

Inequality in U.S. Social Policy

In the second edition of *Inequality in U.S. Social Policy: An Historic Analysis*, Bryan Warde illuminates the pervasive and powerful role that social inequality based on race and ethnicity, gender, immigration status, sexual orientation, class, and disability plays and has historically played in informing social policy.

Using critical race theory and other structural oppression theoretical frameworks, this book examines social inequalities as they relate to social welfare, education, housing, employment, health care, and child welfare, immigration, and criminal justice. With fully updated statistics throughout, and an examination of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the United States, this new edition addresses the mammoth political and social changes that have affected inequality in the past few years.

Inequality in U.S. Social Policy will help social work students better understand the origins of the inequalities that their clients face, as well as provide an introduction for other social science students.

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Inequality in U.S. Social Policy

An Historical Analysis

Second Edition

Bryan Warde

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And lastly, I want to thank Routledge for allowing me to write a second edition. It is very much appreciated.

Preface

When Routledge approached me about writing a second edition, I initially thought it was too early; not enough had changed socially to warrant updating the book. How wrong I was. The intervening years have arguably been among the most tumultuous in United States history. When the first edition was published, President Obama was coming to the end of his second term in office. And Donald Trump was one of several candidates vying to be the Republican presidential candidate. He was very much an outsider candidate who had name recognition but absolutely no political experience and seemingly little chance against a field of established and politically experienced challengers. However, Trump's Make America Great slogan and his not too veiled nativist call to build a southern border wall to keep undocumented Mexicans out of the United States struck a chord with millions of voting-age citizens. His election and four years in office were seismic in terms of influence on social policy, regardless of one's political persuasion. He passed more than 400 executive orders and proclamations that reshaped United States' immigration policies for both documented and undocumented immigrants. He ordered his administration to stop paying for critical race theory training in federal agencies, expanding the scope of this order to include the U.S. military, government contractors, and other federal grantees. In doing so, President Trump argued that critical race theory was an effort to indoctrinate government employees with divisive and harmful sex- and race-based ideology. There was also the rolling back of various protections for transgender people. Many of these protections were put in place by the Obama administration.

Even more influential, though, was the Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19). This global pandemic reached the United States in January 2020, and, as of February 1, 2021, it had accounted for 26 million infections and 456,000 deaths. Although a global pandemic, Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans have been disproportionately impacted in terms of infections and fatalities. In turn, this disproportionality has shone a light on the preexisting residential, labor market, and health and health care inequalities, which in combination have made these populations more susceptible to infection and death.

The pandemic has also shattered the economy, as the shutdown necessary to slow the spread of COVID-19 ended up closing down hundreds of thousands of businesses. The consequence has been mass unemployment and economic suffering for millions of American citizens and residents, resulting in President Trump passing of the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act (the CARES Act) in March 2020. This \$2.2 trillion economic stimulus bill went some way to cushion the economic fallout of the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States, but not nearly enough to aid a full economic recovery.

Race and racial tension also struck a profound chord with a series of police-involved deaths of Black men and women, the two most prominent being Breonna Taylor and George Floyd. The civil unrest that followed George Floyd's death led to a call in some quarters to defund the police.

And to close the tumultuous intervening years was the unprecedented U.S. Capitol Hill riot. It was an incident in which rioters, who believed the presidential election of Joe Biden was fraudulent, battled Capitol police, and broke into the U.S. Capitol building, forcing members of Congress, who were counting the Electoral College votes to confirm the presidential victory of Joe Biden, to flee. The riot concluded with five dead.

Notwithstanding all the turmoil of the intervening years, there have also been real policy and legal inroads into battling social inequality based on the intersecting and socially defined categories of race/ethnicity,

gender, immigration status, sexual orientation/identity, class, and disability. These inroads and tumultuous backdrop warranted writing the second edition. A second edition that ends as Joe Biden begins his term as president with the promise to battle social inequality and expand opportunity for all.

In writing the second edition, I did not make any wholesale changes. The history remains the history. Instead, I provided updates to the contemporary discussions in the respective areas. I identified the new social policies and legal rulings that impact social inequality both in the timelines and in the chapter's body. Charts were also updated where necessary. Also, I replaced the term Native Indian with Native American in the way of changes. And I corrected some minor mistakes and omissions.

As with the first edition, the second edition uses critical race theory (CRT) and other structural oppression theoretical frameworks to analyze from an historical perspective how social inequality, intersecting or otherwise, has influenced the development of both human capital and social regulation policies. The human capital policies examined include social welfare benefits, housing, and labor, health care, education, and child welfare, while the social control policies examined include immigration and criminal justice. Also aiding in the examination are historical timelines, profiles, case studies, tables, photographs, and figures.

By reading this book, social work students, most particularly in a social policy introductory course, will develop the knowledge and skills needed to do the following:

1. Analyze and deconstruct the extent to which societal structures and values oppress, marginalize, alienate, create, or enhance privilege and power;
2. Confront the forms and mechanisms of oppression and discrimination, as well as countervailing systems of empowerment;
3. Critically analyze the sociopolitical factors shaping social policy and the delivery of services to marginalized populations; and
4. Critically examine the historical roots of current social inequalities experienced by particular groups.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

This book is divided into two parts. Part I, Chapters 1 through 4, provides the book's conceptual framework. To this end, Chapter 1 defines social policy and its associated concepts, as well as describes the social policy development process in the United States. Chapter 2 provides a brief historical overview of the development of social policy from the nation's colonial beginnings through to the end of the progressive era. Chapter 3 defines social inequality and its origins and contemporary manifestations in the United States as regards race/ethnicity, gender, social class, sexual orientation/identity, and disability. Chapter 4 describes the book's theoretical frameworks.

Part II, Chapters 5 through 12, is an historical and contemporary analysis of the relationship between social inequality and social policy across eight domains. These domains are immigration (Chapter 5), social welfare benefits (Chapter 6), housing (Chapter 7), labor market (Chapter 8), health and health care (Chapter 9), criminal justice (Chapter 10), education (Chapter 11), and child welfare (Chapter 12). Each chapter ends with retrieval and discussion questions for the students.

About the Author

Bryan Warde is a professor in the social work program at Lehman College of the City University of New York. He is a licensed clinical social worker and holds a PhD in social welfare. Before obtaining his doctorate in 2005, Dr. Warde's social work practice experience was in foster care, where he began as a casework assistant and then caseworker, supervisor, and eventually agency director. In his role as director, Dr. Warde was involved in formulating agency policy as well as participating in legislative advocacy for foster care reform. As a social work educator since 2005, Dr. Warde teaches in Lehman's BSW and MSW programs. In the BSW program, he regularly teaches the introductory social policy course, and in the MSW program, he teaches across the curriculum. Dr. Warde's research interests include the experiences of Black and Hispanic men in higher education, racial and ethnic disproportionality in the child welfare and criminal justice systems, and pedagogy in social work education. Dr. Warde has published two books: *Inequality in U.S. Social Policy: An Historical Analysis* and *We the People: Social Protest Movements and the Shaping of American Democracy*. He has also published articles in peer-reviewed journals and has presented at numerous social work conferences across the country.

CHAPTER I

Social Policy

WHAT IS SOCIAL POLICY?

