

**Politics of Social Policy**  
**POLI 61, Fall 2019**  
**University of California, Santa Cruz**

**Lectures: Mon., Wed., & Fri. 8:00-9:05a.m.;** Oakes Acad 105

**Professor:** Sara Niedzwiecki

**Office Hours:** Mondays and Wednesdays 1:30-2:30p.m, or by appointment

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**Date of this syllabus:** September 19, 2019. Subject to change, please check Canvas for latest version

## **Course Overview**

This course is an introduction to the characteristics and politics of different countries' social policies. Countries around the world create policies to promote healthy, well-educated, and well-nourished populations, but not all policies are created equal. Social protection varies widely across countries. Some countries provide free and high-quality healthcare and education, as well as a minimum income to all citizens. Others provide meager benefits to few citizens. In some countries, the state is the main provider of social protection, while in others the market or the family have a more prominent role.

Politics 61 will allow students to compare social policies in the U.S. and Western Europe with those in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and East Asia. Students will explore why social policies look so different across countries by examining interactions between the state, political parties, unions, social movements, firms, international and demographic pressures, and families. We will apply welfare state theories to the study of specific policies (such as healthcare, pensions, social assistance, family leave, and child care) and specific countries (including Sweden, the United States, Germany, Argentina, Brazil, Japan, and South Korea).

The course is divided into three main parts. First, it will introduce students to the main concepts for the study of social policy and welfare states. Second, we will analyze the politics and characteristics of social policies in advanced industrialized democracies. Finally, these topics will be analyzed in the contexts of Latin America, Eastern Europe, and East Asia.

This course fulfills the Cross-Cultural Analysis (CC) General Education Requirement.

## **Learning Objectives**

Students will learn to...

1. Understand the characteristics of social policies in the U.S., Western and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and East Asia, with focus on specific case studies.

2. Explain why social policies look so different across countries by examining interactions between the state, political parties, unions, social movements, firms, international and demographic pressures, and families.
3. Develop a set of conceptual tools and theoretical knowledge they can use to better understand political outcomes around the world and not just with regard to social policy.
4. Make more compelling oral arguments and write papers that are well organized and supported with empirical evidence.

## Readings

Assigned readings are in a course reader that can be purchased at BayTree Bookstore.

## Course Requirements

### 1) Class attendance, readings, and participation (20%)

**Attendance at lectures and discussion sections is mandatory.** In lecture, we take attendance every class. Your curiosity and participation are important; we look forward to your questions and comments. There is no such thing as a trivial question, as long as it is presented respectfully.

In discussion sections, you have one “free pass”. Since the second unexcused absences, your participation grade will lower one letter grade (i.e. from an A to a B) for every two missed classes. **More than four unexcused absences from section will result in automatic failure from the course.** In order to facilitate an engaging session, **students are required to complete the assigned readings before section.** Please bring your reader to discussion sections and complete the mandatory **Reading Worksheet for two of the readings each week.**

The syllabus includes questions for every week to guide your reading and reflection. The aim is to learn how to critically analyze texts by evaluating the core arguments and discussing your assessments of the readings orally. Please be advised that this is a reading intensive course in which students are expected to devote significant time each week to the assigned readings.

### 2) Mid-term (20%) and Final Exam (35%)

The mid-term will be held during class on **Friday, November 1**, and the final exam will occur on **Tuesday, December 10 from 4:00 to 7:00pm.** The final exam is cumulative but weighted toward the second half of the course. Both exams will consist of questions that assess the students' achievements in integrating their reading activities, the course lectures, and their section work. The exams are closed everything – books, notes, neighbors. No make-up tests will be given unless a student makes prior arrangements with the instructor or offers written proof of a medical visit.

### 3) Country Profile (25%): Part I (5%) and Part II (20%)

Using the theoretical and analytical tools learned in this course, each student will select a country and analyze a social policy via a critical examination of relevant scholarly studies. This activity will require outside research and reading. It should include five academic sources (at least two should come from the syllabus). The country cannot be one included in the syllabus as part of the case studies. The paper is written in two stages. Papers must be **uploaded to Canvas before noon**. All late papers will be marked down 1/2 of a grade for each day late (i.e. 5 out of 100 points).

