

THE NEW WORLDS OF WELFARE CAPITALISM: STATES, CITIZENS AND SOCIAL PROTECTION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

POLI2413
Spring 2026

Instructor	Prof. Thibaud Marcesse
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Office Hours	Wednesdays 4:30–6pm, always by appointment
Time	MW 3:00-4:15pm
Venue	Stokes Hall 295S

Course Description

This course offers a historical and comparative survey of welfare regimes and institutions around the world. It begins with a discussion of the origins of the welfare state, from the English Poor Laws to the development of social legislation in Western Europe and North America. The course also considers the extent to which redistribution has historically funded the development of the welfare state and how organized interests, such as unions and business groups have shaped welfare institutions.

The second part of the course examines some of the more contemporary issues around social protection and welfare provision. The Danish economist Gøsta Esping-Andersen had identified three different types of welfare regimes (conservative, social-democratic and liberal) in post-war Europe. How have these different ideal-types held up since the end of WWII? How do they apply to non-European/non-American contexts? The course also offers a discussion of corporatism, authoritarianism and welfare provision, before pivoting to welfare provision in the absence of industrialization and/or large-scale redistribution, two important aspects of social protection in the Global South and in post-colonial countries in general.

Globalization, deindustrialization and the rise in inequality represent some of the most significant challenges to social protection in recent decades. How have institutionalized welfare states responded to these challenges? Does inequality fundamentally affect welfare provision, or even the consent to redistribution that has historically underpinned welfare states?

The course emphasizes a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of welfare regimes and the relationship between market and society. It includes references from political science, economics, sociology and history.

Attendance and participation

Classes will consist of a combination of lecture, class discussion, small group discussion, and class debates. Please note that lectures will not simply review or summarize the readings. It is up to you to complete the readings in advance and to be prepared to relate them to the themes of the lecture. Come ready to talk! Copies of the slides that accompany lectures will be posted on the class Canvas site at the end of the week, after class. However, you should not expect the slides to cover the lecture in detail, and they will not dispense you from attending class.

Students are increasingly making use of emerging AI tools in the classroom and outside, such as those developed specifically for note-taking (Otter.ai, Coconote, etc.). Please note that per Massachusetts Law, recording lectures and class discussions without the consent of the participants involved is prohibited. Faculty have the right to prohibit such recordings except when they have been approved by the Disability Services Office for students with disability accommodations.

Class participation will account for 10% of your final grade. Students are expected to attend all classes. The class will have a substantial discussion component, including class-wide and small group discussion, in which you are expected to actively participate. You are expected to have read all materials before class. Experience has taught me that students are unlikely to be fully attentive when laptops are allowed. I will therefore enforce a strict *cell phone and laptop ban* and will make only exceptions for students who require an accommodation. I will also make an exception when we discuss the readings in class.

More than one unexcused absence over the course of the semester will negatively affect your attendance and participation grade. If you have a legitimate reason why you cannot attend a class (for example, due to a health or family emergency, approved athletic events, or religious observances), you must notify me and receive prior approval for the absence.

Office hours and communication

I will hold office hours on on Wednesdays 4:30–6pm, *by appointment only*. You are invited to use the following link to make an appointment with me: <https://calendly.com/thibaud-marcesse/office-hours>. When you come for your appointment, please knock on my door and wait *outside* until you have been called. Do not interrupt an ongoing meeting.

I will strive to respond to your email requests within 24hrs, and emails sent over the weekend will receive a response by the following Monday 5pm, at the latest.

Academic integrity

All students are expected to know and comply with the university's policies on academic integrity. Your work must be fully your own. It is necessary to acknowledge the work and ideas of others with proper citations. Plagiarism is a serious offense, and no forms of borrowing without acknowledgement are acceptable. It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with the academic code. See: <http://www.bc.edu/schools/cas/polisci/intergrity/html>; <http://www.bc.edu/publications/ucatalog/policy.html#integrity>.