In the industrialized countries around the world, social policies are a major determinant of citizens' standard of living and general welfare (Gil, 1970). For example, most developed countries have social policies that provide its members with universal or nearly universal access to a host of social protections against changing life circumstances and the unpredictability of a market economy. These protections include health care across the life cycle (the United States being a notable exception), social assistance, and social insurance. In spite of its importance to the quality of life, there is no universally accepted definition of social policy; each country has a definition that reflects its political ideologies, values, history, cultural norms, economic system, and structural institutions.

In the United Kingdom, where the pioneering social researcher and professor Richard Titmuss is credited with establishing social policy as an academic discipline, social policy is the study of human well-being and the systems promoting it. Of particular interest for analysis are the policies that the government has adopted in relation to social security, housing, and social services (Titmuss, 1974). Also of interest are how these policies shape the nature of caring and maximize people's chances of a good life (Alcock & May, 2014; Dean, 2012).

Titmuss identified three models of social policy: the residual model, the industrial achievement-performance model, and the institutional redistributive model. The residual model is predicated on the belief that there are two channels through which individual needs are best met. These channels are the private market and the family; only when the private market breaks down should public social policy come into play and then only temporarily (Titmuss, 1974, p. 30). The industrial achievement-performance model posits that individual and social needs should be met on the basis of merit, work performance, and productivity, prompted by incentives and rewards (Titmuss, 1974, p. 31). The institutional redistributive model sees social policy as an integral part of society, providing universal access to resources outside of the market, based on need (Titmuss, 1974, p. 31).

In the United States, the *Social Work Dictionary* defines social policy as the activities and principles of a society that guide the way it intervenes in and regulates relationships between individuals, groups, communities, and social institutions. These principles and activities are shaped by society's values and customs and determine the distribution of resources and level of well-being for its people. Thus, social policies include plans and programs for education, health care, crime and corrections, economic security, and social welfare made by governments, voluntary organizations, and the people in general. It also includes social perspectives that result in society's rewards and constraints (Baker, 1991, p. 220).

Another perspective from within the United States views social policy as part of public policy and practice that deals with what Rittle and Weber (1973) describe as "wicked problems." These problems are perennial social or cultural problems that are difficult to resolve because of the number of people and contradictory opinions. Also making these problems difficult to resolve are the substantial economic burden of doing so, as well as the typically interconnected nature of the problem. In the United States, these problems include but are not limited to poverty, health and wellness, education, and social inequality.

Dissenting from the enhancement thesis, American sociologists and political activists Piven and Cloward (1971) define social policy as a mechanism for powerful elites to contain, manage, and regulate poor people. To contain, manage, and regulate the poor, social policies impose the cultural norms and mores of the powerful elites on them by way of policy rules of suitable behavior and sanctions for noncompliance. Conceptually informing these social policies have been religious doctrine and ideas such as predestination and Protestant values of hard work and self-reliance, racism, patriarchy, xenophobia, and the “survival of the fittest” mantra of Social Darwinism.

In a similar vein, Blau and Abramovitz (2004) suggest that social policy in the United States has not always contributed to the well-being of all of its citizens, especially those with less power. Examples include social policies that displaced Native Americans from their tribal homelands, legalized the enslavement and segregation of Blacks, excluded particular groups of immigrants, denied women basic civil rights, criminalized homosexuality, and penalized single motherhood (Blau & Abramovitz, 2004).

Broadly speaking, then, the common themes from these various definitions imply that social policy is a multidimensional construct. It includes the courses of actions that a society takes to enhance the well-being of its citizens or deal with wicked problems. It also has social control and discriminatory functions. These courses of actions cover a broad range of functioning, which include but are not limited to social welfare, health care, education, labor, criminal justice, and social inequality. It is a political and dynamic process, and through its resulting programs and institutions reflects a nation's ideologies, values, history, cultural norms, and economic system. It also tells us about who we are and how we relate to each other.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND SOCIAL POLICY

In the politically pluralistic United States, social policy choices do not derive from any one single source; rather, they are the product of the competing political ideologies of citizens, political parties, religious groups, special interest groups, think tanks, and monied interests. Political ideology, simply put, is a belief system (Sartori, 1969). It consists of a relatively coherent set of ideas about human nature, the proper role of government, and which types of social policies should be prioritized (Blau & Abramovitz, 2004). These ideas derive from a variety of sources, including personal and societal values, religious doctrine, traditions, myths, and principles.

In the United States, there are numerous political ideologies, including but not limited to conservatism, liberalism, libertarianism, radicalism, feminism, communism, socialism, Black nationalism, and fascism (Sargent, 2009). Despite the number of political ideologies, the traditional range of ideological debate in the United States has been limited to conservatism, liberalism, and to a lesser extent libertarianism (Sargent, 2009). The other political ideologies are considered outside of the mainstream of political debate, or, as in the case of libertarianism, radicalism, and feminism, are included on the continuum of conservatism or liberalism (Abramovitz, 2008; Blau & Abramovitz, 2004). Examples include libertarian conservatives, radical centrist, and liberal feminists.

As these examples indicate, then, while political ideologies are a relatively coherent set of ideas, one cannot always apply unitary definitions to them. Rather, they are best understood as being fluid, contested, and existing along a continuum of beliefs (Blau & Abramovitz, 2004). Within conservatism, for example, as well as libertarian conservatives, there are classic conservatives, social conservatives, and neoconservatives. Similarly, within liberalism, as well as liberal feminist and radical centrist, there are classic liberals, social liberals, and neoliberals (Harvey, 2005).

Political ideologies are identified not just by their ideas but also by their positions on a political spectrum. On the political spectrum, there is a left wing, center (moderates), and right wing (Jost et al., 2009). Left-wing ideologies view the proper role of government as active and progressive in developing social policies that promote equality. Left-wing activists have been instrumental in advancing many of the progressive social changes in recent United States history, which include labor rights, civil rights, gender equality, and so forth. Liberalism is identified as being on the left of the political spectrum (Jost et al., 2009).

Right-wing ideologies view the proper role of government as passive and in deference to strong state and individual rights. There is the promotion of unregulated capitalism, a strong military, and personal responsibility. Conservatism is identified as being on the right of the political spectrum (Jost et al., 2009).

Centrists (moderates) are arguably the least ideological on the political spectrum, preferring instead a more pragmatic blend of left- and right-wing ideologies to maintain the status quo (Heywood, 2012). Most voting-age Americans identify themselves as centrists.

Conservatism

VIEW OF HUMAN NATURE

Classic and social conservatives believe that human beings are essentially limited and security seeking, with an inclination toward the familiar and the tried and tested (i.e., tradition, status quo, etc.). If left to their own devices, human beings also have a strong tendency toward irrationality. Neo- and libertarian conservatives have a slightly different view of human nature, which they see as fixed and dual in terms of the capacity for good and bad (Sargent, 2009). In order to negate the capacity for irrationality, conservatives, in general, believe that human beings need strong moral guidance from traditional authorities. Ideally, these traditional authorities are the family, religious institutions, and the community. Social conservatives add the government to the list of traditional authorities as it relates to their law and order functions (Heywood, 2012; Sargent, 2009).

Across the conservative ideological continuum, there is a consensus about the need for liberty from oppressive and regulating forces if human beings are to live up to their fullest potential. These oppressive and regulating forces include the federal government and controlling social policies. It also includes philosophies that posit equality or seek to promote a social order to achieve a certain desired outcome without regard to the limitations of human nature. Only with liberty, which recognizes and embraces the individual talents and skills that set human beings apart from one another, can people and society fully thrive (Heywood, 2012; Sargent, 2009).