**PART I: due Monday October 21 through Canvas before noon (2 pages long).** A description of the characteristics of one social policy, comparing it with two ideal types of welfare states—Which is it closest to? Which ideal type is it further away from?

**PARTS I and II: due Wednesday November 27 through Canvas by noon (5 pages long).** It should include:

- 1) A revised version of PART I after incorporating our comments (2 pages)
- 2) A discussion of possible (political, economic, social and/or institutional) factors that explain why the social policy of that country look like that (2 pages).
- 3) An evaluation of the current challenges that country is facing in terms of the selected social policy and what the government is doing (or not) to solve them (1 page).

**As a 5-credit course, it requires 15 hours per week of students' work**

Grades for the course will be based on the following percentages for each of these requirements:

	<b>Grade</b>	<b>Deadline</b>
Attendance and participation	20%	<b>Throughout the quarter</b>
Midterm	20%	<b>November 1</b>
Country Profile	25%	<b>Oct. 21, Nov. 27 through Canvas by noon</b>
Final Exam	35%	<b>Tuesday, December 10 from 4:00 to 7:00pm</b>

<b>Percentage Earned</b>	<b>Letter Grade</b>	<b>Grade Points</b>
97 to 100	A+	4.0
93 to 96	A	4.0
90 to 92	A-	3.7
87 to 89	B+	3.3
83 to 86	B	3.0
80 to 82	B-	2.7
77 to 79	C+	2.3
73 to 76	C	2.0
70 to 72	C-	1.7
67 to 69	D+	1.3
65 to 66	D	1.0
Below 65	F	0.0

## Policies and Expectations

**Media Policy.** In order to facilitate an active and collaborative environment, **we do not allow laptops, tablets, or phones** in lecture. This course requires your undivided attention. Exceptions will be made only if a student demonstrates a clear academic need for one of these devices. Course communication will occur via email, so please **check your UCSC e-mail regularly**.

**Citation and Documentation of Sources in Papers.** All courses in the Politics Department use one of two standard forms of citation (1) parenthetical or in-text citations and (2) footnotes. For the in-text system the department follows the *Modern Language Association* (MLA). For footnotes, the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Please familiarize yourself with the style guides for the two systems, which can be found on the [Politics website](#) and the library's [resource page](#). For this course, you can choose either citation style. Please be consistent with the style throughout your paper.

**Academic Honesty:** We take academic integrity very seriously and expect all students to do the same. Please see [UC Santa Cruz Academic Misconduct Policy for Undergraduates](#), which details the disciplinary processes surrounding academic misconduct. If you have questions about what plagiarism is, please talk with me and check the library's [resource page on plagiarism](#).

**Grade dispute:** You can dispute your grade only 48 hours after you have received your exam or paper back. If a student requests a second review, the instructor reserves the right to raise or lower this grade according to her discretion.

**Principles of Community.** This class is committed to promoting and protecting an environment that values and supports every person in an atmosphere of civility, honesty, cooperation, professionalism and fairness. Our class will be guided by UCSC Principles of community available at: <https://www.ucsc.edu/about/principles-community.html>

## Campus Resources

**Undocumented Student Services (USS):** Under the umbrella of EOP, the [USS](#) provides a robust set of services and support to ensure the graduation and retention of undocumented students at UCSC. The services are composed of peer mentors and an academic advisor who provide personal, academic, financial, and legal support to all UCSC undocumented students.

