

PSCI 3170: Comparative Politics of the Welfare State

Fall 2023

Fridays 10:15 am-1:15 pm

Moore 212

Professor Julia Lynch

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Office hours: By [appointment](#)

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Course overview

This course provides an overview of the structure and functions of welfare states in the rich, industrialized democracies, and covers key arguments and debates about the emergence and contemporary fate of these welfare states. The approach is broadly comparative, but often emphasizes drawing ideas from the experiences of other countries to inform policy solutions to problems we confront in the US. Topics covered include the varieties and tasks of modern welfare states; classic theories about the relationship between markets, classes, and social protection; competing explanations for why modern welfare states emerge and why they differ from one another; how welfare states are shaped by social forces such as organized labor and the self-employed, political institutions, and societal views of appropriate gender relationships; challenges to the welfare state that emerge from changing labor market, demographic, and social conditions in the highly industrialized nations; and the political dynamics of reforms to the welfare state.

Students will participate actively in class discussions and activities and work through a series of assignments resulting in a major research paper due at the end of the semester. Graduate students will complete additional readings as noted and will write an article-length paper.

Active learning

This class uses active learning to provide students with the opportunity to practice skills required by advanced academic and policy analysis. It is your responsibility to do the assigned readings in advance of each class session, and to make sure that you can answer the reading questions for each week. Class time will not be devoted to reviewing the readings. Instead, in-class activities focus on developing skills such as identifying relevant constituencies and their interests, identifying and framing policy alternatives, and budgeting. Written deliverables, completed outside of class, are associated with many of the discrete tasks involved with designing and executing publishable research: posing relevant and researchable questions, designing comparative research, conducting library searches, using bibliographic software, writing article-length papers, and presenting research orally.

Inclusive classroom

Our goal is to foster a classroom environment where all students feel supported. Each student brings their unique identity, skillset, and knowledge to class. We will work together to support this diversity by creating a respectful, welcoming, and inclusive environment. We will conduct ourselves in class in a way that shows respect and honors the dignity of each member. We will pursue inevitable disagreements with care rather than personal attack. This will allow us to build a learning community where rigorous intellectual engagement and deep learning can flourish.

This course is designed to be accessible to and inclusive of students with a wide range of abilities. Students who know that they will require accommodations to enable them to participate fully and learn optimally should contact Professor Lynch during the first two weeks of the semester. If needs arise during the course of the semester, please get in touch as soon as possible.

Course requirements

1. (25%) Attendance and informed participation in class, based on thorough preparation of the assigned readings
2. (10%) Research question, due October 3 at midnight
3. (20%) Research proposal (7-8 pages), due Sunday October 22 at midnight
4. (15%) Paper presentation and slide deck, due in class in Week 14
5. (30%) Research paper (20 pages for undergraduates, 30 pages for graduate students), due December 21 at midnight

Detailed guidelines for all requirements are at the end of this syllabus

Office hours

I prefer not to answer course-related questions via email unless it's something super quick. But I LOVE to see my students in office hours. Really! It's the best! Please come just to say hi and chat, even if you don't have a specific question. And if you do have questions (about course content, how to approach your work for the class, your trajectory at Penn and beyond, etc.), you should definitely come to see me. You can sign up for my regularly scheduled office hours [here](#), or if those are impossible for you to make, send me an email and we will find another time.

Health and safety

In light of the ongoing pandemic, my own immunocompromised status, and to protect the health of vulnerable members of our classroom community, **I will wear an N95 or equivalent fitted, high-filtration mask at all times in the classroom. I strongly encourage others to do so as well.**

Academic integrity and plagiarism

The University of Pennsylvania's Code of Academic Integrity states: "Since the University is an academic community, its fundamental purpose is the pursuit of knowledge. Essential to the success of this educational mission is a commitment to the principles of academic integrity. Every member of the University community is responsible for upholding the highest standards of honesty at all times. Students, as members of the community, are also

responsible for adhering to the principles and spirit of the [...] Code of Academic Integrity.” The seven points of this code (on cheating, plagiarism, fabrication, multiple submission, misrepresentation, facilitating dishonesty, and unfair advantage) can be found [here](#). By enrolling in this course, you agree to abide by the University’s code of conduct, and to bear full responsibility for the consequences of failure to do so.

