INTRODUCTION

Nils Edling

Studying the Welfare State as a Historical Concept

There are few words so widely diffused and belonging so naturally to modern political vocabulary as the term 'welfare'. It also belongs, of course, to those widely used forceful expressions whose lack of conceptual clarity is so marked that they can be defined as slogans. Everyone likes welfare, yet disagreement surges when the character and content of the welfare in question are to be decided. This general disagreement becomes evident in politics, where welfare and its compounds 'welfare state', 'welfare society', 'welfare politics' and 'welfare policies' are open to constant reinterpretations. To follow Reinhart Koselleck, the doyen of conceptual history (*Begriffsgeschichte*), terms of this kind 'combine manifold experiences and expectations in such a way that they become indispensable to any formulation of the most urgent issues of a given time. Thus basic concepts are highly complex; they are always both controversial and contested'.[1] They are contested because different political and societal actors invest them with different meanings and promote distinct policies based on their diverging experiences and interests and their competing plans and visions for the future. Put in another way, concepts are not above politics – in the sense that common agreement on definitions is a condition of debate – but subject to politics itself. In this fundamental sense, 'the welfare state' and the other welfare compounds constitute highly politicized key concepts of the Western world. They are used in popular, academic and political discourses in many different ways. Their ambiguity and fuzziness is a trademark.

The objective of this book is to study the shifting usages and frequently conflicting connotations and meanings attached to 'the welfare state' in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. The contributions share a common starting point: the welfare state and the other welfare compound concepts are highly important for the analysis of the Nordic coun-

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tries, and these concepts are all historically contingent. This holds for all the countries, although with substantial variations between countries and over time. 'The welfare state' is a multilayered concept ripe with ambiguities, and this means that only a historical study can uncover and analyse how it has been used and understood over time.

Since the 1940s, 'the welfare state' has become a powerful political term as well as a frequently used scholarly concept. In academic texts, a common-sense definition centred on social insurance and social services provided by public agencies dominates. 'A welfare state is a state that is committed to providing basic economic security for its citizens by protecting them from market risks associated with old age, unemployment, and sickness,' opens the standard definition.[2] It can be traced back to the British social historian Asa Briggs' classic essay on the history of the welfare state from 1961.[3] Whereas Briggs painted a broad canvas and included long-term changes, academic focus is on the present and, among historians, on the period from the late nineteenth century onwards, on the economic and social changes brought about by industrialization and on social insurance as the answer to the social question. German social legislation under Bismarck plays the leading part in most narratives about the emergence of the welfare state.[4] In this continuously growing body of literature there exists no agreement about the exact definition of key concept, and this confusion is openly acknowledged: 'The picture is further complicated by uncertainty over exactly what it is that the "welfare state" (and its cognate terms) connotes.'[5] At the same time, the short history of the term is underlined. 'The welfare state' is a late-breaking term of British origin, and it belongs to the post-1945 period, it is commonly stated.[6] This often repeated statement goes back to Briggs' opening sentence: 'The phrase "welfare state" is of recent origin. It was first used to describe Labour Britain after 1945. From Britain the phrase made its way round the world.'[7] As Danish historians Jørn Henrik Petersen and Klaus Petersen recently have shown, 'the welfare state' is considerably older than the 1940s and its history far more complex than usually stated.[8] This means that those who argue that 'welfare state' came *post festum,* as 'a label trailing the fact', are incorrect; the term was used well before the 1940s in multiple, hitherto unexplored ways. But as Daniel Rodgers correctly adds, social reform in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century included a wide range of issues, and reformers rarely set up a 'welfare state' as the future goal.[9] We argue that the widespread confusion surrounding its history – with multiple competing inventors of the term combined with a marked presentism, noticeable in academic texts where a fixed definition is imposed upon past and present societies – increases the need for mapping and analysing the different

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historical layers of usages and meanings. The limited knowledge of the ways 'the welfare state' has been used and understood make up a starting point for our studies.[10]

