

The Welfare State and Social Policy in America: Political Science 3551

Ryan T. Moore*

4 February 2013 at 09:54

Course Information

L32 Political Science 3551
L58 Public Health 3551
L98 American Cultural Studies 3551
The Welfare State and Social Policy in America
Monday and Wednesday, 10.00-11.30am
McDonnell Hall, Room 362

Instructor Information

Ryan T. Moore, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Office: 241 Seigle Hall
Telephone: 314.935.3461
Fax: 801.922.7901
Homepage: <http://rtm.wustl.edu>
Email: [rtm \(at\) wustl \(dot\) edu](mailto:rtm@wustl.edu)
Office Hours: Wednesday, 11:30am-1.30pm or by appointment

Taeyong Park
Office: 258 Seigle Hall
Email: [t.park \(at\) wustl.edu](mailto:t.park@wustl.edu)
Office Hours: Monday, 3.30-5.30pm or by appointment

Course Description

How can we understand the recent debate about fundamental health care reform, and what will be its effects? Should social security be partially or wholly privatized? Was the 1996 welfare reform a success? Contemporary political questions frequently focus on the American welfare state and

*Department of Political Science, Washington University in St. Louis, 241 Seigle Hall, Campus Box 1063, One Brookings Drive, St. Louis MO 63130. tel: 314.935.3461; fax: 801.922.7901; [rtm \(at\) wustl \(dot\) edu](mailto:rtm@wustl.edu); <http://rtm.wustl.edu>.

Assignment	Weight	Due date
Question & Annotated Bibliography	5%	27 February
Reading Questions	5%	(28 Jan - 22 Apr)
Midterm Exam	25%	6 March
Paper Outline	5%	17 April
Final Paper due	25%	6 May
Final Exam	25%	6 May
Participation	10%	

Table 1: Course Assessment Summary

the social policies that comprise it. The first part of this course describes the American welfare state broadly construed, places it in a comparative context, and elucidates major political science explanations for the size and scope of American social policy. We touch on several areas of social policy while constructing the generalized lenses through which particular political outcomes can be understood. The second part of the course then focuses on three major aspects of the American welfare state: health care, old age pensions, and policies related to work, poverty, and inequality.

Readings

Readings should be completed before the course meeting under which they are listed below. The course readings are a mixture of academic articles, book chapters, and perspectives from the popular press. Many readings are available on the course Ares page at <http://ares.wustl.edu/ares/>. Note that in some cases, the required readings represent only a subset of the pages posted on Ares. Short news articles are available on the web, and are linked directly from this document.

Requirements and Evaluation

Students are required to do the weekly reading, attend class, complete all assignments and exams, and participate in course discussions about the material.

The student's final course assessment includes seven components: a proposed paper question and annotated bibliography, reading questions, a midterm exam, a paper outline, a final paper, a final exam, and participation. Table 1 summarizes the assessments and their due dates. The two exams take place in class. Participation has three components: a) making at least two substantive in-class contributions, be they questions, responses, intellectual perspectives, or the like (2% each), b) participating in the two in-class workshops on your paper (2.5% each), and c) completing the course evaluation (1%). The final paper should consider a specific element of American social policy using the lenses of this course or another political science approach. The final paper is of no more than 3000 words. The bibliography and outline intend to structure and simplify the paper-writing process. Sample paper questions and strategies for success will be discussed in class.

Reading questions are an opportunity to circulate your questions about the readings before class. They will be due at 5:00pm on Sundays, but can be posted to the Google Group anytime before that. You will be randomly assigned to craft reading questions for two weeks, and each week's questions will earn you 2.5% of the final grade.

No late work will be accepted. If you cannot submit an assignment on time, arrange to submit

it early. We encourage you to use office hours to discuss any specific assignments, difficulties, or questions about the course.

