

## Government 384 / FGSS 305: Gender and the Welfare State

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Office hours: Thurs 2-4pm

Class meetings: Tuesday 1:10-4pm; PAC 104

### Course overview

This course introduces students to the welfare state and explores how welfare state policies shape gender relations in North America and Western Europe. As we will quickly discover, even within this group of advanced industrial democracies, welfare policies – and even the meaning of “welfare” – differ significantly from country to country. Some of the policies we will examine were explicitly designed to target women. Others are supposed to be gender neutral, but end up having a gendered impact because of how gender roles in these societies are structured.

The course has four main sections. We begin with a theoretical overview, asking ourselves what the welfare state is and how it evolved. Here we pay particular attention to the concept of welfare state regimes, the idea that we can categorize countries based on their welfare policies. The second section of the course looks at questions involving women, motherhood and work. Through a variety of policies such as parental leave, state-subsidized childcare, and labor market regulation, the state influences the choices men and women make about whether and how to be active in both the public and private spheres. The third section of the course construes the concept of “welfare” broadly as we examine state policies toward reproduction, including both abortion and maternal health care. The last section focuses on recent welfare reforms in the United States and elsewhere. We investigate how race, class and gender intersect in welfare policy and also look at challenges to the welfare state.

### Course Requirements

Participation	20%
Two short papers (15% each, see below for due dates)	30%
Draft of final paper (due April 20 <sup>th</sup> )	10%
Presentation on final paper	5%
Final paper (15-20 pages, due May 12 <sup>th</sup> )	35%

*Participation:* This course is a seminar and it is vital that you attend every class prepared to talk about the assigned readings. Missing even one class will have a seriously

detrimental effect on your participation grade. I expect our discussions to be lively, passionate and fun! I also expect you to listen to each other and to me with courtesy and respect, even when we disagree. Your participation grade will consist of the following factors: frequency and quality of in-class comments, preparation of study questions, and other small assignments that come up over the course of the semester.

*Study Questions:* Each week two people will prepare 6-8 study questions to help guide our discussion of the readings. The study questions will need to be posted to the course Blackboard site by 10pm on Monday. Everyone will prepare study questions twice over the course of the semester. I will distribute a sign-up sheet the first day of class. Questions should speak both to issues in particular readings and broader themes of the week.

*Short Papers:* The course requires two short papers, three to five pages each. The course has four units and you can choose which units you want to write about. The due dates for the four papers are: February 20<sup>th</sup>, March 6<sup>th</sup>, April 10<sup>th</sup>, and May 1<sup>st</sup>. You must write a paper for one of the first two units. Otherwise, the choice is up to you, but you may want to consider both which topics you are most interested in and which due dates fit your schedule. All short papers are due on a Friday at 4pm. Even short papers need a thesis, in other words, need to be making an argument. The thesis is up to you, but the paper should relate to its subunit and make use of the relevant readings. You are welcome to use outside readings as well, but that is absolutely not a requirement. I am very happy to discuss your short paper topics with you, but we need to do this ahead of time.

*Presentation:* We will spend the last two course meetings presenting the work from the research papers. This is a chance to share your research with your classmates, practice public speaking, and get feedback. We will talk more about guidelines for the presentations as we get near the end of the semester.

*Final Paper:* The main requirement for the course is an original research paper of 15 to 20 pages. You may write the paper on a topic of your choice related to the course and approved by me. There will be a series of short assignments (bibliography, paper description, completed section) leading up to the completion of the draft of the paper (and counting toward your grade on the draft). The draft is due early enough in the semester that substantial re-writing is possible after you receive my comments. I find that this form of writing assignment is more satisfying for me and for you because the end result is much better.

### **Course Readings**

All readings listed on the syllabus are required. They are also all available from Olin library either as a hard copy reserve or as electronic reserve. If you have never used electronic reserve, let me know and I will explain how to access the readings. We will read large sections of the following texts and they are available for purchase at Broad Street Books.

Pierson, Christopher and Francis G. Castles (eds.). 2006. *The Welfare State Reader*. Second edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.

O'Connor, Julia, Ann Shola Orloff, and Sheila Shaver. 1999. *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koven, Seth and Sonya Michel (eds.). 1993. *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*. New York: Routledge.

