

PSCI 414: The Politics of the Welfare State

Spring 2005

Seminar meeting:
Wednesdays 2-5pm
McNeil 582

Professor Julia Lynch
243 Stiteler Hall
Office hours: Mondays 2-3:30pm
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This seminar covers key arguments and debates about the emergence and contemporary fate of welfare states in Western Europe and North America. We begin by considering classic theories about the relationship between markets, classes, and social protection, theories that reappear throughout the course. Next the course examines 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-20th century reforms to the welfare state.

Course Materials

The books listed below are available to purchase at the Penn Book Center. They can also be found in the Rosengarten Reserve at Van Pelt Library. All other readings are collected in a bulk pack available from Wharton Reprographics.

Required books:

- Esping-Andersen, Gosta. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- Blank, Robert and Viola Burau. *Comparative Health Policy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
- Gornick, Janet and Marcia Meyers. *Families that Work: Policies for Reconciling Parenthood and Employment* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003).

Course Requirements

1. (25%) Informed participation in weekly discussions
2. (25%) Two turns as a seminar discussant. Discussants will work in pairs to prepare reading/study questions for their colleagues in advance of class, and give a brief presentation to lead off the class discussion. You should meet with your partner in advance of meeting with me on Monday during office hours to go over your plans for class.
3. (Not graded). A 3-5 page **research paper proposal** outlining (i) the empirical question to be answered in your research paper, (ii) the theoretical relevance of this question, and (iii) the kinds of evidence and research methods that will be used to answer it. **Due in my mailbox in 217 Stiteler by 4pm Friday February 24.** Students are encouraged to meet with me during office hours *before* turning in the proposal; you will be required to meet with me *after* turning in the proposal, during the week of February 28 - March 3.
4. (50%) A 20-25 page **research paper**. A final draft of the paper is **due in my mailbox in 217 Stiteler no later than 4pm on Monday April 24.** I will be happy to read and give detailed comments on outlines and/or *complete* drafts that are submitted to me by Monday April 10.

Course Outline

Week 1 (January 11). Course Intro: What is the Welfare State?

1. Markets, Social Organization, and Welfare States

Week 2 (January 18). Where Does the Welfare State Come From? Markets, Society, and Social Protection

Karl Polanyi. *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), Chaps 6-7, 12.

Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. "Relief, Labor, and Civil Disorder: An Overview" in *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971) pp. 3-42.

T.H. Marshall. "Citizenship and Social Class," in Pierson, Christopher and Castles, Francis, eds. *The Welfare State: A Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 32-41.

Week 3 (January 25). Varieties of the Post-War Welfare State

Gosta Esping-Andersen. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), Chaps 1-4, 6.

Christopher Howard. *The Hidden Welfare State: Tax Expenditures and Social Policy in the United States*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 1-40.

2. Explaining the Emergence and Variety of Welfare States

Week 4 (February 1). Power Resources: Labor, Capital and the Middle Classes [Alex, Daniella]

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.

Peter Baldwin. *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases in the European Welfare State, 1875-1975* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-65, 107-146, 154-207.

Margarita Estevez-Abe, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. "Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State." Chapter 5 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.

Week 5 (February 8). Ideologies, Parties, and Institutions [Arthur, Rebecca]
Kees van Kersbergen. *Social Capitalism : A Study of Christian Democracy and the Welfare State*. (London ; New York, Routledge, 1995), Chaps 2, 8.

Lynch, Julia. *Age in the Welfare State: The Origins of Social Spending on Pensioners, Workers, and Children* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Chap 3.

Sven Steinmo and John Watts. "It's the Institutions, Stupid! Why Comprehensive National Health Insurance Always Fails in America," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 20:2 (Summer 1995), pp. 329-372.

Week 6 (February 15). Not Your Father's Welfare State [Alex,]
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.

Koven, Seth 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(1990), pp.1076-1108.

Morgan, Kimberly and Kathrina Zippel. "Paid to Care: The Origins and Effects of Paid Care Leaves," *Social Politics* 10, 1 (2003), pp. 49-85.

Cynthia Cockburn. "From Equality to Difference: Women and Trade Unions in Italy: based on an interview with Bianca Beccalli." *Feminist Review* (1984) 16, pp. 47-49.

Week 7 (February 22). The Emergence of an American Welfare State [Evan, Jon]
Ann Orloff. "The political origins of America's belated welfare state," in *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, ed. by Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol, 1988.

