TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of tables i
List of figures iii
Acknowledgements v
Preface by Séamus Ó Cinnéide vii

I. Introduction 1

Introduction: Ireland’s place in the worlds of welfare capitalism 3
Introduction 3
Criticisms of existing approaches 4
Modernisation, dependency and world-systems 4
Political independence 6
Economic dependence 8
Religion 8
Ireland in comparative studies 9
Influences on the development of the Irish welfare state 12
(1) Ireland’s colonial and post-colonial status 12
(2) The importance of agriculture 12
(3) The role of Catholicism 13
(4) The place of the family 13
(5) The impact of being a dependent peripheral country 14
(6) The role of the state 15
Outline of the book 16
A note on methodology 19
1. The development of the Irish welfare state
   Pre-1921 - Influence of the UK  22
   1922-1932 - Free trade and retrenchment 24
   1932-1950s - Industrialisation and welfare development 26
   1950s-1960s - Stagnation 29
   1960s-1979 - Economic and welfare growth 30
   1979-1990s - Economic crisis and welfare consolidation 34
   1990s-to date - The impact of the Celtic Tiger 39

II. Welfare theories & the Irish welfare state
    in a comparative context 45

2. Theories of the state and welfare state theories 47
   Theories of welfare state development 48
   Systems-based approaches 48
   Actor-based theories 51
   The social organisation of production 53
   Bringing the state back in 56
   Beyond the state 59
   Theory and autonomy 63

3. The Impact of globalisation and the global economy 65
   What is globalisation? 66
   The impact of globalisation 68
   Studies of globalisation 70
   Race to the bottom 70
   Compensatory social spending 71
   Globalisation as a constraint 72
   Globalisation impacts in different ways in different welfare regimes 73
   Policy convergence 75
   Globalisation outweighed by other factors 78
   Discussion 80
   The Irish case 81
   Ireland as a regional economy 81
   Foreign trade 82
   Foreign investment 84
   National debt 86
   Political globalisation 86
   Conclusion 87
   Annex 3.1: Ireland, Southern Europe and Latin America 90
4. Explaining Ireland's welfare state

Phases of Irish political economy
(1) Fiscal liberalism
(2) National development
(3) Outward-looking development
(4) Celtic Tiger
State and societal structures
State and society
The impact of corporatism
Economic and class structures
Political structures
The role of the European Union
The role of the Catholic Church
Conclusion
Annex 4.1: Data sources

5. Ireland in a comparative context
Typologies of welfare states
Beyond the three worlds?
Comparing welfare spending
Structure of spending
Levels of spending
Income distribution, poverty trends and welfare regimes
Income distribution
Poverty and low income
Discussion
Annex 5.1: Ireland and welfare typologies
Annex 5.2: Why does Ireland's spending appear low?
(1) Problems with the denominator
(2) Demographic factors
(3) Adjustments for the economic cycle
(4) Level of economic development
5) Expanding the concept of social expenditure

III. Key Policy Areas

6. Working age welfare
The working age population, 1926-2002
The development of sickness and unemployment payments
Introduction
Expansion, 1932-1952
The 1960s and 70s
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Looking for work, 1970s and 80s</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the sick, 1970s and 80s</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender equality and social welfare</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic boom, 1990s</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefits and ‘family responsibilities’</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lone parents</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carers</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social welfare support in a comparative context</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trends in numbers</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement rates and coverage</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determinants of spending</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy issues</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employability and the ‘death of unemployment’</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annex 6.1: Social welfare payments and employment</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An active approach</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Old age pensions</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older people in Ireland, 1926-2002</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of pensions in Ireland</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old age pensions</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow’s pensions</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions in a comparative context</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy issues</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earnings-related pensions cover</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution conditions</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The qualifying age and related labour market issues</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The role of widow(er)s pension</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty and older people</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Child income support</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child population, 1926-2002</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The development of child income support</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child support in a comparative context</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who benefits from child benefit?</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy development</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data sources</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy issues</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childcare costs</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Adequacy’</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Social security transfers in comparative perspective, 1960-1974 33
Table 1.2: Social security transfers in comparative perspective, 1987-2000 38
Table 1.3: Income distribution in Ireland, 1987-2001 42
Table 1.4: Poverty and low income in Ireland, 1987-2001 43
Table 3.1: Concepts of globalisation 69
Table 3.2: Spending in EU countries, convergence and divergence, 1972-2000 77
Table 3.3: Trade openness in selected countries, 1950-2000 83
Table 3.4: Economic development in Ireland and Latin America, 1950-2000 91
Table 3.5: Trade in Ireland and Latin America, 1950-2000 91
Table 4.1: Phases in Irish political economy 99
Table 4.2: Phases in the development of the Irish welfare system 100
Table 5.1: Ireland’s place in the worlds of welfare capitalism 138
Table 5.2: Income inequality, 1980s to 2001 146
Table 5.3: Effectiveness of welfare payments
  on household income poverty, 1996 150
Table 6.1: Structure and size of Irish labour force, 1926-2002 169
Table 6.2: Live register composition, 2003 206
Table 7.1: Older people in Ireland, 1926-2002 216
Table 8.1: Children in the Irish population, 1926-2002 242
Table 8.2: Expenditure on children for 2 adult households
  with children as per cent. of total household expenditure 251
Table 8.3: Expenditure on children as proportion of
  expenditure on men’s clothes 251
Table 8.4: Expenditure on children’s clothes as proportion of
  expenditure on men’s clothes, 1973-1994/5 252
Table 8.5: Expenditure on children’s items as proportion
  of spending on men’s clothes, 1973-194/5 253
Table 9.1: Changes in welfare states, UK and Ireland (c. 1980-2000) 277
Table 9.2: Income inequality in Ireland and UK, 1980-2000 278
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Social welfare expenditure, 1923-1954  
Figure 1.2: Social welfare expenditure, 1955-80 (% of GDP)  
Figure 1.3: Social welfare expenditure, 1980-2002 (% of GNP)  
Figure 5.1: Structure of EU welfare systems, mid 1990s  
Figure 5.2: Income distribution and GDP per capita in EU countries, 1993  
Figure 6.1: Labour force participation rates (%), 1926-2002  
Figure 6.2: Numbers of working age on welfare, 1980-2002  
Figure 6.3: Determinants of working age expenditure, 1981-2002  
Figure 7.1: Determinants of pension spending, 1981-2002  
Figure 8.1: Determinants of child benefit expenditure, 1981-2002  
Figure 11.1: Models of sick pay provision  
Figure 11.2: Models of public employment service  
Figure 11.3: Models of pension provision  
Figure 12.1: Structuration of Irish welfare