

**Poli Sci 598-303**

Spring 2003

Wednesdays 1:00-3:00

Professor Julia Lynch

202 Stiteler Hall

Office Hours: Mondays 1:30-3:30

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**THE POLITICS OF THE WELFARE STATE**

This course covers key arguments and debates about the emergence and contemporary fate of welfare states in Western Europe and the United States. It begins by considering some 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 class 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.

**COURSE MATERIALS**

The books listed below are available to purchase at the Penn Book Center. All other readings are collected in a bulk pack available from Campus Copy.

Required texts:

- Pierson, Christopher and Castles, Francis. *The Welfare State: A Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).
- Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001).
- Esping-Andersen, Gosta. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- Pierson, Paul, ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Recommended texts:

- Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff and Theda Skocpol, eds. *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. (35%) Informed participation in weekly discussions, including 2 turns as a seminar discussant. Discussants will work in teams to prepare reading/study questions for their colleagues in advance of class, and give a brief presentation to lead off the class discussion.
2. (20%) Four 2-page **response papers**, submitted during the first 7 weeks of class. These response papers should not simply summarize the readings, but should make a brief, coherent argument. You may argue why one author's interpretation is better than another; link readings (either in the same week or from different weeks) in an innovative way; raise neglected issues; assess the validity of general arguments applied to specific national contexts, etc. Response papers should conclude with two or three questions that you will raise in class for general discussion. **Response papers are to be submitted via email to [jflynch@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:jflynch@sas.upenn.edu) by 4pm on the Tuesday before class.** Late papers will not be accepted.
3. (10%). A 2-3 page **research paper proposal** outlining (i) the 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 March 7.** Students should meet with me in office hours prior to submitting this proposal.
4. (35%) 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 Friday May 2.**

## COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1 (January 15). Course Intro: What is the Welfare State?

### 1. Markets, Social Organization, and Welfare States

Week 2 (January 22). Where Does the Welfare State Come From? Markets, Society, and Social Protection

Karl Polanyi. *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), Chapters 6-7, 12, 14.

T.H. Marshall. "Citizenship and Social Class," in **Pierson and Castles**.

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.

Briggs, Asa (1969). "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective" in **Pierson and Castles**.

Week 3 (January 29). Varieties of the Post-War Welfare State

Titmuss, Richard. "Universalism versus Selectivity," in **Pierson and Castles**.

Gosta Esping-Andersen. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), Chapters 1-3, 6.

Giuliano Bonoli. "Classifying Welfare States: A Two-Dimensional Approach," *Journal of Social Policy* 26:3 (1997), pp. 351-372.

Martin Rhodes. "Southern European Welfare States: Identity, Problems and Prospects for Reform" in Martin Rhodes, ed., *Southern European Welfare States* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1997), pp. 1-22.

### 2. Explaining the emergence of welfare states

Week 4 (February 5). Labor, Capital and the Middle Classes

Walter Korpi. "The Power Resources Model," in **Pierson and Castles**.

Margarita Estevez-Abe, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. "Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State." Paper presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA.

Susan Pedersen. *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State*. (Cambridge University Press, 1993) Introduction and Conclusion

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.

Week 5 (February 12). Ideologies, Parties, and Institutions

Gosta Esping-Andersen. (1985). *Politics against markets : the social democratic road to power*. (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press). Pp. 3-38.

Kees van Kersbergen (1995). *Social capitalism : a study of Christian democracy and the welfare state*. (London ; New York, Routledge). Chapters 1, 8.

Evelyn Huber, Charles Ragin and John Stephens. "Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure, and the Welfare State," *American Journal of Sociology* 99:3 (1993), pp. 711-749.

Theda Skocpol. "America's First Social Security System: The Expansion of Benefits for Civil War Veterans." *Political Science Quarterly* 108: 1 (1993), pp. 85-116.

Ellen Immergut. "The Rules of the Game: The Logic of Health Policy-Making in France, Switzerland and Sweden," in Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth, eds., *Structuring Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 57-89.

Week 6 (February 19). Not Your Father's Welfare State

Sonya Michel and Seth Koven (1990). "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Policies and the Origins of the Welfare States in France, Germany and the United States, 1880-1920." *American Historical Review*, 95: 1076-1108.

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.

Mary McIntosh. "Feminism and Social Policy," in **Pierson and Castles**.

Carole Pateman. "The Patriarchal Welfare State" in **Pierson and Castles**.

Magnus Nermo. "[Models of Cross-National Variation in Occupational Sex Segregation](http://www.lisproject.org/publications/leswps/leswp20.pdf)." Luxembourg Employment Study Working Paper 20, May 2000.  
<http://www.lisproject.org/publications/leswps/leswp20.pdf>

Trudie Knijn and Monique Kremer. "Gender and the Caring Dimension of Welfare States: Toward Inclusive Citizenship." *Social Politics* Fall 1997 pp. 328-361.