We see the need to historicize 'the welfare state', unpack the unknown history of a modern key concept, and we need to take the concept's history seriously in order to avoid making the fallacious assumption 'that the cluster of concepts adhering to the welfare state today can be projected back into history and had the same resonance, meaning and significance to contemporaries as they have today'.[11] Consequently, we do not use 'the welfare state' as a suprahistorical concept, and from this follows that our objective is not to provide fixed and final definitions.[12] That being said, we believe that our studies can help increasing our awareness of the differences between academic, public and political usages and understandings and how they have changed over time. Such an undertaking can make a substantial contribution to the field of welfare state studies in general, and we believe that the Nordic countries – highly developed welfare states – provide excellent cases to study. The special status of the Nordic countries as premium welfare states of the world (this elevated position being warranted or not) makes it even more important to map and analyse the different ways the welfare state has been defined and reinterpreted. Our studies will reveal a high level of contestation and conflict surrounding 'the welfare state' also in the Nordic countries.

Until recent years, there has been relatively little interest in the systematic study of the language and concepts of social policy and welfare. Even the most ambitious efforts such as the useful handbooks on the welfare state from recent years, with their professed objective to cover all relevant aspects and approaches, devote only superficial attention to language and concepts.[13] This lacuna in the constantly growing body of research is surprising – not least in the Nordic countries, where the welfare state has been a central political and scholarly topic for decades now. Our book is related to those recent studies that focus on social policy concepts as important objects of study.[14]

Our Approach

The word 'welfare' is of Nordic origin. The Old English *wel faran* – i.e. getting along and/or doing well – comes from the Old Norse *velferð*, which translates into *welfare* in modern English and *Wohlfahrt* in German. Being an old and reasonably common term found in texts in the Nordic languages from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it has over time acquired multiple connotations and synonyms.[15] This multiplicity of us-

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ages and meanings include wellbeing, health, happiness, wealth, justice and peace; 'welfare' could refer to everlasting bliss – the aim for all good Christians – as well as temporal, worldly goods such as good health and material prosperity. It would be possible to trace, map and compare the different usages in theological, political and literary discourses and their changes over a longer period of time in the Nordic countries. However, except for a short background on 'the common good' in the first chapter, our intention is not to write general histories of ideas about welfare since ancient times.

Our take on conceptual history is also fundamentally pragmatic in the sense that we use it primarily as a means to open up and enrich the study of past and present politics. Purposeful usage of political concepts can be studied in different ways, and we see no need to make doctrinaire statements about the one and only correct methodology.[16] This openness does not make us unaware of the discursive and communicative characteristics of political language.[17] The studies in this book share a pragmatic semasiological approach, which means that we search for the term 'the welfare state' and study its changing connotations. A nominalist focus is necessary in order to navigate the endless oceans of sources, and it also immunizes against teleological readings, where our present day understanding is imposed on historical actors and texts.[18] But our approach does not exclude the contexts where terms receive their meaning through their usage by different political actors or the broader semantic fields with related concepts, adjectives, metaphors and antagonistic counter-concepts. This means that we try to cover conceptual shifts in politics and include competing terms and concepts in the studies. The conflicting usages and the different layers of meaning – traces of older discourses living on untouched only to be revived, recycled or modified in new situations – are important, as they make up the multilayered historicity of key concepts.

In our contributions, sensitive to the national contexts and histories, we try to study the conflicting ways in which 'the welfare state' has been put into purposeful linguistic usage over time. Focus is mainly on the period from the 1930s–40s up to the present, with short introductions that cover the preceding decades. How was the term used and defined? Who used it and with what objectives? When did it come into circulation? How important has it been in relation to other political concepts? How has usage and understanding changed over time? Was 'the welfare state' a description of the contemporary state, a concept encapsulating historical experiences, or a future-oriented political objective, a concept filled with expectations and promises? These basic questions concern the politicization, ideologization and temporalization of a concept, the pro-

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cesses where 'the welfare state' became an object of contest between different societal and political actors, where it was incorporated into ideologies and programmes and forged expectations directing them toward an open-ended, potentially better future.[19] The questions are all about forms of usage, about agents, arguments, positions and contestations in the historical processes where 'the welfare state' became a key concept in social policy and political discourse in general.

