

SOCIAL POLICY

Public Policy 195-654

Johns Hopkins University

Spring 2008

Location: Hodson 216

Class Time: Mondays 1-2:50 pm

Dr. Demetra Smith Nightingale

JHU Institute for Policy Studies

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Office Hours: Mondays 10 am-noon, Tuesdays 1-3 pm, and Thursdays 10 am-noon, and by appointment

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Course Objectives: This course provides an historic, theoretical, and programmatic overview of U.S. Social Policy. The primary objectives are to (1) understand current social policy within the broader historic context of policy evolution since 1900; (2) provide an overview of the key theoretical, philosophic, and ideological principles on which US social policy is based; and (3) examine basic dimensions of major current policies, including welfare, employment, child welfare, social security, health insurance, education, income security, and social services. An interdisciplinary approach is used in the class: economics, political science, history, sociology, public administration, and law.

Texts: The required books are in the Bookstore. Other assigned readings will be available on reserve in the library or my office, accessible through the Internet, on WebCT, or will be provided in class.

Required:

1. Skocpol, Theda. *The Missing Middle: Working Families and the Future of American Social Policy*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2000.
2. Steuerle, C. Eugene, Edward M. Gramlich, Hugh Hecl, and Demetra Smith Nightingale. *The Government We Deserve: Responsive Democracy and Changing Expectations*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1998.
3. Patterson, James T. *America's Struggle Against Poverty in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2001.
4. Holzer, Harry and Demetra Smith Nightingale, Editors. *Reshaping the American Workforce in a Changing Economy*, Urban Institute Press, 2007. ISBN .0-87766-735-7

Optional:

1. Weir, Margaret, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol. *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
2. Skocpol, Theda. *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.
3. Fitzpatrick, Tony. *Welfare Theory: An Introduction*. Hampton (UK) and New York (USA): Palgrave Press, 2001.
4. O'Brien, Martin and Sue Penna. *Theorising Welfare: Enlightenment and Modern Society*. New York: Sage Publications, 1998
5. James Midgely, Martin B. Tracy, and Michelle Livermore, Editors. *Handbook of Social Policy*. New York: Sage Publications, 1999.
5. Weil, Alan and Kenneth Finegold. *Welfare Reform: The Next Act*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 2002.
6. Mead, Lawrence, M. and Christopher Beem, Editors, *Welfare Reform and Political Theory*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005.
7. Morone, James A. and Larence R. Jacobs, *Healthy, Wealthy, and Fair: Health Care and the Good Society*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Course Expectations: Regular attendance and active participation in class discussions are expected. Students are to come prepared to participate, having read all material assigned for each session. Assigned readings supplement class lectures and discussions, and are not necessarily discussed in detail in class. In order to cover more programs, some readings cover programs and topics not necessarily addressed in detail in class discussions. Guest speakers will join selected classes (e.g., US policies towards Native Americans, immigration reform, and/or social policies in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina).

There are three writing assignments:

- (1) Each student will write 5 very short (100-200 words) discussion papers, each based on one of the assigned readings (i.e., for 5 of the 11 substantive class sessions); these discussion papers will be considered as part of the participation grade for the course.
- (2) Each student will write one short background paper on a relevant social policy program or issue (3-5 pages double spaced). We'll discuss possible topics during the first few weeks of class.
- (3) Each student will write one policy paper (15-20 pages double spaced) on a social policy topic of his or her choice selected in consultation with Dr. Nightingale. We'll discuss possible topics during the first weeks of class.

Written assignments will be graded on both substantive content and quality of writing. Students should follow standard writing guidelines using any major style guide (e.g., *MLA Style Manual*, *Turabian*, *Chicago Manual of Style*). Written assignments must be

turned in on time; if a student is absent on the date an assignment is due, the assignment is to be submitted to Dr. Nightingale (by mail, fax, or email if not in hard copy) on time.

Grading: 20% class participation and discussion papers
20% short background papers
30% policy paper
30% final examination

Very Short Discussion Papers. Each student must prepare five very short papers, each one based on the assigned readings for one class. These are not summaries of the material, instead, they are to convey insight or interesting issues that caught your attention in the readings and that might be good topics for lively discussion in class. You decide which readings you want to write discussion papers on, you must turn it in at the beginning of the class for which the readings were assigned. You cannot turn in discussion papers after that class. By the last class before the exam every student should have submitted five discussion papers. Don't procrastinate—the earlier class readings are more extensive than readings for later classes and provide more opportunity for discussions.