Academic integrity is a core value of institutions of higher learning. It is your responsibility to avoid and report plagiarism, cheating, and dishonesty. If you haven't done so recently, reread the University policy on academic integrity at

<http://www.wustl.edu/policies/undergraduate-academic-integrity.html>

Course Evaluation

The course evaluation will be available at <http://evals.wustl.edu> towards the end of the semester. Students who submit the evaluation will earn one percentage point toward the participation grade.

Calendar

I. Introduction

14 January

Introduction. Course policies and requirements.

16 January

The American Welfare State: Size, Scope, and Scale. Policy types and domains. World tour. "American Exceptionalism".

Required reading.

Daniel Béland. *What is Social Policy?: Understanding the Welfare State*. Polity Press, Malden, MA, 2010, pp. 9-10, 19-43.

Supplementary reading.

Torben Iversen. *Capitalism, Democracy, and Welfare*. Cambridge U Press, New York, 2005, pp.3-29.

Theodore R. Marmor, Jerry L. Mashaw, and Philip L. Harvey. *America's Misunderstood Welfare State: Persistent Myths, Enduring Realities*. Basic Books, 1992.

21 January

No class meeting.

23 January

Public and private. Visible and less visible. Choices over benefit levels, durations, and targeting.

Required reading.

Christopher Howard. *The Welfare State Nobody Knows: Debunking Myths about U.S. Social Policy*. Princeton UP, Princeton, 2007, pp.13–52.

Jacob S. Hacker. *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle Over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States*. Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp.5–20, 28–51.

Supplementary reading.

Peter H. Schuck and Richard J. Zeckhauser. *Targeting in Social Programs: Avoiding Bad Bets, Removing Bad Apples*. Brookings Inst Press, Washington, DC, 2006.

II. Influences and Structure

A) History, Colonialism (and especially Post-Reconstruction) to Pre-New Deal.

28 January

Required reading.

Edwin Amenta. *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy*. Princeton UP, Princeton, 1998, pp.54–79.

Supplementary reading.

Theda Skocpol. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*. Harvard U Press, Cambridge, MA, 1992.

B) Institutions

30 January

Policymaking. (**Important note: We will meet in Eads 016, not McDonnell 263.**)

Required reading.

John W. Kingdon. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. Longman, New York, 2nd edition, 2003, pp.165–221.

4 February

Majoritarian and Antimajoritarian institutions. Interbranch relationships.

Required reading.

Sven Steinmo and Jon Watts. It's the Institutions, Stupid! Why Comprehensive National Health Insurance Always Fails in America. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 20(2):329–372, 1995.

Supplementary reading.

David W. Brady and Craig Volden. *Revolving Gridlock: Politics and Policy from Carter to Clinton*. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1998, pp.12–48.

Herbert Obinger. Federalism, Direct Democracy, and Welfare State Development in Switzerland. *Journal of Public Policy*, 18(3):241–263, 1998.

Robert P. Inman and Daniel L. Rubinfeld. Rethinking Federalism. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 11:43–64, 1997.

C) Preferences, Interests, and Identities

6 February

Inequality, Interest/Preference Heterogeneity, and Implications.

Required reading.

Allan H. Meltzer and Scott F. Richard. A Rational Theory of the Size of Government. *Journal of Political Economy*, 89:914–27, 1981.

Supplementary reading.

Karl Ove Moene and Michael Wallerstein. Inequality, Social Insurance, and Redistribution. *American Political Science Review*, 95(4):859–874, December 2001.

Torben Iversen and David Soskice. An Asset Theory of Social Policy Preferences. *American Political Science Review*, 95:875–893, 2001.

Larry M. Bartels. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2008.

11 February

Public opinion. (**Important note: We will meet in Eads 016, not McDonnell 263.**)

Required reading.

Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza. Why Do Welfare States Persist? *Journal of Politics*, 68(4):816–827, 2006.

Adam J. Berinsky. Silent Voices: Social Welfare Policy Opinions and Political Equality in America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(2):276–287, 2002.

Supplementary reading.