The relations between concept formation and social reforms are important in our studies. Or put more directly, we study the role of concept of the welfare state in the formation of the systems of social security and services that are described as 'the welfare state'. How important has it been in relation to other competing concepts? How has it been used as a tool and weapon in the different national discourses and debates? As will become clear, critique and opposition made up key elements of the story at least in Sweden, Denmark and Norway, where debates about 'the welfare state' took off in the 1930s and 1940s–50s respectively. In Finland and Iceland, the concept of the welfare state was largely absent until the last few decades, and these differences propose questions about periodization, about conceptual change in relation to the changing situation within each country and in relation to larger historical processes such as the Great Depression, the Cold War, the end of the 'Golden Age of Welfare' in the 1970s and the increased importance of European integration.[20] This means that national experiences and histories open for variations in time and space.

Our focus is on central political actors – experts and opinion moulders on the national level, both collective and individual – such as the political parties and their leading representatives, political economists and social policy specialists, church leaders and newspaper editors. We draw on an extensive number and variety of printed sources: dictionaries and encyclopaedia, central political texts (party programmes, political treatises/declarations and election manifestos), key texts in social reform/social policies, handbooks on social policy and material from public debates (newspapers and journals). However, the contributions will not be uniform in this respect, as the availability of sources varies between the countries. Our sources reflect their period of origin and are gendered that way; for many decades, men completely dominated politics, public life and scholarly discourses in all the Nordic countries. Nowadays, the Nordic countries are well known for taking gender equality seriously, but their national histories of welfare discourse are, all the same, predominantly male. In addition, national minorities, such as the Sami and the Inuit, and semi-independent regions like the Faroes and Aland are largely left out of the narratives.

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The Nordic Countries as Welfare States

Historically speaking, the Nordic region can be divided into a western half, comprising Denmark and Norway, and an eastern half with Sweden and Finland. Before gaining full sovereignty in 1905, Norway was united with Denmark from the fourteenth century to 1814 and then partner in the union with Sweden for the following ninety years. Finland made up the eastern part of the Swedish realm up to 1809 and then became an autonomic grand duchy of the Russian empire until independence in 1917, followed by the Civil War between 'Reds' and 'Whites', a short class-based conflict with long-lasting effects. The outlier Iceland, through history linked to Norway and later Denmark, gained full independence in 1944.

The Nordic countries occupy a privileged position in international political and academic discourses on welfare. The Nordic or Scandinavian welfare states make up a well-established model, and there would seem to be widespread agreement that the Nordic welfare state is something special. They are, arguably, the most admired welfare states and figure prominently as examples to be followed by other countries. As noted in the literature, texts about the Nordic model tend to have strong prescriptive overtones.[21] Or, when viewed with different eyes, the Nordic societies set the warning example to be avoided at all costs. Nordic governments of today continue to make strong claims about the special qualities of their welfare model, an obvious case of nation-branding.[22] Current self-understanding in the mainland Nordic countries is also impregnated with welfare – that is, 'the welfare state' is included in popular descriptions of the country. Differently put, inhabitants of the Nordic countries often identify their own societies as welfare states, and they do it with much pride but not without reservations.[23]

The idea of some kind of common Nordic welfare model – despite the national differences – can be traced back to the interwar period, and the positive images promoted individually and collectively by the Nordic countries to an international audience have since then been amplified and stereotyped in multiple ways by foreign visitors and distant observers.[24] Although the Scandinavians countries were no utopias or social paradises, there was little doubt, declared admiringly the well-known American journalist William Shirer in 1955, that they had done more than anyone else to meet the uncertainties of the modern world through 'the creation of the 'welfare state'. According to his not at all unusual judgement, the Nordic countries made up a special case.[25] Some historians even talk about notions of a Nordic *Sonderweg,* 'a specific egalitarian social democratic community of destiny' in the 1950s and 1960s, boosted by the seemingly limitless growth of welfare and contrasted with con-