Use of generative AI

We will work as a class to set guidelines for the appropriate and allowable use of generative AI as an aid in reading and research, in developing researchable questions, and in generating written content for submission. These guidelines will be added to the syllabus [here](#).

Campus resources

- [Weingarten Learning Resources Center](#): Professional instruction in skills such as academic reading, test taking, and study strategies.
- [Tutoring Center](#): A variety of subject-specific peer tutoring services to supplement support from faculty, TAs, and instructors.
- [Marks Family Writing Center](#): Provides expert help in writing for undergraduate and graduate students.
- [Communication Within the Curriculum](#): Helps students express themselves orally with clarity and confidence.
- [Van Pelt Library](#): Support for students in research and instructional technologies through a range of [workshops](#) and [consultations](#).
- [Weigle Information Commons](#): Offers students tutoring in use of digital media as well as technology rich group study rooms.

Course readings

All readings are available in the course’s Zotero library, which you will be invited to join in the first week of class. You may download PDFs from the Zotero library to your own computer.

The additional readings for graduate students do not need to be completed in the week for which they are assigned, but they are essential readings for doctoral and masters students interested in gaining foundational knowledge.

When you read, please pay attention to the year of publication; the author’s/authors’ name(s), gender(s), and number; and do your best to research who the authors are (Politicians or policy actors? Journalists? Academics? If so, what discipline?).

If you are having any difficulties with the readings (e.g. you aren’t sure how to approach them or what you should be getting out of them, you don’t know what to take notes on, it’s taking you more than a few hours to get through the readings each week), please make an appointment to come see me in office hours. I can help!

I strongly encourage you to form reading/discussion groups to share notes and critical summaries, and to discuss the assigned readings outside of class.

Course outline

Week 1 (Sept 1)

Introduction

- Download and install Zotero, register as a user using your Penn email, accept the invitation to join the course group, sync your library, and get acquainted with Zotero using the getting started guide in the documentation: www.zotero.org.
- This twitter thread also provides a step-by-step guide: <https://twitter.com/MushtaqBilalPhD/status/1562709453996060673?s=20&t=HkDN6SfqjVxlyB3FXiZiww>
- Once you have Zotero installed on your computer and you sync your library, the files of the readings with your annotations will "live" on your computer rather than in the cloud. (If you were to use the web version of Zotero, you would not have access to the files offline, and all of your annotations would end up in the shared files. Don't do this.)

Week 2 (Sep 8)

NO CLASS. Reading week and individual paper meetings

This week you will do some basic readings to get you up to speed, and we will meet one on one to discuss your interests and possible paper topics.

Readings (available in Zotero library):

- Lynch, Julia. "How to get the most out of your reading." 2018. <https://cpb-us-w2.wpmucdn.com/web.sas.upenn.edu/dist/c/549/files/2019/01/How-to-read-Oct-2018-1uhsjvl.pdf>
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. *Representative government in modern Europe*. McGraw-Hill, 2011. Pages 47-67, 238-270, 278-292, 458-473.
[This reading provides essential background information on European politics and government that will be necessary for understanding most other readings.]
- Béland, Daniel et al., ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).
[This volume provides essential background information about various types of welfare state policies and outcomes. Examine the table of contents carefully. **Read any two chapters from Parts V, VI or VII** as preparation for finding a paper topic.]
- Copi, Irving, Carl Cohen, and Victor Rodych. *Introduction to logic*. Routledge, 2016. Pages 520-557.
[This reading provides several examples of research designs that will be helpful in formulating viable comparative paper topics. You do not need to do the exercises.]

Graduate students:

- Béland, Daniel et al., ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

Reading questions:

- How do parliamentary systems of government differ from the system of government in the US? In the country in which you grew up, if that is not the US?
- What are the main party families in west European countries, and how are they related to underlying societal cleavages?
- What are the main policy positions typical of each party family that are relevant to the welfare state?
- Define (neo)corporatism and pluralism as systems for the representation of interests. What do these systems have to do with the welfare state?
- What are the main policies that make up the welfare state?
- What are Mill's method of agreement and method of difference?
- When would you use the method of agreement or method of difference when comparing two or more countries, states, policies, political parties, etc.?
- What can the method of agreement NOT demonstrate in terms of causation?

