

**THE STATE AND SOCIAL POLICY**  
**SOCIOLOGY 514**  
**Fall 1999**

**Prof. Elisabeth S. Clemens**  
**Social Sciences 429**  
**Office Hours: Tues. 11-12 and by appointment**  
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**Thursday 3:30-6**  
**Social Sciences 415**

The development of states and the expansion of social policy have profoundly influenced social life. In recognition of this importance, political sociologists have sought to “bring the state back in.” The concept of “the state,” however, remains highly contested. Consequently, this seminar will begin with more basic questions: What is power? How is power accumulated and institutionalized? After addressing these questions through readings on the development of state institutions and the modern nation-state, we will turn to debates over the determinants of social policy and the consequences of social policy for a range of other social processes or outcomes.

Readings for each week are divided into “required” and “recommended.” You are not expected to do the recommended readings on a regular basis; these represent either useful secondary discussions of a particular style of analysis, related research, or readings that appear (or will appear) on the preliminary examination list.

### **Requirements**

- 1) Submit a discussion question for 8 of 10 of the designated (**Q**) weeks. These questions can address conceptual ambiguities in the readings, interesting similarities or differences across readings, or the relevance of readings for other research projects. Questions are due (by e-mail or in my mailbox) by 11 am on each designated Thursday. These questions will be an important part of the agenda for each class meeting; come prepared to explain your question, why it is worth asking, and how you have begun to think about an answer. Questions will be graded check, check-minus, check-plus.
- 2) On October 7, we will discuss the literature on the historical development of the American welfare state by focusing on a particular theory contest: Domhoff versus everyone. The class will be divided into groups to concentrate on the arguments over three policy areas: pensions, agriculture, and the military. Each group will briefly present their assessment of what is at stake in the contest and how well different arguments hold up.
- 3) Conceptual Paper, due October 21. In 4-6 pages, argue for a particular way of theorizing or conceptualizing the state. Why is this conceptualization useful for sociologists? What kinds of questions does it help us (or not help us) to understand?
- 4) Final project. This may take the form of analytic literature review, research proposal, or research paper. The project **MUST** make significant use of the materials from this class (as opposed to

recycling an old project; a thorough rethinking is required). A short description of the project is due November 9; during that week, I will meet with each of you to discuss the project. The last two class meetings (12/2 & 12/9) will be devoted to presentations and discussion. Final papers are due 12/14.

The required books for the course have been ordered through the University bookstore and will be on 24-hour reserve at the main library. Additional required readings have been photocopied and two sets are available in the department library; borrowing procedures will be decided by members of the class during the first meeting.

The following books have been ordered by the ASUA bookstore:

- James C. Scott, Seeing Like a State (Yale, 1996).
- Michael Mann, The Sources of Social Power, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1986).
- Thomas Ertman, Birth of the Leviathan (Cambridge, 1997).
- Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (Beacon, 1957).
- G. William Domhoff, State Autonomy or Class Dominance? (Aldine de Gruyter, 1996).
- Jill Quadagno, The Color of Welfare (Oxford, 1996).
- John D. Skrentny, The Ironies of Affirmative Action (Chicago, 1996)
- Gosta Esping-Andersen, The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism (Princeton, 1990).
- Paul Pierson, Dismantling the Welfare State (Cambridge, 1994).
- Wendy N. Espeland, The Struggle for Water (Chicago, 1998)
- Peter B. Evans, Embedded Autonomy (Princeton, 1995).

## **Class Schedule**

### **August 26: Introduction**

Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research." Pp. 3-37 in Bringing the State Back In, Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

#### Recommended:

Martin Carnoy. 1984. The State and Political Theory. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

### **September 2 (Q): What States Do**

Randall Collins. 1980. "Weber's Last Theory of Capitalism: A Systematization." American Sociological Review 45: 925-942.

James C. Scott. 1996. Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. Intro, chapters 1-3, 5-6, 8, 10.

Recommended:

Wallace Stegner, West of the 100<sup>th</sup> Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the American West

### **September 9 (Q): Networks into States**

Michael Mann, The Sources of Social Power, vol. 1. Chs. 1, 3, 10.

John Padgett and Christopher K. Ansell. 1993. "Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434." American Journal of Sociology 98: 1259-1319.

Charles Tilly, "From Transactions to Structures," Ch. 2 in Durable Inequality (California, 1998).

### **Week of September 15 (Q): The Origins of the Nation-State (need to reschedule this class)**

Thomas Ertman, Birth of the Leviathan (Cambridge 1997)

David Zaret. 1996. "Petitions and the 'Invention' of Public Opinion in the English Revolution." American Journal of Sociology 101 (6): 1497-1555.

Recommended:

Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.

### **September 23 (Q): Origins of the Welfare State—the Consequences of Capitalism**

Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (Beacon, 1957), Chs. 1-7, 10-13, 17-21.

Fred Block, "The Ruling Class does not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State." Socialist Revolution 7 (3): 6-28.

Jill Quadagno. 1984. "Welfare Capitalism and the Social Security Act of 1935." American Sociological Review 49: 632-47.

Philippe C. Schmitter. 1979. "Still the Century of Corporatism? In Trends Toward Corporatist Intermediation, Schmitter & Gerhard Lehmbruch, eds. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.

Recommended:

Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer, eds. 1987. The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction.

James O'Connor. 1973. The Fiscal Crisis of the State. New York: St. Martin's.

Claus Offe. 1984. Contradictions of the Welfare State. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT.