VIEW OF SOCIETY

In general, conservatives see society as a living organism that exists as an entity outside of the individual. What holds society together are bonds of tradition, mutual obligation, authority, and a common morality (Heywood, 2012).

VIEW OF GOVERNMENT

Across the conservative ideological continuum, there is a stated preference for small government, strong states' rights, and a noninterventionist approach to the economy. In particular, neoconservatives have championed state responsibility for social welfare programs. Relatedly, libertarian conservatives have been consistent in their opposition to big government as embodied in the numerous federal government programs (Heywood, 2012; Sargent, 2009). Yet, in actual practice, traditional and social conservative lawmakers in Congress have all helped to grow the federal government rather than diminish its size and influence. It has been done through the passage of federal legislation such as the Medicare Prescription and Drug Improvement and Modernization Act of 2003 (P.L. 108–173). Signing it into law was President George W. Bush, a Republican and a traditional conservative (U.S. Government Printing Office, 2003). Moreover, there was the Troubled Asset Relief Program of 2008, bailing out private financial institutions, also signed into law by President George W. Bush (Webel, 2013). These are two of a number of examples of actual policy practice being significantly different from the ideological rhetoric of the small government. Indeed, this seeming contradiction has caused much infighting among conservatives across the ideological continuum.

SOCIAL POLICIES THAT SHOULD BE PRIORITIZED

Across the conservative continuum, there is general support for prioritizing social policies that reduce social welfare spending, decrease taxes for the wealthy, and support and stimulate private sector employment. There is also the prioritization of social policies bolstering national defense and border security (Heywood, 2012).

In addition to those positions, social conservatives and neoconservatives, in particular, prioritize social policies that maintain the cultural status quo as regard to abortion, same-sex marriage, law and order, and undocumented immigration (Sargent, 2009). Traditional conservatives depart some from a rigid adherence to the cultural status quo and can be described best as socially liberal on a broad slate of civil rights issues (Heywood, 2012).

Liberalism

VIEW OF HUMAN NATURE

Liberals stress that human nature is malleable and under the right circumstances can flourish. There is little focus on innate differences between humans and their ultimate capacity. Rather, there is a focus on the environmental barriers, poverty, oppression, and so forth that prevent humans from reaching their undoubted potential. If these barriers can be removed, there is a belief that individual potential can be reached (Heywood, 2012; Sargent, 2009).

VIEW OF SOCIETY

Liberals across the ideological continuum see society as a collection of individuals, as opposed to an entity in its own right. To the extent that there is a society, it can be best understood as a system of contractual agreements made by self-interested human beings. With this said, society does tend to have a general balance of interest for promoting harmony and equilibrium (Heywood, 2012; Sargent, 2009).

VIEW OF GOVERNMENT

Historically and today, liberals, other than neoliberals, have maintained the position that the federal government should play an active role in promoting a socially progressive agenda that achieves equality of opportunity and access to resources. Neoliberals, who came to prominence in the 1980s, however, have a view of government that is a departure from the traditional liberal perspective (Rothenberg, 1984). Neoliberals are typically more cautious about the role of government in resolving social issues or promoting a progressive social agenda. Instead, neoliberals are much more likely to support government interventions in collaboration with states and corporations (Heywood, 2012; Sargent, 2009).

SOCIAL POLICIES THAT SHOULD BE PRIORITIZED

Across the liberal ideological continuum, social policies that equalize access to resources are typically prioritized. However, this is not the general thinking of neoliberals, who are much less likely to embrace universal entitlement programs (Sargent, 2009). Indeed, it was President Bill Clinton, a Democrat and neoliberal, who signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (P.L. 104–193) of 1996 into law. It is an act that eliminated welfare as a right and gave states the unprecedented power to administer the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) provisions, with some federal government guidelines (Burke, 2003).

In addition to these positions, liberals across the continuum take social positions that challenge the social and cultural status quo. In general, these positions are pro-choice and in support of same-sex marriage and a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants.

Why Ideologies Are Important

Ideologies, limited as they are in the mainstream political discourse in the United States, are critical to social policies for a number of reasons.

First, they facilitate an identification of social policy stances and priorities. Each of the political ideologies has distinguishable social policy stances and priorities, and they each provide stakeholders with an essential road map for understanding a respective ideology's social policy approach to a social problem. In turn, this allows stakeholders to choose the ideology that best matches their personal values, beliefs, traditions, and myths (Blau & Abramovitz, 2004).

Second, they help people to decide what existing social policies are right or wrong, good or bad, fair or unfair (Abramovitz, 2008). The most prominent present-day example of this is the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA). Enacted in 2010 as proposed by President Barack Obama, a Democrat and a liberal, the PPACA has been the subject of intense ideological scrutiny by conservatives in Congress and state government. Conservatives assert that the PPACA is a bad social policy that undermines individual choice. Equally opposed to the PPACA are libertarians who see the notion of mandated health insurance as inherently anti-libertarian and an affront to the libertarian principles of individual autonomy and free choice. Indeed, to date, there have been several lawsuits filed in federal court by conservative states and libertarian groups challenging the constitutionality of PPACA.

Third, they shape social policy discourse. In doing so, they provide a conceptual framework for thinking about and discussing social policy. Social policy discourse is ongoing and involves a myriad of stakeholders all vying to have their voices included (Abramovitz, 2008; Jost et al., 2009, p. 309; Walsh et al., 2000).

Fourth, they drive agenda setting, which is the part of the process of bringing social problems to the public and policy makers' attention. The news media use ideological frameworks and their underlying beliefs and values to help frame social problems for the public in terms that are easily digestible. In turn, this allows for the audience and public to see the particular social policy as important (Wolf et al., 2013).

Fifth, they inform the social policy strategies developed to address social problems. Consistent with the respective ideologies, these strategies consider a number of factors. For example, to name but a few factors, who is best able to intervene and address the problem? Will the public or private market best resolve the problem? Who should bear the cost, and who will be the beneficiaries (Abramovitz, 2008)?

THE ECONOMY AND SOCIAL POLICY

There is an indissoluble link between a nation's political economy and its social policies. Simply put, political economy is the interaction of political and economic theories in understanding society (Karger & Stoesz, 2009, p. 6). The political economy of the United States is best understood as democratic capitalism, in which a representative government coexists with a market economy. Central to this arrangement are social policies that stabilize society and protect workers by mitigating the vagaries of a market economy. These vagaries include but are not limited to recessions, economic depressions, downsizing, unemployment, and wage inequality. Over the past 80 years, in particular, social policies such as unemployment insurance, Social Security, tax credits, and health insurance have been integral to maintaining social stability (Karger & Stoesz, 2009).

Two political and economic schools of thought have informed these social policies: liberalism/Keynesian economics and conservative/free market economics, with some variations.