Week 7 (February 26). The American Experience

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.

Theda Skocpol. 1995. "Targeting within Universalism: Politically viable Policies to Combat Poverty in the United States." Pp. 250-274 in *Social Policy in the United States*. Princeton University Press:Princeton, NJ.

Gary Orfield. "Race and the Liberal Agenda: The Loss of the Integrationist Dream, 1965-1974" in *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, ed. by Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol, 1988.

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

Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson. "Business Power and Social Policy: Employers and the Formation of the American Welfare State." Mimeo, Harvard University, May 8, 2001.

(Highly Recommended: Marie Gottschalk. *The Shadow Welfare State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.)

### **3. Challenges to the Post-War Order**

Week 8 (March 5). Globalization and Labor Market Change

**Research Paper Proposal Due Friday March 7 at 4pm.**

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.

Ian Gough. "Social Welfare and Competitiveness," in **Pierson and Castles**.

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

Wolfgang Streeck. "From Market Making to State Building? Reflections on the Political Economy of European Social Policy" in Stephan Leibfried and Paul Pierson, eds., *European Social Policy: Between Fragmentation and Integration* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1995), pp. 389-431.

## SPRING BREAK

### Week 9 (March 19). Social and Demographic Change

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. 231-256.

Gosta Esping-Andersen. *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies* (Chapter 4)

The Economist. "All Our Tomorrows. A Survey of the Economics of Ageing" (January 27, 1996), pp. 755-769.

Samuel Preston. "Children and the Elderly: Divergent Paths for America's Dependents." *Demography* 21:4 (1984), pp.435-57.

Fred C. Pampel. "Population Aging, Class Context, and Age Inequality in Public Spending." *American Journal of Sociology* July 1994: pp. 153-195.

## **4. The politics and dynamics of welfare reform**

### Week 10 (March 26). Unemployment and "Activation"

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.

Wood, Stuart. "Labour Market Regimes under Threat? Sources of Continuity in Germany, Britain and Sweden," in Paul Pierson, ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 368-409.

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. 258-280.

Jose Maria Maravall and Marta Fraile. "The Politics of Unemployment: The Spanish Experience in Comparative Perspective," in Nancy Bermeo, ed., *Unemployment in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 291-328.

### Week 11 (April 2). Pensions

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 and Castles**.

John Myles and Paul Pierson. "The Comparative Political Economy of Pension Reform" in Paul Pierson, ed, *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 305-333.

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).

Something on Social Security reform

### Week 12 (April 9) Health Care

Michael Moran. "Three Faces of the Health Care State," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 20:3 (Fall 1995), pp. 767-781.

William Hsiao. "Comparing Health Care Systems: What Nations Can Learn From One Another" *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* Vol 17 No 4 Winter 1992 pp 612-636

Bengt Jonsson, "Making Sense of Health Care Reform" in OECD, *Health Care Reform: The Will to Change Health Policy Studies No. 8* (Paris OECD 1996) pp 31-45.

Giamo, Susan. "Who Pays for Health Care Reform?" in Paul Pierson, ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.334-367.

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 13 (April 16) Family Policy

Janet C. Gornick, Marcia K. Meyers, Katherin E. Ross. "Family Policy Database" (1996) <http://www.lisproject.org/publications/fampol/fampolaccess.htm>

Jane Lewis with Barbara Hobson. "Introduction" in Jane Lewis, ed. *Lone Mothers in European Welfare Regimes*.

Timothy Smeeding. "[No Child Left Behind?](#)" Luxembourg Income Study Working Paper 319, April 2002.

<http://www.lisproject.org/publications/liswps/319.pdf>

Ann Shola Orloff. "Farewell to Maternalism: Welfare Reform, Ending Entitlement for Poor Single Mothers, and Expanding the Claims of Poor Employed Parents." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30, 2001.

Stoltz, Pauline. 1997. "Single mothers and dilemmas of universal social policies." *Journal of Social Policy* 26:425-444.

Siv Gustafsson. "Single Mothers in Sweden: Why is Poverty Less Severe?" 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. 291-325.

Week 14 (April 23). Retrenchment or Restructuring?

Paul Pierson. "The New Politics of the Welfare State." *World Politics* 48 (January 1996), pp. 143-179.

Richard Clayton and Jonas Pontusson. "Welfare State Retrenchment Revisited," in **Pierson and Castles**.

Jonah Levy. "Vice into Virtue? Progressive Politics and Welfare Reform in Continental Europe." *Politics and Society* 27:2 (June 1999) pp 239-273.

Manow, Philip. "Comparative Institutional Advantages of Welfare State Regimes and New Coalitions in Welfare State Reforms," in Paul Pierson, ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 146-164.

Jacob S. Hacker. "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing Benefits: U.S. Welfare State Reform in Comparative Perspective." Paper prepared for delivery at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 29-September 1, 2002.