

COMPARATIVE SOCIAL & EMPLOYMENT POLICY
(Labor Studies and Employment Relations 575:302)
Fall 2017

SYLLABUS

Class Meetings:

Room 115
Labor Education Center
Cook Douglass Campus
Wednesday, 3:55-6:55pm

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Course Overview:

This course provides an overview of social and employment policies in wealthy democracies, including similarities and difference across countries. Students are exposed to a wide range of actions through which governments influence the economy and populations' social security. They also gain an appreciation of how different social groups seek to influence governments' stances. Class discussions empower students to use conceptual tools to better understand the resulting politics of policy reforms.

The course is organized in three parts. Part I introduces basic concepts needed for the comparative analysis of public policies and their political determinants. Part II probes three common goals of policy-making that are widely shared, but on which views tend to differ greatly: Economic development, individual freedom and political equality. Class discussions contrast how libertarian and social democratic ideologies – and associated policies – strive to make these goals compatible in distinct ways. Finally, part III uses this framework of contrasting ideologies to probe the recent evolution of public initiatives aimed at increasing the welfare of workers and citizens.

Learning Objectives:

- Analyze the degree to which forms of human difference shape a person's experiences of and perspectives on contemporary issues. – SAS(a)
- Analyze the degree to which forms of human difference shape a person's experience of work. – LSER(6)
- Analyze contemporary issues of social justice. – SAS(d)
- Analyze issues of social justice both in the U.S. and globally. – LSER(8)
- Use a 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, Debate & Group Project)	35% of the course grade
Midterm Exam	30%
Paper Assignment	35%

INTRODUCTION

Week 1: What is Comparative Social & Employment Policy? (September 6)

Introduction

Handed out in class: Recent articles on changing American higher education.

PART I: POLITICS & POLICY CONCEPTUALIZED

This part introduces key concepts for the analysis of the evolving politics of social and employment policy.

Week 2: Politics & Policy (September 13)

The Current Task: The Return of the Social Question

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

How to Address the Task? Policy as Government-Sanctioned Action

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 (September 20) – QUIZ!

Beyond "Solutions": Politics as Social Conflict

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

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

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.

PART II: REALIZING CORE GOALS WITHIN CHANGING CONTEXTS

In this part of the course, we move beyond basic concepts to probe different views on 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 (September 27)

Industrialization

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.

The IT Revolution

Mariana Mazzucato. 2013. *The Entrepreneurial State: Debunking Public vs. Private Sector Myths*. New York: Anthem Press, excerpts.

Week 5: Individual Freedom (October 4) – QUIZ!

Two Conceptualizations of Freedom

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

The Libertarian Synthesis

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

Week 6: Political Equality (October 11)

Positive Freedom

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

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

Week 7: Divergent Resolutions of Political Conflicts (October 18) – QUIZ!

Welfare Regimes Compared Cross-Nationally

Gøsta Esping-Andersen. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 35-54. [skim 9-34]

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

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

Week 8: In-Class Midterm Exam (October 25)

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.

Week 9: Higher Education Policy (November 1)

Education as both Social and Economic Policy

Tobias Schulze-Cleven, ed. 2017. "Higher Education in the Knowledge Economy: Politics and Policies of Transformation." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 50(2) 397-432.

Liberalization Across Higher Education Systems

Tobias Schulze-Cleven and Jennifer R. Olson. 2017. "Worlds of Higher Education Transformed: Toward Varieties of Academic Capitalism." *Higher Education* 73(6): 813-831.

Week 10: Debating Higher Education Policy (November 8)

Preparation for DEBATE

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."

Week 11: Labor (Im-)Migration Policy (November 15)

Regulating Labor Immigration

Martin Ruhs. 2013. *The Price of Rights: Regulating International Labor Migration*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 26-52.

Battles about American Immigration Policy

Current articles on immigration debates across countries

[NO CLASS DURING THANKSGIVING WEEK]

Week 12: Policies for Decommification – Leave, Care and Disability (November 29)

GROUP PROJECT: Libertarian vs. Social Democratic Perspectives

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.

Amy Dunford. 2016. “Making Paid Family Leave Work Better for Working Families.” New Jersey Policy Perspective.

David H. Autor. 2011. “The Unsustainable Rise of the Disability Rolls in the United States. Causes Consequences, and Policy Options.”

Week 13: Group Politics and the Future of Social Solidarity (December 6)

Critiques from the Left

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

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 14: Review (December 13) – WRITING ASSIGNMENT DUE

Comparative Public Policy vs. Political Economy

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.

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.

Appendix I – Further Information on Class Rules:

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.

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 my 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 take-home quizzes on the readings 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.

