

COMPARATIVE SOCIAL & EMPLOYMENT POLICY
(Labor Studies and Employment Relations 575:302)
Spring 2015

SYLLABUS

Class Meetings:

Room 216
Hickman Hall
Cook Douglass Campus
Monday and Wednesday, 2:15-3:35pm

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Office: Labor Education Center, Room 171

Office Hours: Mondays, 12-2pm; or by appt.

Course Overview:

This course provides an overview of the social and employment policies in wealthy democracies. In pursuit of this empirical mission, it exposes students to multi-disciplinary perspectives on how government actions shape the economy and provide social protection to populations. Exploring these “state-market relations,” we also probe how social groups seek to influence governments’ stances through various channels (including elections, lobbying and collective bargaining). Throughout the course, assigned readings mix both classic analyses with contemporary approaches, including scholarship on diverging social security arrangements across countries, which has characterized distinct “worlds of welfare capitalism.” Analytically, the course seeks to empower students to use selected conceptual tools to better understand the politics of policy reforms.

The course is organized in three parts. Part I introduces basic concepts needed for the analysis of comparative public policy and political economy. Part II probes three common goals of policy-making that are widely shared, but for which conceptualizations can diverge greatly: Economic development, freedom and equality. Class discussions contrast how libertarian and social democratic ideologies – and associated policies – make these goals compatible in distinct ways. Finally, part III uses this analytic repertoire to probe the recent institutional evolution of public initiatives (i.e. regulation, services and transfers programs) aimed at increasing the welfare of workers and citizens. From among a plethora of public (“welfare state”) programs, we will pay specific attention to three areas: Labor market, higher education and family policy.

Learning Objectives:

- Analyze the degree to which different contexts shape a person’s experience of and perspective on work (as well as the world more broadly) – SAS(a) & LSER(6).
- Analyze issues of social justice locally and globally – SAS(d) & LSER(8).
- Use the comparative approach to develop a solid understanding of the politics of policymaking across the world’s rich democracies.
- Improve professional competencies such as critical thinking and problem solving; verbal and written communication; and interpersonal skills.

Course Requirements (details at the end of the syllabus):

Participation (incl. Quizzes, Group Project & Debate)	35% of the course grade
Midterm Exam	30%
Paper Assignment	35%

Class Materials:

- Students are not required to purchase any books. All readings will be made available on Rutgers Sakai (<http://sakai.rutgers.edu>).

Course Outline:

Week 1: Introduction

What is Comparative Social & Employment Policy? (Jan 21)

Frank Bruni. 2014. "Demanding More from College." *The New York Times*, September 6.

PART I: POLICY & POLITICS

This part probes how we can structure the analysis of the evolving politics of social and employment policy.

Week 2: Politics & Policy

The Current Task: The Return of the Social Question (Jan 26)

Tony Judt. 1997. "The Social Question Redivivus." *Foreign Affairs* (September/October)

How to Address the Task? Policy as Government-Sanctioned Action (Jan 28)

Tobias Schulze-Cleven. 2011. "Employment Policy." In Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Leonardo Morlino, eds. *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1885-91.

Week 3: Conceptualizing Politics

Beyond "Solutions": Politics as Social Conflict (Febr 2)

Harold Laswell. 1958 [1936]. "Résumé." In Harold Laswell. *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*. New York: Meridian, 167-178. (skim and look for the main point)

Seth Ackermann and Mike Beggs. 2013. "Don't Mention the War." *Jacobin Magazine*, No. 9 (skim and look for the main points)

Relating Basic Concepts: Society, State & Markets (Febr 4) – QUIZ!

Albert Hirschman. 1986. "Rival Views of Market Society." In Albert Hirschman. *Rival Views of Market Society and other Recent Essays*. New York: Viking Books, 105-41.

Norton Sociology. "On Max Weber, the State, and Violence." Watch 2-minute video.

PART II: REALIZING CORE GOALS WITHIN CHANGING CONTEXTS

In this part of the course, we move beyond basic concepts to probe different conceptualizations of widely shared policy goals: Economic development, freedom, and equality. We seek to understand how these goals are defined and how societies have sought to achieve them.

Week 4: Economic Development

Beyond Smith and Marx: Classical Thinking on Capitalist Evolution (Febr 9)

Friedrich List. 1841. *The National System of Political Economy*. Chapters XII –XIV.

Historical Analysis: The State and Industrialization (Febr 11)

Alexander Gerschenkron. 1962. “Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective.” In B.F. Hoselitz, ed. *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 5-30.

Week 5: Freedom

Two Conceptualizations of Freedom (Febr 16)

Isaiah Berlin. 1969. “Two Concepts of Liberty.” in Isaiah Berlin. *Four Essays on Liberty*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Negative Freedom & the Libertarian Synthesis (Febr 18)

Friedrich A. von Hayek. 1944. *The Road to Serfdom*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 32-42 and 72-87.