While AI can be a powerful tool for research, and academic work in general, remember that your work must be fully your own. The Center for Teaching Excellence has produced guidelines on the use of AI tools, which you are welcome to consult and refer to. See: <https://cteresources.bc.edu/documentation/artificial-intelligence-in-teaching-and-learning>.

Accommodation and disability service

If you are a student with a documented disability seeking reasonable accommodations in this course, please contact Kathy Duggan, (617) 552-8093, dugankka@bc.edu, at the Connors Family Learning Center regarding learning disabilities and ADHD, or Paulette Durrett, (617) 552-3470, paulette.durrett@bc.edu, in the Disability Services Office regarding all other types of disability, including temporary disabilities.

Advance notice and appropriate documentation are required for accommodations. **Keep in mind that you are responsible for making an appointment at the CFLC ahead of the scheduled exams as early as possible in the semester.** The CFLC has struggled to keep up with the extraordinary increase in academic accommodations in recent years and only has a limited number of slots available.

Course requirements

Assignments

1. Discussion questions

Each week prior to class, some of you will be asked to send me by email two questions on the readings. These questions should try to put the readings in perspective, but can also be about ideas, concepts developed in the readings that you did not fully grasp and would like to discuss with the rest of the class. Please make sure to address all the readings in some way. The deadline for sending the questions is **Tuesday**

6pm EST. The questions you submit will serve as a basis for our class discussion, so you should take the assignment seriously. You can miss one reading response without negatively affecting your grade. These are graded as incomplete, complete, and outstanding (no credit, check, check plus).

2. Group debate

Every other week, around six students will be invited to prepare a debate (open to the rest of the class). While some of the selected students will be supporting a motion, another group will refute it (or support another motion), with the rest of the class acting as referee. Students who have been selected to support or refute a motion will be asked to submit by 6pm the day before the debate a one-page group position memo, along with an individual prep note (half a page max). While the one-page group position memo should summarize the different points the group wishes to advance, the individual pre note will instead focus on the strongest argument on the other side. All submissions will have to be posted to Canvas and no submission will mean no speaking role. Each group will be expected to do some research to prepare the debate, beginning with the readings referenced in the syllabus.

The approximately 25 minute-debate will have four parts: 1/ opening statements (no more than 3 minutes for each group), 2/ review of the evidence (8 minutes total, with 2 minutes for each group and 2 additional minutes for rebuttal), 3/ cross examination (3 minutes for each team, 6 minutes in total) and 4/ verdict from the class.

3. Midterm exams

There will be two (2) short midterm exams on February 25th and April 15th involving a mix of short answers and essays and covering the topics discussed thus far in the semester. Both exams will be 75 mn long. Details on the exam format will be provided in advance.

4. Final exam

The final exam will be two (2) hours long and will have the same structure as the midterms (short answers followed by short essays). Note You must take the exam in person the day it is scheduled. No exception will be made.

Grading policy

Three components will determine your grade: Exams (Midterms and Final), Group Presentations and Class Participation (including Discussion Board Posts). The relative weight of each assignment is as follows:

Final Exam	40%
Midterm Exams	30%
Group debate	15%
Class participation (including contributions to discussion board)	
15%	

Grade scale

A+/A/A-	96-100/93-95-90-92
B+/B/B-	86-90/83-85/80-82
C+/C/C-	76-80/73-75/70-72
D+/D/D-	66-70/63-65/60-62

Assignment due dates

Midterm Exam #1February 26th

Midterm Exam #2 April 16th

Course Schedule

Any unexpected changes to the schedule will be announced in-class (with at least one week's notice). This is no assigned text for this course. The readings listed below will all be made available on Canvas via course reserves. Do let me know if you have any trouble accessing the readings online.