Week 3 (Sep 15)**Where do welfare states come from?**

Class will begin with a visit from Lonya Humphrey, political science librarian

Readings (available in Zotero library):

- Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard Cloward. *Regulating the poor: The functions of public welfare*. Vintage, 2012. Chapter 1.
- Walter Korpi. "The Power Resources Model." In Pierson, Christopher, and Francis G. Castles, eds. *The Welfare State Reader*. Polity, 2006.
- Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation*. Beacon Press, 2001. Chapters 6, 7.
- T.H. Marshall. "Citizenship and Social Class," Chapter 4 in *Class, Citizenship and Social Development: Essays by T.H. Marshall* (Anchor Books, 1965)

Graduate students:

- Baldwin, Peter. *The politics of social solidarity: class bases of the European welfare state, 1875-1975*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Reading questions:

The readings for this week are challenging (I promise it gets easier after this!). To help you make your way through them, answer the following questions for each reading. You may want to take your notes in a grid for ease of comparison across readings.

- In one sentence, state the author's explanation for where systems of social protection come from.
- Who are the main actors responsible for the emergence of welfare states? What motivates them?
- What opposition do these actors face, and why do they win?

- Should we expect variation across countries in what welfare states look like? Why/why not? What might that variation look like?
- What types of evidence does the author use to make his/her case?
- What questions do you still have about the theory?
- What do you agree/disagree with?

Here are some further questions to help you work through some of the details:

1. What is the principle of "less eligibility" (Piven and Cloward, p.35)?
2. Why is it, according to Piven & Cloward, that "Once an economic convulsion subsides and civil order is restored, relief systems are not normally abandoned" (p. 33)?
3. What are power resources, and where do they come from?
4. What is the "double movement" that Polanyi refers to (p. 79)? Why does it occur?
5. What are the likely effects of political rights (e.g. voting rights) on social protection according to Marshall? Would Piven & Cloward agree?

Week 4 (Sep 22)

Worlds of welfare and their politics

Readings:

- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton University Press, 1990. Chapters 1-3.
- Ferrera, Maurizio. "The 'Southern Model' of the Welfare State in Europe" *Journal of European Social Policy* 6:1 (1996): 17-37.

Graduate students:

- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton University Press, 1990. Entire.

Reading questions:

- What are the main dimensions on which the three worlds of welfare differ?
- What does Esping-Andersen mean by the term "decommodification"?
- What does he mean by the term "stratification"?
- What does Esping-Andersen mean by "corporatism"?
- What is the political coalition that underlies each welfare state "world"? What does each member of the coalition get that they want?
- What is the role of ideologies/ideas in the formation of different worlds of welfare?
- What role does the structure of the industrial and agrarian sectors of the economy play in the formation of different worlds of welfare in the 19th and early 20th century?
- What role does the middle class play in the development of welfare states after World War II?
- In what ways are Southern European welfare states different from the worlds described by Esping-Andersen?

- Why are Southern European welfare states different?

Week 5 (Sep 29)

Poverty and inequality

Research questions due Wednesday October 3 by midnight.

Readings:

- If you do not know how income inequality is measured using the Gini coefficient, watch "Gini coefficient and Lorenz curve." Khan Academy video.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y8y-gaNbe4U>
- Hopkin, Jonathan, and Julia Lynch. "Winner-take-all politics in Europe? European inequality in comparative perspective." *Politics & Society* 44.3 (2016): 335-343.
- Smeeding, Timothy M. "Public policy, economic inequality, and poverty: The United States in comparative perspective." *Social Science Quarterly* 86 (2005): 955-983.
- Brady, David. "Poverty, not the poor." *Science Advances* 9, eadg1469 (2023). DOI:10.1126/sciadv.adg1469
- Hamilton, Darrick, Darity, William et al. "Umbrellas Don't Make it Rain: Why Studying and Working Hard Isn't Enough for Black Americans." *Insight* (Center for Community Economic Development), April 2015.

Graduate students:

- Piketty, Thomas. "Capital in the twenty-first century." *Capital in the twenty-first century*. Harvard University Press, 2014.