**September 30 (Q): The Politics of Class, the Power of the State, and the Structure of the Polity**

Theda Skocpol and Edwin Amenta. 1986. "States and Social Policies." Annual Review of Sociology 12: 131-57.

George Steinmetz. 1990. "The Local Welfare State: Two Strategies for Social Domination in Urban Imperial Germany." American Sociological Review 55: 890-911.

Walter Korpi. "Power, Politics, and State Autonomy in the Development of Social Citizenship: Social Rights during Sickness in Eighteen OECD Countries since 1930." American Sociological Review 54 (1989): 309-28.

J. Craig Jenkins and Barbara G. Brents. 1989. "Social Protest, Hegemonic Competition, and Social Reform: A Political Struggle Interpretation of the Origins of the American Welfare State." American Sociological Review 54: 891-909.

Edwin Amenta, Bruce G. Carruthers, and Yvonne Zylan. 1992. "A Hero for the Aged? The Townsend Movement, the Political Mediation Model, and U.S. Old-Age Policy, 1934-1950." American Journal of Sociology 98 (2): 308-39.

Wolfgang Streeck & Philippe C. Schmitter. 1985. "Community, market, state—and associations? The prospective contribution of interest governance to social order." In Private Interest Government: Beyond Market and State, Streeck & Schmitter, eds. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.

Recommended:

Adam Przeworski & John Sprague. 1986. Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Theda Skocpol. 1992. Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap/Harvard.

## **October 7: Theory Contests and the Evaluation of Evidence**

Each member of the seminar will read Domhoff and selections in one other policy area; each group will present an assessment of the important differences, similarities, and advantages of the competing research traditions).

G. William Domhoff. 1995. State Autonomy or Class Dominance? Case Studies on Policy Making in America. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

### Agriculture

Finegold, Kenneth. 1981. "From Agrarianism to Adjustment: The Political Origins of New Deal Agricultural Policy." Politics and Society 11: 1-27.

Gregory Hooks. 1990. "From an Autonomous to a Captured State Agency: The Decline of the New Deal in Agriculture." American Sociological Review 55: 29-43.

### Business and Military

Gregory Hooks. 1993. "The Weakness of Strong Theories: The U.S. State's Dominance of the World War II Investment Process," American Sociological Review 58: 37-53.

Finegold, Kenneth. 1984. "State, Party, and Industry: From Business Recovery to the Wagner Act in America's New Deal." In Statemaking and Social Movements edited by Charles Bright and Susan Harding. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

### Pensions

Ann Shola Orloff. 1993. The Politics of Pensions. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Ann Shola Orloff and Eric Parker. 1990. "Business and Social Policy in Canada and the United States, 1920-1940." Comparative Social Research 12: 295-339.

Jill Quadagno. 1988. "From Old-Age Assistance to Supplemental Security Income: The Political Economy of Relief in the South, 1935-1972." In Margaret Weir, Ann Orloff, and Theda Skocpol, eds. The Politics of Social Policy in the United States. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

**October 8: John Skrentny will talk at the department brownbag.**

## **October 14 (Q): Welfare Politics and Policy: Race**

Jill Quadagno, The Color of Welfare (Oxford, 1996)

John Skrentny, The Ironies of Affirmative Action (Chicago, 1996)

## **October 21 (Q): Welfare Politics and Policy: Class and Gender**

### **CONCEPTUAL PAPER DUE.**

Gosta Esping-Andersen, The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism

Ann Shola Orloff. 1993. "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of State Policies and Gender Relations." American Sociological Review 58 (3): 303-28.

Myra Marx Ferree. 1995. "Patriarchies and Feminisms: The Two Women's Movements of Post-unification Germany." Social Politics 2 (1): 10-24.

### Recommended:

Edward J. McCaffery. 1997. Taxing Women. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

## **October 28 (Q): Deconstructing the (Welfare) State: The Uses of Institutional Theory**

Kathleen Thelen and Sven Steinmo. 1992. "Historical Institutionalism in comparative politics." In Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis, Steinmo, Thelen & Longstreth, eds. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Paul Pierson, Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment (Cambridge 1994)

Elisabeth S. Clemens and James Cook. 1999. "Politics and Institutionalism: Explaining Durability and Change." Annual Review of Sociology 25: 441-66. .

## **November 4 (Q): Politics as/and Rationalization**

Review Collins and Scott from the second week.

Wendy N. Espeland, The Struggle for Water: Politics, Rationality, and Identity in the

American Southwest (Chicago, 1998).

Jeffrey K. Olick and Daniel Levy, "Collective Memory and Cultural Constraint: Holocaust Myth and Rationality in German Politics." ASR 62 (1997): 921-936.

Robin Stryker. "Limits on the Technocratization of the Law: The Elimination of the National Labor Relations Board's Division of Economic Research." ASR 54 (1989): 341-58.

**November 9: Final project proposal due.**

**November 11:** No class meeting. Set up individual appointments to discuss final project

**November 18 (Q): The State and Economic Development**

Peter Evans, Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation (Princeton, 1995)

David Stark. 1996. "Recombinant Property in East European Capitalism." American Journal of Sociology 101 (4): 993-1027.

Neil Fligstein and Iona Mara-Drita. 1996. "How to make a Market: Reflections on the Attempt to Create a Single Market in the European Union." American Journal of Sociology 102 (2): 1-33.

**November 25:** Thanksgiving Holiday

**December 2:** Class presentations

**December 9:** Class presentations

**December 14:** Final papers due.