

**SOCIOLOGY 356: Sociology of Gender
GENDER, POLICIES, AND SOCIETY
Spring, 2006
Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2-320 pm**

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Office Hours: Thursdays 4-5:30 pm and by appointment.

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

Systems of social provision and regulation – taking the form of “social security” and “welfare” in the US, or of “welfare states” in other capitalist democracies – are among the principal collective means by which we confront the social risks of modern capitalism: the situations or events, such as retirement, unemployment, disability, ill health, maternity, or the need to care for children (or others unable to care for themselves), that deprive us (temporarily or permanently) of our capacities for economic self-support. These systems contribute importantly to shaping the gender division of labor (that is, who does paid work or caring and domestic labor, and under what conditions) as they may support participation in the labor market through offering public child care services or discourage paid work by (some) mothers of young children through offering benefits for staying at home to provide care. These systems offer material benefits as well as promulgating regulations and sanctions, reflecting moral and ethical standards. Thus, not surprisingly, they have been a central focus of politics and intellectual debate in the US as across the West for over a century. This course is designed to expose students to the wide range of variation across the developed world in how societies deal with these problems and challenges, and to the debates around the historical development and future directions of systems of social provision, as they confront new problems of reconciling paid work and family life, new forms of inequality, and new challenges associated with globalizing and postindustrial societies.

CLASS ORGANIZATION:

In this course, we will engage in several modes of organizing our learning: traditional lectures (leavened, I hope, by student questions and discussion); in-depth conversations about the readings led by student discussion leaders; and student presentations on new topics emerging from their engagement with the lectures and readings. For the first two-thirds of the quarter we will cover a range of topics related to gender and social provision in lecture and discussion format; depending on class size, we may elect to break down into smaller groups for deeper interrogation of the readings. An in-class essay exam will follow on **May 16, 2006**. Students will keep an ongoing “gender diary” in which they reflect on their own experiences in light of the readings, with three installments, to be turned in on **April 11, May 2 and May 23, 2006**. For the last two weeks of the quarter, students will make group presentations on topics related to the course

material, but extending beyond the readings and lectures. For example, students could examine the debate about whether well-educated mothers are “opting out” of the labor force or whether men are increasing their participation in care work; take on the controversies around “gay marriage” in light of what we have learned about welfare and families; investigate what is happening to social provision in the formerly socialist countries and compare it to restructuring in the capitalist west; or describe emerging social policies in the developing world, as contrasted with the historical development in the west.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING:

Attendance and class participation (10% of grade)

“Gender diary” in which you reflect on the readings and your own experiences, due in class **April 11, May 2 and May 23, 2006** (20% of grade)

Group presentation on **May 18, 23 or 25** (10% of grade)

In-class essay exam on **May 16, 2006** (60% of the grade)

COURSE MATERIALS:

ARTICLES: Many are available online; almost all other book excerpts and articles will be available in a coursepack to be sold at Quartet, and a few will be copied for you or sent via email.

BOOKS: The following books will be for sale at Beck’s:

Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Post-Industrial Economies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Julia S. O’Connor, Ann Shola Orloff, and Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. New York, Cambridge and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

LECTURES, READINGS AND IMPORTANT DATES:

Part I: Introduction: Gender and Welfare States

Week 1: **Gender and Welfare States -- Definitions, Debates, Significance**
March 28 and 30, 2006

In these introductory sessions, we will discuss the sociological and political significance of welfare states in contemporary Western states; the range of variation among systems of social protection and regulation, commonly termed welfare states or welfare regimes (and more often called “social security” or “welfare” in the US); the impact of these variations in welfare arrangements on people's everyday lives and on politics; and the different theoretical traditions for explaining the emergence and development of modern welfare states and their diverse forms.

Readings:

- * Gosta Esping-Andersen, "The Three Political Economies of the Welfare State," pp.123-53 in *Power Resources Theory and the Welfare State*, edited by Julia S. O'Connor and Gregg Olsen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998; article originally appeared in 1989). **coursepack**
- * Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Post-Industrial Economies* (Oxford University Press, 1999), chapters 1, 2, 3.
- * Julia O'Connor, Ann Shola Orloff and Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapter 1
- * Fiona Williams, "Race/Ethnicity, Gender and Class in Welfare States: A Framework for Comparative Analysis." *Social Politics* 2(1995):27-59.
coursepack
- * Lynne Haney, "Homeboys, Babies, Men in Suits: The State and the Reproduction of Male Dominance." *American Sociological Review* 61(1996):759-778.