Reading questions:

- What is the difference between poverty and inequality?
- How is inequality measured in these readings?
- How is poverty measured in these readings?
- Where are the countries where there is most redistribution?
- What are the policies and/or politics that lead to greater or lesser redistribution?
- Where are the countries where there is the most poverty? Why is there more poverty there?
- What are the reasons for the massive Black - White wealth gap in the US?
- What is a baby bond?
- Why do Hamilton, Darity et al. argue that we should have baby bonds? Do you agree with them?

Week 6 (Oct 6)

NO CLASS – Individual paper meetings

There will be no class session this week and no assigned readings.

Instead we will hold individual meetings via zoom to discuss your paper proposals.

Fall break (Oct 13)

Week 7 (Oct 20)

Sickness and health

Readings:

- Emanuel, Zeke. *Which country has the world's best health care?* Public Affairs, 2020, Ch 1, 3, 6, 8.
- Lynch, Julia. *Regimes of inequality: the political economy of health and wealth.* Cambridge University Press, 2020, pp. 48-61
- Bambra, Clare, Julia Lynch, and Katherine E. Smith. *The unequal pandemic: COVID-19 and health inequalities.* Policy Press, 2021. Chapters 2, 5.
- Montagne, Renee and Martin, Nina. "Nothing Protects Black Women from Dying in Pregnancy and Childbirth." *Pro Publica*, December 7, 2017.
<https://www.propublica.org/article/nothing-protects-black-women-from-dying-in-pregnancy-and-childbirth>.

Graduate students:

- Lynch, Julia. *Regimes of inequality: the political economy of health and wealth.* Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Reading questions:

The readings for this week are about two DIFFERENT THINGS: health *outcomes* and health *care*.

1. Why do you think the US, the UK, France, and the Netherlands have such different health care systems?
2. What are the main determinants of differences in access to high quality, timely health *care*?
3. What are the main determinants (causes) of differences in health *outcomes*? Which of these determinants are related to the welfare state?

Week 8 (Oct 27)

Welfare and work

Readings:

- Kitschelt, Herbert. *The transformation of European social democracy.* Cambridge University Press, 1994. Chapter 1.
- Iversen, Torben, and Anne Wren. "Equality, employment, and budgetary restraint: the trilemma of the service economy." *World Politics* 50.4 (1998): 507-546.

- Rueda, David. "The State of the Welfare State: Unemployment, Labor Market Policy, and Inequality in the Age of Workfare." *Comparative Politics* 47.3 (2015): 296–314.
- Bariola, Nina and Caitlyn Collins. "The Gendered Politics of Pandemic Relief: Labor and Family Policies in Denmark, Germany, and the United States During COVID-19." *American Behavioral Scientist* 65.12 (2021): 1671–97.

Graduate students:

- Häusermann, Silja. *The politics of welfare state reform in continental Europe: Modernization in hard times*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Reading questions:

- What are the main causes of the emergence of the Libertarian-Authoritarian dimension in the politics of western countries?
- Where would you place the following political figures in the space defined by the Left-Right and Libertarian-Authoritarian axes? Joe Biden, Donald Trump, Bernie Sanders, Boris Johnson, Vladimir Putin.
- What is the "trilemma of the service economy?"
- What are the three main alternatives that countries have pursued in the face of the trilemma?
- Why do countries in different worlds of welfare tend to pursue different alternatives?
- What are the different types of labor market policies?
- Why is there a switch from passive to active labor market policies in most countries in the 1990s? Where does this switch occur most thoroughly, and why?
- How did policies enacted or expanded during Covid affect the labor force participation of women in different countries? Why do you think different policies were chosen?

Week 9 (Nov 3)

Gendered welfare states

Readings:

- Orloff, Ann Shola. "Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states." *American Sociological Review* (1993): 303-328.
- Kersbergen, Kees van. *Social capitalism: A study of Christian democracy and the welfare state*. Routledge, 2003. Pages 23-30 and Chapter 8.
- Morgan, Kimberly J. "The "production" of child care: How labor markets shape social policy and vice versa." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 12.2 (2005): 243-263.
- Gornick, Janet C., Marcia K. Meyers, and Barbara Bergmann. *Gender equality: Transforming family divisions of labor*. Vol. 6. Verso, 2009. Chapter 1.