Short Background Paper Possible Topics. Each student will write a short background paper for a general audience of readers. Topic must be approved in advance. When completed (and revised), each paper (3-5 pages) will be distributed to all students in the class. A few possible topics:

- Summary of the *key parameters of a major classical or contemporary theory and its relevance to social policy* (e.g., Marxist conflict theory, Weber's class and group theory, Veblen's leisure class theory, Durkheim's functionalism and theory of labor, communitarianism, phenomenology, Rousseau's social contract theory, Rawls' theory of justice)
- Background on *main features of a key social policy or topic* (e.g., minimum wage, affirmative action, immigration reform, welfare reform, measuring poverty, slave trade, affirmative action, child support enforcement, income distribution, baby boom generation, refugee resettlement programs, illegal immigration, abortion laws, England's Poor Laws, the WPA, capital punishment, mandatory sentencing, living wage, etc., etc.....)
- *Summary or status of a key federal or state law or program* (e.g., welfare reform, child support enforcement, Social Security, EITC, Medicare, Medicare Part D, No Child Left Behind, food stamps, unemployment insurance, GI Bill, health insurance, SCHIP, living wage, alternative sentencing)
- *Summary of a social policy or program in another country* (e.g., social insurance reform proposal, work requirements, job training, national service, guestworker policies)
- *Summary of a popular-press book* with relevance to social policy (Examples of possible books:

Life on the Outside: The Prison Odyssey of Elaine Bartlett (Jennifer Gonnerman)

I Dead in Attic (Chris Rose)

Nickel and Dime: On (Not) Getting by in America (Barbara Ehrenreich)

Amazing Grace: Lives of Children and the Conscience of a Nation (Jonathan Kozol)

There Are No Children Here: The Story of Two Boys Growing Up in the Other America (Alex Kosterlitz)

Rose Lee: A Mother and Her Family in Urban America (Leon Dash)
American Dream: Three Women, Ten Kids, and a Nation's Drive to End Welfare (Jason Deparle)

The Working Poor: Invisible in America (David Shipler)

Policy Paper. The policy paper (15-20 pages) will be a journal-article quality product, well-written and “polished.” The paper must address a relevant social policy topic, but can take any of several forms:

- An original empirical study of your own
- Legislative history of a key federal or state law
- Budget analysis (e.g., expenditure trends for a particular program or issue)
- A literature review or meta-analysis of an issue
- A case study of a particular state or local program

Final Exam. The final take-home examination is due no later than May 8. The exam will be distributed at the end of the last scheduled class (April 28). Students will be required to choose 3 of 6 questions and answer those three questions with short essays (1-2 typed pages each). Substance and quality are more important than length—each essay can be addressed well in less than one page.

CLASS OUTLINE AND ASSIGNMENTS

(Subject to Change)

1/28/08 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW
Definition and Scope of Social Policy
Interdisciplinary and Historic Perspectives
Themes: aging, immigration, post-industrial economy, globalization
Tax, Regulatory, Transfer/Compensatory, Legal, and Services Policies

Theoretical and Ideological Perspectives

U.S. compared to other countries

Course Expectations: readings, discussion papers, background papers, research paper, final exam

2/04/08 FOUNDATIONS OF U.S. SOCIAL POLICY—THROUGH THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

1. Patterson, all chapters in Sections I, II, and III
2. Skocpol, Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2 in *Social Policy in the United States* (copies provided)

2/11/08 FOUNDATIONS OF U.S. SOCIAL POLICY—LATTER 20TH CENTURY

1. Reimers, David M., Introduction and Chapter 1 (Exclusion before WWII), in *Unwelcome Strangers: American Identify and the Turn Against Immigration* (copies provided)
2. Patterson, all chapters in Section IV and Chapters 13 and 14 in Section V.
3. Berkowitz, Ch. 2 “Family Benefits in Social Security: A Historical Commentary,” in *Social Security and the Family*, Edited by Melissa M. Favreault, Frank J. Sammartino, and C. Eugene Steuerle, Urban Institute Press, 2002. (copies provided)
4. Skocpol, *The Missing Middle*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4

SHORT BACKGROUND PAPER TOPIC DUE

2/18/08 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES—CLASSICAL—(e.g., Locke, Marx, Durkheim, Mills, enlightenment, functionalism, utilitarianism)

1. Fitzpatrick, Chapters 1-5 (copies provided)

2/25/08 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES—CONTEMPORARY – theoretical “syntheses” (e.g., social justice, neo-conservative and neo-liberal, social justice, social capital, communitarianism, paternalism, pluralism)

1. Lawrence M. Mead, “Welfare Reform and Citizenship” Chapter 8 in Mead and Beem. (copies provided)
2. David Ellwood, “Values and the Helping Conundrums,” in *Poor Support: Poverty in the American Family*, by David Ellwood, New York: Basic Books, 1988. (copies provided)
3. A. Alesina and E. Glaeser, “The Origins of Political Institutions,” in *Fighting Poverty in the U.S. and Europe: A World of Difference*, Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 2004 (copies provided)
4. Bullard, “Environmental Justice in the 21st Century,” <http://www.ejrc.cau.edu/ejinthe21century.htm>