Keynesian Economics

Devised by English economist John Maynard Keynes in 1936, Keynesian economics rejected the free-market notion that a competitive economy automatically guaranteed full employment and that therefore government should not tamper with the process. Keynes posited, instead, that free markets were by nature

recession prone and not readily able to self-correct or provide full employment. Primarily informing the frequent recessions that cause high unemployment, Keynes suggested, was instability in investment expenditures. Specifically, when businesses lose confidence in investments, they, like the general public, stop spending. Instead, they hoard cash, which in turn leads to a shortage of money in the economy, recession, and inflation (Dullard, 1948). Keynes, whose theory came out of an attempt to understand the nature of recessions, argued that government can avert this predicament by doing what the private sector will not do—spending money by investing in social welfare programs. In doing so, the general public can satisfy its general economic needs without cutting spending. Funding for these programs would come from an increase in taxation on the richest Americans (Dullard, 1948). Keynesian economics, which saw good government as active in economic matters, formed the economic basis for the modern American welfare state. In doing so, its principles became a staple of social welfare policy programs that did not just protect the poor but also expanded opportunities for the middle class. These programs include Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and federally insured student loans and home mortgages, to name a few (Karger & Stoesz, 2009).

Conservative Free-Market Economy

In contrast to Keynesian economics is conservative free-market economics. As argued by Milton Friedman, considered by many the father of modern conservative economics, using government policy and intervention to smooth business cycles is harmful to the overall economy. Milton Friedman posited that instead of the federal government pumping money into the economy by creating social service programs, they should just ensure that there is enough money circulating in the economy. Informing this perspective is Friedman's assertion that the cause of the Great Depression was not the hoarding of money but rather the lack of money in circulation (Friedman, 1992, 2002). As such, Friedman, who favored a nonactive government in economic affairs, called for economic policies to be replaced by monetary rules (i.e., monetarism).

Most closely associated with Friedman, monetarism, simply put, is a school of economic thought that believes that the money supply is the main determinant of economic activity. From the monetarist perspective, if the money supply is growing, the economy will grow. Thus, Friedman argued, there was a need for monetary rules that keep the supply and demand for money commensurate with a rate consistent with stable prices and long-term economic growth. He further posited that social welfare spending was much more an altruistic process than it was an economic one (Friedman, 2002).

Supply-Side Economics

Very much a product of the 1980s and outside of the traditional economic theories is supply-side economics (SSE). Developed by neoconservative journalists, economists, and policy makers, SSE argued that both the demand side and monetary policies of Keynesian economics and monetarism were ineffective (Ettlinger & Linden, 2012; Karger & Stoesz, 2009; Lucas, 1990). SSE contended that the key to economic growth and a vibrant economy was the reduction of taxes, particularly for corporations and the wealthy. By reducing taxes, SSE posits that there is a trickle-down effect, which is characterized by a dramatic increase in economic activity, as well as a significant increase in the labor supply and business investment. As a consequence, there is an expansion in economic output. In the 1980s, SSE and neoconservatism became the dominant economic perspective among conservatives. Indeed, it became the economic basis for President Reagan's massive tax cuts, as well as justification for drastically cutting social programs (Ettlinger & Linden, 2012). In practice, SSE did not yield the expected trickle-down effects regarding the creation of new jobs and industries. Rather, corporations and the wealthy either hoarded or spent their tax savings on personal items (Ettlinger & Linden, 2012).

Although the term SSE was no longer in the lexicon of conservative economic thinking by the late 1980s, its principles are very much a feature of contemporary conservative economic thought. Indeed, President G.W. Bush's administration passed tax cuts, the Economic Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003, and the Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003, which were consistent with SSE (Ettlinger

& Linden, 2012). However, it is estimated that these tax cuts, among other factors, lost the nation nearly a trillion dollars in revenue and contributed significantly to the deficit (Congressional Budget Office, 2012).

Neoconservative economists maintain that social welfare programs are an unnecessary drain on the economy and encourage dependency and run contrary to the entrepreneurial spirit. They further maintain that only through the market can we reach our full potential; thus, social welfare programs hold back rather than aid in this process. It is an economic position that underpinned the welfare reforms of 1996 and its many residual and social control features.

SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL POLICY

The nation's approximately 713,000 social workers with BSW and MSW degrees are employed across a myriad of organizational settings, including policy-making institutions such as the U.S. Congress (U.S. Department of Labor, 2021). However, the majority of social workers are primarily engaged in some form of direct practice work with clients in a social service agency setting (U.S. Department of Labor, 2021). The predominance of direct practice with its focus on interactional skills, knowledge of human behavior in the environment, and service delivery cannot surprisingly seem remote from social policy and its intricacies. Indeed, ostensibly it might appear that social policy has little to do with the realities of day-to-day practice, which more often than not is concerned with meeting the immediate needs of clients. Yet, in reality, social policies do in fact pervade every aspect of social work practice (Blau & Abramovitz, 2004). Indeed, it would be true to say that social policy and social work are inextricably linked both at the macro and micro level of practice.

The link has its origin in the early years of preprofessional social work with the reform-oriented settlement house leaders and their pivotal role in the progressive movement of the late 19th century (Karger & Stoesz, 2009). It was a role that saw settlement house leaders and other progressives advocate for the federal government to enact wide-ranging social service policies. The purpose of these proposed policies was to protect vulnerable and oppressed populations against changing life circumstances and the unpredictability of a market-based economy. In their success at having progressive policies enacted, albeit at the state rather than the federal level, the settlement house leaders created a policy advocacy legacy. It is a legacy that remains one of the organizing principles of social work practice today.

In the early 20th century, the policy link was deepened as a result of two factors. The first was the establishment of social work as a fully-fledged profession. In becoming a profession, social work concentrated its practice focus on casework with individuals and families (micro) and de-emphasized concern with institutional causes and social reform (macro) (Poppo & Leighninger, 2011). The second was President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs and the enactment of the Social Security Act of 1935. The New Deal programs, which were Roosevelt's initial policy response for stimulating the economy during the height of the Great Depression, created thousands of new rank and file social work jobs (Marx, 2011). These numbers increased with the enactment of the Social Security Act of 1935 and its 11 initial titles, which created a broad range of social service provisions. These provisions included grants for state old-age assistance, unemployment compensation, aid to dependent children, and aid for maternal and child welfare.

Such was the breadth of the social service provisions that a rapid expansion and creation of existing and new social service agencies employing social workers was required. By the end of the 1930s, the number of employed social workers doubled from 30,000 to 60,000 (Marx, 2011). The social service provisions also required social service agencies and the social workers that staffed them to adhere to strict legislative guidelines as a condition of federal funding. These legislative guidelines not only bureaucratized social service provisions, but they also became the organizing framework for social work practice within the context of agency-based social service delivery (Poppo & Leighninger, 2011).

Then, as it does today, the legislative guidelines of social policy, among other things, determine who is eligible for services, what the scope of services will be, and what service options clients will have. As such, while day-to-day social work within social service agencies remains overwhelmingly direct practice and service oriented, the truth is that social work is and has been for some time a policy-based profession (Poppo & Leighninger, 2011).

Vignette 1 Social Policy and Client Service Eligibility

Nancy, a social worker in a multiservice drop-in center, is meeting for the first time with 26-year-old Carla, who is seven months pregnant with her first child. Carla reported to Nancy that because of a lack of money she has not eaten regularly in the past two months. Carla further reported that when she does eat, it is most often food from McDonalds or Burger King. Carla tells Nancy that she has heard about a program—the Women, Infants and Children program (WIC)—that helps pregnant women with food. However, Carla does not know if she is eligible and wants Nancy to help her find out. Nancy goes to her computer and pulls up the local WIC web page, which has a WIC prescreening tool that helps potential WIC applicants such as Carla determine if they are likely to be eligible for WIC benefits. After completing the prescreening tool with Nancy, it is determined that Carla is eligible to apply. With this determination, Nancy telephones the local WIC office and has Carla make an appointment with them to complete the application form.