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servative, Catholic continental Europe.[26] It is safe to say that a more or less focused image of Nordic specificity existed well before sociologist Gøsta Esping-Andersen introduced his now classic welfare state regime typology and reinforced the model status in the 1990s. He used 'social-democratic' and 'Scandinavian' regime as synonyms, and one can argue that his general understanding of 'the welfare state' draws heavily on the Nordic countries.[27] It seems that this distinctive model has survived as the least controversial of the three regimes in the many academic texts, published since 1990, devoted to assessing and modifying the typology.[28]

Usually, texts about typical Nordic communalities discuss Denmark, Norway and, above all, Sweden, whereas Finland and Iceland, if at all included, are treated as diverging cases. Scholars from the two latter countries tend to support such interpretations.[29] This opens for the question of how 'the welfare state' has been understood in these different national contexts and how references to a special Nordic understanding of welfare were played out in the different domestic debates. In this way, we try to offer a counterweight to the more or less distinctive Swedocentrism found in international studies of Scandinavia and to the focus on the English language in discussions of history of social policy language in general.[30] Furthermore, stereotypes abound in academic, political and popular discourses about Nordic welfare. Above all, the notion of inseparable ties between the Social Democratic labour movement and comprehensive welfare policies seems to live a life of its own. The Social Democratic parties have certainly played a leading role in Nordic politics, but it was only during shorter periods in Norway and Sweden in the 1950s and 1960s that the Social Democrats obtained a majority of their own. Danish, Finnish and Icelandic political patterns have always been more complex.[31] In the 2010 and 2014 elections, the Swedish Social Democrats gained slightly more than 30 per cent of the votes, a major drop from the 45 per cent they were accustomed to in the 1970s and 1980s and earlier. Their Norwegian and Danish counterparts have seen similar decreases: the Norwegian Social Democrats have swung between 31 and 24 per cent in the elections since 1989, and the Danish party won 26 per cent in the election in 2015, a good result it was said but a still considerable drop over the last decades. Still, the longevity of this notion of 'social democratic welfare states' deserves special attention, and we include the open question of how the Social Democrats in the different Nordic countries have understood and made use of 'the welfare state'. We also ask how the meanings and connotations have changed during the last few decades when their dominance has been challenged.

Related to the idea of the 'social democratic welfare states' is the notion of the Nordic countries as typical consensual democracies where

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harmonious social relations produce a comparatively low level of political conflicts. 'Consensus' has been understood in different ways: corporatist interest organizations taking an active part in public policymaking, minority governments seeking broad compromises or, seen in the long-term perspective, a distinctive political culture rooted in reasonably egalitarian peasant communities.[32] The latter idea seems to be particularly strong in Sweden. However, as British historian Mary Hilson notes, there was nothing inevitable about the Scandinavian transition to democracy, and the notion of an unbroken link between early modern parish assemblies and 'consensual democracies' of the present entails a teleological view of history. As she argues, the progressive development path of the five peripheral Northern European countries was not historically predetermined.[33]

The Nordic Setting

As the notion of a common model of social policy makes clear, *Norden*, the common name for the five Nordic countries, seems to be something more than a geographical region in Northern Europe. The idea of Nordic communalities, of historical connections and similarities building unique ties and a special Nordicness, has many proponents, not least among politicians. Nordic cooperation is a reality surrounded by celebratory rhetoric.[34] There are manifest results, such as the monetary union between Denmark, Norway and Sweden 1873–1924. But other efforts to establish grander schemes of cooperation, such Nordic defence and economic unions, have failed; Denmark, Norway and Iceland are members of NATO, and Denmark, Finland and Sweden have joined the European Union. All the same, different forms of both formal and informal exchange and competition have been doing quite well over time.