Jill Quadagno. *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 3-31, 187-97.

Jacob Hacker. *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 5-51.

FRIDAY FEBRUARY 24: PAPER PROPOSALS DUE

**** WEEK OF FEB. 28 - MAR. 3: MANDATORY MEETINGS WITH PROFESSOR LYNCH TO DISCUSS PAPER PROPOSALS ****

3. Challenges to the Post-War Order

Week 8 (March 1). Globalization and Labor Market Change [Andrew, Kiran]
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.

Elmar Rieger and Stephan Leibfried. "Welfare State Limits to Globalization," *Politics and Society* (1998), pp. 363-390.

Anton Hemerijck and Kees van Kersbergen. "A Miraculous Model? Explaining the New Politics of the Welfare State in the Netherlands." *Acta Politica* 32 (1997), pp. 258-80.

SPRING BREAK

Week 9 (March 15). Family and Demographic Change [Daniella, Julia]
The Economist. "All Our Tomorrows. A Survey of the Economics of Ageing" (January 27, 1996), pp. 755-69.

Sheila Kamerman. "Gender Role and Family Structure Changes in the Advanced Industrialized West: Implications for Social Policy" in Katherine McFate, Roger Lawson, and William Julius Wilson, eds., *Poverty, Inequality, and the Future of Social Policy* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995), pp. 231-56.

Gosta Esping-Andersen. "Welfare States Without Work: The Impasse of Labour Shedding and Familialism in Continental European Social Policy" in Gosta Esping-Andersen, ed., *Welfare States in Transition* (London: Sage, 1996), pp. 66-87.

Castles, Francis. "Birth Rate Blues: A Real Crisis in the Making?" Chapter 7 in *The Future of the Welfare State: Crisis Myths and Crisis Realities*. New York: Oxford UP, 2004), pp. 141-66.

4. The Politics and Dynamics of Welfare State Reform

Week 10 (March 22). Pensions [Andrew,]

World Bank. *Averting the Old Age Crisis: Policies to Protect the Old and Promote Growth*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) pp. 1-23, 233-254.

R. Beattie and W. McGillivray. "On 'Averting the Old Age Crisis'" in Pierson, In Christopher and Castles, Francis, eds. *The Welfare State: A Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 281-92.

Brown, Jeffrey, Kevin Hassett and Kent Smetters. "Top Ten Myths of Social Security Reform." Center for Retirement Research Working Paper CRR-WP 2005-11, Center for Retirement Research, Boston University (2005).

Lucio Baccaro and Richard Locke. "Public Sector Reform and Union Participation: The Case of the Italian Pension Reform." Sloan School of Management Working Paper #3922-96-BPS (1996).

Week 11 (March 29). Health Care [Julia, Kiran]

Michael Moran. "Three Faces of the Health Care State," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 20:3 (Fall 1995), pp. 767-81.

Blank, Robert and Viola Bureau. *Comparative Health Policy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), Chaps 1-6.

Victor G. Rodwin and Simone Sandier, "Health Care Under French National Health Insurance." *Health Affairs* Fall 1993, pp. 111-131.

Week 12 (April 5) Family Policy [Evan, Rebecca]

Gornick, Janet and Marcia Meyers. *Families that Work: Policies for Reconciling Parenthood and Employment* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003), Chaps 3, 5-7.

Magnus Nermo. "Models of Cross-National Variation in Occupational Sex Segregation." Luxembourg Employment Study Working Paper #20, May 2000.

Week 13 (April 12) Retrenchment or Restructuring? [Arthur, Jon]

Paul Pierson. "The New Politics of the Welfare State." *World Politics* 48 (January 1996), pp. 143-79.

Jacob S. Hacker. "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 98:2 (May 2004), pp. 243-60.

Theda Skocpol. "Targeting within Universalism: Politically viable Policies to Combat Poverty in the United States." In *Social Policy in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 250-74.

Levy, Jonah. "Activation through thick and thin: Progressive Strategies for Increasing Labor Force Participation" In Levin, Martin and Martin Shapiro, eds. *Transatlantic Policymaking in an Age of Austerity* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. NOT IN BULK PACK - TO BE DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS

Week 14 (April 19) Student Research Presentations

FINAL PAPERS DUE MONDAY APRIL 24