

Political Science and Sociology 813
Fall 2008
Comparative Welfare States
Wednesdays 5:30-8:15
GEC 3024

John D. Stephens
GEC 3211
Office hours:
Tuesdays 2-3:30 and Wednesdays 4-5:30
962-4634, 932-1168
EMail: jdsteph@unc.edu

Course Description: This course is a research seminar on the politics and political economy of social policy, primarily in advanced capitalist democracies. The course will focus on how social and political forces shaped the development of social policies aimed at providing social security, combating poverty, effecting redistribution, and promoting gender equality. We will also examine how demographic and international economic pressures of the past two decades have transformed the welfare state regimes. Most advanced industrial democracies are European, and for these countries by far the most important "international economic pressure" has been the process of European integration, so we will devote a session to understanding the impact of this historically unique development. After our review of the voluminous literature on advanced capitalist democracies, we spend several weeks examining the small but growing comparative social policy literature on Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe.

Teaching Methods: Since the course is a research seminar, the instructor will, on occasion, lecture for the first hour of the class, but most classes will be devoted entirely to discussion of the assigned readings. Several students will be responsible for leading the discussion in each session. Each student will be required to help lead two or three discussions. In addition, each student will send at least one question or discussion topic to the discussion organizers and the instructor by noon the day before the classes for seven of the thirteen classes.

Each student will write a review of one of the books listed at the end of syllabus. The book review should be emailed to the course participants the day before the class for which it is appropriate. Students will write a research paper on a topic of their choice but within the themes of the course.

Evaluation: The student's grade will be based on her/his discussion sessions, discussion questions, and general class participation (20%), the book review (20%), and a research paper (60%).

Prerequisites: Graduate standing in Political Science or Sociology or permission of the instructor.

Books:

- Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Princeton University Press, 1990 (0-691-02857-5)
- Gøsta Esping-Andersen et al., *Why We Need a New Welfare State*, Oxford, 1999. (0-19-925643-8)
- Miguel Glatzer and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, *Globalization, and the Future of the Welfare State*, Pittsburgh, 2005. (0-8229-5861-9)
- Janet Gornick and Marcia Meyers, *Families that Work*, Russell Sage, 2003. (0-87154-359-1)
- Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*, Princeton, 2008 (978-0691135960)
- Alexander Hicks, *Social Democracy and Welfare Capitalism*, Cornell, 1999. (0-8014-8556-8)
- Evelyn Huber and John D. Stephens, *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State*, University of Chicago Press, 2001. (0-226-35647-7)
- Torben Iversen, *Capitalism, Democracy, and Welfare*, Cambridge, 2005. (0-52161307-8)
- Claude Martin and Bruno Palier, *Reforming the Bismarckian Welfare Systems*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2008 (978-1-4051-8348-2)
- Paul Pierson, *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, Oxford, 2000, (0-19-829756-4)

The articles and chapters are available in e-reserve or Blackboard.

August 20 Introduction and Course Organization

August 28 Theories of the State, Theories of the Welfare State

Huber and Stephens, Chapters 1 and 2

Ellen Immergut, "The Rules of the Game: The Logic of Health Policy Making in France, Switzerland and Sweden." Pp. 57-89 in Sven Steinmo, et al. (eds.), *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*, Cambridge, 1992. (e)

John Myles, *Old Age in the Welfare State*, Chapter 4 (pp. 76-102), Kansas, 1989. (e)

John Myles and Jill Quadagno, "Political Theories of the Welfare State," *Social Science Review*, March, 2002.

September 3 The Study of Welfare State Regimes

Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*

Reviews: Goodin

September 10 Welfare State Regimes and the Varieties of Capitalism

Iversen

Peter Hall and David Soskice, "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism.' Pp. 1-68 in Peter Hall and David Soskice (eds.) *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford, 2001. (e)

Torben Iversen and John D. Stephens, "Partisan politics, the welfare state, and three worlds of human capital formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (4/5): 600-37, 2008.

Huber and Stephens, chapter 4

Reviews: Crouch, Martin, Mares

September 17 Welfare State Development: Quantitative and Comparative Historical Evidence

Hicks, chapters 2-4

Huber and Stephens, chapters 3 and 5

Reviews: Amenta, Baldwin, King, Maioni

September 24 Gender and Welfare State Regimes

Gornick and Meyers, chapters 1-4, 5: 121-46, 6: 156-84, 7: 197-235, and 8.

Julia S. O'Connor, Ann Shola Orloff, and Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Cambridge, 1999, Chapter 6. (e)

Reviews: Sainsbury, Skocpol, Stetson and Mazur

October 1 Welfare State Retrenchment

Paul Pierson, chapters by Pierson, Swank, Bonoli, Myles and Pierson, and Pierson

Reviews: Garrett, Swank

October 8 Recent Developments: Social Democratic Welfare States and Liberal Welfare States

Huber and Stephens, chapters 6, 7 and 8

Jon Erik Dølvik, "The Negotiated Nordic Labour Markets: From Bust to Boom." Paper delivered at the conference "The Nordic Models: Solutions to Continental Europe's Problems?" Center for European Studies, Harvard University, May 9-10, 2008.

Reviews: Swenson

October 22 Recent Developments: Christian Democratic Welfare States

Martin and Palier

Reviews: Visser and Hemerijck, Hacker, Green-Pedersen

October 22 The Impact of the European Union on the Welfare State and Industrial Relations

Esping-Andersen et al. Chapters 1-3, 6
Rhodes in Paul Pierson

Reviews: Esping-Andersen (1999)

October 29 Social Policy in Latin American and the Caribbean: Historic patterns

Haggard and Kaufman, Introduction, Chapters 1 and 2

Carlos H. Filgueira and Fernando Filgueira, "Models of Welfare and Models of Capitalism: The Limits of Transferability." Pp. 127-58 in Evelyne Huber (ed.), *Models of Capitalism: Lessons for Latin America*, Penn State Press, 2002. (e)

Jennifer Pribble, Evelyne Huber and John D. Stephens, "Politics and Poverty in Latin America." *Comparative Politics*, forthcoming.