PART I: HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS

Week 1 & 2 (01/12–14 and 01/21): The origins of poor relief

Required readings:

- Piven, F. F., & Cloward, R. A. (1971). Chapter 1 in *Regulating the poor: The functions of public welfare* (pp. 3-41). Pantheon Books.
- Lindert, P. H. (2004). Chapter 3 in *Growing public: Social spending and economic growth since the eighteenth century* (Volume 1) (pp. 39-66). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Hollen Lees, L. (1998). *The solidarities of strangers. The English Poor Laws and the people, 1700-1948*. The University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Thompson, E.P. (1971). The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century. *Past & Present*, 50(1): 76–136.
- Lindert, P. H. (2004). Chapter 4 in *Growing public: Social spending and economic growth since the eighteenth century*, (Volume 1) (pp. 66-86). Cambridge University Press.
- Alesina, A., & Glaeser, E. L. (2004). *Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A world of difference*. Oxford University Press.
- Pontusson, J. (2005). *Inequality and prosperity: Social Europe vs. liberal America*. Cornell University Press.

Note: No class on January 19th, Martin Luther King's Day.

Week 3 (01/26-01/28): The birth of European welfare states

Required readings:

- Esping-Andersen, G. (1985). Chapter 1 in *Politics against markets: The social democratic road to power* (pp. 3-38). Princeton University Press.
- Lindert, P. H. (2004). Chapter 7 in *Growing public: Social spending and economic growth since the eighteenth century*, (Volume 1) (pp. 171-190). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Przeworski, A. (1985). Chapter 1 in *Capitalism and social democracy* (pp. 7-46). Cambridge University Press.
- Polanyi, K. (1944). Chapters 12 and 13 in *The great transformation* (pp. 140—170). Farrar & Rinehart.
- Blyth, M. (2002). *Great expectations: Economic ideas and institutional change in the twentieth century*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rogan, T. (2017). *The moral economists: R.H. Tawney, Karl Polanyi, E.P. Thompson, and the critique of capitalism*. Princeton University Press.
- Marshall, T.H. & Bottomore, T. (1992). *Citizenship and social class*. Pluto Perspectives.

- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). Chapter 3 in *The three worlds of welfare capitalism* (pp. 35-54). Princeton University Press.
- Bartolini, S. (2000). Chapter 6 in *The political mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980*, (pp. 240-315). Cambridge University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1980). *Social class, social democracy and state policy*. New Social Science Monographs.
- Thompson, E.P. (1966). *The making of the English working class*. Vintage Books.
- Przeworski, A. & Sprague, J. (1986). *Paper stones: A history of electoral socialism*. The University of Chicago Press.

Debate #1: Do the European welfare states owe more to wars rather than industrialization?

Week 4 (02/02-02/04): The birth of the American Welfare state

Required readings:

- Skocpol, T. (1992). Chapter 1 in *Protecting mothers and soldiers: The political origins of social policy in the United States* (pp. 67-101). Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Piven, F. F., & Cloward, R. A. (1971). Chapter 2 in *Regulating the poor: The functions of public welfare* (pp. 45-77). Pantheon Books.

Recommended readings:

- Katznelson, I. (2013). *Fear itself. The New Deal and the origins of our time*. Liveright Publishing Corporation.
- Mettler, S. (2005). *Soldiers to citizens: The G.I. Bill and the making of the greatest generation*. Oxford University Press.
- Mettler, S. (2011). *The submerged state: How invisible government policies undermine American democracy*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Mettler, S., & Soss, J. (2004). The consequences of public policy for democratic citizenship: Bridging policy studies and mass politics. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(March): 55-73.
- Michener, J. (2018). *Fragmented democracy: Medicaid, federalism and unequal politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Week 5 (02/09-02/11): Democracy, redistribution and welfare provision

Required readings:

- Holland, A. (2018). Diminished expectations: Redistributive preferences in truncated Welfare States. *World Politics*, 70 (4): 555-594.
- Korpi, W., & Palme, J. (1998). The paradox of redistribution and strategies of equality: Welfare State institutions, inequality, and poverty in the western countries. *American Sociological Review*, 63(5): 661-87.