Graduate students:

- Morgan, Kimberly J. *Working mothers and the welfare state: Religion and the politics of work-family policies in Western Europe and the United States*. Stanford University Press, 2006.

Reading questions:

- In what ways can decommodification help women? In what ways can it hurt?
- Why and in what ways does the capacity to form and maintain an autonomous household benefit women?
- What are the key elements of Christian Democratic ideology?
- What are the key characteristics of Christian Democratic welfare policies?
- Is Christian Democracy in Europe conservative or progressive?
- Why is there variation across countries in how much and what kind of child care is available to families?
- What is a dual-earner/dual-caregiver society?
- What would be the costs and benefits of such a society, especially as compared to the dual-earner/state-caregiver model and the dual-earner/marketized-caregiver model?
- Is this a utopian vision, or is it feasible?
- How can effective anti-discrimination and affirmative action policies in the workplace contribute to bringing about a dual-earner/dual-caregiver society? What other policies are needed to make this kind of society possible?

Week 10 (Nov 11)

Housing

Readings:

- Watch Bloomberg City Lab. *Vienna's Radical Idea? Affordable Housing For All*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=41VJudBdYXY>. 2021. [film – 25 min]
- Roistacher, E.A. "Housing and the welfare state in the United States and Western Europe." *The Netherlands Journal of Housing and Environmental Research* 2.2 (1987): 143-175.
- Bengtsson, Bo. "Housing as a social right: Implications for welfare state theory." *Scandinavian political studies* 24.4 (2001): 255-275.
- Ansell, Ben. "The political economy of ownership: Housing markets and the welfare state." *American political science review* 108.2 (2014): 383-402.

Graduate students:

- Kemeny, Jim. *Housing and social theory*. Routledge, 2013.

Reading questions

- What do you think were the political and economic preconditions that allowed Vienna to do what they did with their public housing?
- What are the main housing policy tools that governments can use to affect:
 - Rates of home ownership versus renting?

- Rates of renting in the private versus public/social sector?
- The cost of housing to people?
- The supply of available housing to people?
- What is the impact of home ownership on attitudes toward the welfare state? Is it the same for everyone? Why or why not?

Week 11 (Nov 17)

The racist past and present of US welfare policies

Readings:

- Quadagno, Jill S. *The color of welfare: How racism undermined the war on poverty*. Oxford University Press, 1994. Introduction, Chapter 9.
- Gilens, Martin. "Racial attitudes and opposition to welfare." *The Journal of Politics* 57.4 (1995): 994-1014.
- Kohler-Hausmann, Julilly. "Guns and butter: The welfare state, the carceral state, and the politics of exclusion in the postwar United States." *The Journal of American History* 102.1 (2015): 87-99.
- Ray, Victor, Pamela Herd, and Donald Moynihan. "Racialized burdens: Applying racialized organization theory to the administrative state." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* (2020).

Graduate students:

- Lieberman, Robert C. *Shifting the color line: Race and the American welfare state*. John Wiley & Sons, 2001.

Reading question

How has the US's past as a slaveholding nation affected our welfare state in the 20th century? Write down as many ways as you can based on the readings. Be specific about the *causes, effects, and mechanisms* (how the causes result in the effects).

Week 12 (Nov 22) – Wednesday before Thanksgiving break

Topic TBD or Individual paper meetings.

Week 13 (Dec 1)

Immigrants and European welfare states

Readings:

- Sainsbury, Diane. "Immigrants' social rights in comparative perspective: welfare regimes, forms in immigration and immigration policy regimes." *Journal of European Social Policy* 16.3 (2006): 229-244.

- Kymlicka, Will, and Keith Banting. "Immigration, multiculturalism, and the welfare state." *Ethics & International Affairs* 20.3 (2006): 281-304.
- Careja, Romana, Patrick Emmenegger, and Jon Kvist. "An American dilemma in Europe? Welfare reform and immigration." In *Race, Ethnicity and Welfare States*. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2015.
- Gudrun Jensen, Tina, Kristina Weibel, and Kathrine Vitus. "'There is no racism here': Public discourses on racism, immigrants and integration in Denmark." *Patterns of Prejudice* 51.1 (2017): 51-68.
- Trines, Stefan. "The State of Refugee Integration in Germany in 2019." WENR. <https://wenr.wes.org/2019/08/the-state-of-refugee-integration-in-germany-in-2019>.

