

HIST 590/PBAF 573
THE STATE AND SOCIAL POLICY
University of Washington
Winter 2008
109 Smith Hall - Thursdays, 3:30-5:20
<http://faculty.washington.edu/momara/Courses.html>

Prof. Margaret O'Mara
Department of History
Office: 203B Smith
Office hours: Tues 2:00-4:00 or by appointment
Email: momara@u.washington.edu
Office ph: (206) 543-2993

This readings and discussion course focuses on the emergence of the broadly defined American welfare state, including health care, social insurance, employment, and anti-poverty programs, from the Progressive Era to the present. Drawing from the literatures of history, political science, and sociology, the course will trace this history from the reform movements of late-19th-century cities, through the establishment of early state-level programs for women and children, to the New Deal, the Great Society, and “the end of welfare as we know it.” We will consider how and why social welfare provision in the US is different from international counterparts, and more broadly consider the historiography of welfare states here and abroad. Successful participation in the course will provide a review of the historiography of US social policy, an introduction to emerging currents in the scholarly literature, and critical analysis and understanding of historical antecedents to present-day debates around health care, Social Security, welfare, and urban economic development. Students will also have an enhanced understanding of how to teach this material to undergraduate students.

READINGS

All available for purchase at the University Bookstore and on 24-hour reserve at Odegaard:

Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (1991)
Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990)
Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, eds., *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (1994)
Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (1986)
Daniel Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (1998)
Peter Swenson, *Capitalists against Markets: The Making of Labor Markets and Welfare States in the United States and Sweden* (2002)
Michael Brown, *Race, Money, and the American Welfare State* (1999)
Edwin Amenta, *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy* (2000)
Christopher Howard, *The Hidden Welfare State: Tax Expenditures and Social Policy in the United States* (1997)
Jacob Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle Over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (2002)

ASSIGNMENTS

The assignments in this course are intended to support your professional education and are designed so that they may be repurposed at a later date in your training or your career. Naturally, participation, completion of readings, and collegial and productive participation in discussion are weighed heavily. The other assignments are:

1. **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS.** To start the discussion in advance of our meeting as a group, you should post discussion questions raised by the week's reading on our class message board, accessed via the course web site. Questions can be posted throughout the week, up to 1PM on the day of class. You are welcome to post as early and as often as you like, although contributions will be assessed on quality rather than quantity.

2. **BOOK REVIEW.** One 4-page book review of one of the texts listed as additional reading on this syllabus, to be posted on the course website. These reviews are designed to expose the group to a wider historiography as well as provide you with the opportunity to do additional reading in an area of particular interest. The reviews should be similar in length and content to those found in a refereed scholarly journal like the *American Historical Review*. You will sign up for a book review the first week of class. *Book reviews should be submitted no later than seven days after this book appears on the syllabus.*

3. **CREATE A COURSE.** In order to begin to think about how you might teach this literature to future students, you will write a hypothetical course syllabus for a 400-level undergraduate seminar. The syllabus should be as substantively detailed and structurally precise as possible, built as if it were to be taught at the UW next year. The syllabus should be accompanied by an up to 500-word (one page, single-spaced) narrative describing your choices of readings and assignments. *This can be submitted at any time during the quarter, and no later than the last class meeting on 3/13.*

4. **OP-ED.** Welfare, health care, and social insurance programs are among the most hotly debated issues in present-day politics. As a professional scholar or policy practitioner, your insights can be valuable to these public debates. You will be asked to write an 800-1000 word op-ed article suitable for publication in a regional or national US paper that places one element of this debate in historical perspective, using ideas and findings of the scholarly literature to make your case. *This can be submitted at any time during the quarter, and no later than the last class meeting on 3/13.*

5. **REVIEW ESSAY.** The final assignment is a 2500-word (ten pages, double-spaced) review essay of the welfare state literature. Although shorter than a review article found in a refereed journal such as *Reviews in American History*, the essay should be similar in spirit and tone of analysis. You may presume the reader's familiarity with the substance of the works under discussion. Focus on how each of the works speaks to your chosen theme; contrast/compare sources and methods; discuss effectiveness of argument; assess contribution to the literature. *Papers are due by noon on the Friday of exam week, 3/21.*

Grading breakdown is as follows: participation/readings 30%; discussion questions 10%; book review 10%; op-ed assignment 15%; syllabus-writing assignment 15%; final review essay 20%.

