

Prof. Isaac Martin
Office: SSB 469
Phone: x4-5589
Office hours: Tues., Weds. 3:30-4:30
e-mail: iwmartin@ucsd.edu

Sociology 246
Winter 2009
Tu 9:30-12:20
SSB 101

THE WELFARE STATE

At the beginning of the twentieth century, governments were mainly organizations for making war and protecting property. By the beginning of the twenty-first century they had taken on many other tasks—most especially the task of *social provision*, or insuring the welfare of their citizens and residents. Today, the world's most developed states devote most of their budgets, much of their law, and a large share of their personnel to the project of providing their citizens with income security—by means of policy instruments that include poor relief, old-age pensions, sick leave, housing, child care, and dozens of others.

This is a course in the comparative political sociology of public social provision—i.e., a course on “the welfare state,” broadly construed. We will be trying to understand why different societies at different times take different approaches to this task. In other words, we will ask how welfare states arose, how they differ, why they persist, and how they change.

The study of social provision has been a staple of sociology since the founding of the discipline. But the political sociology of welfare states has assumed increasing centrality in the discipline over the last three decades, as scholars working on a wide range of topics have amassed evidence that public social provision affects many outcomes of concern to sociology—such as poverty and inequality, social mobility, health outcomes, urban development, and collective behavior.

Much of our empirical material will come from studies of the United States in comparative perspective—mainly, in comparison to other wealthy, democratic countries, especially those of Western Europe. The theories we discuss may well be of use in studying other societies—or other kinds of public policies—but (as we will see) the generality of these theories should be taken as problematic rather than assumed.

This year I have chosen to set aside the last few weeks of the course for a close consideration of *cultural explanations* in welfare state research. Scholars in the field are finding it increasingly useful to appeal to phenomena that we might call “culture” in order to explain social policy outcomes. But there is as yet little consensus among welfare state scholars on what culture is, what a cultural explanation of social policy ought to look like, or whether indeed it is worth doing at all. We will therefore consider a variety of ways of conceptualizing culture, with attention to whether they actually help us to explain the social policy outcomes of interest to us.

This topical focus will bring us right to one of the research frontiers of this field. But we pay a steep price for this trip to the frontier: we will pass too quickly by some topics that a well prepared scholar in this field should know, and also by some other topics that are less important but that are particularly dear to my heart.

The reading load is heavy in some weeks. In addition to the required reading on the syllabus, you are expected to be reading for your own research throughout the quarter. We can discuss strategies for dealing with the heavy reading load. But this is a good time in your career to start honing your skills at setting priorities and speed-reading when necessary.

I have ordered several of the required books at the campus bookstore. The rest of the required readings will be made available somehow, subject to discussion.

Each week also comes with lots of recommended reading selected because I think it is important.

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY OF WELFARE STATES

1/6 INTRODUCTORY MEETING

In which we vote on which topic to read and discuss for the week of February 3.

1/13 AN OVERVIEW OF THE FIELD AND AN ORIENTING HYPOTHESIS

Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza, 2007. *Why Welfare States Persist: The Importance of Public Opinion in Democracies*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Recommended reading:

- John Myles and Jill Quadagno. 2002. "Political Theories of the Welfare State." *Social Service Review* 76: 34-57.
- Alexander Hicks and Gøsta Esping-Andersen. 2005. "Comparative and Historical Studies of Public Policy and the Welfare State." Chapter 25 in *The Handbook of Political Sociology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Orloff, Ann Shola. 2005. "Social Provision and Regulation: Theories of States, Social Policies, and Modernity." Pp. 190-224 in *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology*, edited by J. Adams, E. S. Clemens, and A. S. Orloff. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Amenta, Edwin. 2003. "What We Know about the Development of Social Policy: Comparative and Historical Research in Comparative and Historical Perspective." Pp. 91-130 in *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, edited by J. Mahoney and D. Rueschemeyer. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Huber, Evelyne and John D. Stephens. 2005. "Welfare States and the Economy." Pp. 552-574 in *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, edited by N. J. Smelser and R. Swedberg. New York and Princeton: Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton University Press.