NU Library electronic resource

Recommended:

- * Ann Shola Orloff, "Social Provision and Regulation: Theories of States, Social Policies, and Modernity." Northwestern Institute for Policy Research Working Paper WP-04-07. **Available at:**
<http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/workingpapers/wpabstracts04-05/wp0407.html>

Week 2: The origins and historical development of welfare states

April 4 and 6, 2006

Programs of social insurance, social assistance, universal citizenship entitlement and public services that have come to be called "welfare states" developed in the first half of the century in Europe, North America and the Antipodes (and then in Latin America, and, finally, more recently in East Asia), as a complex set of political responses to industrialization, urbanization, demographic changes, democratization and bureaucratization. The political mobilization of working classes and, in some places, women's movements, was critical in transforming systems of social provision from deterrent poor relief and discretionary charity to programs based on social rights of citizenship. But women and men were not equivalent with respect to the social rights developed over the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, nor did they participate in equivalent ways politically in demanding state social protection. These lectures will offer an overview of the forces implicated in the emergence and development of modern welfare states.

Readings:

* Sonya Michel and Seth Koven, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of the Welfare State in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, 1880-1920." *American Historical Review* 95(1990):1076-1108.

NU Library electronic resource

* Alexander Hicks; Joya Misra and Tang Nah Ng, "The Programmatic Emergence of the Social Security State," *American Sociological Review* 60(1995):329-349.

NU Library electronic resource

* Robert Lieberman, "Race, Institutions and the Administration of Social Policy," *Social Science History* 19(1995):511-42.

NU Library electronic resource

* Jill Quadagno, "Race, Class and Gender in the U.S. Welfare State: Nixon's Failed Family Assistance Plan." *American Sociological Review* 55(1990):11-28.

NU Library electronic resource

* Gisela Bock, "Antinatalism, Maternity and Paternity in National Socialist Racism," pp.233-53 in *Maternity and the Rise of European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s*, edited by G. Bock and Pat Thane (Routledge, 1991).

coursepack

Recommended:

* Julia O'Connor, Ann Shola Orloff and Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapter 2.

* Evelyne Huber and John D. Stephens, *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State: Parties and Policies in Global Markets* (Chicago, 2001).

* Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Harvard University Press, 1992).

Part II: Welfare, Employment, Care

Modern citizenship is linked to women's and men's employment in a host of ways: citizens' claims to rights are both symbolically and programmatically based on paid work. Initially, full citizenship - in the sense both of enjoying rights and having duties - was masculine. Women were distinctly second-class citizens, explicitly when they were denied the franchise, but even after suffrage, implicitly, when women's access to paid work was limited by both law and custom. Men gained social rights - to pensions, unemployment insurance and the like - on the basis of their paid work, while women's access to benefits was usually mediated by their relationships to men. This set of arrangements has been challenged by women's movement into realm of paid work. Women are gaining symbolic and material resources for citizenship as well as access to benefits initially created with male workers in mind. Their increasing presence in the workforce has also spurred the development of new forms of income security, such as parental leaves, and the expansion of older programs of maternity coverage.

These lectures take on the question of how work and gender relations are affected by welfare arrangements, particularly the institutional division of labor among states, markets and families in providing care and income. First, we examine how the division of caregiving labor affects women and men of different classes in the labor market. Next, we look more closely at the institutional arrangements different countries make for ensuring the care of children and others unable to care for themselves, and consider the relationships among caring, citizenship, immigration, "race," and inequalities among women and men.

Tuesday, April 11, 2006:
First installment of your “gender diary” due

Week 3: Welfare and Work, Paid and Unpaid
April 11 and 13, 2006

* Mary Daly, "A Fine Balance: Women's Labour Market Participation in International Comparison, pp.467-510 in Fritz Scharpf and Vivien Schmidt, eds., *Welfare and Work in the Open Economy* (vol.2) (Oxford University Press, 2000).
coursepack

* Julia O'Connor, Ann Orloff and Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapter 3.

* Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Post-Industrial Economies* (Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 6, 7.

