

**PSCI 414 / MSSP 514: The Politics of the Welfare State**

Fall 2012

Thursdays 1:30-4:30 pm

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Office hours Thursdays 11am-1pm

**Overview**

This seminar provides an overview of the structure and functions of welfare states in Western Europe and North America, and covers key arguments and debates about the emergence and contemporary fate of these welfare states. The approach is broadly comparative, but throughout the course discussions will often emphasize drawing ideas from the experiences of other countries to inform policy solutions to problems we confront in the US. We begin by considering the varieties and tasks of modern welfare states, in order to establish a base of factual knowledge. We turn next to classic theories about the relationship between markets, classes, and social protection, and examine competing explanations for why modern welfare states emerge and why they differ from one another. We consider the role of social forces such as organized labor and the self-employed, the role of political institutions, and the role of societal views of appropriate gender relationships. A third section of the course examines challenges to the welfare state that emerge from changing labor market, demographic, and social conditions in the highly industrialized nations. Finally, we consider the political dynamics of late-20<sup>th</sup> century reforms to the welfare state. Students will participate actively in seminar discussions and complete a major research paper.

Graduate students will complete additional readings as noted, will serve as discussion leaders, and will write an article-length [35 pp.] paper.

**Statement on academic integrity and plagiarism**

The University of Pennsylvania's Code of Academic Integrity states: "Since the University is an academic community, its fundamental purpose is the pursuit of knowledge. Essential to the success of this educational mission is a commitment to the principles of academic integrity. Every member of the University community is responsible for upholding the highest standards of honesty at all times. Students, as members of the community, are also responsible for adhering to the principles and spirit of the [...] Code of Academic Integrity." The seven points of this code (on cheating, plagiarism, fabrication, multiple submission, misrepresentation, facilitating dishonesty, and unfair advantage) can be found at <http://www.vpul.upenn.edu/osl/acadint.html>.

### Course Requirements

1. (25%) Informed participation in weekly discussions
2. (25%) 7-8 page research proposal, **due 4pm Wednesday, October 31**
3. (15%) Presentation of your research results
4. (35%) 20 page [35 pages for graduate students] research paper based on your proposal. A hard copy of the paper is **due in my mailbox in the Political Science office (217 Stiteler Hall) by 4pm on Friday, December 14.**

### Research proposal assignment

Your research proposal must include all of the following elements:

1. The question to be asked in the paper (see below)
2. A 1-2 paragraph statement of the significance of this question for the study of comparative social policy
  - what theoretical questions, debates or controversies will answering your question help to resolve?
  - if it's not obvious, a BRIEF explanation (just 1 or 2 sentences) of why answering your question is of substantive or policy importance
3. Your proposed answer to the question (necessarily preliminary, but you must have an informed hypothesis at this time)
4. A list of major *alternative* hypothesized answers to the problem, which you will generate by drawing on common sense and on the theories you have read in this and other political science classes
5. An explanation of how you will evaluate the merits of your own proposed answer versus the competing hypotheses:
  - what *case comparisons* will you use, and why?
  - what *evidence* (data) would support or refute your argument, and competing hypothesis? Try asking yourself, "what evidence in the world would convince me that my theory is wrong?"
  - a *bibliography* indicating where you will get the primary and secondary data that you need to test your argument against alternative hypotheses (the bibliography is not included in the page limit)

Your research question should address something that is PUZZLING, and should generally be phrased as WHY question: We expect (based on the following theories or patterns) to see **this**, but we see **that**; WHY do we see this rather than that? *Identifying an empirical puzzle that needs solving, can be solved in 20 or 30 pages, but has not already been worked to death, is in many ways the most challenging part of writing a research paper.* The good news is that in most cases, once you find a good puzzle, the rest of the paper is easy.

Developing the proposal will require you to do some serious research up front in order to identify your research question, specify hypotheses (both your own and others'), and come up with a reasonable research design, including selecting appropriate comparison cases. You are strongly advised to meet with me during office hours at least once *before* turning in the proposal.

Getting the proposal right the first time is not easy, especially if you haven't written a major research paper before. You will be allowed one **rewrite**, due by 4pm on **Wednesday, November 21**. Your grade for the proposal will be the average of the grades for the original and the rewrite.