Recommended readings:

- Beramendi, P., & Rehm, P. (2016). Who gains, who gives? Progressivity and preferences. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(4): 529-63.
- Haggard, S., Kaufman, R. R. & Long, James D. (2013). Income, occupation, and preferences for redistribution in the developing world. *Studies in Comparative and International Development*, 48(2): 113-40.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). Chapter 3 in *The three worlds of welfare capitalism* (pp. 55-78). Princeton University Press.
- Meltzer, A. & Richard, S. (1981). A rational theory of the size of the government. *Journal of Political Economy*, 89(5): 914-927.
- Ansell, B. W., & Samuels, D.J. (2015). *Inequality and democratization: An elite competition approach*. Cambridge University Press.

- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2006). *Economic origins of dictatorship and democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Shapiro, I. (2003). Democracy and distribution. In *The state of democratic theory* (pp. 104-105). Princeton University Press.
- Dion, M. L., & Birchfield, V. (2010). Economic development, income inequality, and preferences for redistribution. *International Studies Quarterly*, 54(2): 315–34.
- Iversen, T. & Soskice, D. (2006). Electoral institutions and the politics of coalitions: Why some democracies redistribute more than others. *American Political Science Review*, 100(2): 165–81.
- Soifer, H. D. (2013). State power and the economic origins of democracy. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 48 (1): 1–22.
- Gingrich, J., & Ansell, B. (2012). Preferences in context: Micro preferences, macro contexts, and the demand for social policy. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(12): 1624–54.
- Wilensky, H. L. (1975). *The welfare state and equality: Structural and ideological roots of public expenditures*, vol. 140. University of California Press.
- Holland, A. C., & Schneider, B R. (2017). Easy and hard redistribution: The political economy of welfare states in Latin America. *Perspectives on Politics*, 15(4): 988–1006.
- Ganghof, S. (2008). The politics of tax structure. In I. Shapiro, P. Swenson & D. Donno (Eds.), *Divide and deal*, pp. 72-98. New York University Press.
- Piketty, T. (2020). Hypercapitalism: Between modernity and archaism. In *Capital and ideology* (pp. 648-719). Harvard University Press.
- Cramer, B. D., & Kaufman, R. R. (2011). Views of economic inequality in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(9): 1206–37.
- Obinger, H. & Wagschal, U. (2010). Social expenditures and revenues. In F. G. Castles, S. Leibfried, J. L. Herbert, H. Obinger & C. Pierson (Eds.) *The Oxford handbook of the welfare state* (pp.). Oxford University Press.
- Piketty, T. (2014). Chapters 9 and 10 in *Capital in the 21st century* (pp. 304–376). Harvard University Press.
- Morgan, J. & Kelly, N. J. (2017). Social patterns of inequality, partisan competition, and Latin American support for redistribution. *Journal of Politics*, 79(1): 193–209.
- Morgan, J. & Kelly, N.J. (2010). Explaining public attitudes toward fighting inequality in Latin America. *Poverty and Public Policy*, 2(3): 79–111.
- Feierherd, G., Schiumerini, L. & Stokes, S. (2017). When do the wealthy support redistribution? Inequality aversion in Buenos Aires. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1–13.
- Milanovic, B. (2000). The median-voter hypothesis, income inequality, and income redistribution: An empirical test with the required data. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 16(3): 367–410.
- Kaufman, R. R. (2009). The political effects of inequality in Latin America: Some inconvenient facts. *Comparative Politics*, 41(3): 359–79.
- Mahler, V. A. (2010). Government inequality reduction in comparative perspective: A cross-national study of the developed world. *Polity*, 42(4): 511–41.
- Romer, T. (1975). Individual welfare, majority voting, and the properties of a linear income tax. *Journal of Public Economics*, 4(2): 163–85.
- Solt, F. (2016). The standardized world income inequality database. *Social Science Quarterly*, 97(5): 1267–81.
- De Ferranti, D., Perry G.E., F. H. G. Ferreira, & Walton, M. (2004). *Inequality in Latin America: Breaking with history?* Washington, D.C.: World Bank Publications.
- Moene, K. O., & Wallerstein, M. (2001). Inequality, social insurance, and redistribution. *American Political Science Review*, 95(4): 859–74.
- Moene, K. O., & Wallerstein, M. (2003). Earnings inequality and welfare spending: A disaggregated analysis. *World Politics*, 55(4): 485–516.
- Rehm, P., Hacker, J. S. & Schlesinger, M. (2012). Insecure alliances: Risk, inequality, and support for the welfare state. *American Political Science Review*, 106(2): 386–406.

