

MAKING SOCIAL POLICY

Department of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University
AS.190.631

Spring 2020
Wednesdays, 10AM-12PM

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Course Description

This seminar analyzes the distinctive American approach to social provision and income distribution in comparative perspective. The course begins with some foundational texts on social citizenship and American exceptionalism. We then delve into three research traditions, exploring comparative analyses of the rich democracies, the political development of the American welfare state, and the roots of contemporary inequality. The second half of the course brings these themes together. We consider the constraints that accumulated commitments and rising market inequalities impose, and then explore available (and, in the process, unavailable) alternatives across policies and politics.

This course is interdisciplinary by design. We move between theoretical and applied treatments, and the US and its peer nations. So whatever your background, some of these readings will feel more familiar than others. Nevertheless, the course aims to draw you into a vibrant and interconnected set of questions around the causes and consequences of advantage and disadvantage. These questions pose critical challenges for scholars – and for societies. This course should give you the tools to begin to answer them.

Books Ordered:

Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, 2nd edition (New York: Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).
Martha Derthick, *Policymaking for Social Security* (Washington: Brookings Institution: 1979).
Marie Gottschalk, *Caught: The Prison State and the Lockdown of American Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
Ira Katznelson, *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time* (New York: Liveright, 2013).
Suzanne Mettler, *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman, *The Triumph of Inequality: How the Rich Dodge Taxes and How to Make Them Pay* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2019).

Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2017).

You are welcome to find used or library copies (the public library and Interlibrary Loan are extremely helpful). All other readings will be available on electronic reserve via the MSE Library website (<https://ares.library.jhu.edu/shib/>).

Short Papers

Before two class meetings, write a 4-6 page paper addressing key themes in the readings. Sign-ups the first day. Avoid summary, and do not feel compelled to address every single item on the syllabus. Instead, think through and build an argument about what the readings have to say about larger issues. So everyone has a chance to read them, papers should be circulated to the class by 4PM on Tuesdays.

In addition, you will begin class with a brief presentation, giving some context and offering issues for us to discuss. Your presentations should be professional. Plan what you will say, and don't just summarize your paper or the readings. Use hand-outs or multimedia presentations, if you wish.

Final Paper

Apply the insights from the course to a policy or policy controversy, bringing theoretical concerns together with empirical questions. Although I'm flexible as to form and substance, you should get your hands dirty with some kind of original data. That may mean downloading the Luxembourg Income Study, hunting through archives of the Works Progress Administration, or interviewing the administrators of Baltimore's school lunch program. You need not produce a fully polished product for this course, but you should be on the way – not just conceptually (this is actually the easy part for smart graduate students) but empirically – to a publishable paper.

Please visit me early on to talk about your ideas. A research plan will be due on March 11th, an annotated bibliography on April 1st, and the paper on April 29th.

Course Schedule and Readings

WEEK 1-SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP AND AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM (February 5)

- T.H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in *The Welfare State Reader*, 2nd ed., ed. Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles (Cambridge: Polity, 2006), 30-39.
- Sven Steinmo, "American Exceptionalism Reconsidered: Culture or Institutions?" in *The Dynamics of American Politics: Approaches & Interpretations*, ed. Lawrence Dodd and Calvin Jillson (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 106-131.
- Nathan Glazer, "On Americans & Inequality," *Daedalus* 132 (2003): 111-115.
- Judith Shklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 63-101.
- Alfred Stepan and Juan J. Linz, "Comparative Perspectives on Inequality and the Quality of Democracy in the United States," *Perspectives on Politics* 9 (2011): 841-856.

WEEK 2-SOCIAL POLICY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (February 12)

- Peter Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State, 1875-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 55-95.
- Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 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 (1993): 303-28.
- Margarita Estevez-Abe, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice, "Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State," in *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, eds. Peter A. Hall and David Soskice (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 145-183.
- Philip Manow, "Electoral Rules, Class Coalitions and Welfare State Regimes, or How to Explain Esping-Andersen with Stein Rokkan," *Socio-Economic Review* 7 (2009): 101-121.

WEEK 3-THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY (February 19)

- Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 3-35.
- Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 1-63, 102-151, 424-480, 525-539.

WEEK 4-FROM THE NEW DEAL TO THE GREAT SOCIETY (February 26)

- Ira Katznelson, *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time* (New York: Liveright, 2013), 157-194, 227-275, 367-402.
- Michael K. Brown, *Race, Money, and the American Welfare State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 205-208, 235-292.

WEEK 5-THE MATURE WELFARE STATE (March 4)

- Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State?: Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-26, 164-182.

Jacob Hacker, "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 98 (2004): 243-260.

Suzanne Mettler, *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 1-68, 98-123.

Alice O'Connor, "An Economy That Works for Workers," in *What Works for Workers? Public Policies and Innovative Strategies for Low-Wage Workers*, eds. Stephanie Luce, Jennifer Luff, Joseph A. McCartin, and Ruth Milkman (New York: Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 19-48.