Graduate students:

- Sainsbury, Diane. *Welfare states and immigrant rights: The politics of inclusion and exclusion*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

Reading questions:

- Are the combinations of welfare and citizenship regimes that Sainsbury describes for the US, Germany and Sweden surprising to you? Should we expect them to extend to other countries in the regime type, do you think? Why or why not?
- Following the logic laid out by Careja et al., what are the likely implications of immigration for social policies in 20 years?
- Under what conditions are diversity and national solidarity compatible, according to Kymlicka and Banting, and to Jensen et al.?
- Does the current refugee crisis in Europe meet those conditions? Which of the problems outlined in the Trines blog post on Germany are likely to exist in Sweden, the US, or Denmark?

Week 14 (Dec 8)

Paper presentations

Exam period (Dec 14-21)

Final papers due

[NB: December 21 is the last day of the semester. Papers cannot be accepted. I encourage you to set a due date for yourself earlier than December 21 if you are able to.]

Assignments**Guidelines for class participation**

	3 points	2 points	1 points	0 points
Participation	Participation encourages and motivates interaction with other students and instructor; doesn't dominate but engages often	Initiates and responds to other student & instructor comments occasionally in class.	Present in class but does not participate with the instructor or peers, or does so in a limited way.	No participation at all or the student is absent.
Quality of Response	Participation relates to main topic and adds new concepts, ideas, or information	Relates to the main topic with some supporting details.	Relates to the main topic, but has a minimum of supporting detail or does not relate to the main topic.	No response at all or the student is absent.
Critical Thinking / Ethic of Reason	Participation consistently shows evidence of critical/reflective thinking &/or ethical reasoning, yet can be light and fun also.	Participation shows critical thinking/reflective thinking &/or ethical reasoning most of the time	Participation shows minimal critical thinking/reflective thinking &/or ethical reasoning	No response at all or the student is absent.
Appropriate Language and Tone	Use of appropriate vocabulary occurs consistently and comfortably. Tone is respectful and courteous.	Use of appropriate vocabulary occurs occasionally. Tone is respectful, or sometimes indifferent.	Does not use relevant or appropriate tone or language.	Inappropriate language or tone or the student is absent.

Research question assignment

What is a research question?

A research question is not the same as a research topic. A research *topic* is a general area of inquiry. A topic always contains multiple possible research questions. A research *question* is the specific problem that we are trying to shed light on through the inquiry we conduct for a specific product (paper, thesis, article, book).

A research question generally starts with a Who, What, When, Where, Why, or How, and ends with a question mark. There are many different kinds of research questions. When we ask research questions, we may mainly be motivated by questions about the world: What is the world really like? Why or how did it come to be that way? Or, we may at heart be asking about ourselves, as researchers or disciplines: Why are our expectations confounded in this instance? Why did we not see this before? What do we need to do, or to think, about this?

Your research question for this paper should address something that is *puzzling*, and should generally be a *why* question: We expect (based on the following theories or patterns) to see this, but we see that; *why* do we see this rather than that?

Identifying **an empirical puzzle that needs solving, can be solved in 20 or 30 pages, but has not already been worked to death**, is in many ways the most challenging part of writing a research paper. The good news is that in most cases, once you find a good puzzle, the rest of the paper is easy.

How do I find a research question for this class?

1. Read the assignment pages for the research proposal and research paper. These will give you an idea of where your question needs to take you.
2. As you read and go through discussions for this course, keep track of things that surprise you, intrigue you, or excite your interest.
3. Any question relating to the origins or development of any social policy in any part of the world is fair game for this paper. However, you will likely find it somewhat easier to frame an appropriate question if you work on countries similar to those covered in the readings.
4. Do a bit of outside reading on policy areas, outcomes, or types of countries that interest you. The *Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, 2nd ed. (available online via the library) is a great place to look for basic information about what different countries do in different policy areas. The chapters also have bibliographies that you can follow to find other scholarly resources on these topics.
5. Think about pairs of countries, political parties, people, events, etc. where the variation is surprising. Read the selection on Mill's Methods from Copi and Cohen to help you think about what you should expect from cases (countries, parties, etc.) that are very similar versus those that are very different.
6. Come talk to me in office hours about the things that interest you. I may be able to suggest a general topic based on your interests.