Please note that most due dates are flexible so that you can accommodate other teaching and research demands. However, I strongly encourage you to manage your time wisely and not wait until the end of the quarter to submit all this work. Also be advised that I do not give extensions, and I do not allow incompletes outside of truly extraordinary circumstances.

SCHEDULE

1/10 Introductory Session

Meg Jacobs and Julian Zelizer, *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History*, pp. 1-19

<http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/s7644.pdf>

Stanley Feldman and John Zaller, "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State," *American Journal of Political Science* 36:1 (1992), 268-307.

[http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199202%2936%3A1%3C268%3ATPCOAI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Z)

[5853%28199202%2936%3A1%3C268%3ATPCOAI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Z](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199202%2936%3A1%3C268%3ATPCOAI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Z)

1/17 Welfare-State Regimes

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

Introduction, Chapters 2, 3, 5 and 10 in Koven and Michel, *Mothers of a New World*

Additional reading:

Ann Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914* (1991)

Susan Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914-1945* (1993)

1/24 Policy Feedbacks

Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*

Additional reading:

Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920* (1982)

Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States* (1988)

1/30 The Undeserving Poor

Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*

Additional reading:

Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History* (2001)

Linda Gordon, *Pitied but not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare* (1994)

David Rothman, *Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and its Alternatives in Progressive America* (1980)

2/7 Progressivism(s)

Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*

Additional reading:

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

Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis, New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850-1896* (2001)

Nancy Steiber, *Housing Design and Society in Amsterdam: Reconfiguring Urban Order and Identity, 1900-1920* (1998)

2/14 Corporate Welfare

Swenson, *Capitalists against Markets*

Additional reading:

David Moss, *Socializing Security: Progressive-Era Economists and the Origins of American Social Policy* (1996)

Stuart Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1940* (1976)

Hugh Hecl, *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden* (1974)

2/21 **The Color of Welfare**

Brown, *Race, Money, and the American Welfare State*

Additional reading:

Jill Quadagno, *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty* (1994)

Daryl Michael Scott, *Contempt and Pity: Social Policy and the Image of the Damaged Black Psyche, 1880-1996* (1997)

Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (1997)

2/28 **It Really Was a New Deal**

Amenta, *Bold Relief*

Additional reading:

Jennifer Klein, *For All These Rights: Business, Labor, and the Shaping of America's Public-Private Welfare State* (2003)

Margaret Weir, *Politics and Jobs: The Boundaries of Employment Policy in the United States* (1992)

Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (1996)

3/6 **The Taxman Cometh**

Howard, *The Hidden Welfare State*

Additional reading:

Sanford Jacoby, *Modern Manors: Welfare Capitalism since the New Deal* (1997)

Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State?: Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment* (1993)

Julian Zelizer, *Taxing America: Wilbur D. Mills, Congress, and the State* (1998)

3/13 **American Exceptionalism?**

LAST DAY TO SUBMIT SYLLABUS AND OP-ED

Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State*

Additional reading [reviews of these books must be submitted by 3/20]:

Edward Berkowitz, *Mr. Social Security – The Life of Wilbur J. Cohen* (1995)

Michael B. Katz, *The Price of Citizenship: Redefining the American Welfare State* (2001)

Colin Gordon, *Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health Care in Twentieth Century America* (2003)

Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol. *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism* (2007)

3/21 **FINAL ESSAYS** due by 12PM