently ensued upon occasionally high-flown expectations. Since the 1970s, educational policy has therefore often drifted away from the social-political ambitions of 1960s, a drift that has been additionally reinforced by the change in general economic and political conditions. This process, too, was a phenomenon that could be observed at the international level in various forms. The crisis of educational policy that was now spoken of was, above all, a crisis of the social-political functions assigned to educational policy.

Bernhard Ebbinghaus/Isabelle Schulze, Crisis and Reform of Old-Age Pension Schemes in Europe

The crisis of old-age pension schemes in the modern welfare state has manifold causes: a demographic development that challenges cost sharing procedures, problems and changes in the job market, generous early retirement options, and insufficient hedging of pension funds against capital market risks. The degree to which these factors have had an effect depends upon the pension system of the respective countries. As a reaction to the pressure exerted by the problem, all OECD countries have initiated reforms of their old-age

pension schemes. This article compares two reform policies: 1) the changed policy towards retirement age, extending to the reversal of early retirement policy, and 2) the increasing privatisation of old-age provisions in the form of the withdrawal of the state. Both these reform processes harbour social risks: an increased risk of unemployment for older people and of unequal social coverage by private retirement provisions. These risks result in potential subsequent problems for current forms of pension schemes and in a future need for greater regulation. The (partial) withdrawal of the state from financial responsibility for old-age pensions schemes requires flanking policies for employment, the fostering of a concerted social partnership in the shape of a collectively organised private retirement pension supplement system, and state policies of regulation and taxation designed to avoid old-age poverty.

Ulrike Lindner, *The Crisis of the Welfare State in the Health Sector. The Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain and Sweden*

This article traces the reaction of Swedish, British and West German health policy up to the 1990s to the worldwide economic crisis of the 1970s, a crisis that considerably affected all western-European states. Included in the study is the phase of the social state's expansion in the two previous decades. Structural differences of the three health systems, ranging from public health insurance system to state health service, resulted not only in divergent administrative demands, but also differently layered scopes for decision in health policy. Changed general economic conditions and the new scarcity aggravated latent problems of the health system and were everywhere perceived as constituting a crisis. In all three countries studied, one may discern the most important reaction to this development in a paradigm change that led away from a reform of the social state that was defined as the extension of services to an understanding of reform as cost limitation. Great Britain and Sweden moreover adopted neo-liberal positions and aimed at partial privatisation as a solution to the problem; the influence of new experts superseded in part the influence of the medical fraternity as the traditionally most effective group of actors. At the same time, one may observe in all three health systems the persistent force of established institutions that has attenuated or partly frustrated the new reforms.

Martin Lengwiler, *In the Shadow of Unemployment and Old-Age Insurance. Systems of State Disability Insurance after 1945: A European Comparison*

This article studies the genesis and course of the crisis discourse concerning the social state using the example of disability and handicap insurance. It presents four case studies: Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany. On the one hand, it inquires into the institutional conditions under which such crisis discourse manifests itself; on the other hand, it considers how far the case studies may be joined into a common constellation of European crisis. The article refers to a series of institutional factors that made the social insurance system susceptible to crisis. Thus insurance oriented systems resting on money transfers (for example, in Italy or the Netherlands) evinced a greater susceptibility to crisis than systems with a strong constraint to integration (Germany). Moreover, centralised systems (as in Switzerland) were more readily put out of joint than fragmented systems with immanent checks-and-balances (as in Germany). In view of the idiosyncrasies of the four forms of crisis discourse, it is difficult to draw a cohesive European picture. In Italy, for example, disability costs were discussed within the frame of pensions and labour market policy, in the Netherlands predominantly within the frame of labour market policy, and in Switzerland in terms of health policy. The fo-

cal points of the crisis debates also occurred at widely different times, ranging from the 1970s in Italy to the 1990s in Switzerland.

Daniel Maul, The Transnational View. The International Labour Organisation and the Social-Political Crises of Europe in the Twentieth Century

This article treats the role of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) against the background of the social-political crises of Europe in the twentieth century. In three sections, on the inter-war years, the period of Allied post-war planning during the Second World War, and the 1970s, it analyses the attempts of the ›world social organisation‹ ILO to develop and arbitrate concepts for dealing with actual crises and the prevention of future ones. The goal of the article is to open a new inter/transnational perspective on the social-political crises of Europe in the twentieth century and at the same time to sharpen the view for the intellectual contribution made by international organisations, contributions which have been given little attention in the general research and in research on the European social states in particular. Brought to light and critically considered are also the reasons why few innovative impulses came from the ›crisis management‹ of the ILO during the emerging crises of the western European welfare states in the mid-1970s by comparison with previous phases.

Robert Salais, Europe and the Deconstruction of the Category of ›Unemployment‹

This article treats one of the cognitive and action categories that underlies the social state, the category of ›unemployment‹. It comes to grips with the lessons to be learned from the history of the category and with its development in train of the reforms promoted by the European authorities. ›Unemployment‹ played a major role in the social model of full employment. This is no longer the case in the new political and legal framework, since the point is now to bring employment quotas to a maximum. The European ›governance‹ of the reforms rests on the principles of ›new public management‹ (guidelines, indicators for the measurement of performance, peer review).

First and foremost, the article stresses how important it is to promote research on technologies of social knowledge, their role in the organisation and tautening of public debate, and the innovative character of their contemporary rational application to political goals. It introduces the terms ›general knowledge‹ and ›cognitive hegemony‹ so as to show how the European authorities mean to introduce a change of norms in every member state, which in turn determines what is understood by ›work‹ and ›unemployment‹.

The historical retrospect documents that the category ›unemployment‹ is permanently anchored in a way specific to each country in its institutions, in the expectations of its citizens, and also in the main features of the labour market and system of production. The article therefore poses the question about the nature of the political process now being introduced, which it defines as a process of dismantling. This process restricts itself to shifting the insecurities bound up with the loss of work back into the private sphere of the individual. Thus the need for a collective knowledge about the corresponding social phenomena and about state policy towards these phenomena is invalidated.

Übersetzungen von Jonathan Uhlener