**Disability Accommodations:** UCSC is committed to creating an academic environment that supports its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations to achieve equal access in this course, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me privately during my office hours or by appointment, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. At this time, I would also like us to discuss ways we can ensure your full participation in the course. I encourage all students who may benefit from learning more about DRC services to contact DRC by phone at [831-459-2089](tel:831-459-2089) or by email at [drc@ucsc.edu](mailto:drc@ucsc.edu)

**Title IX:** Title IX prohibits gender discrimination, including sexual harassment, domestic and dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking. If you have experienced sexual harassment or sexual violence, you can receive confidential support and advocacy at the Campus Advocacy Resources & Education

([CARE](#)) Office by calling (831) 502-2273. In addition, Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) can provide confidential, counseling support, (831) 459-2628. You can also report gender discrimination directly to the University's [Title IX Office](#), (831) 459-2462. Reports to law enforcement can be made to UCPD, (831) 459-2231 ext. 1. For emergencies call 911. Faculty and TAs are required under the UC Policy on Sexual Violence and Sexual Harassment to inform the Title IX Office should they become aware that you or any other student has experienced sexual violence or sexual harassment.

**Basic Needs:** Any student who faces challenges securing their food or housing and believes this may affect their performance in the course is urged to contact the Dean of Students for support. The Dean's office has established a [Slug Support Program](#) to help students in need. Furthermore, please notify the professor if you are comfortable in doing. This will enable her to provide any resources that she may possess.

## Lecture Schedule and Assignments

F – Sept. 27 Introduction to the course

### Week 1 – Introduction to the Politics of Social Policy

*What are social rights? What are social policies? What are the aims of social policies? What are the differences between universal and selective social policies? What is the relationship between universal social policies and social rights?*

M – Sept. 30 Social policies: what are they and why do we need them?

*Activity to hand-in: review the syllabus and write a paragraph on what you believe will be the most challenging aspect of the course for you and how you will prepare or anticipate for that challenge*

- Marshall, T.H. (1950) "Citizenship and Social Class" In *The Welfare State Reader* (pp. 28-37)
- Titmuss, R. (1967) "Universalism versus Selection" In *The Welfare State Reader* (pp. 38-45)

W – Oct. 2 Types of social policies

- Goodman, P. (2018) "Free Cash to Fight Income Inequality? California City Is First in U.S. to Try." *The New York Times*, May 30.
- Van Kersbergen, K. and Manow, P. (2014) "The welfare state" In *Comparative Politics* (pp.349-364).

F – Oct. 4 Welfare state: what it is, and what it is not

- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) "The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism" In *The Welfare State Reader* (pp. 136-150)
- Russell Shorto (2009) "[Going Dutch: How I Learned to Love the European Welfare State,](#)" *The New York Times*, April 29.
- *The Economist* (2019) "[America is the only rich country without a law on paid leave for new parents](#)" July 18.

## Week 2 – The Welfare State: the Liberal and Social Democratic types

*What is the welfare state? Research distinguishes between different types of “welfare state regimes”, which have developed after WWII. What are the different types of “welfare state regimes”? What is stratification? What is decommodification? How do different welfare states look like in terms of stratification and decommodification? Why do differences across welfare states matter for gender? What are the characteristics of the liberal welfare state? What are the characteristics of the social democratic welfare state?*

M – Oct. 7      Types of welfare states

- Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). *Social foundations of postindustrial economies* (pp.73-94)
- Orloff, A. (2010) “Gender” *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (pp. 252-64)
- Bennhold, K. (2010) “[In Sweden, Men Can Have It All.](#)” *The New York Times*

W – Oct. 9      Liberal welfare state: United States

- Castles, F. (2010) “The English-Speaking Countries” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (pp. 630-642)
- Hacker, J. (2002) *The Divided Welfare State* (pp.5-27)

F – Oct. 10      Social democratic welfare state: Sweden

- Kautto, M. (2010) “The Nordic Countries” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (pp. 586-600)

## Week 3 – The Social Democratic, Conservative, and Mediterranean Welfare States

*What are the characteristics of the Conservative and Mediterranean welfare state? How does it look like in terms of stratification and decommodification? How does the conservative welfare state compare with the social democratic type in terms of gender and family friendly policies?*

M – Oct. 14      Conservative Welfare States: Germany

- Palier, B. (2010) “Continental Western Europe” *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (pp. 601-615)
- Geisel, E; Kreyenfeld, M. (2019) “Policy reform and fathers’ use of parental leave in Germany.” *Journal of European Social Policy* 29 (2), pp. 273–291.