1/20 VARIETIES OF WELFARE STATES: WHAT SHOULD WE BE EXPLAINING

- Gøsta Esping-Andersen. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-4.
- Ann Shola Orloff. 1993. "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States." *American Sociological Review* 58 (2): 303-328.
- Peter A. Hall and David Soskice. 2001. "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism." In *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Pp. 1-68.

Recommended:

- T. H. Marshall. 1950. "Citizenship and Social Class." In *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 1-85.

- Richard Titmuss. 1959. *Essays on "The Welfare State."* New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Castles, Francis G. and Deborah Mitchell. 1993. "Worlds of Welfare and Families of Nations." in *Families of Nations: Patterns of Public Policy in Western Democracies*, edited by F. G. Castles. Brookfield: Dartmouth.
- Alexander Hicks and Lane Kenworthy. 2003. "Varieties of Welfare Capitalism." *Socio-Economic Review* 1 (1): 27-61.
- Lyle Scruggs and James Allan. 2006. "Welfare State Decommodification in Eighteen OECD Countries: A Replication and Revision." *European Journal of Social Policy*. 16(1): 55-72.

1/27 CONCEPTUAL CHALLENGES: WHAT COUNTS AS STATE PROVISION

- Christopher Howard. 2003. "Is the American Welfare State Unusually Small" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36 (3): 411-416.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3649248>
- Patricia Strach. 2007. *All in the Family: The Private Roots of American Public Policy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapters 1 and 5.
- Jacob Hacker. 2003. *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.
- Isaac Martin. 2008. *The Permanent Tax Revolt: How the Property Tax Transformed American Politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapters 1 and 7, and Appendix 1.

Recommended:

- Ann Shola Orloff, 2005. "Social Provision and Regulation" in *Remaking Modernity*
- Laura Jensen, 2003. *Patriots, Settlers, and the Origins of American Social Policy*.
- Castles, Francis G. 1998. "The Really Big Trade-Off: Home Ownership and the Welfare State in the New World and the Old." *Acta Politica* 33 (1): 1-15.
- Ira Katznelson and Margaret Weir, *Schooling for All: Class, Race, and the Decline of the Democratic Ideal*.

II. CLASSIC EXPLANATIONS FOR SOCIAL PROVISION

To save a week, we have to choose one or another of these topics:

2/3 **either** DEVELOPMENT AND
MODERNIZATION

- Harold Wilensky. 2002. *Rich Democracies*, Chapters 1 and 5.
- Paul Pierson. 2001. "Post-industrial Pressures on the Mature Welfare States." Pp. 80-104 in Paul Pierson, ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evelyn Huber and John D. Stephens. 2000. "Partisan Governance, Women's Employment and the Social Democratic Service State." *American Sociological Review* 65 (2): 323-42.
- Ronald Inglehart. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization*. Chapters 3 and 8.
- Stephen Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman. 2008. *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Pp. 1-78.

Recommended:

- Francois Ewald, *L'Etat Providence*.
- Ulrich Beck, "Risk Society and Welfare State"
- Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*
- Abbott, Andrew and Stanley DeViney. 1992. "The Welfare State as Transnational Event: Evidence from Sequences of Policy Adoption." *Social Science History* 16:245-273.

or MILITARISM AND STATE
FORMATION

- Theda Skocpol. 1992. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Chapter 2.
- Brian Gifford. 2006. "Why No Trade-off between 'Guns and Butter' Armed Forces and Social Spending in the Advanced Industrial Democracies, 1960-1993." *American Journal of Sociology*. 112(2): 473-509.
- Brian Gifford. 2006. "The Camouflaged Safety Net: The U.S. Armed Forces as Welfare State Institution." *Social Politics* 13(3): 372-99.
- James Sparrow. 2008. "'Buying Our Boys Back': The Mass Foundations of Fiscal Citizenship, 1942-1954." *Journal of Policy History* 20 (2): 263-86.