In the field of social and economic policies, Norden is not just a setting for cooperation but also a context for comparison between the countries and, sometimes, for a 'we-are-lagging-behind-critique' within the individual countries. In this way, the Nordic context has functioned as a model of reference, a framework for competition and the framing of best practices within specific policy areas. Denmark had the most advanced social legislation up to the 1930s, when Sweden took over the leading role. In Finland, Sweden has customarily filled this role as an example.[35]

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, platforms for intra-Nordic exchange were formed with the recurring meetings for economists from 1863, doctors 1870, jurists (lawyers) 1872 and statisticians 1889, followed by many other professions and branches with their Nordic associations, meetings and journals.[36] The nascent labour organizations

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staged their Nordic first congress 1886, and employers followed suit with their meetings starting in 1902, and on the government level, senior officials and experts convened regularly from 1907 to discuss different social insurance issues. The Social Democratic labour movements consolidated their cooperation in the 1930s with SAMAK, the Co-operation Committee of the Nordic Social Democratic parties and Trade Union Confederations, with its series of conferences and publications. SAMAK, a platform for meetings and personal contacts, is a good example of the longevity of formalized, yet informal, intra-Nordic exchange under changing historical circumstances.[37]

At the official level, more formalized cooperation social policy meetings were organized from 1919, and in the wake of World War II the formal agreements on movement between the different national social security systems were created. The de-bordering of social security legislations accompanied the creation of a common Nordic labour market with intra-Nordic freedom of movement.[38] In 1952, the Nordic Council, Nordiska Rådet, was formed as the official inter-parliamentary body for cooperation, taking over from the older existing official and informal networks. The five governments set up the Nordic Council of Ministers, Nordiska Ministerrådet, in 1971. As noted in the literature, Nordic cooperation tends to be 'based on the principle of the common lowest denominator' whereas European cooperation from the outset was constructed with strong institutions and elements of supranational organization.[39] In comparison, cooperation in the voluntary sector seems to be a success, and initiatives within the social and cultural fields have done considerably better than, e.g., proposals for organized economic cooperation.

The multiple connections open up for general questions about the significance of transfer and translation, emulation and competition in the conceptual history of the welfare state in the Nordic countries. Of course, the settings for exchange are much larger than the Nordic region; international organizations, such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Union, are central innovators and regulators in this respect, and the significance of the EU level has grown continuously since the 1990s.[40] We try to be attentive to the many links between the countries and to the processes of diffusion and emulation, adaption or rejection. However, the chapters are not designed as transnational conceptual histories, and the reason for this is both simple and important: 'National political systems remain the field in which political conflicts are resolved.'[41] Certain concepts travel easily and are translated and accommodated in different linguistic and political settings and 'the welfare state' is definitely a concept of that kind, a universalized concept of the

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modern world. This is especially true of the postwar concept of 'the welfare state' in its Anglo-American version, but the same can be said about the older German conceptual inventions *Sozialpolitik* and *Wohlfahrtsstaat*. As Finnish historian Henrik Stenius points out, the modern key concepts were European, and modernization in the Nordic countries included the introduction of a new conceptual universe with concepts and discourses from the core of Europe.[42] Transfer and appropriation were no doubt vitally important processes, but our point is, nonetheless, that the concrete conceptual interpretations are made by actors who are situated in particular domestic contexts, and we need to start by studying them. This decides our primary focus on the national settings in our five case studies.

State and Society in the Nordic Countries

The Reformation in the sixteenth century made the church an integrated part of the emerging state. At the local level the parish priests served both the state administration and the church. The local priests were responsible for their parishioners – for socializing and disciplining them through house tables and catechization. Subsequently, schooling, poor relief, censuses and inoculations became tasks for the priests and parishes. Many scholars have stressed the ideological and institutional significance of this intertwined state-church partnership over many centuries for the twentieth century welfare state developments.[43] Fewer have argued that modern welfare rights negate the authoritarian Lutheran heritage. Obviously, the church has been changing over time, and there are substantial differences between the Nordic countries. A general question for the following chapters concerns the relations between organized religion and 'the welfare state'.[44]