Evelyne Huber, Thomas Mustillo and John D. Stephens, "Politics and Social Spending in Latin America." *Journal of Politics* 70 (2): 420-436, 2008.

Reviews: Malloy, Mesa-Lago, Segura-Ubiergo, de Ferranti et al.

November 5 no class I will be in Taipei, Taiwan

November 12 Social Policy in Latin American and the Caribbean: Recent Developments

Haggard and Kaufman, Chapters 5 and 7

Reviews: Graham, Teichman, Weyland (1996, 2006), Sandbrook et al., Kaufman and Nelson, Madrid

November 19 Eastern Europe and East Asia

Haggard and Kaufman, Chapters 3, 4, 5, 8, and Conclusion

Mitchell Orenstein, "Democracy and the Welfare State in Postcommunist Europe and Eurasia."

Jordan Gans-Morse and Mitchell A. Orenstein, "The Emergence of East-Central European Welfare Regimes," 2008.

Reviews: Estévez-Abe, Wong,

December 3 Globalization and Social Policy: Comparative Perspectives

Chapters 1, 4-9 in Glatzer and Rueschemeyer

Evelyne Huber and John D. Stephens, "Globalization and Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean." Paper delivered the conference on "Inequality beyond Globalization" ISA-RC02 Midterm Conference, University of Neuchâtel, June 26-28, 2008.

Books to Review

Advanced Capitalist Democracies

Alberto Alesina and Edward Glaeser, *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe*, Oxford, 2004

Edwin Amenta, *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origin of Modern American Social Policy*, Princeton, 1998.

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

Colin Crouch, *Industrial Relations and European State Traditions*, Oxford, 1993

Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford, 1999.

Maurizio Ferrera, *The Boundaries of Welfare: European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social Protection*, Oxford, 2005

Geoffrey Garrett, *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy*. Cambridge, 1998.

Robert Goodin et al., *The Real Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge, 1999.

Christoffer Green-Pederson, *The Politics of Justification*, Amsterdam, 2002.

Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State*, Cambridge, 2002.

Lane Kenworthy, *Egalitarian Capitalism: Jobs, Incomes, and Growth in Affluent Countries*, Russell Sage, 2004.

Desmond King, *Actively Seeking Work? The Politics of Unemployment and Welfare Policy in the United States and Great Britain*, Chicago, 1995.

Antonia Maioni, *Explaining Differences in Welfare State Development: A Comparative Study of Health Insurance in Canada and the United States*, Princeton, 1998.

Isabela Mares, *The Politics of Social Risk: Business and Welfare State Development*, Cambridge, 2003

Cathie Jo Martin, *Stuck in Neutral: Business and the Politics of Human Capital Investment Policy*, Princeton, 1999.

Herbert Obinger, Stephan Leibfried, and Francis G. Castles, (eds.), *Federalism and the Welfare State*, Cambridge, 2005.

Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State*, Cambridge, 1994.

- Diane Sainsbury 1996. *Gender, Equality, and Welfare States*. Cambridge:
- Fritz Scharpf, "Economic Changes, Vulnerabilities, and Institutional Capabilities." In Scharpf and Schmidt (eds) *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy. Volume I. From Vulnerability to Competitiveness*
- Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Mothers and Soldiers*. Cambridge: Harvard, 1992
- Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy G. Mazur (eds.), *Comparative State Feminism*. Sage, 1995.
- Duane Swank, *Global Capital, Political Institutions, and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States*, Cambridge, 2002.
- Peter Swenson, *Capitalists Against Markets*, Oxford, 2002.
- Kathleen Thelen, *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States and Japan*, Cambridge, 2004.
- Jelle Visser and Anton Hemerijck, *A Dutch Miracle: Job Growth, Welfare Reform and Corporatism in the Netherlands*, Amsterdam, 1997.

Latin America and East Asia

- Margarita Estévez-Abe, *Welfare and Capitalism in Postwar Japan*, Cambridge, 2008.
- David de Ferranti et al., *Inequality in Latin America: Breaking with History?*, World Bank, 2004.
- Raul Madrid, *Retiring the State: The Politics of Pension Privatization in Latin America and Beyond*, Stanford, 2003.
- James Malloy, *The Politics of Social Security in Brazil*, Pittsburgh, 1979.
- Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *Ascent to Bankruptcy*, Pittsburgh, 1989.
- Carol Graham, *Safety Nets, Politics, and the Poor*, Brookings, 1994.
- Ernesto Stein, et al., *The Politics of Policies: Economic and Social Progress in Latin America*, Inter-American Development Bank, 2005, Chapters 1, 2, 6
- Richard Sandbrook, Marc Edelman, Patrick Heller, and Judith Teichman, *Social Democracy in the Global Periphery: Origins, Challenges, Prospects*. Cambridge, 2007.
- Segura-Ubiergo, Alex. *The Political Economy of the Welfare State in Latin America: Globalization, Democracy, and Development*, Cambridge, 2007.

Judith Teichman, *The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America*, UNC Press, 2001.

Kurt Weyland, *Democracy without Equity: Failures of Reform in Brazil*, Pittsburgh, 1996.

Bounded Rationality and Policy Diffusion: Social Sector Reform in Latin America, Princeton, 2006.

Joseph Wong, *Healthy Democracies: Welfare Politics in Taiwan and South Korea*, Cornell, 2004.