- Blyth, M. (2013). *Austerity: the history of a dangerous idea*. Oxford University Press.

Debate #2: Do the Poor necessarily want redistribution?

PART II: WELFARE REGIMES AND INSTITUTIONS

Week 6 (02/16-02/18): Welfare states and production regimes

Required readings:

- Iversen, T. (2005). Chapter 2 in *Capitalism, democracy and welfare* (pp. 30-67). Cambridge University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). Chapter 7 in *The three worlds of welfare capitalism* (pp. 163-189). Princeton University Press.

Required readings:

- Huber, E. & Stephens, J. (2001). Chapter 3 in *Development and crisis of the welfare state* (pp. 39-84). University of Chicago Press.
- Mares, I. (2003). Chapter 2 in *The politics of social risk* (pp. 12-63). Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, P. A. & Soskice, D. (2001). *Varieties of capitalism. The institutional foundations of comparative advantage*. Oxford University Press.
- Huber, E., Ragin, C., & Stephens, J.D. (1993). Social democracy, Christian democracy, constitutional structure, and the welfare state. *American Journal of Sociology*, 99(3): 711–49.
- Rueschemeyer, D. & Skocpol, T. (1996). *States, social knowledge, and the origins of modern social policies*. Princeton University Press.
- Mares, I. (2006). *Taxation, wage bargaining and unemployment*. Cambridge University Press.
- Eichengreen, B. (1997). Institutions and economic growth: Europe after World War II. In N. Crafts, G. Toniolo (Eds.), *Economic growth in Europe since World War II*, (pp. 38-72). Cambridge University Press
- World Bank. *ASPIRE: The atlas of social protection indicators of resilience and equity*. At <http://datatopics.worldbank.org/aspire/>.

Debate #3: Does the welfare state make economies less competitive in international trade?

Week 7 (02/23-02/25): Mid-semester review

Note: in class mid-term on February 25th

Note: Spring break March 2–7

Week 8 (03/09-03/11): The “Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism”

Required readings:

- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). Chapters 1 and 5 in *The three worlds of welfare capitalism* (pp. 9-33 and 105-138). Princeton University Press.
- Bonoli, Giuliano. (1997). Classifying welfare states: A two dimension—approach. *Journal of Social Policy*, 26(3): 351-372.

Recommended readings:

- Esping-Andersen, G. & Korpi, W. (1985). From poor relief towards institutional welfare states: The development of Scandinavian social policy. In R. E. Eriksson, (Ed.) *The Scandinavian model: Welfare states and welfare research*, (pp. 39-74). M.E. Sharpe.

- Soss, J., & Schram, S. F. (2007). A public transformed? Welfare reform as policy feedback. *American Political Science Review*, 101(1): 111–27.
- Esping-Andersen, G., & Korpi, W. (1984). Social policy as class politics in post-war capitalism: Scandinavia, Austria and Germany. In J. Goldthorpe, (Ed.), *Order and conflict in contemporary capitalism: Studies in the political economy of Western European nations*, (pp. 179-208). Oxford University Press.
- Immergut, E. (1992). The rules of the game: The logic of health policy-making in France, Switzerland and Sweden. In S. Steinmo, K. Thelen, & F. Longstreth (Eds.) *Structuring politics: Historical institutionalism in comparative analysis*, (pp. 57-89). Cambridge University Press.
- Mares, I. (2005). *Taxation, wage bargaining and unemployment*. Cambridge University Press.