W – Oct. 16      Gender and the Welfare State

- Sainsbury, D. (1996) *Gender, Equality and Welfare States* (pp. 33-46).
- Shaver, S. (2018) “Introduction to the Handbook on Gender and Social Policy”. In *Handbook on Gender and Social Policy*. Sheila Shaver (ed.). (pp. 1-18).
- Review Orloff (2010)

F – Oct. 18      Mediterranean Welfare States

- Ferrera, M. (2010) “The South European Countries” *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (pp. 616-629)

## Week 4 – The Politics of Welfare States and Healthcare around the World

*What factors explain differences across different types of welfare states? What is the role of economic development, parties, unions, and domestic and international institutions? Why do differences in types of health systems matter? How does the United States' health system compare with other countries?*

- M – Oct. 21    What explains differences across types of welfare states?
- Olsen, G.; O'Connor, J (1998) “Understanding the Welfare State: Power Resources Theory.” In *Power Resources Theory and the Welfare State* (pp. 3–33).
  - Schmidt, M.(2010) “Parties” *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (pp. 211-226)
  - Immergut, E. (2010) “Political Institutions” *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (pp. 227-240)
  - Falkner, G. (2010) “European Union” *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (pp. 292-305)
  - Magnusson, L. (2018) “Trade unions in a changing political context.” *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* (pp. 137-149)

**Monday October 21: Country Profile PART I. Submit an electronic copy through Canvas by noon.**

- W – Oct. 23    Why do differences across welfare states matter? Documentary in class: Palfreman, J. and Reid, T. (2008) [\*Sick Around the World\*](#)
- Barr, D. (2016) “Health, Health Care, and The Market Economy” In *Introduction to US Health Policy* (pp. 19-41)

F – Oct. 25    No Class. Please catch up on readings.

## Week 5 –The Politics of Welfare State Retrenchment and Midterm

*What is welfare state retrenchment? What explains different forms and degrees of retrenchment? What are the politics behind retrenchment options?*

- M – Oct. 28    Welfare state retrenchment
- Pierson, P. (1994) Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment (pp. 1-50).
  - The Economist (2011): “[Falling Short. Special Report on Pensions](#)”
  - The Economist (2018): “[What explains America’s mysterious baby bust?](#)”

W – Oct. 30    Review for the midterm

**F – Nov. 1    Midterm**

## Week 6— Welfare States around the World: Latin America I

*How useful is the European welfare state's framework for understanding social policy in Latin America? How do social policies look like in Latin America since WWII? What factors explain the characteristics of social policies in Latin America? In particular: what is the role of democracy and of left parties? How does social policy retrenchment look like in the 1980s-1990s? What explains differences in social policy reform in the 1980s-1990s across countries?*

M – Nov. 4 Models of welfare state for Latin America

- Filgueira, C. and Filgueira, F. (2002) “Models of Welfare and Models of Capitalism. The Limits of Transferability” *Models of Capitalism. Lessons for Latin America* (pp. 127–57).
- Filgueira, F. (2011). “Fault Lines in Latin American Social Development and Welfare Regime Challenges,” *In The Great Gap, Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution in Latin America*. Edited by Merike Blofield
- Huber, E. and Bogliaccini, J. (2010) “Latin America” *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (pp. 644-655)

W – Nov. 6 Historic patterns

- Huber, E. and Stephens, J. (2012) *Democracy and the Left. Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America* (pp. 73-102)

F – Nov. 8 Neoliberalism

- Huber, E. and Stephens, J. (2012) *Democracy and the Left. Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America* (pp. 155-207)
- Pribble(2017)“Chile's Elites Face Demands for Reform” *Current History*(pp.49-54)
- *The Economist* (2019) “Pensions in Chile. Will you Still Feed Me?” (p. 33)

