

# THE AMERICAN WELFARE STATE

Johns Hopkins University  
AS.190.380  
Spring 2021

Assoc. Prof. Daniel Schlozman  
daniel.schlozman@jhu.edu  
Office hours by appointment; Thursday morning works well

## Course Description

This seminar analyzes the distinctive US welfare state in historical and comparative perspective. We begin with an historical overview, and a tour of welfare states across the rich democracies. We then survey developments – and explain the actual workings of policy – across jobs, education, welfare, pensions, and health care. We explore the institutional and political factors behind their divergent trajectories through conservative revival, and conclude by asking what American history tells us about social citizenship – and what the future may portend.

## Grading

*Participation:* 20 percent.  
*Short Papers:* 30 percent.  
*Final Project:* 50 percent.

## Books Ordered:

Jason DeParle, *American Dream: Three Women, Ten Kids, and a Nation's Drive to End Welfare* (New York: Viking, 2004).  
Martha Derthick, *Policymaking for Social Security* (Washington: Brookings Institution: 1979).  
Peter Dreier, John Mollenkopf, and Todd Swanstrom, *Place Matters: Metropolitcs for the Twenty-First Century*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014).  
Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).  
Dale Russakoff, *The Prize: Who's in Charge of America's Schools?* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015).  
Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1992).  
Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2017).

All readings will be available on electronic reserve via the MSE Library website (<https://ares.library.jhu.edu/shib/>).

## Disability Accommodation

I want to make sure every student can succeed in this class. Any student with a disability who may need accommodations in this class must obtain an accommodation letter from Student Disability Services.

### Academic Honesty

Cheating is wrong. Cheating hurts our community by undermining academic integrity, creating mistrust, and fostering unfair competition. The university will punish cheaters with failure on an assignment, failure in a course, permanent transcript notation, suspension, and/or expulsion. Offenses may be reported to medical, law, or other professional or graduate schools when a cheater applies.

Violations can include cheating on exams, plagiarism, reuse of assignments without permission, improper use of the Internet and electronic devices, unauthorized collaboration, alteration of graded assignments, forgery and falsification, lying, facilitating academic dishonesty, and unfair competition. Ignorance of these rules is not an excuse.

Although you are encouraged to talk about the material with other students – indeed, a successful course will stimulate frequent dialogue outside the classroom – every single word you write must be your own. You may discuss your papers with other students, but you must acknowledge any assistance you receive. For more information, see the guide on “Academic Ethics for Undergraduates” and the Ethics Board website.

### Short Papers

Before two class meetings, write a 4-6 page paper (usual font and margins) addressing key themes in the readings. Sign-ups the first day. Give your paper a title that reflects its themes. Avoid summary, and do not feel compelled to address every single item on the syllabus. Build an argument about what the readings have to say about larger theoretical issues, and consider carefully the balance between adducing the authors’ arguments and discussing the substantive developments that their work portrays. Note that there is no single magic formula to writing a great short paper. The intellectual exercise comes precisely in thinking through the stakes in any set of readings. Papers are due via e-mail in my inbox at 8AM (let me repeat: 8 o’clock in the morning) on the morning of class.

In addition, you and the other writers in any given week will begin class with a brief (no more than 20 minutes) presentation, giving some context and offering issues for us to discuss. You should meet with your fellow presenters to coordinate. 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. Your presentations will figure importantly in the participation grade for the course.

The first set of papers (weeks 3-7) will be written individually. For the second set of papers (weeks 8-12), you may write jointly with up to two other students.

## Course Schedule and Readings

### Week 1-INTRODUCTION (January 28)

T.H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in *The Welfare State Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., eds. Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles (Cambridge: Polity, 2006), 30-39.

Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1-49, 268-277.

Emily Badger, "Inequality Was Never So Visible As in 2020. What Did We Learn?" *New York Times*, December 29, 2020, B3.

### WEEK 2-THE EXCEPTIONAL AMERICAN POLITY (February 4)

Robert A. Dahl, *How Democratic Is the American Constitution*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 41-72.

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.

R. Douglas Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 60-87.

Andrea Louise Campbell and Michael W. Sances, "Constituencies and Public Opinion," in *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Social Policy*, eds. Daniel Béland, Christopher Howard, and Kimberly J. Morgan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 206-221.

### WEEK 3- FROM THE NEW DEAL TO THE GREAT SOCIETY (February 11)

Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, (New York: Viking, 1946), 278-301.

Robert C. Lieberman, "Race and the Organization of Welfare Policy," in *Classifying by Race*, ed. Paul E. Peterson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 156-187.

Jennifer Klein, "From the Fair Deal to the Great Society," in *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Social Policy*, 76-94.

Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 102-149.

Christopher Jencks, "The War on Poverty: Was It Lost?," *New York Review of Books*, April 2, 2015.

Christopher Jencks, "Did We Lose the War on Poverty?—II," *New York Review of Books*, April 23, 2015.

### WEEK 4-SOCIAL POLICY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (February 18)

Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 9-34.

Gøsta Esping-Andersen and John Myles, "Economic Inequality and the Welfare State," in *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Inequality*, ed. Wiemer Salverda, Brian Nolan, and Timothy M. Smeeding (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 639-664.

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.

Ann Shola Orloff, "Transforming Gendered Labor Policies in Sweden and the United States, 1960s-2000s," in *Democracy and the Welfare State: The Two Wests in the Age of Austerity*, eds. Alice Kessler-Harris and Maurizio Vaudagna (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 249-272.

Ellen Barry and Martin Selsoe Sorensen, "Danish State Demands: Give Us Your Children," *New York Times*, July 2, 2018, A1.

#### WEEK 5-CITIES AND PLACE (February 25)

Peter Dreier, John Mollenkopf, and Todd Swanstrom, *Place Matters: Metropolitcs for the Twenty-First Century*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014), 103-122, 126-207, 299-317.

Robert P. Stoker, Clarence N. Stone, and Donn Worgs, "Neighborhood Policy in Baltimore: The Postindustrial Turn," in *Urban Neighborhoods in a New Era: Revitalization Politics in the Postindustrial City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), eds. Clarence N. Stone and Robert P. Stoker, 50-80.

Emily Badger, "Red States and Blue Cities," *New York Times*, July 6, 2017, A1.

#### WEEK 6-HEALTH CARE (March 4)

Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, updated ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2017), 240-243, 266-295, 310-315, 327-334, 359-363, 367-378, 428-449, 465-479.

Bruce C. Vladeck, "The Political Economy of Medicare," *Health Affairs* 18 (1999): 22-36.

Colleen M. Grogan and Christina M. Andrews, "Medicaid," in *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Social Policy*, 137-155.

Jamila Michener, "Race, Politics, and the Affordable Care Act," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 45 (2020): 547-566.

#### WEEK 7-POLICING AND INCARCERATION (March 11)

Vesla M. Weaver, "Frontlash: Race and the Development of Punitive Crime Policy," *Studies in American Political Development* 21 (2007): 230-265.

Marie Gottschalk, *Caught: The Prison State and the Lockdown of American Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 1-22, 48-78.

Marie Gottschalk, "Did You Really Think Trump Was Going to Help End the Carceral State?" *Jacobin*, March 9, 2019, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2019/03/first-step-act-criminal-justice-reform>.

Patrick Sharkey, *Uneasy Peace: The Great Crime Decline, the Renewal of City Life, and the Next War on Violence* (New York: WW Norton, 2018), 115-145.

Simon Balto, "How to Defund the Police," Public Books, November 20, 2020, <https://www.publicbooks.org/how-to-defund-the-police/>.

#### WEEK 8-WELFARE (March 25)

Jason DeParle, *American Dream: Three Women, Ten Kids, and a Nation's Drive to End Welfare* (New York: Viking, 2004), 38-81, 138-155, 175-195, 282-338.

Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 156-168, 176-187.

Christopher Jencks, "Why the Very Poor Have Become Poorer," *New York Review of Books*, June 9, 2016.

WEEK 9-EDUCATION (April 1)

- Dale Russakoff, *The Prize: Who's in Charge of America's Schools?* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015), 1-77, 130-164, 175-196, 209-218, 223-225.
- Michael B. Katz, "Public Education as Welfare," *Dissent*, Summer 2010, 52-56.
- Edward Luce, "What Zuckerberg could learn from Buffett," *Financial Times*, December 5, 2015, 11.
- David W. Chen, "Stabler Newark Set to Take Back Reins of Schools," *New York Times*, September 13, 2017, A1.

WEEK 10-SOCIAL SECURITY & PENSIONS (April 8)

- 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.

WEEK 11-JOBS (April 15)

- 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.
- 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), 1-27, 43-52.
- Steven Greenhouse, *Beaten Down, Worked Up: The Past, Present, and Future of American Labor* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2019), 33-45.
- Paul Osterman and Beth Shulman, *Good Jobs America: Making Work Better for Everyone* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011), 23-38.
- Annelise Orleck, *"We Are All Fast-Food Workers Now": The Global Uprising against Poverty Wages* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018), 9-16, 33-41, 48-60.
- Noam Scheiber, "The Winners and the Losers Of the Remote Work Trend," *New York Times*, July 27, 2020, B1.