Debate #4: Should the US have a Scandinavian welfare state?

Week 9 (03/16-03/18): Authoritarianism, corporatism and welfare provision

Required readings:

- Haggard, S. & Kaufman, R. R. (2009). Chapter 4 in *Development, democracy and welfare states: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*, (pp. 143-178). Princeton University Press.
- Pan, J. (2020). Chapters 2 and 5 in *Welfare for autocrats: how social assistance in China cares for its rulers* (pp. 31-56 and 112-138). Oxford University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Albertus, M., Fenner, S. & Slater, D. (2018). *Coercive distribution*. Cambridge University Press.
- Collier, R. B., & Collier, D. (2002). *Shaping the political arena: Critical junctures, the labor movement, and regime dynamics in Latin America*. Notre Dame University Press.
- Haggard, S. & Kaufman, R. R. (2009). Chapter 3 in *Development, democracy and welfare states: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*, (pp. 113-142). Princeton University Press.

Week 10 (03/23-03/25): Social protection in the Global South

Required readings:

- Cammett, M. & Maclean, L. M. (2014). Mapping social welfare regimes beyond the OECD. In M. Cammett, L. Maclean (Eds.) *The politics of non-state social welfare* (pp. 17-30). Cornell University Press.
- Garay, C. (2017). Chapter 3 in *Social policy expansion in Latin America* (pp. 79—119). Cambridge University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Hunter, W. & Sugiyama, N. B. (2009). Democracy and social policy in Brazil: Advancing basic needs, preserving privileged interests. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 51(2): 29–58.
- Haggard, S. & Kaufman, R. R. (2009). Chapter 2 in *Development, democracy and welfare states: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*, (pp. 79-112). Princeton University Press.
- Barrientos, A. (2004). Latin America: Towards a liberal-informal welfare regime. In I. Gough & G. Wood, (Eds.) *Insecurity and welfare regimes in Asia, Africa, and Latin America: Social policy in developing contexts*, (pp. 121-168). Cambridge University Press.
- Heller, P. (1996). Social capital as product of class mobilization and state intervention: Industrial workers in Kerala, India. *World Development*, 24(6): 1055–1071.
- De La O, A. L. (2015). *Crafting policies to end poverty in Latin America: The quiet transformation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Huber, E., & Stephens, J. D. (2012). *Democracy and the Left: Social policy and inequality in Latin America*. University of Chicago Press.
- Holland, A. C. (2017). *Forbearance as redistribution: The politics of informal welfare in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

- Corbacho, A., Fretes Cibils, V. F. & Lora, E. (Eds.) (2013). *More than revenue: Taxation as a development tool*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Giedion, U., & Uribe, M.V. (2009). Colombia's universal health insurance system. *Health Affairs*, 28(3): 853–863.
- Levy, S., & Schady, N. (2013). Latin America's social policy challenge: Education, social insurance, redistribution. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 27(2): 193–218.
- Díaz-Cayeros, A., & Magaloni, B. (2009). Aiding Latin America's poor. *Journal of Democracy*, 20(4): 36–48.
- Gaviria, A. (2007). Social mobility and preferences for redistribution in Latin America. *Economía*, 8(1): 55–96.
- Lustig, N., Pessino, C., & Scott, J. (2014). The impact of taxes and social spending on inequality and poverty in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, Peru, and Uruguay: Introduction to the special issue. *Public Finance Review*, 42(3): 287–303.

Debate #5: Were structural adjustment policies needed in Latin America?