### Research findings presentation

During the final two weeks of the course, each student will have an opportunity to present his or her research findings to the class. Because your actual papers will not be due until finals week, the findings will necessarily be preliminary. However, this is an ideal opportunity to receive feedback on potential problems in time to correct them. Presentations should be no more than 10 minutes in length, and will remind the audience of the *research question* and *rationale* for the study, the *research design*, *give an answer to the research question*, and *rebut possible counter-arguments/alternative hypotheses*.

### Course Readings

The books listed below are available for purchase at the Penn Book Center. They can also be found in the Rosengarten Reserve at Van Pelt Library.

- Francis Castles, Stephan Leibfried, Jane Lewis, Herbert Obinger and Christopher Pierson, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) [UPDATE: Paperback version not available until mid-October. I will make earlier readings available on Blackboard]
- Janet Gornick and Marcia Meyers, eds. *Gender Equality: Transforming the Family Division of Labor* (New York, NY: Verso, 2009)

Graduate students may also wish to purchase:

- Peter Baldwin. *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases in the European Welfare State, 1875-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Gøsta Esping-Andersen. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990)
- Jacob Hacker. *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Silja Häusermann. *The Politics of Welfare State Reform in Continental Europe: Modernization in Hard Times* (Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Ellen Immergut. *Health Politics, Interests and Institutions in Western Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Julia Lynch. *Age in the Welfare State: The Origins of Social Spending on Pensioners, Workers, and Children* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Kimberly Morgan. *Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe and the United States* (Stanford University Press, 2006)
- Paul, Pierson. *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

All other readings are available on the course Blackboard site.

### **Schedule of readings**

When you read, please be sure to take note of the year of publication; the author's/authors' name(s), gender(s), and number; and do your best to figure out who these people are. Are they politicians or policy actors? Journalists? Academics? If so, what discipline?

**I strongly encourage you to form reading/discussion groups to share notes and critical summaries, and to discuss the assigned readings outside of class. Students who do this generally do very well in the course, while those who attempt to go it alone have much more trouble participating effectively and writing high-quality papers.**

The readings for graduate students are IN ADDITION to the regular readings, unless otherwise noted. They do not need to be completed in the week for which they are assigned.

### **Week 1 (Sept 6)**

#### Course introduction

- Max Chafkin. "In Norway, Start-ups say Ja to Socialism." *Inc.* (Jan 20, 2011)

### **Week 2 (Sept 13)**

#### Varieties of the post-war welfare state

- Gøsta Esping-Andersen. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) Chapters 1-2 [pp. 9-54]
- Ann Shola Orloff. Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States. *American Sociological Review* 58:3 (1993), pp. 303-28.
- OH Chapter 42 "The South European Countries" (Maurizio Ferrera) [pp. 616-629]

Graduate students:

- Esping-Andersen, entire.

### **Week 3 (Sept 20)**

#### What do welfare states do, and how do they do it (Part 1)?

- OH Chapter 35 "The Social Rights of Citizenship" (John D. Stephens) [pp. 511-525]
- OH Chapter 8 "Public and Private Social Welfare" (Edwin Amenta and Peter Whiteford) [pp. 121-138]
- OECD. "How Much Redistribution Do Governments Achieve? The Role of Cash Transfers and Household Taxes", in *OECD Growing Unequal? Income Distribution and Poverty in OECD Countries* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2008)
- OECD. "Publicly-provided Services: How Do they Change the Distribution of Households' Economic Resources?" in *Growing Unequal? Income Distribution and Poverty in OECD Countries* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2008)
- OH Chapter 37 "Macroeconomic outcomes" (Isabela Mares) [pp. 539-551]

Graduate students:

- *OECD Growing Unequal? Income Distribution and Poverty in OECD Countries* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2008), entire. [on Blackboard]

**Week 4 (Sept 27)****What do welfare states do, and how do they do it (Part 2)?**

Read your choice of five of the following nine chapters. Skim the rest if you have time, focusing on the main variations in how different types/groups of welfare states structure these benefits:

- OH Chapter 24 “Old-Age Pensions” (Karl Hinrichs and Julia Lynch) [pp.353-366]
- OH Chapter 25 “Health” (Richard Freeman and Heinz Rothgang) [pp. 367-377]
- OH Chapter 28 “Disability” (Mark Priestly) [pp. 406-419]
- OH Chapter 29 “Unemployment Benefits” (Ola Sjöberg, Joakim Palme, and Eero Carroll) [pp. 420—435]
- OH Chapter 30 “Labor Market Activation” (Lane Kenworthy) [pp. 435-447]
- OH Chapter 31 “Social Assistance” (Thomas Bahle, Michaela Pfeifer and Claus Wendt) [pp. 448-461]
- OH Chapter 32 “Family Benefits and Services” (Jonathan Bradshaw and Naomi Finch) [pp. 462-478]
- OH Chapter 33 “Housing” (Tony Fahy and Michelle Norris) [pp. 479-493]
- OH Chapter 34 “Education” (Marius Busemeyer and Rita Nikolai) [pp. 494-508]

Graduate students:

- All OH chapters listed above plus:
- OH Chapter 26 “Long-Term Care” (August Österle and Heinz Rothgang)
- OH Chapter 27 “Work Accident and Sickness Benefits” (Olli Kangas)

**Week 5 (Oct 4)****The Invention of the Welfare State**

- OH Chapter 5 “The Emergence of the Western Welfare State” (Stein Kuhnle and Anne Sander) [pp.61-80]
- Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), Chapter 1 [pp. 3-42]
- T.H. Marshall. “Citizenship and Social Class,” in Christopher Pierson and Francis Castles, ed. *The Welfare State Reader* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2000) [pp. 32-41]
- Walter Korpi. “The Power Resources Model,” in Pierson, Christopher and Castles, Francis, eds. *The Welfare State: A Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000) [pp. 77-88]
- Kees van Kersbergen. “Social Capitalism and Christian Democracy,” in *Social Capitalism: A Study of Christian Democracy and the Welfare State*. (New York: Routledge, 1995), Chapter 8 [pp. 175-191]

Graduate students:

- Karl Polanyi. *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), Chaps 6, 7, 12 [pp. 71-89, 141-157]
- Peter Baldwin. *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases in the European Welfare State, 1875-1975* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) [pp. 1-665, 107-146, 154-207]
- T.H. Marshall. “Citizenship and Social Class [entire],” in *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development* (Doubleday, 1963) [pp. 65-122]

**Week 6 (Oct 11)****Shaping the Welfare State**

- OH Chapter 18 “Religion” (Kees van Kersbergen and Philip Manow) [pp. 265-277]
- OH Chapter 13 “Unions and Employers” (Bernhard Ebbinghaus) [pp. 196-210]
- Seth Koven and Sonya Michel. “Womanly Duties: Maternalist Policies and the Origins of the Welfare States in France, Germany and the United States, 1880-1920.” *American Historical Review*, 95:4 (1990) [pp.1076-1108]
- Margarita Estevez-Abe, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. “Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State.” Chapter 4 in Peter Hall and David Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) [pp. 145-183]
- Andrea Campbell. “Policy Feedbacks and the Impact of Policy Designs on Public Opinion.” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 36:6 (2011) [pp. 961-973]

Graduate students:

- Julia Lynch. *Age in the Welfare State: The Origins of Social Spending on Pensioners, Workers, and Children* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), entire.

**Week 7 (Oct 18)****The Exceptional American Welfare State?**

- Timothy Smeeding. “Poor People in Rich Nations: The United States in Comparative Perspective.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20:1 (2006) [pp. 69-90]
- Christopher Howard. “Is the American Welfare State Unusually Small?” *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 36:3 (2003) [pp. 411-416]
- Jill Quadagno. *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) Chapters 1 and 9 [pp. 3-15, 187-95]
- Robert C. Lieberman. “Race and the Limits of Solidarity. American Welfare State Development in Comparative Perspective” in Sanford F. Schram, Joe Soss, and Richard C. Fording, eds. *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003) Chapter 1 [pp. 23-46]
- Daniel Beland and Jacob Hacker. “Ideas, private institutions and American welfare state ‘exceptionalism’: the case of health and old-age insurance, 1915-1965.” *International Journal of Social Welfare* 13 (2004) [pp. 42-54]

Graduate students:

- Jacob Hacker. *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), entire.