What do I hand in for the assignment?

For this assignment, you must submit

- ONE SENTENCE that begins with a Who, What, When, Where, Why, or How, and ends with a question mark.
- Up to five additional sentences that elaborate on variation in outcomes that you are trying to explain, give background information, etc.
- A bibliography of at least 10 scholarly or government sources that contain information that could help you answer your research question.

Research question assignments will be graded as APPROVED or NOT APPROVED based on the following criteria:

1. Is the question framed as a question beginning with a who, what, where, when, why or how?
2. Is the question posed in no more than one sentence?
3. Is the question appropriate for this class?
4. Is the question worth answering (i.e. is there a real puzzle; has it already been answered?)
5. Is the question researchable in a paper of the appropriate length?
6. Have you identified at least 10 sources that contain relevant information?

You will have the opportunity to resubmit your research question once if you do not receive a PASS on your first submission.

The deadline for the FIRST submission is October 3 at midnight.

The deadline for the SECOND submission is October 10 at midnight.

If you still do not have an approved research question after the second submission you may continue to submit revisions, but you will not receive credit for the assignment.

Research proposal assignment

Your research proposal must include all of the following elements:

1. The question to be answered in the paper (see below)
2. A 1-2 paragraph statement of the significance of this question for the study of comparative social policy
 - what theoretical questions, debates or controversies will answering your question help to resolve?
 - if it's not obvious, a BRIEF explanation (just 1 or 2 sentences) of why answering your question is of substantive or policy importance
3. Your proposed answer to the question (necessarily preliminary, but you must have an informed hypothesis at this time)
4. A list of major *alternative* hypothesized answers to the problem, which you will generate by drawing on common sense and on the theories you have read in this and other political science classes
5. An explanation of how you will evaluate the merits of your own proposed answer versus the competing hypotheses:
 - what *case comparisons* will you use, and why?
 - what *evidence* (data) would support or refute your argument, and competing hypothesis? What evidence in the world would convince you that your theory is wrong?
 - where you will get the primary and secondary data that you need to test your argument against alternative hypotheses (this is not yet a formal bibliography)

Your research question should address something that is PUZZLING in light of existing theories or expectations.

Developing the proposal will require you to do some serious research up front in order to identify your research question (which you will already have done at this point), specify hypotheses (both your own and others'), and come up with a reasonable research design, including selecting appropriate comparison cases.

Paper proposals will be graded according to:

- *Research question (5%)*

Is there a clearly stated empirical puzzle that needs solving (i.e. has not already been solved), that can be solved in 20-30 pages?

- *Significance (5%)*

Is there a statement of how answering the research question will contribute to theoretical questions, debates or controversies in the welfare state literature?

- *Proposed answer (5%)*

Is there a clearly stated, preliminary answer to the research question that is plausible in light of the course readings/major theories about welfare states?

- *Alternative hypotheses (35%)*

Is there a comprehensive list of major plausible alternative explanations for the puzzle that are suggested by the course readings or by common sense?

- *Research design components (total 50%)* s there a clear and logically compelling plan for determining which of the hypothesized answers to the research question is correct? [NB: This is where most student lose most points on this assignment]
 - What cases, comparisons and/or counterfactuals will be used, and why? (20%)
 - What is one piece of evidence in the world (data) that would convince you that your preferred hypothesis is WRONG? (5%)
 - What is one piece of evidence that would convince you that each of the alternative hypotheses is RIGHT? (15%)
 - What types of primary and secondary sources will be consulted in order to generate the data needed to evaluate the hypotheses, and where will you find them? (10%)

Getting the proposal right the first time is not easy, especially if you haven't written a major research paper before. You will have the opportunity to rewrite your proposal once if you receive a grade lower than 95% on your first submission. (You do not have to do this, but you may choose to.) If you choose to resubmit, the final grade for the proposal will be a weighted average of the first (34%) and second (66%) submissions. You will not be able to earn more than 95/100 on this assignment if you resubmit.