Vignette 2 Social Policy and Scope of Services

Carlos is a social worker in a mental health clinic serving young people (ages 14 to 18). Administrators at the clinic have informed Carlos that as a result of the Affordable Care Act stipulation extending insurance coverage, the scope of his practice will be broadened. His practice will now include a young adult cohort (ages 19 to 26). The stipulation that allowed for this change was the expansion of coverage to allow young people ages 19 to 26 to be covered as dependents under their parents' health insurance policies.

Vignette 3 Social Policy and Service Options for Clients

Julie is a social worker with a child welfare agency. She is working with parents who have had their six-year-old son removed and placed in kinship foster care with paternal grandparents because of an allegation of educational neglect. In a planning meeting with the parents and kinship foster parents, the parents stated that they are overwhelmed and do not believe that they are in a position to care for their son adequately. However, they do not want their rights to be terminated or have their child adopted. The kinship foster parents expressed a desire and willingness to raise their grandson but do not want to see their son and daughter-in-law have their parental rights terminated, nor do they want to adopt. Given the Adoption and Safe Families Act's stipulation that permanency be achieved within 22 months, the parents and kinship foster parents want to know what options they have other than termination of parental rights and adoption. Julie explains that the one other option available is the Title IV-E Guardianship Assistance Program. This program is a federal grant that provides guardianship assistance payments for the care of children by relatives whom they previously cared for in foster care (Children's Bureau, 2013). The kinship foster parents agree that they would be willing to take legal guardianship of their grandson under the auspices of the Title IV-E Guardianship Assistance Program. The parents are also happy with this arrangement as a permanency option.

In recognition of the relationship between social policy and social work, the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) has made policy practice one of the nine core competencies that social work students must master (CSWE, 2015). Relatedly, the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) and the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) have enshrined social and political action into their respective code of ethics. In the NASW code of ethics, for example, political action is one of a social worker's ethical responsibilities to the broader society (para 6.04). To this end, social workers should be aware of the effect of the political arena on practice. They should also, when necessary, advocate for changes in policy and legislation to improve social conditions in order to meet basic human needs and promote social justice. Furthermore, social workers should promote policies and practices that demonstrate respect for difference and support the expansion of cultural knowledge and resources. They should also promote policies that safeguard the rights of and confirm equity and social justice for all people (NASW, 2017). In the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) code of ethics, principle 3, Promoting Social Justice (para 3.4), social workers must challenge unjust policies and practices. Toward this end, social workers have a duty to bring to the attention of their employers, policy makers, politicians, and the general public situations where policies are oppressive, unfair, or harmful (International Federation of Social Workers, 2018).

THE SOCIAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

As defined earlier in this chapter, the function of social policy is to enhance the well-being of citizens and resolve social problems. However, in a contemporary America of competing and conflicting ideologies, values, special interests, and experiences, there is rarely a consensus on the issues or problems that require remedying through social policy. Emblematic of this is that in a typical year, more than 5,000 bills are introduced in Congress. Of this number, though, only 150 (3%) will become law and social policy (Govtrack.US, 2014).

Given social workers' ethical responsibility to be policy practitioners, a fundamental understanding of intricacies of the social policy development process is essential. Among the intricacies that need to be understood are the various stages of development and the institutional and noninstitutional policy actors who seek to influence or block social policy formulation (Popple & Leighninger, 2011; Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

The stages of development can be summarized as follows.

Problem Identification

In a diverse and complex society of contrasting experiences and competing interests, there is no universal or absolute definition of what constitutes a problem worthy of recognition as a public issue (Leon-Guerreor, 2013; Mooney et al., 2000). Instead, problems (or private troubles, as sociologist C. Wright Mills refers to them) are socially constructed and become recognized as a public concern or issue. There are several ways in which this can occur. One is that it is part of a trend affecting large numbers of persons in society, like increased food insecurity because of a nationwide recession or increased foreclosures as the result of a banking crisis. Another is the resurfacing of a problem that has been dormant. Examples include a spike in HIV/AIDS infection rates after a number of years of stability or a spike in poverty rates because of increased food costs. It could also be the result of growing dissatisfaction with the status quo and social exclusion. Examples in the past 50 years include LGBTQ rights, women's rights, civil rights, and disability rights. Another is demographic changes that put a strain on existing resources, such as increased immigration. Lastly, there are unforeseen circumstances or events, such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

Legitimization

The legitimization stage of social policy development validates that an identified problem is one that is indeed worthy of being placed on the public and policy makers' agenda (Blumer, 1971; Reisch, 2014). Critical to this validation is the work of a broad range of noninstitutional political actors, so called because

they do not possess the legal authority to make binding policy decisions. These actors include the mass media, special interest groups, think tanks, activists, and political groups. These policy actors help shape and define the problem at hand. In doing so, the public and policy makers are made fully aware of the problem's dimensions, legitimacy, and need for placement on the public and policy agenda (Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

MASS MEDIA

Mass media exerts considerable influence on public opinion (see Ryan White Case Study). In its editorial decisions, newspapers and television decide what is newsworthy (DiNitto & Johnson, 2011). In the modern era of 24-hour news coverage, mass media can bring nationwide attention to a social problem and its components, as was the case after the Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting, when mass media not only highlighted the tragedy but also brought attention to the ongoing debate about gun control. The coverage was extensive and helped to alert the public nationwide as well as policy makers to the different views on whether gun control is a social problem. Without mass media coverage, it is very likely that a problem, regardless of legitimacy, will remain obscure and not get a public hearing nor the attention of policy makers (DiNitto & Johnson, 2011; Gilbert & Terrell, 2013).

Case Study: The Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act of 1990

Ryan White was a teenager from Indiana who as a hemophiliac required regular clotting factor replacement treatment to prevent bleeding. The procedure required a weekly transfusion of a blood product created from the pooled plasma of non-hemophiliacs who donated their blood plasma. Donated blood plasma was not screened as it is today, however, and Ryan was infected with HIV from a contaminated blood treatment. He was diagnosed in 1984 and was given six months to live (Encyclopedia of World Biography, 2010). Despite his diagnosis and prognosis, Ryan wanted to return to school, and doctors assured school officials and parents that he posed no casual contact risk to other students. But even with this assurance, parents and teachers rallied against his return to school, and a lengthy legal battle with the school system followed. The legal battle went all the way to the Circuit Court, where Judge Jack R. O'Neil dissolved the restraining order of the lower court and allowed Ryan to return to school (Encyclopedia of World Biography, 2010).

Ryan's long-running legal battle was national headline news and brought much-needed attention to the stigmatization and discrimination experienced by people infected with HIV/AIDS. Ryan presented a sympathetic figure that the public and media could gravitate to and soon became the acceptable face of the AIDS crisis. He was courted by celebrities and involved in numerous public benefits for children with AIDS and campaigns to heighten public awareness about HIV/AIDS. In 1988, he also appeared before the President's Commission on the HIV epidemic and testified about the discrimination he faced when he first tried to return to school (Encyclopedia of World Biography, 2010).