Week 6: Equality

Positive Freedom (Febr 23)

T.H. Marshall. 1950. “Citizenship and Social Class.” In T. H. Marshall, ed. *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Excerpt.

The Social Democratic Synthesis: Decontesting the Goals (Febr 25)

Amartya Sen. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Knopf, 3-53 [Chapters 1-2].

Week 7: Worlds of Welfare Capitalism – Divergent Resolutions of Value Conflicts

The Sources of Diverging Institutional Settlements (March 2)

Gøsta Esping-Andersen. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 9-34.

Welfare Regimes Compared Cross-Nationally (March 4)

Gøsta Esping-Andersen. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 35-54.

Additional readings (voluntary / for those interested):

Bernhard Ebbinghaus and Philip Manow. 2001. "Introduction: Studying Varieties of Welfare Capitalism." In Bernhard Ebbinghaus and Philip Manow, eds. *Comparing Welfare Capitalism: Social Policy and Political Economy in Europe, Japan and the USA*. London: Routledge, 1-26.

Duncan Gallie. 2007. "Production Regimes, Employment Regimes, and the Quality of Work." In Duncan Gallie, ed. 2007. *Employment Regimes and the Quality of Work*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-34.

Week 8: Recurring Contestation of Institutional Compromises

Building Welfare States during the 20th Century (March 9)

Robert Kuttner. 2014. "Karl Polanyi Explains It All." *The American Prospect*, April 15

Albert O. Hirschman. 1989. "Reactionary Rhetoric." *The American Prospect*, May, 63-70.

In-Class Midterm Exam (March 11)

Prepare.

PART III: CONTEMPORARY POLICY CHANGES

In this part, we move on to contemporary discussions about policy reforms. We engage with the politics of welfare policy reorientation by focusing on evolving conflicts in three policy areas. Class sessions will seek to provide students with opportunities to use their new knowledge. Moreover, students will be given time to complete the writing assignment during the last few weeks and the exam period.

Week 9: Labor Market Policy – History

United States (March 23)

Margaret Weir. 1992. *Politics and Jobs: The Boundaries of Employment Policy in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3-26 [Chapter 1].

Additional reading (voluntary / for those interested):

Frank Levy and Peter Temin. 2007. "Inequality and Institutions in 20th Century America." Working Paper 07-17, Department of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Germany / Europe (March 25) – QUIZ!

Philip Manow and Eric Seils. 2000. "The Employment Crisis of the German Welfare State." *West European Politics* 23(2): 137-160.

Week 10: Labor Market Policy – Contemporary Developments

Toward Flexibility? (March 30)

Anthony Giddens. 1998. *The Third Way*. Cambridge: Polity, 111-128.

Cross-National Learning? (April 1)

Tobias Schulze-Cleven. 2014. “Labor Market Policy: Toward A ‘Flexicurity’ Model in the US?” In R. Daniel Kelemen, ed. *Lessons from Europe? What Americans Can Learn from European Public Policies*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 77-96.

Week 11: Higher Education Policy

Education as both Social and Economic Policy (April 6)

Gail Stedward. 2002. “Education as Industrial Policy: New Labour’s Marriage of the Social and the Economic.” *Policy & Politics* 31(2): 139-152.

Liberalization Across Systems (April 8) – QUIZ!

Tobias Schulze-Cleven. 2014. “Liberalizing the Academy: The Transformation of Higher Education in the United States and Germany.” Research and Occasional Paper, Center for Studies in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley.

Elizabeth Tandy Shermer. 2014. “From California to Chicago, A Call for Unionized Universities.” *Dissent*, February 18.

Week 12: Debating Higher Education Policy

Preparation for DEBATE (April 13)

Do research for propositions: This Class Believes that...

1. “Higher Education Should be Free of Charge to All Citizens.”
2. “For-Profit Universities are Important Innovators in Higher Education.”

DEBATE (April 15)

No reading.

Week 13: Family Policy

Is there an Unaddressed Agenda? (April 20)

Silja Häusermann on “Women and Labour Market Risk.” / Moira Nelson on “Investing in Female Labour.” Dalia Ben-Galim on “The Motherhood Penalty.” In Policy Network, ed. 2014. *Making Progressive Politics Work. A Handbook of Ideas*. London: Policy Network, 107-114.

Michael McTernan. 2014. “Social Democracy and the Unfinished Gender Revolution.” Policy Network, June 12.

Claire Cain Miller. 2014. “Paternity Leave: The Rewards and the Remaining Stigma.” The Upshot, *The New York Times*, November 7.

GROUP PROJECT: Libertarian vs. Social Democratic Perspectives on the Future of Family Policy (April 22)

No reading.