Stetson, Dorothy McBride (ed.). 2001. *Abortion Politics, Women's Movements, and the Democratic State: A Comparative Study of State Feminism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **Course Policies**

Students are required to complete all readings and attend each class period prepared to talk about the readings. Extensions and incompletes will not be granted under any circumstances other than significant and verifiable personal emergencies (e.g., serious illness, death in family). **Late work will be penalized one full grade per day.**

All work that you submit must be your own. You must cite all sources used in completing the assignments using the standard form of citation that we will go over in class. If you are unsure how to use proper citation form, please ask me. Failure to use proper citation is plagiarism. You must adhere to all aspects of the honor code. Please write on each assignment: "No aid. No violation." Please sign your name next to that statement.

## Class Schedule and Reading Assignments

### INTRODUCTION

Jan 27      **Introduction**

Reading: Pierson, Christopher and Francis G. Castles (eds.). 2006. *The Welfare State Reader*. Second edition. Cambridge: Polity Press. Selection by Paine.

Feb 3      **Theorizing the Welfare State**

Readings: Pierson, Christopher and Francis G. Castles (eds.). 2006. *The Welfare State Reader*. Second edition. Cambridge: Polity Press. Selections by Briggs, Marshall, Titmuss, Commission on Social Justice, Offe, von Hayek, Murray.

Feb 10      **(Gendered) Origins of the Welfare State**

Readings: Koven, Seth and Sonya Michel (eds.). 1993. *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*. New York: Routledge. Chapters by Sklar, Klaus, Pedersen, Hobson.

Koven, Seth and Sonya Michel. 1990. "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 95, No. 4, (Oct), pp. 1076-1108.

Feb 17      **Categories and Typologies**

Readings: Pierson, Christopher and Francis G. Castles (eds.). 2006. *The Welfare State Reader*. Second edition. Cambridge: Polity Press. Selection by Esping-Andersen.

O'Connor, Julia, Ann Shola Orloff, and Sheila Shaver. 1999. *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chaps. 1-2, pp. 1-65.

Daly, Mary. 1994. "Comparing Welfare States: Toward a Gender Friendly Approach," in Diane Sainsbury (ed.) *Gendering Welfare States*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 101-117.

Sainsbury, Diane. 1994. *Gender, Equality, and Welfare States*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chaps 1, 2 (pp. 9-46).

Brush, Lisa D. 2002. "Changing the Subject: Gender and Welfare Regime Studies," *Social Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 161-186.

Fraser, Nancy. 1994. "After the Family Wage: Gender Equity and the Welfare State," *Political Theory*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 591-618.

### **MOTHERS AT WORK**

Feb 24      **Motherhood and the Welfare State**

Readings:      Waldfogel, J. 2001. "International Policies Toward Parental Leave and Child Care," *Future of Children*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 99-111.

Mahon, Rianne. 2002. "Child Care: Toward What Kind of 'Social Europe'?" *Social Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 343-379.

Morgan, Kimberly J. and Kathrin Zippel. 2003. "Paid to Care: The Origins and Effects of Care Leave Politics in Western Europe," *Social Politics*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 49-85.

Wiliarty, Sarah. 2007. "Listening to Mothers? Parental Leave Policy in Four European Countries." Unpublished manuscript.

Galtry, J. and P. Callister. 2005. "Assessing the Optimal Length of Parental Leave for Child and Parental Well-being – How Can Research Inform Policy?" *Journal of Family Issues*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 219-246.

The New Republic, March 6, 2000. "Mothers and Markets."

Mar 3      **Motherhood and the Welfare State**

Readings:      Hardy, S. and N. Adnett. 2002. "The Parental Leave Directive: Towards a 'Family-Friendly' Social Europe?" *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 157-172.

Guerrina, R. 2002. "Mothering in Europe – Feminist Critique of European Policies on Motherhood and Employment," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 49-68.

Orloff, Ann Shola. 2006. "From Maternalism to "Employment for All" : State Politics to Promote Women's Employment across the Affluent Democracies," in Jonah Levy (ed.) *The State after Statism : New State Activities in the Age of Liberalization*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. 230-270.

White, L. A. 2006. "Institutions, Constitutions, Actor Strategies, and Ideas: Explaining Variation in Paid Parental Leave Policies in Canada and the United States," *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 319-346.