In addition to the Lutheran hegemony, linguistic similarities – Danish, Norwegian and Swedish are closely related, and Finland, with Finnish and Swedish as official languages, has a small Swedish-speaking population – strengthen the cultural communalities. The societies also show a relatively high degree of ethnic homogeneity with small historically rooted minorities, such as the Inuit people of Greenland and the Sami of northern Finland, Norway and Sweden. Immigration has changed the complexion of the population in all the countries; Sweden has the highest share of foreign-born inhabitants at about 18 per cent and Finland the lowest share at 6 per cent of the total population. In Denmark the figure was 11 per cent at the beginning of 2016; in Iceland 9.6 per cent and in Norway ca 14 per cent.[45] Obviously, migration and integration are

nowadays central policy areas, and new anti-immigration parties have changed the political landscape significantly. Globalization, migration and EU membership, which Denmark, Finland and Sweden hold, are contested issues in all countries. These changes have been described as a normalization of a kind, a Europeanization of values and attitudes, and they highlight the notions of the generous welfare programmes as closed national projects.[46]

The Nordic conceptual universe includes a weak distinction between state and society. In the conceptualization of social problems and solutions, the concept of society (*samhälle* in Swedish, *samfund* in Danish, *samfunn* in Norwegian, *samfélag* in Icelandic, *yhteiskunta* in Finnish) is assigned a crucial role. 'State' and 'society' were and are frequently used interchangeably; voters and politicians often talk about the duty of society to address this or that particular issue with new policies and invest society with public authority.[47] Different explanations for this distinctive trait, usually centred on the Swedish case, have been forwarded. One argues that the development of the Swedish term samhälle (society) to refer to the state derives from the tradition of local self-government among the free-holding farmers. This egalitarian political culture, claimed to be reminiscent of the classical *polis*, constituted a local public sphere, a samhälle. The term then referentially expanded to include larger political units, what was becoming called the nation and, later, the modern state.[48] Supplementary interpretations stress the pivotal importance of the popular movements of the nineteenth century – the temperance, revivalist and labour movements – for fostering a democratic, corporative regime based on cooperation between civil society and the state. In this way, a 'Lutheran peasant Enlightenment' is said to make up the historical roots of the modern democratic Nordic societies, and the conflation of state and society grew out of this democratic culture.[49] As Pauli Kettunen rightly notes, this line of reasoning exaggerates the egalitarian character of past societies, and it overlooks the conceptual legacies. Nordic political languages have retained a central element in pre-nineteenth-century political thinking, where 'society' and 'state' were overlapping; both could be used as vernacular translations of *civitas* and *respublica* and both referred to the political community as a totality. In this sense, the Nordic languages have conserved the old unity of state and society to a greater extent than other Western languages.[50] It is therefore safe to say that the relations between 'society' and 'state' have more complex historical roots than has been argued in the 'society-from-below perspective'. By studying the usages and meanings of *state* and *society* in relation to *welfare* in our different national contexts, we try to make sense of the intricate relations and conflations in the political discourses.

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The Outline of the Book

The first chapter 'Multiple Welfare States' surveys the history of the different German state concepts of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and their shifting usages. It includes an overview of related developments in the United States and some scattered examples from Britain as well. The goal is to map the new concepts and ideas that were invented abroad and later imported, translated and introduced in the different Nordic countries ca 1870–1940, the period of the social question and liberal social reform.

The subsequent chapters trace the history of 'the welfare state' in each country. They are presented in the conventional order, starting with Sweden followed by Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland. This is not surrender to the conventional Swedo-centrism of contemporary social science. Instead, we have selected this order because it reflects an implicit and over time seemingly stable Nordic hierarchy of a kind.[51] The old kingdoms Sweden and Denmark – arch-enemies for several hundred years – constituted the centre, surrounded by the three younger independent states. In addition, 'the welfare state' premiered in public discourse earlier in Sweden than in the other countries. This made Sweden a possible point of reference for the neighbours. The chapters are structured along similar lines with a common time frame and with the searchlight on the same type of actors, arenas and discourses in each country, but they differ in some respects in order to cater for national peculiarities. The short conclusion summarizes the communalities and differences between the Nordic countries. It also touches upon the current situation and the challenges posed by the European Union and migration to national conceptualizations of welfare.