Week 14: Beyond “Rent-Seeking”? On the Future of Social Solidarity

Critiques from the Left (April 27)

Moyers & Company. 2012. “The United States of ALEC.” September 28, Watch the 30-minute documentary at: <http://billmoyers.com/segment/united-states-of-alec/>

Critiques from the Right (April 29)

Terry M. Moe. 2012. “The Problem of Union Power.” In Terry M. Moe. *Special Interest: Teachers Union and America’s Public Schools*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 1-25. (skim and look for the main point, see chapter title)

Nelson Lichtenstein and Elizabeth Tandy Shermer. 2012. “Entangled Histories: American Conservatism and the U.S. Labor Movement in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries.” In Nelson Lichtenstein and Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, eds. *The Right and Labor in America; Politics, Ideology, and Imagination*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1-13.

Week 15: Review

Comparative Public Policy vs. Political Economy (May 4)

Jonas Pontusson. 1995. “From Comparative Public Policy to Political Economy. Putting Political Institutions in Their Place and Taking Interest Seriously.” *Comparative Political Studies* 28(1): 117-147.

Appendix – Further Information on Course Assignments & Class Rules:

ACCESS TO READINGS

All readings will be made available on Rutgers Sakai (<http://sakai.rutgers.edu>). These directions lead you to the course site:

- Go to <http://sakai.rutgers.edu>
- To log on, enter your Rutgers NetID and password in the upper right-hand corner.
- Look for the tabs at the top of the next page. Click on the tab: 38:575:302.
- Click on “Resources” on the menu on the left-hand side of the next page. You should see the course syllabus and all of the course readings.

SPECIAL RULES ON ENGAGING WITH THE READINGS

Students are required to print out all assigned readings to allow for effective engagement with the material. Moreover, students are expected to bring hard-copy versions of the assigned texts to class meetings. After instructor’s individual approval, tablet-based electronic versions may be used as substitutes. These measures will help with in-class discussions of the readings.

SPECIAL RULES ON ELECTRONIC DEVICES

There will be no use of laptops, tablets or smart phones during class sessions without special permission. While such instruments are important tools for research, they have also become distractions in the classroom. For in-depth learning in the course, students are asked to pay focused attention and contribute critical thought in class discussions. I will prepare PowerPoint presentations that will include the main points of each class session. The slides from these presentations will be shared with students through Sakai after each class session.

IN-CLASS PARTICIPATION & ATTENDANCE

Be prepared for class and always read the assigned materials before our meetings. You are expected to bring questions and comments about the course material so that you can participate in class discussions. With much of our time spent learning through discussion, it is necessary for everybody to participate. I might ask students to use their questions to stimulate discussions and will ensure broad participation. It is critical that we respect one another's thoughts and address our comments at others' ideas, not at people themselves. This course is not a forum for demeaning or threatening language. Rather than measuring the frequency with which you speak in class, your participation grade reflects how you balance speaking, reading, and listening. Also, don't forget to take careful notes to complement the PowerPoint slides.

Students should plan to attend every course session, and I ask you to sign in personally at the beginning of class. If for some unavoidable reason you must miss a class, please let me know in advance through the university's absence reporting website (<https://sims.rutgers.edu/ssra/>) so that your absence will not remain unexplained. If you are late or leave early repeatedly, and if you miss class unexcused, your participation grade will suffer.

DEBATES & GROUP PROJECT

Each student will be asked to participate in one debate and a group project during class time.

QUIZZES

There will be three very short in-class quizzes during the semester. If you do the assigned readings, you should have no problem doing well on the quizzes. There will be no trick questions, nor will a complete understanding of the reading be required. Rather, the quizzes are geared to helping you engage with the reading by asking you to answer some very basic questions. Your performance in the quizzes will become part of your in-class participation grade. However, I will not count your worst quiz grade.

MIDTERM EXAM

The midterm exam will be held in class. It covers material from the first half of the course and will require you to define key terms and provide short-answers to questions.

PAPER ASSIGNMENT

The paper assignment will ask you to articulate what you have learned in class. A prompt will be provided. Reading loads in weeks 13 & 14 are lighter, so that you have time to complete the assignment before the end of the term if you like to.

COMMUNICATION

Students are expected to check their Rutgers email accounts regularly for class announcements. Students are responsible for all information communicated to them via email by the instructor. Feel free to contact the instructor via email with questions or concerns about the course. I will do my best to get back to you within 24 hours. When emailing the instructor, always include “Employment Policy” in the subject line of your email.

When available, grades will be posted on the course’s Sakai site under the “PostEm” tab.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

While I encourage students to work together to understand theories and concepts, all written work must be your own. If you cite an author or use his/her ideas, please cite properly. Plagiarized assignments or evidence of cheating will result in a failing grade in the assignment and possibly in the course, and may result in disciplinary action by the university.

KEEPING UP WITH THE NEWS

Throughout the course, students should keep up with current events by reading at least one quality newspaper (e.g. *Financial Times*, *The New York Times*) and one news magazine (e.g. *The Economist*, *The Atlantic*) on a regular basis. You may also choose foreign-language publications, or fulfill this assignment by checking online news sources regularly. In addition, you will be expected to read any newspaper clippings handed out in class or emailed by the instructor.