Cindy D. Kam and Yunju Nam. Reaching Out or Pulling Back: Macroeconomic Conditions and Public Support for Social Welfare Spending. *Political Behavior*, 30(2):223–258, 2008.

13 February

Gender. Race and immigration supplements.

Required reading.

Ann Shola Orloff. Gender in the Welfare State. *Annual Reviews in Sociology*, 22(1):51–78, 1996.

Virginia Sapiro. The Gender Basis of American Social Policy. *Political Science Quarterly*, 101(2):221–38, 1986.

Supplementary reading.

Ann Shola Orloff. Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States. *American Sociological Review*, 58:303–328, 1993.

Diane Sainsbury. *Gender and Welfare State Regimes*. Oxford University Press, 1999.

Gareth Davies and Martha Derthick. Race and Social Welfare Policy: The Social Security Act of 1935. *Political Science Quarterly*, 112:217–236, 1997.

David Austen-Smith and Michael Wallerstein. Redistribution and Affirmative Action. *Journal of Public Economics*, 90(10-11):1789–1823, 2006.

Margaret Weir. States, Race, and the Decline of New Deal Liberalism. *Studies in American Political Development*, 19(02):157–172, 2005.

Ira Katznelson and Suzanne Mettler. On Race and Policy History: A Dialogue about the G.I. Bill. *Perspectives on Politics*, 6(3):519–537, 2008.

Michael K. Brown. *Race, Money, and the American Welfare State*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1999.

Robert C. Lieberman. *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1998.

III. Policies

A) Pensions

18 February

Introduction. The 19th century and before.

Required reading.

Theda Skocpol. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*. Harvard U Press, Cambridge, MA, 1992, pp.102–151.

Supplementary reading.

Edwin Amenta. *When Movements Matter: The Townsend Plan and the Rise of Social Security*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2006.

Ann Shola Orloff. *The Politics of Pensions: A Comparative Analysis of Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1880-1940*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI, 1993.

Peter David Blanck and Michael Millender. Before Disability Civil Rights: Civil War Pensions and the Politics of Disability in America. *Alabama Law Review*, 52(1):1–50, 2000.

20 February

Social Security.

Question (rough draft and approach) due.

Required reading.

Daniel Béland. *Social Security: History and Politics from the New Deal to the Privatization Debate*. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, 2005, pp. 62–96.

Supplementary reading.

Daniel Béland. *Social Security: History and Politics from the New Deal to the Privatization Debate*. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, 2005, pp. 97–140.

David M. Kennedy. *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*. Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.323–380.

Gareth Davies and Martha Derthick. Race and Social Welfare Policy: The Social Security Act of 1935. *Political Science Quarterly*, 112:217–236, 1997.

Martha Derthick. *Policymaking for Social Security*. Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, 1979.

25 February

Pension policy feedbacks.

Question and annotated bibliography workshop.

Required reading.

Andrea Louise Campbell. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2003, pp.65–92.

27 February

Pension policy feedbacks.

Question and annotated bibliography due.

Required reading.

Andrea Louise Campbell. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2003, pp.93–114.

4 March

Private pensions. Funding and public opinion.

Required reading.

William G. Gale, John B. Shoven, and Mark J. Warshawsky. *The Evolving Pension System: Trends, Effects, and Proposals for Reform*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, 2005, pp.11–76.

Supplementary reading.

Andrea Louise Campbell and Kimberly J. Morgan. Financing the Welfare State: Elite Politics and the Decline of the Social Insurance Model in America. *Studies in American Political Development*, 19:173–95.

6 March

Midterm Exam.

11 March

No class meeting, Spring Break.

13 March

No class meeting, Spring Break.

B) Health Care

18 March

Introduction. Health care policy in the U.S. Medicare policy alternatives.

Required reading.

Donald A. Barr. *Introduction to US Health Policy: The Organization, Financing, and Delivery of Health Care in America*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 2007, pp.1–51.

Supplementary reading.