WEEK 6-GOVERNING UNEQUALLY (March 11)

Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, 2nd edition (New York: Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 74-104.

Peter Temin, *The Vanishing Middle Class: Prejudice and Power in a Dual Economy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2017), 1-46.

Benjamin I. Page, Jason Seawright, and Matthew J. Lacombe, *Billionaires and Stealth Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 25-53.

Adam Bonica, Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, "Why Hasn't Democracy Slowed Rising Inequality?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 27 (2013): 103-124.

Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman, *The Triumph of Inequality: How the Rich Dodge Taxes and How to Make Them Pay* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2019), 45-87.

WEEK 7-WORK (March 25)

Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, 198-232.

David Weil, *The Fissured Workplace: Why Work Became So Bad for So Many and What Can Be Done to Improve It* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 1-52, 268-289.

Bruce Western and Jake Rosenfeld, "Unions, Norms, and the Rise in U.S. Wage Inequality," *American Sociological Review* 76 (2011): 513-537.

Daniel J. Galvin, "From Labor Law to Employment Law: The Changing Politics of Workers' Rights," *Studies in American Political Development* 33 (2019): 50-86.

WEEK 8-PLACE (April 1)

Arnold R. Hirsch, "'Containment' on the Home Front: Race and Federal Housing Policy from the New Deal to the Cold War," *Journal of Urban History* 26 (2000): 158-189.

Michael Katz, *Why Don't American Cities Burn?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 19-46.

Jessica Trounstein, *Segregation by Design: Local Politics and Inequality in American Cities* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 1-45, 73-97.

Katherine Levine Einstein, David M. Glick, and Maxwell Palmer, *Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America's Housing Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1-23, 95-114.

WEEK 9-THE CARCERAL STATE (April 8)

- Marie Gottschalk, *Caught: The Prison State and the Lockdown of American Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 1-22, 48-78, 119-138, 241-257.
- Vesla Weaver, "Frontlash: Race and the Development of Punitive Crime Policy," *Studies in American Political Development* 21 (2007): 230-265.
- Joe Soss and Vesla Weaver, "Police Are Our Government: Politics, Political Science, and the Policing of Race-Class Subjugated Communities," *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017): 565-591.
- John Clegg and Adaner Usmani, "The Economic Origins of Mass Incarceration," *Catalyst* 3:3 (2019).

WEEK 10-SOCIAL SECURITY (April 15)

- Martha Derthick, *Policymaking for Social Security* (Washington: Brookings Institution: 1979), 3-61, 206-210, 228-251, 288-292.
- Steven M. Teles and Martha Derthick, "Social Security from 1980 to the Present: From Third Rail to Presidential Commitment—and Back?" in *Conservatism and American Political Development*, ed. Brian J. Glenn and Steven M. Teles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 261-290.
- Andrea Louise Campbell, *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 38-64.

WEEK 11-HEALTH CARE (April 22)

- Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 237-243, 266-295, 310-351, 359-363, 367-378, 428-479.
- Bruce C. Vladeck, "The Political Economy of Medicare," *Health Affairs* 18 (1999): 22-36.
- Lawrence D. Brown and Michael S. Sparer, "Poor Program's Progress: The Unanticipated Politics of Medicaid Policy," *Health Affairs* 22 (2003): 31-44.
- Jonathan Oberlander and Theodore R. Marmor, "The Road Not Taken: What Happened to Medicare for All?," in *Medicare and Medicaid at 50: America's Entitlement Programs in the Age of Affordable Care*, ed. Alan B. Cohen, David C. Colby, Keith A. Wailoo, and Julian E. Zelizer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 55-76.
- Jonathan Oberlander and R. Kent Weaver, "Unraveling from Within? The Affordable Care Act and Self-Undermining Policy Feedbacks," *The Forum* 13 (2015): 37-62.
- Jamila Michener, "Medicaid and the Policy Feedback Foundations for Universal Healthcare," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 685 (2019): 116-134.

WEEK 12-THE ROAD FROM HERE (April 29)

- Silja Häusermann, "Social Democracy and the Welfare State in Context: The Conditioning Effect of Institutional Legacies and Party Competition," in *Welfare Democracies and Party Politics: Explaining Electoral Dynamics in Times of Changing Welfare Capitalism*, eds. Philip Manow, Bruno Palier, and Hanna Schwander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 150-170.

Jonas Pontusson, "Once Again A Model: Nordic Social Democracy in a Globalized World," in *What's Left of the Left*, ed. James Cronin, George Ross and James Shoch (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011), 89-115.

Göran Therborn, "Twilight of Swedish Social Democracy," *New Left Review* 113 (Sep. 2018): 5-26.

Katherine J. Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 145-168.

Saez and Zucman, *The Triumph of Inequality*, 110-127, 177-194.