Ryan's experiences and advocacy were not the deciding factors in bringing the HIV/AIDS epidemic to the attention of policy makers in Washington. Activist groups such as the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) were already bringing public and political attention to the HIV/AIDS crisis. What Ryan did, however, was raise public awareness of the fact that HIV/AIDS was not the problem of any one group but rather a social problem that affected all of society. This identification and acknowledgment of the problem as not just personal were crucial initial steps in the policy-making process at the federal level (Epstein, 1996).

Shortly after the death of Ryan White in 1990 at the age of 18, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) introduced a bill in the Senate on March 6, 1990 (S.2240). The bill would eventually be known as the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act. It would provide federal grants to improve care for individuals and families affected by HIV and AIDS. The bill had 66 co-sponsors. After introduction, the bill was received and considered by the U.S. Senate committee on Labor and Human Resources. The Senate passed the bill on May 16 by a vote of 95–4, with one senator not voting. On June 13, the bill was passed in the House of Representatives. The joint conference committee reported the bill, and it was agreed upon by the House on August 4, 1990, and the Senate on August 4, 1990. President George H.W. Bush signed the bill into law on August 18, 1990 (Hoffman, 2003).

In addition to the traditional forms of mass media (i.e., television, radio, newspapers), social media sites are also an essential means for making the public aware of the problem at hand. Indeed, social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook, Snapchat, Instagram, YouTube, TikTok, and so on, are more immediate in getting the problem out in real-time than mass media.

SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

Special interest groups, which include labor unions, professional associations, intergovernmental organizations, business associations, and political action committees (PACS), play an essential role in legitimizing a problem. Central to this essential role is lobbying. Lobbying, simply put, is the process of trying to influence the passage or defeat of policy (National Conference of State Legislators, 2015). It involves a paid representative of the special interest group (lobbyist) meeting with policy makers to try to persuade or dissuade them regarding the legitimacy of a problem and the need for or choice of a policy response (Grossman & Helpman, 2000). In 2019, there were 11,893 lobbyists in Washington, D.C., representing special interest groups. The net spent for lobbying was \$3.51 billion, an amount that was on par with the previous six years (Center for Responsive Politics, 2020). Not unexpectedly then, studies indicate that special interest groups are particularly influential in the policy-making process (Berry, 1999; Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Burstein & Linton, 2002; Grossman, 2012). The areas in which special interest groups have the biggest influence is support for a policy and lobbying. The influence is across all branches of the government and includes helping to set the policy agenda, drafting legislation and policy initiatives, and directing implementation (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Berry, 1999; Burstein & Linton, 2002; Grossman, 2012, p. 172).

Notably excluded in this process are the poor and other socially disadvantaged groups, whose problems rarely become legitimized because of the lack of access to lobbyists. Instead, powerful and wealthy individuals such as the libertarian Koch brothers and others have been able to use their wealth to lobby policy makers for policies that favor corporations and big business.

THINK TANKS

Think tanks, many of which have an ideological perspective on the problem at hand, use research and analysis to interpret the problem for the electronic and print media. Such is the influence of think tanks, whose numbers have grown dramatically over the past 30 years, that policy makers increasingly use their often ideologically driven research and analysis to justify a particular response to a problem or issue. In the 1980s and 1990s, neoconservative think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation and the Manhattan Institute were particularly influential in helping to shape and frame the policy debate for welfare reform (McGann, 2007).

ACTIVISTS

Activists bring attention to a problem in the most dramatic of ways, which include sit-ins, demonstrations, getting arrested, and interrupting public meetings. The strategic purpose of activism is to alert the public, the media, and policy makers to the urgency and gravity of the problem at hand. Activism has proved

particularly effective for problems that emerge from dissatisfaction with the status quo and social exclusion (Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

Agenda Setting

Before a social policy can be formulated and adopted, the problem has to compete for a place on policy makers' already crowded agenda. For this to happen, the issue or problem must make it through several levels, which include the broad political system agenda, the congressional and presidential agenda, and the bureaucratic agenda. The key policy actors in this step are think tanks, interest groups, lobbyists, ordinary citizens, the media, political candidates, political parties, and government officials. All of these policy actors are seeking to maximize political pressure so their issue or policy can make it onto the policy maker's agenda (DiNitto & Johnson, 2011). However, in a political environment of conflicting ideologies, even if an issue or problem is well publicized and/or has plenty of public support, it is not guaranteed placement on a policy maker's agenda. Agenda setting, therefore, is an extremely political process that involves significant political jockeying and careful navigation and consideration of political ideology, values, and special interests (DiNitto & Johnson, 2011).

Nondecisions

As important as the problems that make the policy maker's agenda are the nondecisions. These nondecisions are social problems and issues that are kept off the policy agenda because of the influence of powerful interests, as well as those that make the agenda but do not survive the political process. Influenced by powerful interests using their access to the political agenda, nondecisions prevent certain challenges from developing into calls for policies that might disrupt the status quo (Blau & Abramovitz, 2004, p. 28). For example, the National Rifle Association has been particularly effective in keeping the problem of gun control off the policy agenda despite a number of highly publicized mass shootings. Indeed, it has been so effective that policy makers, regardless of ideological perspective, political party, or public opinion, have largely avoided the problem altogether for fear of political backlash.

The Legislative Process

For the social issue or problem that does make it onto the policy maker's agenda, it then has to go through the legislative process in the two houses of the U.S. Congress. These two houses are the Senate and the House of Representatives, both of whose primary function is to pass laws. Central to this process are the committees of both houses and its members, who are the official actors in the social policy-making process. These committee members are considered official policy actors because they possess the legal authority, as granted by the Constitution, to make binding policy decisions (Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012). In the 117th Congress (2021–2022), the Senate has 16 standing committees; five special, select, and other committees; and four joint committees with the House of Representatives. The House of Representatives has 20 standing committees; four special, select, and other committees; and four joint committees with the Senate (Congress.Gov, n.d.).

Following is a description of the legislative process for passing a bill into law and a social policy.

BEGINNING OF A BILL

An idea for a bill is formulated. In the process of formulating the bill, a decision must be made about what kind of bill it will be; specifically, whether it will be a private bill, affecting a particular person or group, or a public bill, affecting the general public (Sullivan, 2007; Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

PROPOSAL FOR A BILL

After the idea for the bill is developed and its content written, a member of Congress becomes its sponsor and officially introduces it in Congress. Although anybody can write a bill, only a member of Congress can introduce it to the House or the Senate (Sullivan, 2007; Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

Standing Committees

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
Appropriations
Armed Services
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Budget
Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Energy and Natural Resources
Environment and Public Works
Finance
Foreign Relations
Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions
Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs
Judiciary
Rules and Administration
Small Business and Entrepreneurship
Veterans' Affairs

Special, Select, and other Committees

Aging (Special)
Caucus on International Narcotics Control
Ethics (Select)
Indian Affairs
Intelligence (Select)

Joint Committees

Joint Committee on Printing
Joint Committee on Taxation
Joint Committee on the Library
Joint Economic Committee

Figure 1.1 U.S. Senate Committees

U.S. House of Representatives Committees

Standing Committees

Agriculture
Appropriations
Armed Services
Budget
Education and Labor
Energy and Commerce
Ethics
Financial Services
Foreign Affairs

Figure 1.2 U.S. House of Representatives Committees

Homeland Security
 House Administration
 Judiciary
 Natural Resources
 Oversight and Government Reform
 Rules
 Science, Space, and Technology
 Small Business
 Transportation and Infrastructure
 Veterans Affairs
 Ways and Means

Special, Select, and other Committees

House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
 Select Committee on Economic Disparity and Fairness in Growth
 Select Committee on the Climate Crisis
 Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress

Joint Committees

Joint Committee on Printing
 Joint Committee on Taxation
 Joint Committee on the Library
 Joint Economic Committee

Figure 1.2 (Continued)

INTRODUCTION OF THE BILL

The bill is introduced in the House by placing it in a box known as the hopper. In the Senate, the bill is introduced formally on the Senate floor.