Gornick, Janet C. and Marcia K. Meyers. 2006. "Institutions that Support Gender Egalitarianism in Parenthood and Employment," Paper prepared for the Real Utopias Project. Available at:  
[http://www.havenscenter.org/real\\_utopias/2006documents/Gornick\\_Meyers\\_2006\\_Institutions\\_Gender\\_Egalitarianism.pdf](http://www.havenscenter.org/real_utopias/2006documents/Gornick_Meyers_2006_Institutions_Gender_Egalitarianism.pdf)

Business Week. June 13, 2005. "The Fight Brewing Over Family Leave."  
[http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05\\_24/b3937074\\_mz021.htm?chan=search](http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05_24/b3937074_mz021.htm?chan=search)

Mar 24      **The Welfare State and Labor Markets**

Readings:      Costa, Dora L. 2000. "From Mill Town to Board Room: The Rise of Women's Paid Labor," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 101-122.

Mandel, Hadas and Semyonov, Moshe. 2006. "A Welfare State Paradox: State Interventions and Women's Employment Opportunities in 22 Countries," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 111, No. 6, pp. 1910-1949.

Daly, Mary. 2000. "A Fine Balance: Women's Labor Market Participation in International Comparison," in Fritz W. Scharpf and Vivien A. Schmidt (eds.) *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy: Volume II. Diverse Responses to Common Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 467-510.

Fagnani, Jeanne, and Marie-Therese Letablier. 2004. "Work and Family Life Balance: The Impact of the 35-Hour Laws in France," *Work, Employment, and Society*, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 551-572.

O'Connor, Julia, Ann Shola Orloff, and Sheila Shaver. 1999. *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chap. 3, pp. 66-109.

## REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

Mar 31            **Reproduction: Abortion and the Welfare State**

Readings:        O'Connor, Julia, Ann Shola Orloff, and Sheila Shaver. 1999. *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chap. 5, pp. 157-186.

Stetson, Dorothy McBride (ed.). 2001. *Abortion Politics, Women's Movements, and the Democratic State: A Comparative Study of State Feminism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chaps. 1, 6, 9, 10, 12.

April 7            **Reproduction: Maternity Care**

Devries, Raymond, Cecilia Benoit, Edwin R. Van Teijlingen, and Sirpa Wrede (eds.). 2001. *Birth By Design: Pregnancy, Maternity Care, and Midwifery in North America and Europe*. New York: Routledge. Part I (pp. 1-111).

Chap 1: Where to Give Birth (US, Netherlands, Finland, UK, Norway)  
Chap 5: Sweden/US comparison

*Pushed*, Intro, chap 1, Chap 8

Block, Jennifer. 2007. *Pushed: The Painful Truth about Childbirth and Modern Maternity Care*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press. Introduction, Chaps. 1, 8.

De Vries, Raymond. 2004. *A Pleasing Birth: Midwives and Maternity Care in the Netherlands*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Excerpts.

Jordan, Brigitte. 1993. *Birth in Four Cultures: A Crosscultural Investigation of Childbirth in Yucatan, Holland, Sweden, and the United States*. 4<sup>th</sup> edition. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc. Chap. 3.

## RECENT WELFARE REFORMS AND CHALLENGES IN HISTORICAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

April 14           **Welfare Reform in the United States**

Readings:        Mead, Lawrence and Christopher Beem (eds.). 2005. *Welfare Reform and Political Theory*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Chap. 1.

Mead, Lawrence. 1992. *The New Politics of Poverty: The Nonworking Poor in America*. New York: Basic Books. Chap. 10.

Edin, Kathryn and Maria Kefalas. 2005. *Promises I Can Keep: Why Poor Women Put Motherhood Before Marriage*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chap. 1.

Heclo, Hugh. 2001. "The Politics of Welfare Reform," in Rebecca M. Blank and Ron Haskins (eds.) *The New World of Welfare*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. Pp. 169-200.

Mead, Lawrence. 2001. "The Politics of Conservative Welfare Reform," in Rebecca M. Blank and Ron Haskins (eds.) *The New World of Welfare*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press. Pp. 201-222.

Additional readings may be announced later.

April 21 **Race, Class, Gender and Welfare Reform Outside the United States**

Readings: Gilens, Martin. 1995. "Racial Attitudes and Opposition to Welfare," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 57, No. 4, pp. 994-1014.

Lieberman, Robert C. 2003. "Race and the Limits of Solidarity: American Welfare State Development in Comparative Perspective," in Sanford F. Schram, Joe Soss, and Richard C. Fording (eds.), *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 23-46.

Jordan, Jason. 2006. "Mothers, Wives, and Workers: Explaining Gendered Dimensions of the Welfare State," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 11, pp. 1109-1132.

Hays, Sharon. 2003. *Flat Broke with Children: Women in the Age of Welfare Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chaps. 6-7.

Additional readings may be announced later.

April 28 **Research Presentations**

May 5 **Research Presentations**