

Work, Citizenship, and the Welfare State

Woodrow Wilson School 528d, Spring 2009

Professor Noah Zatz (nzatz@princeton.edu)

Syllabus

Professor Zatz's Contact Info

Office: Robertson 409

Phone: 82795

Email: nzatz@princeton.edu

Office Hours: Wednesdays, 2-4pm (use [Web Appointments Scheduling System](#) to guarantee a slot) or by appointment at other times as needed

Class Sessions: Wednesdays, 9am-noon, Robertson 014

Course Description

This seminar will examine the connections between work and citizenship in the modern welfare state. At times, citizens claim a right to work, workers assert a right to citizenship, and the state demands that its citizens work. Work sometimes offers an alternative to the nation state as a site of community membership, and it can relegate people to second-class citizenship. At issue throughout are basic questions about the foundations of solidarity and freedom, the relationship between economic and political status, and about how social policy interacts with differences of gender, kinship, race, class, and disability. The topical emphasis will be on antipoverty policy, labor regulation, social insurance programs, and immigration policy. The approach will be interdisciplinary, including scholarship in history, sociology, political theory, and law

Writing Requirement: Response Papers or Research Paper

Students will write either a series of four substantial response papers or a single research paper. Each response paper will analyze one session's readings and also relate them to ideas addressed elsewhere in the course. Response papers should be 8-10 pages long (3000-3500 words), double spaced, in 12 point font with 1" margins. They should be submitted via email by noon the day before class.

A student may write a research paper in lieu of the response papers. Students still must sign up for four class sessions in which they will have special responsibility to participate. Successful research papers ordinarily will be 30-40 pages long. Any student electing to write a research paper must notify me by February 13 and meet with me by February 20 to discuss a proposed topic. Students are strongly encouraged to submit an initial draft or detailed outline. To guarantee feedback, these must be received by April 13 at the latest. Final papers are due Tuesday, May 12.

Grades: 2/3 response papers or research paper, 1/3 class participation

Books (on reserve or for purchase at Labyrinth)

Cynthia Estlund, *Working Together: How Workplace Bonds Strengthen a Diverse Democracy* (2005)
[electronic version available via Princeton Library]

Chad Alan Goldberg, *Citizens and Paupers: Relief, Rights, and Race, from the Freedmen's Bureau to Workfare* (2007)

Alice Kessler-Harris, *A Woman's Wage: Historical Meanings & Social Consequences* (1990)

Nancy MacLean, *Freedom is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace* (2006)

Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy* (1998)

David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (2007 [1991])

Judith Shklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion* (1991)

Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (1998)

Deborah Stone, *The Disabled State* (1984)

Articles & Book selections: [E-Reserves](#) / [Blackboard](#)

Reading Assignments

(subject to change up to one week in advance)

Day 1: Foundations (2/4)

Please read these before our first meeting, or by the second if you're shopping and then enroll.

T.H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class" in his *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays* (1950)

Judith Shklar, *American Citizenship* (1991): Introduction & Ch. 2

Linda Bosniak, "Citizenship," in *The Oxford Handbook of Legal Studies* 183 (Peter Cane & Mark Tushnet eds., 2003)

Day 2: Free Labor and the Family Wage (2/11)

Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract* (1998): Preface, Chs. 1, 4-5

Alice Kessler-Harris, *A Woman's Wage* (1990): Introduction, Chs. 1-3

Day 3: The Whiteness of Free Labor (2/18)

David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness* (2007 [1991]): Chs. 1-4, 7-8

Paul Frymer, *Black and Blue: African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party* (2008): Preface, Chs. 2, 5

Day 4: Inclusion and Differentiation in New Deal Social Policy (2/25)

Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens* (1998): Chs. 1, 5-9

Chad Alan Goldberg, *Citizens and Paupers* (2007): Chs. 1, 4-5

Day 5: Inclusion and Differentiation in the Post-War Labor Market (3/4)

Nancy MacLean, *Freedom is Not Enough* (2006): Prologue, Chs. 1-3, 5 & 8, Epilogue

Alice Kessler-Harris, "In Pursuit of Economic Citizenship," 10 *Social Politics* 157-175 (2003)