The deadline for the FIRST submission is Sunday, October 22 at midnight.
The deadline for the SECOND submission is Sunday, October 29 at midnight.

Paper presentation assignment

During the final two weeks of class each student will present their paper projects orally and receive feedback from their peers and from me. **This feedback must be incorporated into the final drafts of the paper.** Presentation sessions will be recorded so that you can refer back to the feedback.

Presentations should:

- Be accompanied by a **slide show or handouts that will be submitted via Canvas on the date of the presentation**
- Last no more than 8 minutes
- Include the following elements
 1. Statement of the research question
 2. Why the literature on welfare states AND the real world would benefit from knowing the answer to this question
 3. How you are going about finding the answer
 - A. What cases/events are you looking at, and why those?
 - B. What sources are you using?
 4. Your best informed guess about what the answer is at the time of your presentation
 5. The three most plausible alternative hypotheses/answers to the question
 6. Why you think your answer, rather than the alternatives, is correct
 7. What further research you still need to do
 8. Any questions you would like help with

Your presentation will be graded based on:

- Adherence to length guideline (15%) – PRACTICE!!!
- Inclusion of required elements (70%)
- Organization and visual impact (10%)
- Fluency and dynamism of presentation (5%)

Research paper assignment

- Undergraduate student papers should be approx. 5000 words (20 pages double-spaced) in length, excluding bibliography, tables, graphs, footnotes, etc.; and may not be longer than 6250 words (25 pages).
- Graduate student papers should be approximately 8000 words in length excluding bibliography, tables, etc.; and may not exceed 10000.
- Cite references using APSA style in Zotero to generate in-text parenthetical citations (Author DATE, page #), and a complete bibliography at the end of the paper.
- Papers turned in after the last day of the semester (Dec 22) will receive a grade of 0 except in the case of documented medical or family emergency, in which case a grade of Incomplete for the course will be given.

Papers will be evaluated based on two sets of criteria: content and presentation.

Content:

A complete research paper contains:

- A research question: A clearly articulated question or puzzle to be resolved by the paper.
- A thesis statement: A clearly articulated statement of your answer to the research question, in the form of a thesis statement or leading hypothesis.
- A “so what” statement: a description of the question’s relevance to real-world problems and to the political science literature in question.
- Discussion of relevant course readings as they related to the topic at hand: How does your research cast doubt upon, corroborate, or extend the theories we have read in class (or other theories in political science and related disciplines with which you may be familiar); which major debates does your research cast light upon?
- A logical research design: Selection of cases and structure of argumentation that allows for testing of multiple rival hypotheses. Be as explicit as you can about what part of your research design allows you to make which parts of your argument.
- Evidence: Presentation of facts (e.g. legislative history, public opinion data, electoral results) and scholarly opinions (from reputable secondary sources) that bolster your thesis and help to refute alternative hypotheses.
- Evaluation of alternative hypotheses: Consideration of the most likely objections to your thesis that would be implied by common sense or by the existing literature on your topic.

Presentation:

College-level writing is:

- Free of typographical, spelling and grammatical errors. Please note that spell-check and grammar-check programs are not a substitute for careful proofreading.
- Correct and well-organized at the micro level (e.g. diction and word choices are appropriate to the context; sentences are of a reasonable length and say what they mean to say; ideas are linked by appropriate transition words; paragraphs begin with a topic sentence).
- Well-organized at the macro level (introduction presents the research question and main hypotheses; body is devoted to an orderly presentation of background

information, supporting evidence, and evaluation alternative hypotheses; reader is reminded of the relevance of specific steps in the argument to the overall case being made in the paper; conclusion restates the author's hypothesis and the main lines of argumentation that demonstrate its plausibility).

Grading:

Papers in the "A" range contain all of the following:

- A highly innovative research question or research design.
- A thesis that is original and pushes the literature forward in new directions.
- Extensive original research or an outstanding use of secondary sources.
- Skillful consideration and disarming of alternative hypotheses that are widely accepted as correct.
- Exceptionally lucid or elegant writing.

Papers in the "B" range contain three or four of those five elements; papers in the "C" range contain two; papers in the "D" range contain one; and failing papers contain none of the above.