Week 11 (03/30-04/01): Identity and welfare provision

Required readings:

- Lieberman, R. C. (1998). *Shifting the color line: Race and the American welfare state* (pp. 23-66). Harvard University Press.
- Singh, P. (2011). We-ness and welfare: A longitudinal analysis of social development in Kerala, India. *World Development*, 39(2): 282–93.

Recommended readings:

- Singh, P. (2015). Subnationalism and social development: A comparative analysis of Indian states. *World Politics*, 67(3): 506–562.
- Katznelson, I. (2005). *When affirmative action was white: An untold history of racial inequality in twentieth-century America*. WW Norton.
- Soss, J., & Fording, R. C. (2011). *Disciplining the poor: Neoliberal paternalism and the persistent power of race*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Schram, S., Soss J. & Fording, R. C. (2003). *Race and the politics of welfare reform*. The University of Michigan Press.
- Singh, P., & vom Hau, M. (2014). The ethnic diversity and public goods provision hypothesis revisited: Exploring the effects of ethnicity on state capacity. In B. Bukenya, S. Hickey & K. Sen (Eds.), *The politics of inclusive development: Interrogating the evidence*. Oxford University Press.
- Huddy, L., & Khatib, N. (2007). American patriotism, national identity, and political involvement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(1): 63–77.
- Keating, M. (2009). Social citizenship, solidarity and welfare in regionalized and plurinational states. *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5): 501–513.
- Habyarimana, J., Humphreys, M., Posner, D. N., & Weinstein, J. M. (2007). Why does ethnic diversity undermine public goods provision? *American Political Science Review*, 101(4): 709–725.
- Cammett, M. (2014). Sectarian politics and social welfare. In M. Cammett, L. Maclean (Eds.) *The politics of non-state social welfare* (pp. 137-155). Cornell University Press.
- Banerjee, A., Iyer, L. & Somanathan, R. (2005). History, social divisions, and public goods in rural India. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 3 (2–3): 639–647.
- Banerjee, A., & Somanathan, R. (2001). *Caste, community and collective Action: The political economy of public good provision in India*. Mimeograph. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Banting, K., Johnston, R., Kymlicka, W. & Soroka, S. (2006). Do multiculturalism policies erode the welfare state? An empirical analysis. In K. Banting & W. Kymlicka (Eds.) *Multiculturalism and the welfare state: Recognition and redistribution in contemporary democracies*, (pp. 49-91). Oxford University Press.

- Banting, K., & Kymlicka, W. (Eds.). (2006). *Multiculturalism and the welfare state: Recognition and redistribution in contemporary democracies* (pp. 49-91). Oxford University Press.
- Charnysh, V., Lucas, C. & Singh, P. (2014). The ties that bind: National identity salience and pro-social behavior toward the ethnic other. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(3): 267-300.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1985). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.) *Psychology of intergroup relations*. Nelson Hall.
- Fantasia, R. (1989). *Cultures of solidarity: Consciousness, action, and contemporary American workers*. University of California Press.

Debate #6: Does nationalism shape the Welfare State or does the Welfare State shape national identity?

Week 12 (04/08): The politics of non—state welfare provision

Note: No class on April 6th, due to the University Easter holiday

Required readings:

- MacLean, L. M. (2017). Neoliberal democratization, colonial legacies and the rise of the non-state provision of social welfare in West Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, 44(153): 358-380.
- Thachil, T. (2011). Embedded mobilization: Nonstate service provision as electoral strategy in India. *World Politics*, 63(3): 434-469.

Recommended readings:

- Cammett, M. (2014). The political consequences of non-state social welfare: An analytical framework. In M. Cammett, L. Maclean (Eds.) *The politics of non-state social welfare* (pp. 31-54). Cornell University Press.
- Cammett, M. (2014). Sectarian politics and social welfare. In M. Cammett, L. Maclean (Eds.) *The politics of non-state social welfare* (pp. 137-155). Cornell University Press.
- McLean, L. M. (2014). The reciprocity of family, friends and neighbors in rural Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. In M. Cammett, L. Maclean (Eds.) *The politics of non-state social welfare* (pp. 157-174). Cornell University Press.
- Hern, E. (2016). In the gap the state left: Policy feedback, collective behavior, and political participation in Zambia. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 52(4): 10-531.
- Hern, E. (2019). *Developing state, shaping citizenship. Service delivery and political participation in Zambia*. The University of Michigan Press.