Henry J. Aaron and Jeanne M. Lambrew. *Reforming Medicare: Options, Trade-offs, Opportunities*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, 2008, pp.1–50.

John D. Wilkerson. The Political Economy of Health in the United States. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 6(1):327–343, 2003.

Jonathan Oberlander. Through the Looking Glass: The Politics of the Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement, and Modernization Act. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 32(2):187–219, 2007.

20 March

Medicare policy alternatives. The Clinton-era episode.

Required reading.

Henry J. Aaron and Jeanne M. Lambrew. *Reforming Medicare: Options, Trade-offs, Opportunities*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, 2008, pp.51–91.

Supplementary reading.

Timothy S. Jost. Our Broken Health Care System and How to Fix It: An Essay on Health Law and Policy. *Wake Forest Law Review*, 41:537–618, 2006.

25 March

Health insurance markets. Middle-class health insurance.

Required reading.

Katherine Swartz. *Reinsuring Health: Why More Middle-Class People are Uninsured and What Government Can Do*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 2006, pp.1–43.

Supplementary reading.

Katherine Swartz. *Reinsuring Health: Why More Middle-Class People are Uninsured and What Government Can Do*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 2006, pp. 44–135.

27 March

The Obama-era episode. Current law.

Required reading.

Paul Starr. *Remedy and reaction: The peculiar American struggle over health care reform*. Yale Univ Press, New Haven, CT, 2011, pp.161–193.

Supplementary reading.

Henry J. Aaron and Jeanne M. Lambrew. *Reforming Medicare: Options, Trade-offs, Opportunities*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, 2008, pp.92–137.

Jonathan Oberlander. The Partisan Divide – The McCain and Obama Plans for US Health Care Reform. *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 21 August 2008. <http://content.nejm.org/cgi/content/full/359/8/781>.

Atul Gawande. Getting There From Here: How Should Obama Reform Health Care? *The New Yorker*, 26 January 2009.

1 April

State policies: sCHIP and Oregon Health Plan policy and politics. OHP and ACA causal effects.

Required reading.

Craig Volden. States as Policy Laboratories: Emulating Success in the Children’s Health Insurance Program. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2):294–312, 2006.

Lawrence Jacobs, Theodore Marmor, and Jonathan Oberlander. The Oregon Health Plan and the Political Paradox of Rationing: What Advocates and Critics Have Claimed and What Oregon Did. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 24(1):161–180, 1999.

Amy Finkelstein, Sarah Taubman, Bill Wright, Mira Bernstein, Jonathan Gruber, Joseph P. Newhouse, Heidi Allen, Katherine Baicker, and the Oregon Health Study Group. The Oregon Health Insurance Experiment: Evidence from the First Year. *NBER Working Paper*, Working Paper 17190, July 2011.

Supplementary reading.

Sharon K. Long, Karen Stockley, and Heather Dahlen. Massachusetts health reforms: Uninsurance remains low, self-reported health status improves as state prepares to tackle costs. *Health Affairs*, 31(2):444–451, 2012.

Stuart H. Altman and Michael Doonan. Can Massachusetts Lead the Way in Health Care Reform? *New England Journal of Medicine*, 354:2093–2095, May 2006.

Robert Steinbrook. Health Care Reform in Massachusetts – A Work in Progress. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 354:2095–2098, May 2006.

3 April

The Case of Vaccine Politics. Interest groups, constitutionality, citizenship.

Required reading.

Daniel A. Salmon, Jason W. Sapsin, Stephen Teret, Richard F. Jacobs, Joseph W. Thompson, Kevin Ryan, and Neal A. Halsey. Public health and the politics of school immunization requirements. *American Journal of Public Health*, 95(5):778–783, 2005.

John D. Lantos, Mary Anne Jackson, and Christopher J. Harrison. Why we should eliminate personal belief exemptions to vaccine mandates. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 37(1):101–110, February 2012.

Supplementary reading.