* Paula England, "Gender Inequality in Labor Markets: The Role of Motherhood and Segregation," *Social Politics* 12(2005): 264-288.
NU Library electronic resource

* Maria Charles, "National Skill Regimes, Postindustrialism, and Sex Segregation," *Social Politics* 12(2005): 289-316.
NU Library electronic resource

Recommended:

* Leslie McCall, *Complex Inequality: Gender, Class and Race in the New Economy* (Routledge, 2001).

Week 4: Social Citizenship and Care
April 18 and 20, 2006

* Trudie Knijn and Monique Kremer, "Gender and the Caring Dimension of Welfare States: Toward Inclusive Citizenship" *Social Politics* 4(1997): 328-61.
coursepack

* Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Post-Industrial Economies* (Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 4.

* Rianne Mahon, "Childcare: Toward What Kind of 'Social Europe'?" *Social Politics* 9(2002):343-79. **coursepack**

- * Arlie Hochschild, "The Nanny Chain," *The American Prospect* 11(2000): 32-36, or **Available at:**
<http://www.prospect.org/print/V11/4/hochschild-a.html>
- * Helma Lutz, "At your Service Madam! The Globalization of Domestic Service," *Feminist Review* 70(2002):75-88. **NU Library electronic resource**
- * Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila, "I'm Here, but I'm There": The Meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood," *Gender and Society* 11(1997):548-571. **NU Library electronic resource**
- * Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Paid Reproductive Labor." *Signs* 18(1992):1-42. **NU Library electronic resource**

Recommended:

- * Kimberly J. Morgan, "The "Production" of Child Care: How Labor Markets Shape Social Policy and Vice Versa," *Social Politics* 12(2005): 243-263.
NU Library electronic resource

Part III: Families, Gender, and States

Old family and gender arrangements offered some assurance that caregiving would be supported, but at the price of women's economic dependency and the concomitant weakening of their citizenship claims. This support has become more unstable as marriage has become more insecure, which in turn has contributed toward encouraging women's greater rates of employment. Still, levels of economic dependency remain quite substantial, particularly where women's employment receives little public support or private encouragement. The economic dependency of many (but no longer all) women - their "derived dependency" -- results largely from their attending to the "inevitable dependency" of children, the elderly and the disabled; it leaves them vulnerable to poverty if they find themselves outside stable marriage or without good employment. Indeed, many more women and children face economic insecurity, especially as systems of social provision have not yet satisfactorily provided guarantees or substitutes for absent parents' contributions. There are significant cross-national differences in the extent to which states offer benefits to mitigate poverty or programs to support the employment and economic independence of women with significant caregiving responsibilities.

In many countries, individuals' options with respect to sexuality and family or household formation have broadened out; for women this is partly related to their greater economic power resulting from employment. Thus families are more diverse, and non-family households have increased. Divorce has become more

easily available and there is greater tolerance for cohabitation; as a consequence, marriages are less stable. Women's economic independence, and in some cases men's declining capacities to earn family-supporting wages, have been associated with the decline of the breadwinner-caregiver household and declining marriage rates; instead, we see dual-earner couples - and sometimes a greater role for men in caregiving, single-parent households and single-person households.

In these lectures, we examine the implications of these changing social arrangements and the ways in which diverse systems of social provision affect (in)dependence, families and households. We first focus on welfare provision and the gendered structuring of (in)dependence and individuals' capacities to exercise citizenship rights, then turn to the effects of social provision on solo mothers and on men as fathers, particularly whether state policies enable caregiving.

Week 5: (In?)dependence, Families and Welfare States

April 25 and 27, 2006

Readings:

- * Ann Shola Orloff, "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States," *American Sociological Review* 58(1993):303-28. **NU Library electronic resource**
- * Julia O'Connor, Ann Orloff and Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapters 4, 5.
- * Jane Lewis and Barbara Hobson, "Introduction," pp.1-20 in *Lone Mothers in European Welfare Regimes: Shifting Policy Logics*, edited by Jane Lewis (Jessica Kingsley, 1997) **coursepack**
- * Anna Gavanas, "Domesticating Masculinity and Masculinizing Domesticity in Contemporary US Fatherhood Politics," *Social Politics* 11(2004):247-66. **NU Library electronic resource**

Recommended:

- * Barbara Hobson, editor, *Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