Day 6: A Duty to Work? (3/11)

Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract*: Ch. 3

Lawrence M. Mead, "Citizenship and Social Policy: T.H. Marshall and Poverty," 14 *Social Philosophy and Policy* 197-230 (1997)

Stuart White, "Social Rights and the Social Contract: Political Theory and the New Welfare Politics," 30 *British Journal of Political Science* 507-532 (2000)

Carole Pateman, "Another Way Forward: Welfare, Social Reproduction, and a Basic Income," in *Welfare Reform and Political Theory* 34-64 (Christopher Beem & Lawrence M. Mead eds., 2005)

Day 7: A Right to a Job? (3/25)

William E. Forbath, "Social and Economic Rights: A Brief Guide to the Constitution of Work and Livelihoods," 11 *WorkingUSA* 145-156 (2008)

Richard J. Arneson, "Is Work Special? Justice and the Distribution of Employment," 84 *American Political Science Review* 1127-47 (1990)

David T. Ellwood & Elisabeth D. Welty, "Public Service Employment and Mandatory Work: A Policy Whose Time Has Come and Gone and Come Again?" in *Finding Jobs: Work and Welfare Reform* 299-372 (Rebecca M. Blank & David E. Card eds., 2000).

Goldberg, *Citizens and Paupers*, Chs. 6-8

Day 8: Work vs. Employment: The Family (4/1)

- Iris Marion Young, "Autonomy, Welfare Reform, and Meaningful Work," *The Subject of Care: Feminist Perspectives on Dependency* 40-60 (Eva Feder Kittay & Ellen K. Feder eds., 2003)
- Goodwin Liu, *Social Security and the Treatment of Marriage: Spousal Benefits, Earnings Sharing, and the Challenge of Reform*, 1999 WISCONSIN LAW REVIEW 1-64
- Nancy Fraser, "After the Family Wage: A Postindustrial Thought Experiment," in her *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on The "Postsocialist" Condition* 41-68 (1997)
- Katherine M. Franke, "Theorizing Yes: An Essay On Feminism, Law, And Desire," 101 *Columbia Law Review* 181-208 (2001): Pt. I only (pp. 183-97).

Day 9: Work & Disability (4/8)

- Deborah Stone, *The Disabled State* (1984): Introduction & Chs. 1-3
- Samuel R. Bagenstos, "The Future of Disability Law," 114 *Yale Law Journal* 1-83 (2004)
- Colin Barnes & Geof Mercer, "Disability, Work, and Welfare: Challenging the Social Exclusion of Disabled People," 19 *Work, Employment & Society* 527 (2005)

Day 10: The Workplace and Democratic Citizenship (4/15)

- Ian Shapiro, *Democratic Justice* (1999): Chs. 3 & 6
- Cynthia Estlund, *Working Together* (2005): Chs. 1-3, 6-7, 9-10

Day 11: Work & Immigration (4/22)

- Jennifer Gordon & R. A. Lenhardt, "Rethinking Work and Citizenship," 55 *UCLA Law Review* 1161-1238 (2008)
- Cristina M. Rodríguez, "Guest Workers and Integration: Toward a Theory of What Immigrants and Americans Owe One Another," 2007 *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 219-288
- Frank W. Munger, "Social Citizen As 'Guest Worker': A Comment on Identities of Immigrants and the Working Poor," 49 *New York Law School Law Review* 665-85 (2004-2005)
- Stephen Macedo, "The Moral Dilemma of U.S. Immigration Policy: Open Borders Versus Social Justice?" in *Debating Immigration* 63 (Carol M. Swain ed., 2007)

Day 12: Work & Citizenship Across National Borders (4/29)

- Jonathan Fox, "Unpacking 'Transnational Citizenship'", 8 *Annual Review of Political Science* 171-201 (2005)
- Iris Marion Young, "Responsibility and Global Justice: A Social Connection Model," 23 *Social Philosophy & Policy* 102-130 (2006)
- Jennifer Gordon, "Transnational Labor Citizenship," 80 *Southern California Law Review* 503-587 (2007)