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NOTES

1. Reinhart Koselleck, 'A Response to Comments on *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe'*, in Hartmut Lehmann and Melvin Richter (eds), *The Meaning of His-*

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torical Terms and Concepts: New Studies on Begriffsgeschichte (Washington DC: German Historical Institute, 1996), 64. For his own essays, Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002). For introductions, overviews and reappraisals of Koselleck's oeuvre and *Begriffsgeschichte* in general, Melvin Richter, *The History of Political and Social Concepts: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Niklas Olsen, *History in the Plural: An Introduction to the Work of Reinhart Koselleck* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); Willibald Steinmetz, Michael Freeden and Javier Fernández-Sebastián (eds), *Conceptual History in the European Space* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017).

2. Margaret Weir, 'Welfare State', *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences,* 26 vols (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2001), vol. 24, 16432.
3. Asa Briggs, 'The Welfare State in Historical Perspective', *European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 2(2) (1961), 221–58.
4. A few examples will suffice, Gaston V. Rimlinger, *Welfare Policy and Industrialization in Europe, America, and Russia* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1971), ch. 4; Christopher Pierson, *Beyond the Welfare State: The New Political Economy of Welfare,* 2nd ed. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998) ch. 4; Stein Kuhnle and Anne Sander, 'The Emergence of the Western Welfare State', in Francis G. Castles et al. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 61–80.
5. Christopher Pierson and Matthieu Leimgruber, 'Intellectual Roots', in Castles et al., *Oxford Handbook,* 32; cf. Michael Hill, 'What is a Welfare State?', in Bent Greve (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 11–19.
6. Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer, 'The Historical Core and Changing Boundaries of the Welfare State', in Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer (eds), *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1981), 17–22; Weir, 'Welfare State', 16432; Pierson and Leimgruber, 'Intellectual Roots', 32; Mary Daly, *Welfare,* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), 84–85.
7. Briggs, 'The Welfare State', 221.
8. Klaus Petersen and Jørn Henrik Petersen, 'Confusion and Divergence: Origins and Meanings of the Term "Welfare State" in Germany and Britain, 1840–1940', *Journal of European Social Policy* 23(1) (2013), 37–51.
9. Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in the Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1998), 28.
10. See Rodney Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945,* 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 9: 'There is no agreement amongst historians and social scientists over when the first welfare states were established or what the term actually means.'

11. Daniel Wincott, 'Original and Imitated or Elusive and Limited? A Genealogy of the British Welfare State', in Daniel Béland and Klaus Petersen (eds), *Analysing Social Policy Concepts and Language: Comparative and Transnational Perspectives* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2014), 127–28. See also Jens Alber, 'Continuities and Changes in the Idea of the Welfare State', *Politics & Society* 16(4) (1988), 451–68; John Veit-Wilson, 'States of Welfare: A Conceptual Challenge', *Social Policy & Administration* 34(1) (2000), 1–25; Charles Atherton, 'Welfare States: A Response to J. Veit-Wilson', *Social Policy & Administration* 36(3) (2002), 306–11; John Veit-Wilson, 'States of Welfare: A Response to Charles Atherton', *Social Policy & Administration* 36(3) (2002), 312–17; Daniel Wincott, 'Slippery Concepts, Shifting Context: (National) States and Welfare in the Veit-Wilson/Atherton Debate', *Social Policy & Administration* 37(3) (2003), 305–15; Daniel Wincott, 'Images of Welfare in Law and Society: The British Welfare State in a Comparative Perspective', *Journal of Law and Society* 38(3) (2011), 343–75; Daniel Wincott, 'The (Golden) Age of the Welfare State: Interrogating a Conventional Wisdom', *Public Administration* 91(4) (2013), 806–22.
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