After the introduction, a bill clerk in the House assigns the bill a number. House bills begin with “H.R.” and Senate bills with “S.” After a bill number is assigned, the bill’s title is read on the House floor. It is the bill’s first reading, after which it is referred to a committee for markup (Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012). After referral to the appropriate committee, the Library of Congress then receives an electronic copy of the bill and posts the bill and its status on the public website, at <http://thomas.loc.gov/home/thomas.php>.

COMMITTEE ACTION

The referred bill is placed on the committee’s calendar. After placement, the committee members debate on the markup of the proposed bill, when they may or may not make changes. If changes are made to the bill, committee members vote to accept or reject the changes. After changes are made or not made and if committee members deem the bill unnecessary, the committee stops action and tables the bill. If the bill is tabled, it will die in committee and go no farther. However, if the bill is deemed necessary, it will be sent to the subcommittee for intensive study, or reported back to the House floor (Sullivan, 2007; Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

SUBCOMMITTEE ACTION

Once referred to a subcommittee, the bill is calendared. After the bill is calendared, hearings may be held to obtain the views of expert supporters and opponents. After these hearings, if the bill is deemed unnecessary, it will be tabled and die at subcommittee. If not, and changes are needed, the subcommittee will meet to mark up the bill. Subcommittee members will then vote to accept or reject the changes. If the subcommittee accepts the bill and its amendments, the bill is sent back to the full committee for approval or rejection (Sullivan, 2007; Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

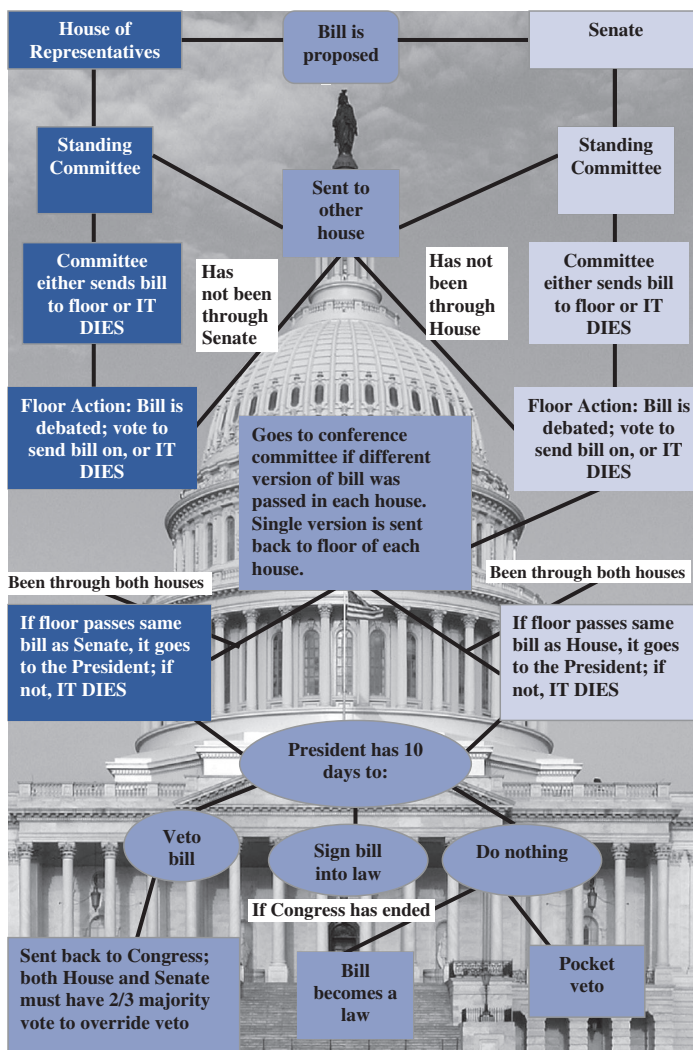


Figure 1.3 How a Bill Becomes Law in the U.S. Congress

REPORTING THE BILL

When the bill is released from the committee, along with a report explaining the provisions of the bill, the bill is ordered reported. The reported bill is put on one of the House calendars. The bill is then sent to the House floor for consideration (Sullivan, 2007).

CONSIDERING THE BILL ON THE HOUSE FLOOR

A bill can come to the House floor for consideration in a number of ways. One of the most common ways is through the parliamentary device known as the Committee of the Whole, which is a mechanism that permits faster consideration. Floor actions begin, and members debate the bill. The debate is typically dictated by the rules of the House. It may also be governed by a special rule granted specifically for the bill under consideration. Following the debate, the second reading of the bill begins in a section-by-section manner, during which amendments may be offered. At the end of the amendment debate, the bill is read a third time. After that, the House is ready to vote on the bill (Sullivan, 2007; Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

PUTTING THE BILL TO A VOTE

The bill is read by its title only. After the bill is read, it is put to a vote. Members in attendance will vote to pass or not pass the bill. Roll call votes cast by the U.S House of Representatives are recorded in the *Congressional Record*, the House journal, and posted on the website of the Clerk of the House. Members may vote “yea” for approval, “nay” for the disapproval, or “present” to record that they were in attendance but chose not to vote. If two-thirds of the House votes to pass the bill, the bill is then referred to the Senate, after which it undergoes a similar process of approval (Sullivan, 2007; Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

REFERRING THE BILL TO THE SENATE

When a bill passes the House, it is also required to pass in the Senate in order to become law. Once the bill and amendments have been passed by the house and are certified by the Clerk, the bill is considered “engrossed.” In the Senate, the bill again may be sent to a committee for study or markup. Members may choose to ignore the bill and continue to work on their legislation. Members may vote to pass or not to pass the bill. If the bill passes with a different language, it must be sent for review to a joint committee, which is a committee made up of members of both the House and the Senate. Any difference must be agreed upon before the bill is sent to the president for signature (Sullivan, 2007; Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

SENDING THE BILL TO THE PRESIDENT

After passing in both the House and Senate, the bill is sent to the president for a signature. If the president approves the bill, he will sign it, and it becomes law. Conversely, if he disapproves the bill, he vetoes the bill by refusing to sign it and sending it back to the House of origin. The reasons for the veto are read and debated, after which roll call is taken. If the bill receives less than a two-thirds vote, it is defeated and goes no farther. However, if it receives a two-thirds vote or more, it is sent to the other House for a vote. If it receives a two-thirds vote or more in the other House, the president’s veto is overridden, and the bill becomes law and social policy (Sullivan, 2007; Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

Implementation of the Policy

In this step of the social policy-making process, rulemaking becomes the central focus. As defined by the Federal Administrative Procedure Act, rulemaking is an agency process for formulating, amending, or repealing a rule. The act defines a rule as a whole or a part of an agency statement designed to implement, interpret, or prescribe law or policy or describing the organization, procedure, or practice requirements of an agency (USLegal, 2015).

