### article

# Social democracy after the Third Way: restoration or renewal?

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Given the ill-fated political experience with the Third Way, one would not expect social democratic parties that return to office after long opposition spells to take up again the liberal, supply-side oriented policies that were so typical for the Third Way. A case study of Denmark, however, shows that that is precisely what happens and that it has the same disastrous electoral consequences. Taking a comparative perspective and learning from the Danish experience, we conclude that other future social democratic governments are likely to pursue many elements of the updated Third Way we found in the Danish case.

keywords social democracy • welfare reform • Third Way • Denmark

#### Introduction

A plethora of literature has been produced on social democracy's transformation towards the Third Way (TW) in the early 1990s, its change of policy paradigm thereafter, and its record in government (see Huo, 2009). There is now also an emerging literature that critically analyses why and how social democrats were ousted from office as a result of the embrace of TW policies (see for example, Cramme and Diamond, 2012; Meyer and Rutherford, 2012; Schumacher, 2012; Arndt, 2013). How has social democracy in Western Europe tried to cope strategically with the TW's political failure? What do social democrats do (or what can they be expected to do) when they regain office after a long spell in opposition?

Given their ill-fated political experience, one would not expect social democrats returning to office to take up again the liberal, supply-side oriented labour market and social policies that were so typical of the TW. In fact, some social democrats have actively formulated what they see as a necessary clean 'break from a decade of Third Way policies' (Meyer and Rutherford, 2012, 3). The TW's major weaknesses are interpreted as stemming from too radical a break with old social democracy, including an imprudent and radical farewell to Keynesianism as its inspiring economic theory, the embrace of supply-side-oriented social policies, and the neglect of unions as coalition partners in power mobilisation. Moving so close to neoliberalism ideologically, the argument goes, left social democrats clueless when the financial crisis broke out and neo-classical economic theories, which also inspired the neoliberal side of the TW model, were so clearly discredited.

## **The Third Way The Renewal Of Social Democracy**

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