Overview
This seminar provides an overview of the structure and functions of welfare states in Western Europe and North America, and covers key arguments and debates about the emergence and contemporary fate of these welfare states. The approach is broadly comparative, but throughout the course discussions will often emphasize drawing ideas from the experiences of other countries to inform policy solutions to problems we confront in the US. We begin by considering the varieties and tasks of modern welfare states, in order to establish a base of factual knowledge. We turn next to classic theories about the relationship between markets, classes, and social protection, and examine 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 course 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-20th century reforms to the welfare state. Students will participate actively in seminar discussions and complete a major research paper.

Graduate students will complete additional readings as noted and will write an article-length paper.

Statement on academic integrity and plagiarism
The University of Pennsylvania’s Code of Academic Integrity states: “Since the University is an academic community, its fundamental purpose is the pursuit of knowledge. Essential to the success of this educational mission is a commitment to the principles of academic integrity. Every member of the University community is responsible for upholding the highest standards of honesty at all times. Students, as members of the community, are also responsible for adhering to the principles and spirit of the […] Code of Academic Integrity.” The seven points of this code (on cheating, plagiarism, fabrication, multiple submission, misrepresentation, facilitating dishonesty, and unfair advantage) can be found at http://www.vpul.upenn.edu/osl/acadint.html.
Course Requirements
1. (25%) Informed participation in weekly discussions
2. (25%) 7-8 page research proposal, due via Canvas at 5pm on Tuesday, March 15
3. (15%) Presentation of your research results in class on April 21
4. (35%) 20 page [35 pages for graduate students] research paper due in my mailbox in the Political Science office at 3440 Market St, Suite 300 by 4pm on Friday, May 6

Research proposal assignment
Your research proposal must include all of the following elements:
1. The question to be asked in the paper (see below)
2. A 1-2 paragraph statement of the significance of this question for the study of comparative social policy
   - what theoretical questions, debates or controversies will answering your question help to resolve?
   - if it’s not obvious, a BRIEF explanation (just 1 or 2 sentences) of why answering your question is of substantive or policy importance
3. Your proposed answer to the question (necessarily preliminary, but you must have an informed hypothesis at this time)
4. A list of major alternative hypothesized answers to the problem, which you will generate by drawing on common sense and on the theories you have read in this and other political science classes
5. An explanation of how you will evaluate the merits of your own proposed answer versus the competing hypotheses:
   - what case comparisons will you use, and why?
   - what evidence (data) would support or refute your argument, and competing hypothesis? What evidence in the world would convince you that your theory is wrong?
   - a bibliography indicating where you will get the primary and secondary data that you need to test your argument against alternative hypotheses (the bibliography is not included in the page limit)

Your research question should address something that is PUZZLING, and should generally be a WHY question: We expect (based on the following theories or patterns) to see this, but we see that; WHY do we see this rather than that? Identifying an empirical puzzle that needs solving, can be solved in 20 or 30 pages, but has not already been worked to death, is in many ways the most challenging part of writing a research paper. The good news is that in most cases, once you find a good puzzle, the rest of the paper is easy.

Developing the proposal will require you to do some serious research up front in order to identify your research question, specify hypotheses (both your own and others’), and come up with a reasonable research design, including selecting appropriate comparison cases. You are strongly advised to meet with me during office hours at least once before turning in the proposal.

Getting the proposal right the first time is not easy, especially if you haven’t written a major research paper before. You will be allowed one rewrite, due by via Canvas by 5pm on
Tuesday, March 29. Your grade for the proposal will be the average of the grades for the original and the rewrite.

Research findings presentation
During the last week of the course, each student will present his or her research findings to the class. Because your actual papers will not be due until finals week, the findings may be somewhat tentative. However, this is an ideal opportunity to receive feedback on potential problems in time to correct them. Presentations should be no more than 10 minutes in length, and will remind the audience of the research question and rationale for the study, the research design, give an answer to the research question, and rebut possible counter-arguments/alternative hypotheses.

Course Readings
The books listed below are available for purchase at the Penn Book Center. They can also be found in the Rosengarten Reserve at Van Pelt Library.