Recommended:

- Jytte Klausen. 1998. *War and Welfare: Europe and the United States, 1945 to the Present*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Ira Katznelson. 2005. *When Affirmative Action was White*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- John Dryzek and Robert E. Goodin. 1986. "Risk-Sharing and Social Justice: The Motivational Foundations of the Post-War Welfare State." *British Journal of Political Science* 16: 1-34.

2/10 POWER RESOURCES

Esping-Andersen, *Three Worlds*, ch. 5.

Walter Korpi. 2008. "Origins of Welfare States: Changing Class Structures, Social Democracy, and Christian Democracy." Paper presented at the annual meetings of RC-19, the Research Committee on Poverty, Social Welfare, and Social Policy of the International Sociological Association, Stockholm, Sweden, September 4. http://www2.sofi.su.se/RC19/pdfpapers/Korpi_RC19_2008.pdf

Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. 1993 [1971]. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, Chapters 1 and 12.

Peter Swenson. 2002. *Capitalists against Markets: The Making of Labor Markets and Welfare States in the United States and Sweden*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-2.

Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson. 2002. "Business Power and Social Policy: Employers and the Formation of the American Welfare State." *Politics and Society* 30 (2): 277-325.

Catherine Bolzendahl and Clem Brooks. 2007 "Women's Political Resources and Welfare State Spending in 12 Capitalist Democracies." *Social Forces*. 85(4):1509-1534.

Recommended:

Alexander Hicks. 1999. *Social Democracy and Welfare Capitalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

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

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

Walter Korpi. 1983. *The Democratic Class Struggle*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Peter Lindert. 2004. *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth since the Eighteenth Century*. (2 vols.) New York: Cambridge University Press.

Peter Baldwin. 1990. *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State 1875-1975*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Edwin Amenta. 1998. *Bold Relief*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Edwin Amenta. 2005. *When Movements Matter: The Townsend Plan and the Rise of Social Security*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

2/17 CONSTITUTIONS AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

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

Giuliano Bonoli. 2001. "Political Institutions, Veto Points, and the Process of Welfare State Adaptation." Pp. 238-264 in Paul Pierson, ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Robert C. Lieberman, *Shaping Race Policy: The United States in Comparative Perspective*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 5 and 6.

Recommended:

- Evan Lieberman. 2003. *Race and Regionalism in the Politics of Taxation in Brazil and South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huber, Evelyne, Charles Ragin, and John D. Stephens. 1993. "Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure, and the Welfare State." *American Journal of Sociology* 99:711-49.
- Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol, eds. 1988. *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Torben Iversen. 2005. *Capitalism, Democracy, and Welfare*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Herbert Obinger, Stephan Leibfried, and Francis G. Castles. 2005. *Federalism and the Welfare State: New World and European Experiences*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Swank, Duane. 2002. *Global Capital, Political Institutions, and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

III. CULTURE AND THE WELFARE STATE

2/24 MORAL BOUNDARIES

- Brian Steensland. 2006. "Cultural Categories and the American Welfare State: The Case of Guaranteed Income Policy." *American Journal of Sociology* 111 (5): 1273–326
- Christian Albrekt Larsen. 2008. "The Institutional Logic of Welfare Attitudes." *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (2): 145-168.
- Chad Alan Goldberg. 2008. *Citizens and Paupers: Relief, Rights, and Race, from the Freedmen's Bureau to Workfare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapters 1-5, 8.