SHORT BACKGROUND PAPER DUE

- 3/3/08 DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY—dimensions, measures and trends in population, family structure, poverty, income distribution (age, gender, race, ethnicity, class)
1. Rebecca Blank, “How to Improve Poverty Measurement in the U.S.” Forthcoming article in JPAM. (copies provided)
 2. Chapter 2, “Myths about the Elderly,” in *Entitlements and the Elderly: Protecting Promises, Recognizing Realities*, by Marilyn Moon and Janemarie Mulvey. Washington: Urban Institute Press, 1996. (copies provided)
 3. Chapter 8 in Holzer and Nightingale (immigration and the economy)

GUEST SPEAKER: Emile Tesliuc, Senior Economist, World Bank, Social Protection Division

RESEARCH PAPER TOPIC DUE

- 3/10/08 ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE U.S. AND GLOBALIZATION FACTORS—industrial shifts, spatial patterns, outsourcing, labor force and employment trends
1. Heidi Hartmann and Jared Bernstein, “Defining and Characterizing the Low-Wage Labor Market,” in *The Low-wage Labor Market: Challenges and Opportunities for Economic Self-Sufficiency*, edited by Kelleen Kaye and Demetra Smith Nightingale (copies provided)
 2. Daniel McMurrer and Isabell Sawhill, “How Much Do Americans Move Up and Down the Economic Ladder?” Urban Institute Policy Brief, Nov. 1996 (copies provided)
 3. Steuerle, et al, chapters 2 and 3
 4. Chapter 1 and 2 in Holzer and Nightingale (2007)

RESEARCH PAPER OUTLINE DUE

3/17/08 NO CLASS-SPRING BREAK

- 3/24/08 TRANSFER-BASED POLICIES—cash and noncash benefits and services; universal (e.g., Social Security, Medicare, education grants/loans) targeted means-tested transfers and compensatory programs (e.g., Medicaid, welfare, food stamps, housing subsidies, compensatory and remedial education)
1. Moffitt, Introduction chapter (cash transfers and entitlements) (copies provided)

2. Holahan and Cook, “What Happened to Insurance Coverage for Children and Adults in 2006?” Download from Kaiser Family Foundation <http://www.kff.org/uninsured/upload/7694.pdf>
3. Chapter 9 (retirement) in Holzer and Nightingale
4. Chapters 7 (child care) in Weil and Finegold book (copies provided)
5. Chapter 5 (higher education) in Holzer and Nightingale

3/31/08

SERVICES-BASED SOCIAL POLICIES—universal (e.g., employment services) and targeted services (e.g., child welfare and protection, crisis intervention)

1. Chapter 3 in Holzer and Nightingale (workforce development)
2. Chapter 9 (hard-to-serve populations) in Weil and Finegold book (copies provided)
3. Chapter 11 (policies to balance work and family) in Holzer and Nightingale
4. Bess and Scarcella, “Child Welfare Spending During a Time of Fiscal Stress” Urban Institute Policy Brief, download at http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411124_ChildWelfareSpending.pdf

4/7/08

RESPONSIBILITY, RIGHTS AND JUSTICE—criminal justice, child support enforcement, immigration issues, citizenship

1. Weil, chapter 10
2. William Julius Wilson, chapter 23 in *Poverty, Inequality, and the Future of Social Policy: Western States in the New World Order* Katherine McFate, Roger Lawson, and William Julius Wilson, editors New York, Russell Sage Book, 1996. (copies provided)
3. Deborah Stone, “Policy Paradox in Action” (the case of affirmative action), in Stone, *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making* (copies provided)
3. Jeremy Travis, et al “From Prison to Home”, download from Urban Institute website at http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/from_prison_to_home.pdf

GUEST SPEAKER: Mark Leutbecker, Niklason Research Associates, “US Legal Arrangements with Native American Tribes—an Historic Perspective”

4/14/08 INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVES—fiscal federalism, inter-govern-
mental responsibilities, implementation, accountability,
research/evaluation

1. Steuerle, et al, chapters 4 and 5
2. Steuerle, Appendix
3. Nightingale chapter in Weil and Finegold (to be provided)

RESEARCH PAPER DUE

4/21/08 FUTURE POLICY CHALLENGES, ISSUES AND DIRECTIONS

1. Steuerle, chapter 6
2. Hugh Hecl in *Poverty, Inequality, and the Future of Social Policy: Western States in the New World Order* Katherine McFate, Roger Lawson, and William Julius Wilson, editors New York, Russell Sage Foundation Book, 1996. (copies provided)
3. Skocpol, *The Missing Middle*, Chapters 4 and 5

4/28/08 REVIEW AND RECAP
FINAL EXAM DISTRIBUTED

5/8/08 FINAL EXAM DUE