Part IV: **New Pressures, New Politics and New Visions of Welfare**

Tuesday, May 2, 2006:
Second installment of your “gender diary” due

Week 6: The politics of gendered welfare regimes
May 2 and 4, 2006

The ways in which politics and state policies affect gender relations varies considerably across countries and over time. The contemporary comparative literature on welfare states has developed on the basis of the insight that "politics matter," which had emerged from debates between modernization analysts and scholars emphasizing the importance of political forces. This does not imply that the character of the economy does not matter for policy developments; rather, economic developments are linked to patterns of class formation, systems of interest representation (of workers and employers), balances of power among important economic groups and state fiscal capacities. In addition to the ways in which workers and employers are organized and politically influential (or not), the structures, administrative and fiscal capacities of states are critical forces in shaping social provision. And many analysts emphasize the significance of the configuration of political parties for gender policy models, arguing that stances on women's employment reflect parties' positions on a left-right dimension and a confessional-secular dimension. In general, left and secular parties have been more open to women's employment than have right and confessional parties, although here one must signal the role of feminist organizing in getting parties to accept this position - it was not an automatic evolution from their initial egalitarian or equal-opportunity positions. One must also attend to specifically gendered interests and ideologies at work in shaping policies around employment, and to political organizations mobilized around gender explicitly or implicitly. The particular gender ideologies and differential mobilization of women's movements and their opponents are important, but so also are the gendered interests, ideologies and mobilization of employers and labor organizations in favor of particular forms of women's employment - or women's non-employment. The particular organizational form of egalitarian women's political activities has varied widely, shaped by the nationally- or regionally-specific political-institutional contexts within which all political actors work, and the historically-specific political opportunity structures in place at particular moments of organizing. In these lectures, we will explore the political and social forces associated with the different gendered welfare regimes.

Readings:

* Julia O'Connor, Ann Shola Orloff and Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States* (Cambridge, 1999), chapter 6.

* Ann Shola Orloff, "Farewell to Maternalism?: State Policies and Mothers' Employment," Northwestern University Institute for Policy Research Working Paper WP-05-10. **Available at:** <http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/workingpapers/wpabstracts05/wp0510.html>

* Walter Korpi, "Faces of Inequality: Gender, Class and Inequalities in Different Types of Welfare States." *Social Politics* 7(2000):127-91.
coursepack

* Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, *The Politics of Gender After Socialism* (Princeton, 2000), chapter 4. **coursepack**

Recommended:

* Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Post-Industrial Economies* (Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 5.

* Nancy MacLean, *Freedom is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace* (Harvard University Press, 2005).

Week 7: The Restructuring and Future of Welfare States

May 9 and 11, 2006

The mature welfare states of the contemporary West are facing new challenges, internal and external. The so-called "golden age" of welfare state expansion in the 1960s and 1970s, is now understood as related to an expanding economy, which in turn depended on the security and productivity of workers as undergirded by systems of social provision. The varied trends grouped under the rubric of "globalization," signalling especially increased economic openness, are commonly understood to change the balance of power between capital and labor by enhancing capital mobility and employers' capacities to exact policy concessions and tax reductions on threat of exit. Yet quite different political arrangements have flourished under similar economic conditions - both during the "golden age" and today, when increased economic openness and intensified competition are common challenges. Moreover, there are significant pressures for change related to domestic factors, many of which are intertwined with gender -- aging populations and fertility declines, or demands for supporting the "reconciliation" of family and work. We will examine these forces and the varied ways in which states are restructuring in response to these challenges; in the last lecture, we think beyond what seems possible in the present to consider what kinds of new welfare arrangements we might like to see.

Readings:

- * Julia O'Connor, Ann Shola Orloff and Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States* (Cambridge, 1999), chapter 7.
- * Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Post-Industrial Economies* (Oxford, 1999), chapter 8, 9.
- * Paul Pierson, "Post-Industrial Pressures on the Mature Welfare States," and "Coping With Permanent Austerity: Welfare State Restructuring in Affluent Democracies," in Paul Pierson, ed., *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (Oxford University Press, 2001). **coursepack**
- * Nancy Fraser, "After the Family Wage: Gender Equity and the Welfare State," *Political Theory* 22(1994):591-618. **NU Library electronic resource**

Tuesday, May 16, 2006: In-class essay exam

Several sample exam questions will be distributed the week before the exam, and I will (randomly) select two or three of these on the day of the exam. The exam is open-book, but students may not bring notes to the exam.

Part V: Student Presentations

Weeks 8 and 9

May 18, 23, and 25, 2006

Tuesday, May 23, 2006: Last installment of your "gender diary" due