Recommended:

- Brian Steensland. 2008. *The Failed Welfare Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Margot Canaday. 2003. "Building a Straight State: Sexuality and Social Citizenship Under the 1944 G.I. Bill." *The Journal of American History* 90: 935-957.
- Martin Gilens. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare*.
- Cybelle Fox. 2004. "The Changing Color of Welfare: How Whites' Attitudes toward Latinos Influence Support for Welfare." *American Journal of Sociology* 110 (3): 580-625.
- John D. Skrentny. 2006. "Policy-Elite Perceptions and Social Movement Success: Understanding Variations in Group Inclusion in Affirmative Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 111 (6): 1762-1815

3/3 POLICY PARADIGMS

- Julia Adams and Tasleem Padamsee. 2001. "Signs and Regimes: Rereading Feminist Work on Welfare States," *Social Politics* 8(1): 1-23.
- Margaret R. Somers and Fred Block. 2005. "From Poverty to Perversity: Ideas, Markets, and Institutions over 200 Years of Welfare Debate." *American Sociological Review* 70 (2): 260-285.
- John L. Campbell. 2004. "The Problem of Ideas." *Institutional Change and Globalization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 4.
- Daniel Béland. 2005. *Social Security: History and Politics from the New Deal to the Privatization Debate*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Recommended:

- George Steinmetz. 1993. *Regulating the Social: The Welfare State and Local Politics in Imperial Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kimberly J. Morgan. 2006. *Working Mothers and the Welfare State*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Robert C. Lieberman. 2002. "Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change." *American Political Science Review* 96(4): 697-712.
- Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds. 1996. *States, Social Knowledge, and the Origins of Modern Social Policies*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Alice O'Connor. 2001. *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

3/10 BRICOLAGE AND DIFFUSION

- Margaret Weir. 1992. "Ideas and the Politics of Bounded Innovation." Pp. 188-216 in Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen and Frank Longstreth, eds. *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Isaac Martin, *Permanent Tax Revolt*, Chapters 4-6.
- Daniel Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*, Chapters 1 and 10.

Recommended:

- Collier, David and Richard E. Messick. 1975. "Prerequisites Versus Diffusion: Testing Alternative Explanations of Social Security Adoption." *American Political Science Review* 69:1299-1315.
- Hacker, Jacob S. 2004. "Privatizing Risk Without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 98 (2): 243-60.

REQUIREMENTS

A WEEKLY QUESTION

Every week, by Monday at 6 PM, you should e-mail a critical question on the assigned reading. A critical question should point us to a *particular* passage in an assigned text; *briefly* explain why that passage is important to the text; and pose a question about it for discussion. In other words, this is not a big written memo, and you should not think of this as a burdensome writing requirement. The purposes of this assignment are (1) to nudge you to get some of the reading done before Monday evening, and (2) to give me information about what people are interested in discussing, so that I can plan our agenda and we can use our time to maximum advantage.

You can skip critical questions twice. More than twice, and I'll start to be concerned about your participation.

A FINAL RESEARCH PAPER

If you enroll, I *require* you to write a final research paper of no more than 30 pages, addressing a research question that I have approved beforehand. The reason that I will not accept a literature review paper is that the sociology department has never to my knowledge offered a field examination in social policy, and I would not recommend it—the study of the welfare state is generally seen as an important but specialized subfield of political sociology, and it is better to use the field exam process to acquire and demonstrate greater breadth of knowledge. So there is little point in writing a paper that merely digests the course material.

I *encourage* you (but do not require you) to design your project to *test a hypothesis*. This can be a useful device for forcing clarity of thought about the link between your empirical research plan and your intended theoretical contribution.

NB. I am aware that ten weeks is a *very* short time to finish a research paper if you are starting from scratch. For this reason I will accept papers that take the form of a proposal (with a crisply delineated question, a focused literature review, and a feasible research design to answer the question). I will provide an example of the genre.

Given the time constraint, I assume you will be working with existing data (rather than generating your own data in the form of interview recordings or ethnographic field notes). I have plenty of suggestions as to where you might look for appropriate data. Some of these are general suggestions that we will discuss in class; but if you have a particular topic in mind, I can be even more useful. Come talk to me.