Dayle B. DeLancey. Vaccinating freedom: Smallpox prevention and the discourses of african american citizenship in antebellum philadelphia. *Journal of African American History*, 95(3-4):296–321, Summer 2010.

C) Work, Poverty, and Inequality

8 April

Introduction.

Required reading.

R. Kent Weaver. *Ending Welfare As We Know It*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, 2000, pp. 54–101.

Supplementary reading.

Margaret Weir. *Politics and Jobs: The Boundaries of Employment Policy in the United States*. Princeton University Press, 1992.

10 April

The fuzzy border between work and welfare.
Outline circulation begins.

Required reading.

Kathryn Edin and Laura Lein. *Making Ends Meet: How Single Mothers Survive Welfare and Low-wage Work*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1997, pp.20–59, 88–119.

Supplementary reading.

Kathryn Edin and Laura Lein. *Making Ends Meet: How Single Mothers Survive Welfare and Low-wage Work*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1997, pp.60–87.

Robert P. Stoker and Laura A. Wilson. *When Work is Not Enough*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, 2006, pp.27–63, 112–126.

Joe Soss. Lessons of Welfare: Policy Design, Political Learning, and Political Action. *American Political Science Review*, 93:363–380, 1999.

Barbara Ehrenreich. *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America*. Metropolitan Books, 2001.

15 April

Ending welfare as we know it.
Outline workshop.

Required reading.

R. Kent Weaver. *Ending Welfare As We Know It*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, 2000, pp.102–134, 316–354.

Supplementary reading.

Charles A. Murray. *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980*. Basic-Books, 1994, pp.154–166.

Robert P. Inman and Daniel L. Rubinfeld. Rethinking Federalism. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 11:43–64, 1997.

Nada Eissa and Hilary Hoynes. Redistribution and Tax Expenditures: The Earned Income Tax Credit. NBER Working Paper Series, September 2008. Number 14307.

17 April

Paper outline due.
State policies.

Required reading.

Joe Soss, Sanford F. Schram, Thomas P. Vartanian, and Erin O'Brien. Setting the Terms of Relief: Explaining State Policy Choices in the Devolution Revolution. *American Journal of Political Science*, 45:378–95, 2001.

Matthew C. Fellowes and Gretchen Rowe. Politics and the New American Welfare States. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(2):362–373, 2004.

Scott W. Allard and Sheldon Danziger. Welfare Magnets: Myth or Reality? *Journal of Politics*, 62(2):350–368, 2000.

Supplementary reading.

Lawrence M. Mead. The culture of welfare reform. *Public Interest*, 154:99, Winter 2004.

Paul E. Peterson and Mark Rom. American Federalism, Welfare Policy, and Residential Choices. *American Political Science Review*, 83(3):711–728, 1989.

William D. Berry, Richard C. Fording, and Russell L. Hanson. Reassessing the “Race to the Bottom” in State Welfare Policy. *Journal of Politics*, 65(2):327–349, 2003.

22 April

Race and welfare.

Required reading.

Martin Gilens. *Why Americans Hate Welfare*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1999, pp.60–79, 102–132, 146.

Supplementary reading.

Christopher D. DeSante. Working Twice as Hard to Get Half as Far: Race, Work Ethic, and America’s Deserving Poor. *American Journal of Political Science*, 2013.

Jill S. Quadagno. *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1994.

IV. Conclusions

24 April

Proposals.

Required reading.

David T. Ellwood. *Poor Support: Poverty and the American Family*. Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1988, pp.3–26, 231–243. (Recommended: pp.26–44.)

Charles A. Murray. *In Our Hands: A Plan to Replace the Welfare State*. AEI Press, 2006, pp.8–36.

Peter Singer. The Singer Solution to World Poverty. *The New York Times Sunday Magazine*, 5 September 1999. <http://people.brandeis.edu/~teuber/singermag.html>

6 May

Final exam, 10.30am-12.30pm, McDonnell Hall, Room 362.

Final paper due.