Week 13 (04/13-04/15): Review #2

Note: In class midterm exam on April 15th

Week 14 (04/21-04/22): Distributive Politics and Social Protection

Note: because of the Monday substitution schedule, our class will meet on Tuesday, April 21st, instead of Monday, April 20th (Patriots Day).

Required readings:

- Díaz-Cayeros, A., Estévez, F. & Magaloni, B. (2016). Chapter 7 in *The political logic of poverty relief: Electoral strategies and social policy in Mexico* (pp. 158-181). Cambridge University Press.
- Holland, A. (2016). Forbearance. *American Political Science Review*, 110(2): 232-246.

Recommended readings:

- Kruks-Wisner, G. (2018). The pursuit of social welfare: Citizen claim making in rural India. *World Politics*, 70(1): 122–163.
- Fox, J. (1994). The difficult transition from clientelism to citizenship: Lessons from Mexico. *World Politics*, 46(1): 151–184.
- Jenkins, R. & Manor, J. (2017). *Politics and the Right to Work: India's National Rural Employment Guarantee Act*. Oxford University Press.
- Marcesse, T. (2018). Public policy reform and informal institutions: The political articulation of the demand for work in rural India. *World Development*, 103: 284–296.
- Sadanandan, A. (2012). Patronage and decentralization: The politics of poverty in India. *Comparative politics*, 44(2): 211–228.
- Pribble, J. (2013). *Welfare and party politics in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Luna, J. P., & Soifer, H. D. (2017). Capturing sub-national variation in state capacity: A survey-based approach. In *American Behavioral Scientist*, 61(8): 887–907.

Week 15 (04/27-04/29): Trade, deindustrialization and the welfare state

Required readings:

- Mares, I. (2005). Social protection around the world: External insecurity, state capacity, and domestic political cleavages,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(6): 623–651.
- Rodrik, D. (1997). Chapter 3 *Has globalization gone too far?* (pp. 29–48). Washington: Institute for International Economics.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). Chapter 6 in *Social foundations of postindustrial economies*, (pp. 99–119). Oxford University Press.

Recommended readings:

- Iversen, T., & Wren, A. (1998). Equality, employment and budgetary restraint: The trilemma of the service economy. *World Politics*, 50(3): 507–546.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). Chapter 8 in *The three worlds of welfare capitalism* (pp. 191–217). Princeton University Press.
- Iversen, T. (2005). Chapter 6 in *Capitalism, democracy and welfare* (pp. 217–278). Cambridge University Press.
- Bradley, D, Huber, E., Moller, S., & Nielsen, F. (2003). Distribution and redistribution in postindustrial democracies,” *World Politics*, 55(2): 193–228.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1996). *Welfare states in transition national adaptations in global economies*. Sage.
- Wibbels, E., & Ahlquist, J. S. (2011). Development, trade, and social insurance. *International Studies Quarterly*, 55(1): 125–149.
- Wood, S. (2001). Business, government and patterns of labor market policy in Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany. In P. Hall & D. Soskice (Eds.) *Varieties of Capitalism*, (pp. 247–274). Oxford University Press.
- Skoufias, E., Lindert, K. & Shapiro, J. (2010). Globalization and the role of public transfers in redistributing income in Latin America and the Caribbean. *World Development*, 38(6): 895–907.
- Taylor-Gooby, P. (2008). The new welfare state settlement in Europe. *European Societies*, 10(1): 3–24.

Debate #7: Does universal income represent the future of the welfare state or not?

Final in person exam per Boston College official exam schedule.