**Week 8 (Oct 25)****Structural challenges to the post-war order**

- Paul Pierson. “Post-Industrial Pressures on Mature Welfare States” in Paul Pierson, ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) [pp. 80-104]
- Torben Iversen and Ann Wren. “Equality, Employment, and Budgetary Restraint: The Trilemma of the Service Economy.” *World Politics* 50:4 (1998) [pp. 507-546]

- OH Chapter 22 “Globalization” (Duane Swank) [pp. 318-330]
- Will Kymlicka and Keith Banting. “Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State.” *Ethics and International Affairs* 20:3 (2006) [pp. 281-304]

Graduate students:

- Paul Pierson. *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), entire.

## RESEARCH PROPOSALS DUE AT 4PM ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31

### Week 9 (Nov 1)

#### Gender and Family Policy

- OH Chapter 9 “Families versus State and Market” (Mary Daly) [pp. 139-151]
- Janet Gornick and Marcia Meyers, eds. *Gender Equality: Transforming the Family Division of Labor* (New York, NY: Verso, 2009), Chapters 1 (Gornick and Meyers), 6 (Orloff), 7 (McDonald), 10 (Zippel), 14 (Morgan).

Graduate students:

- Kimberly Morgan. *Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe and the United States* (Stanford University Press, 2006), entire.

### Week 10 (Nov 8)

#### Health and Health Care

- Peter J. Hotez. “Tropical Diseases: The New Plague of Poverty.” *The New York Times* August 18, 2012.
- Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett. “Income inequality and population health: A review and explanation of the evidence.” *Social Science & Medicine* 62:7 (2006) [pp. 1768-1784]
- T. R. Reid. “Health care systems: The Four basic models.” <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/sickaroundtheworld/countries/models.html>
- WATCH Jon Palfreman and T.R. Reid, *Sick around the world* [videorecording]. PBS Video (2008). <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/sickaroundtheworld/view/> [56 minutes]
- Commonwealth Fund. “International Profiles of Health Care Systems: Australia, Canada, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States” (June 2010).
- Jacob Hacker “The Historical Logic of National Health Insurance: Structure and Sequence in the Development of British, Canadian, and U.S. Medical Policy.” *Studies in American Political Development*. 12:1 (2008) [pp. 57-130]

Graduate students:

- Ellen Immergut. *Health Politics, Interests and Institutions in Western Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), entire.
- Jacob Hacker. “The Road to Somewhere: Why Health Reform Happened, Or Why Political Scientists Who Write about Public Policy Shouldn’t Assume They Know How to Shape It.” *Perspectives on Politics* 8:3 (2010) [pp. 861-876]

### **Week 11 (Nov 15)**

The future of the welfare state

- Rachel Donadio. “Europe’s Young Grow Agitated Over Future Prospects.” *The New York Times*, January 1, 2011.
- Ellen Bloomer et al. “The impact of the economic downturn and policy changes on health inequalities in London.” London: UCL Institute of Health Equity (June 2012) [pp. 1-12]
- Barbara Vis, Kees van Kersbergen and T. Hylands. “To What Extent Did the Financial Crisis Intensify the Pressure to Reform the Welfare State?” *Social Policy & Administration* 45:4 (2011) [pp. 338-353]
- Levy, Jonah. 1999. Vice into Virtue? Progressive Politics and Welfare Reform in Continental Europe. *Politics and Society* 27:2 (1990) [pp. 239-273]
- Jacob Hacker. “Universal Insurance: Enhancing Economic Security to Promote Opportunity” (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2006)

Graduate students:

- Silja Häusermann. *The Politics of Welfare State Reform in Continental Europe: Modernization in Hard Times* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), entire.

**REVISED RESEARCH PROPOSALS DUE VIA EMAIL AT 4PM ON WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21**

THANKSGIVING BREAK

### **Week 12 (Nov 29)**

Paper presentations

### **Week 13 (Dec 6)**

Paper presentations

**FRIDAY DECEMBER 14**

**FINAL PAPER due in my mailbox in the Political Science office (217 Stiteler Hall) by 1pm.**