## Week 7— Latin America II: the Left, Social Movements, and Brazil

*What is Latin America's left turn? What explains the left turn? How do social policies look like since the 2000s? What explains social policy expansion in Latin America? In particular: what is the role of democracy, of left parties, and of social movements? How do social policies look like in Brazil from the 1940s to the present? What explains the expansion and retrenchment of social policies in this country? What are conditional cash transfers (CCTs)? How can CCTs promote the development of citizenship?*

M – Nov. 11 *Holiday. Veterans' Day*

W – Nov. 13 Left turn and social movements

- Levitsky, S. and Roberts, K. (2011) “Latin America's Left Turn” *In The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (pp. 1-28)
- Niedzwiecki, S. and Anria, S. (2019). “Participatory Social Policies” *Latin American Politics and Society* (pp. 115-137)

F – Nov. 15 Brazil's social policy

- Hunter, Wendy and Natasha Sugiyama (2014) “Transforming Subjects into Citizens. Insights from Brazil's Bolsa Família” *Perspectives on Politics* (pp. 829–845).

## Week 8—Welfare States in Latin America and Eastern Europe

*How do social policies look like in Argentina from the 1940s to the present? What explains the expansion and retrenchment of social policies in this country? What factors explain the unequal implementation of social policies across states and municipalities?*

*What are the characteristics of the Eastern European welfare state? How is it similar to and different from the Liberal, Conservative, and Social Democratic types? How has the Eastern European welfare state changed since 1989? How does this type of welfare state perform in terms of gender and family friendly policies?*

M – Nov. 18 Argentina’s and Brazil’s social policy

- Hunter, Wendy and Natasha Sugiyama (2014) “Transforming Subjects into Citizens. Insights from Brazil’s Bolsa Família” *Perspectives on Politics* (pp. 829–845).
- Niedzwiecki, Sara (2018) *Uneven Social Policies: The Politics of Subnational Variation* (pp. 1-26).

W – Nov. 20 Eastern European welfare state

- Cook, L. (2007) *Postcommunist Welfare States. Reform Politics in Russia and Eastern Europe* (pp. 1-30; 193-238).

F – Nov. 22 Russia’s welfare state

- Teplova, T. (2007) “Welfare state transformation, childcare, and women’s work in Russia” *Social Politics* (pp. 284-322)

## Week 9 – Welfare States in East Asia and Care Policies

*What are the characteristics of the East Asian welfare state? How is it similar to and different from the Liberal, Conservative, and Social Democratic types? How do social policies look like in South Korea and Japan? What explains the expansion of social policy since the 1980s? In particular: what is the role of economic development and democracy? What are the main challenges faced by these welfare states? How does this type of welfare state perform in terms of gender and family friendly policies? What are care policies? Why are care policies important for welfare states and gender equality? What are the characteristics of care policies in Japan and South Korea?*

M – Nov. 25 East Asian welfare state: Japan and South Korea

- Peng, I. and Wong, J. (2010) “East Asia” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (pp. 656-670)
- Huber, E. and Niedzwiecki, S. (2015) “Emerging Welfare States in Latin America and East Asia” In *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State* (pp. 796–812).

W – Nov. 27 Gender and Care policies in Japan and South Korea

- Peng, I. (2012) “Social and political economy of care in Japan and South Korea” *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* (pp. 636–649)

**Wednesday Nov. 27: Country profile PARTS I and II. Submit an electronic copy through Canvas by noon.**

F – Nov. 29    *Holiday. Thanksgiving*

**Week 10– Wrapping Up: Comparing Welfare States around the World**

M – Dec. 2    East Asia, Southern Europe, and Latin America

- Huber, E. and Stephens, J. (2012) *Democracy and the Left. Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America* (pp. 208-239)

W – Dec. 4    Course review

F – Dec. 6    Questions and Answers

**Final Exam: Tuesday, December 10 from 4:00 to 7:00pm**