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 (5-7 pages) will ask you to articulate what you have learned in class. Students are asked to respond to the following prompt:

“While reaching agreement on abstract goals for social and employment policy is pretty easy, reaching consensus on ways to achieve them in specific contexts is extremely difficult.”

Please write a paper that evaluates the statement and showcases what you have learned in this class. Please take a position on the statement, i.e. arguing whether, to what extent, and why you agree or disagree with the statement. In providing your answer please address:

1. The political challenge of assembling social coalitions in support of specific policy reforms;
2. The role of political ideologies in making contradictory policy goals compatible;
3. What you consider to be the most promising contemporary avenues of policy innovation.

Draw on readings and theories from the course, and make sure to include examples to support your argument(s). In particular, please include examples from at least two countries and two policy areas.

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. When emailing the instructor, always include “Employment Policy” in the subject line. 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.

Appendix II – Tips from Political Scientist Henry Farrell on what constitutes good student writing (useful for both the paper assignment and exam essays):¹

1. **Read the Requirements for the Assignment:** This suggestion may be taken as insulting because it is so obvious; still, it is commonly ignored in practice. Professors usually drop some very strong hints about what they are looking for. It is best to pay attention to those hints. If assignments are ambiguous, you may want to be quite clear in saying how you are interpreting the posed question.
2. **Avoid Data Dumps:** Poor essays very often ignore the question asked in a quite specific way. The student spots some topic in the assignment that seems familiar, and immediately sets about writing an essay that tells the professor everything the student knows about that topic, in no particular order. For obvious reasons, such essays rarely receive high grades. Higher education in the social sciences and liberal humanities encourages students to criticize, to analyze, and to think. Mere demonstration that one possesses a disorganized body of knowledge on a topic suggests that this encouragement has fallen on untilled ground.
3. **Cut to the Chase:** Undergraduate essays frequently begin with an extended session of throat-clearing irrelevances and vague generalities. They talk about everything except the question that has been asked. Moreover, students sometimes state and re-state the question in a manner intended to suggest that they understand it, without ever providing an actual answer.

It is important that you get the introduction right. This is your best opportunity to grab the reader's attention and to persuade her that you have something interesting to say. Don't waste it. By the time the reader has finished reading the first two sentences, she should know which question the essay addresses. By the time the reader has finished reading the first five or six, she should have a pretty good idea of how the author is going to tackle the question.

When writing, remember that an essay does not necessarily have to convince its readers (particularly if it takes a controversial stand). A paper's introduction needs to signal to the reader that the author pursues a clear question, provides a clear answer to that question, and shows a willingness to address the best arguments against the case she is making.

4. **Organize:** Many student papers wander from point to point. They tack an introduction and conclusion onto a main body that does not have any internal system of order; or they do not have a distinguishable introduction, body, and conclusion at all. **You should structure your paper/essay at three levels:**
 - **Macro-structure:** This is the broad structure of the essay itself. Unless you feel very comfortable that you are an excellent writer, it is usually best to stick to the traditional frame of an introductory section, a main body, and a conclusion. The introduction tells the reader what you are going to say. The main body tells the reader what you are saying. The conclusions tell the reader what she has just read (perhaps adding some thoughts as to its broader implications if you are feeling adventurous).

¹ This is a condensed version. For the full elaboration, check Henry Farrell's webpage at www.henryfarrell.net.

- **Meso-structure:** This is perhaps the most commonly neglected element of structured writing. It concerns the paragraphs into which your prose is organized. Each paragraph should focus on one main point. The point of each paragraph should build on that in the previous paragraph, and create the foundations of the next. Each paragraph should be a necessary part of the overall structure of your essay.
 - **Micro-structure:** What is true of the paragraph is also true of the sentence. Each individual sentence should flow in a logical and obvious way from the sentence before, and into the sentence after. This will provide your text with the coherence that it will need to successfully advance an argument.
5. **Use Simple, Direct Writing:** Good social science writing does not require striking metaphors or clever verbal constructions. Instead, it needs to communicate its arguments and evidence as clearly and unambiguously as possible. The implications for prose style are straightforward:
- Use direct language when at all possible. This not only reads better; it communicates clearly who is responsible for what.
 - Prefer simple words to complex words, and plain language to jargon. Sometimes it will be impossible to avoid jargon or obscure terms. However, it will usually be possible to use simple terms to convey your meaning. Plain language makes life easier for the reader, and it also makes it harder for the writer to get away with nonsense. If you use plain language you will be forced to confront your areas of weak understanding and to rectify them.
 - Use straightforward sentence structures rather than complex ones. Again, simple sentences usually read better. You should typically prefer simple sentences with the bare minimum of sub-clauses needed to convey your argument. Formless and incoherent sentences usually suggest formless and incoherent thought, and indeed they may plausibly cause intellectual incoherence.