- Francis Castles, Stephan Leibfried, Jane Lewis, Herbert Obinger and Christopher Pierson, eds. The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) [Chapters are also available in electronic format from the Penn library web site]

All other readings will be available on the course Blackboard site.

Graduate students may also wish to purchase many of the books suggested as supplementary reading. The readings for graduate students are suggested ADDITIONAL readings. They do not need to be completed in the week for which they are assigned, but they are essential readings for doctoral and masters students interested in gaining foundational knowledge.

Doing the readings
When you read, please be sure to take note of the year of publication; the author’s/authors’ name(s), gender(s), and number; and do your best to figure out who these people are. Are they politicians or policy actors? Journalists? Academics? If so, what discipline? Google is your friend.

I strongly encourage you to form reading/discussion groups to share notes and critical summaries, and to discuss the assigned readings outside of class. Students who do this generally do very well in the course, while those who attempt to go it alone have much more trouble participating effectively and writing high-quality papers.
Schedule of readings

Week 1 (Jan 14)
Introduction

Week 2 (Jan 21)
Where do welfare states come from?
- OH Chapter 5 “The Emergence of the Western Welfare State” (Stein Kuhnle and Anne Sander)

Graduate students:

Week 3 (Jan 28)
Varieties of the post-war welfare state

Graduate students:
- Esping-Andersen, entire.

Week 4 (Feb 4)
Forces shaping post-war welfare states

Graduate students:

**Week 5 (Feb 11): NO CLASS – READ ON YOUR OWN**

What do welfare states do?
• OH Chapter 31 “Social Assistance” (Thomas Bahle, Michaela Pfeifer and Claus Wendt)
• OH Chapter 24 “Old-Age Pensions” (Karl Hinrichs and Julia Lynch)
• OH Chapter 28 “Disability” (Mark Priestly)
• OH Chapter 29 “Unemployment Benefits” (Ola Sjöberg, Joakim Palme, and Eero Carroll)
• OH Chapter 25 “Health” (Richard Freeman and Heinz Rothgang)
• OH Chapter 30 “Labor Market Activation” (Lane Kenworthy)
• OH Chapter 32 “Family Benefits and Services” (Jonathan Bradshaw and Naomi Finch)
• OH Chapter 33 “Housing” (Tony Fahy and Michelle Norris)
• OH Chapter 34 “Education” (Marius Busemeyer and Rita Nikolai)

**Week 6 (Feb 18)**

Forces shaping contemporary welfare states
• OH Chapter 22 “Globalization” (Duane Swank)

Graduate students:

**Week 7 (Feb 25)**

The Exceptional American Welfare State?
• Sven Steinmo “American Exceptionalism Reconsidered: Culture or Institutions?” in: Larry Dodd and Calvin Jillson (eds.), *The Dynamics of American Politics: Approaches and Interpretations* (1994)

Graduate students:

**Week 8 (Mar 3)**

**Gender and family policies**

• OH Chapter 9 “Families versus State and Market” (Mary Daly)
• Janet Gornick and Marcia Meyers, eds. Gender Equality: Transforming the Family Division of Labor (New York, NY: Verso, 2009), Chapters 1 (Gornick and Meyers), 6 (Orloff), 10 (Zippel), 14 (Morgan).

Graduate students:

RESEARCH PROPOSALS DUE VIA CANVAS AT 5PM ON TUESDAY, MARCH 15

**Week 9 (Mar 17)**

**Health and Health Care**

• Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett. The Spirit Level. New York: Bloomsbury (2009), Chapter 3

Graduate students:

**Week 10 (Mar 24)**

**Housing**


Graduate students:

### REVISED RESEARCH PROPOSALS DUE VIA CANVAS AT 5PM ON TUESDAY, MARCH 29.

**Week 11 (Mar 31)**

**Education and training**

• Torben Iversen and John Stephens. "Partisan politics, the welfare state, and three worlds of human capital formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 4-5 (2008): 600-637.

Graduate students:

**Week 12 (Apr 7)**

**The future of the welfare state**


Graduate students:
Week 13 (Apr 14): NO CLASS

Week 14 (Apr 21): EXTENDED CLASS
Paper presentations

Final papers due on May 6
Turn in papers to my mailbox in the Political Science department office at 3440 Market St, Suite 300 by 4pm (after that the office doors will be locked).