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The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare

Volume 41
Issue 4 December

Article 12

2014

Review of *Social Policy, Welfare State, and Civil Society in Sweden, Vol. II: The Lost World of Social Democracy, 1988-2015* (3rd Enlarged Edition). Sven E. O. Hort. Reviewed by Marguerite G. Rosenthal

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Recommended Citation

Rosenthal, Marguerite G. (2014) "Review of *Social Policy, Welfare State, and Civil Society in Sweden, Vol. II: The Lost World of Social Democracy, 1988-2015* (3rd Enlarged Edition). Sven E. O. Hort. Reviewed by Marguerite G. Rosenthal," *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*: Vol. 41 : Iss. 4 , Article 12.
Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol41/iss4/12>

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Populations of Europe," through investment in improving education and labour market entry for the young, hence providing an economic basis for intergenerational redistribution.

This volume provides the reader with a good understanding of the social investment welfare state.

*Gertrude Schaffner Goldberg, Professor Emerita,
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Sven E. O. Hort, *Social Policy, Welfare State, and Civil Society in Sweden, Vol. II: The Lost World of Social Democracy, 1988-2015* (3rd Enlarged Edition). Arkiv Academic Press, (2014). 206 pages, \$22.75 (paperback).

Sven Hort (formerly Sven Olsson and later Sven Olsson Hort) has documented extensively the components and transitions of the Swedish welfare state since 1990 when the first volume, later revised, was first published; in fact, the second volume is marketed with the previous volume, also a 3rd edition, *Social Policy, Welfare State and Civil Society in Sweden: History, Policies, and Institutions 1884-1988*. This book provides a thorough—and for those who hold Sweden up as an example of what a comprehensive welfare state can be, a depressing—analysis of developments in Sweden since the late 1980s.

In Chapter 1 Hort provides an overview of comparative welfare state research. Chapter 2, "The Social Welfare-Industrial Complex: Social Policy and Programmes 1990-2014," and Chapter 3, "The Lost World of the Social Democratic Welfare Regime Type, 1988-2014," focus on several inter-connected phenomena that have contributed to Sweden's diminished welfare state, among them: an eclipsed Social Democratic Party, which had been closely allied with a highly unionized labor force, which has intermittently lost national elections to the Moderates who have pushed austerity programs; an economy now globalized, especially after the country joined the EU in 1994, with a consequent loss of high-paying manufacturing jobs (for example, the Volvo car division was sold to Ford in 1999); the ascendancy of local government as the provider of social and health services (what in the U.S. has been called devolution); an income tax system where 1/3 is paid to local authorities, resulting in better and more comprehensive

services for those living in wealthy municipalities; publicly-financed privatization of some social services and healthcare; a partially privatized pension system that was formerly publicly run and generous; cutbacks in sickness and unemployment benefits; the collapse of a comprehensive housing policy; and demographic changes, including an aging population and new immigrants—over 1 million in the 20-year period beginning in 1990—towards whom there has been hostility and political backlash.

Hort refers several times to the Social Democrats as “Blue Labour,” modeled on Tony Blair’s example. Full employment—a hallmark of the former Sweden—is no longer the goal; instead, a “work first” strategy dominates. Though never fully explained, it appears to be a soft version of workfare (see Gertrude Goldberg’s review of *Towards a Social Investment Welfare State?* in this issue). The former pro-active Labour Market Board (AMS), which, in order to support full employment, did extensive studies of projected job growth while also providing sophisticated job retraining and job creation (see Helen Ginsburg, 1983), has been replaced by local Employment Service agencies that offer only stripped down job coaching and referral services. The goal of full employment has been replaced by price stability and low inflation (pp. 90-91).

Civil society, revised to include voluntarism, a reinvigorated church-affiliated sector, and privatization—including tax-supported for-profit service organizations—is the focus of Chapter 4. The chapter covers the growth of private schools and vouchers, cutbacks that have affected financial support for higher education students, and other semi-austerity measures. Only feminism that has promoted gender equality seems to have had a positive impact on Swedish society, and child care and parental leave benefits remain strong.

In the final two chapters, Hort evaluates the viability of the famous, comprehensive and universal Nordic welfare state model described by Esping-Andersen in 1995. Hort concludes that this unique model still holds, but in Sweden, it is a “slimmed down” version of its former self. Where once Sweden was the Scandinavian leader, it has fallen to fourth place, behind Finland, Norway and Denmark.

Social Policy, Welfare State and Civil Society in Sweden

provides an enormity of information and a cogent analysis of the changes that have taken place there over the past 25 years. It provides strong evidence that a capitalist economy that once provided universal public services and economic supports can easily reverse course, resulting in more stringently provided benefits to a more unequal society, when external and internal social, political and even intellectual dynamics change. My one quibble is that while the table of contents is very detailed, there is no index to help the reader focus and review specific topics, but any scholar wanting to understand how the Swedish welfare state has arrived at its current form will gain a lot from this book.

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Sandra R. Levitsky, *Caring For Our Own: Why There Is No Political Demand for New American Social Welfare Rights*. Oxford University Press (2014). 224 pages, \$24.95 (paperback).

Political sociologists and others who study social movements typically question why and how people mobilize around causes that they care about. This, of course, was the focus of the work of Piven and Cloward in the 1960s, and research interest has continued. Less studied, however, has been the question of why some people do not take these actions and come together to advocate for their self-interests. This forms the context of Sandra Levitsky's fascinating new book, *Caring for our Own: Why There is No Political Demand for new American Social Welfare Rights*.

Drawing upon her background as both a lawyer and a sociologist, Levitsky looks specifically at the issue of long term care in America. She notes how the landscape has drastically changed, with social policies and programs failing to keep up with the changes. The population is aging, and care needs are becoming more intense as hospitals discharge patients "quicker and sicker." Add to this the huge shift of women into the labor force—women traditionally being the stay at home caregivers for their family—and one sees the issue quite clearly. What is not so clear for Levitsky is why more people