The rulemaking process begins with Congress or, in some cases, the president selecting an existing executive agency, or passing legislation creating an agency, to issue regulations from the enacted law/statutes (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

For example, in the case of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) of 2010 and the Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010, various existing agencies were charged with implementing the specific rules and regulations of the policies. These agencies are located in the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Labor, and the Internal Revenue Services (Federal Register/Health Care Reform, 2014).

Selected or created agencies get their authority to issue rules and regulations from laws (statutes) enacted by Congress or delegated by presidential authority. At no point can an agency or agencies take actions that go beyond their statutory authority or that violate the Constitution. Moreover, agencies are bound to follow an open public process when they issue rules and regulations. Included in this process is the publishing of a statement of rulemaking authority in the Federal Register for all proposed and final rules (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

HOW DOES AN AGENCY DECIDE TO BEGIN RULEMAKING?

Rulemaking for an agency may begin with Congress passing a law directing them to take action on a subject and set a schedule to follow in issuing rules. More commonly, however, the agency examines its areas of legal responsibilities, and then decides which issues and goals have priority for rulemaking (Office

of the Federal Register, 2015, p. 2). In making the decision, the agency considers a number of factors. These factors include but are certainly not limited to some of the following:

- Recommendations from congressional committees or federal advisory committees;
- Directives issued by the president;
- New technologies or new data related to an existing issue;
- Petitions or lawsuits filed by interests groups, corporations, states, and other stakeholders;
- Prompt letter from the Office of Management and Budget.

(OMB, *Office of the Federal Register*, 2015)

ALERTING THE PUBLIC THAT AN AGENCY PLANS TO START RULEMAKING

By law, agencies are required to publish a Regulatory Plan once a year in the fall and an Agenda of Regulatory and Deregulatory Actions in both the spring and fall (Office of the Federal Register, 2015). Together, the Regulatory Plan and the Regulatory Agenda are commonly referred to as the Unified Agenda. The Unified Agenda is how agencies announce to the public their future rulemaking activities. It is also how the agencies update the public on any pending or completed regulatory actions (Office of the Federal Register, 2015). The Unified Agenda is posted on several sites. These sites include Reginfo.gov, and Regulations.gov, and the Federal Register. The Federal Register version of the Unified Agenda is available on the Government Printing Office's (GPO) Federal Digital system (FDsys.gov, Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

INVOLVING THE PUBLIC IN DEVELOPING A PROPOSED RULE

Before an agency issues a proposed rule, the public has a number of opportunities to help develop or refine the proposed rule. The opportunities come from both agency and public actions. Agency actions include gathering information through informal conversations with people and organizations interested in the issues. Agencies may also publish an Advance Notice of Proposed Rulemaking in the Federal Register. The Advance Notice is a formal invitation to the public to participate in shaping the proposed rule and begins the notice-and-comment process. Any interested parties from the public may respond to the Advance Notice by submitting comments with suggestions for developing and improving the draft proposal, or conversely recommending against issuing a rule (Office of the Federal Register, 2015). Agencies may also invite members of interested groups who they seek to develop proposed rules with through negotiated rulemaking. In this process, the agency and interested groups seek to reach a consensus on the terms of a proposed rule. If consensus is reached, the agency may endorse their ideas and use them as the basis for the proposed rule (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

Publicly driven actions in the development of a proposed rule include the Petition for Rulemaking. The petition is generated by a member or members of the public and is issued to the agency, who may decide to announce the petition in the Federal Register and accept public comments on the proposed rule (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

THE PRESIDENT AND DEVELOPING A PROPOSED RULE

Before a proposed rule is published in the Federal Register for public comment, the president may take the opportunity to review the rule. Assisting the president with this review is the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA), which analyzes the draft for the proposed rule, most particularly when the rules are significant because of economic effects or they raise important policy issues. For rules that are significant, the agency must consider the rule's economic costs/benefits and look at alternative solutions. If the proposed rule requires the public to provide information to the government, the agency is charged with the responsibility of estimating the administrative (paperwork) burden on the public and obtain permission to proceed from the OIRA. Moreover, the agency may be required to analyze the potential impact of the proposed rule on small businesses; state, local, and tribal governments; families; and

federalism. Lastly, the agency may also need to examine issues such as just compensation and unfunded matters (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

THE NOTICE OF PROPOSED RULEMAKING

The Notice of Proposed Rulemaking is the official document that explains the agency's plan to address a problem or accomplish the goals. The proposed rules must be, and are, published in the Federal Register to notify the public, and to give them an opportunity to submit comments. The proposed rule and the public comments received form the basis for the final rule (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PROPOSED RULE

The proposed rules have preambles containing a summary, date and contact information, and supplementary information. A proposed rule starts with a summary of the issues and actions under consideration. Also stated is why the rule is necessary. Under the dates and addresses captions, the agency invites everyone to comment on the proposed rule, sets a comments submission date, and specifies methods for sharing comments. In the supplementary information section, the merits of the proposed solutions are discussed, as well as identifying the legal authority for issuing the rule. Following the preamble, the agency publishes the regulatory text of the proposal in full. The regulatory text sets out amendments to the standing body of law in the Code of Federal Regulations (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

TIME PERIOD FOR PUBLIC TO SUBMIT COMMENTS

Typically, agencies specify a comment period ranging from 30 to 60 days in the Dates section of the Federal Register. However, for complex rulemaking, the comments period may be extended. Members may also request more time to allow comments, although agencies are not legally required to consider comments submitted after a deadline date. During the comments period, agencies also have the option of holding public meetings to collect more information or help affected groups get a better understanding of the proposed rule (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

BEFORE THE FINAL RULE

At the end of the notice-and-comment process, the agency is not permitted to base its final rule on the number of comments in support of the rule over those in opposition to it. Rather, the final rule must be based on the rulemaking record, consisting of scientific data, expert opinions, and facts gathered during the pre-rule and proposed rule stages. In moving forward with the final rule, the agency must arrive at a judgment that its proposed solution will help accomplish the goals or resolve the problems identified. Also to be considered are whether alternative solutions are more effective or less costly. Once done, the agency may proceed with a final rule (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

As with the draft proposed rule, the president and the OIRA may review the final rule before its publication in the Federal Register, particularly if it has a potentially significant economic effect or raises important policy issues. In some cases, interagency review of the final rule is mandatory (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

THE FINAL RULE AND ITS STRUCTURE

Final rules have preambles, including the summary, effective date, and supplementary information. The final rule published in the Federal Register starts with a summary of the societal problems and regulatory goals and explains why the rule is necessary (Office of the Federal Register, 2015). Every final rule must have an effective date. In the supplementary information of the preamble, the agency must state the basis and purpose of the rule, describe the facts and data that the agency relied on to respond to major

criticism, and explain why the agency did not choose other alternatives. The agency must also state its legal authority for issuing the rule and publish the regulatory text. The text sets out the amendments to the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR, Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

WHEN DO FINAL RULES GO INTO EFFECT?

When an agency publishes the final rule, the rule must be in effective no fewer than 30 days after the date of publication in the Federal Register. Significant rules, as defined by Executive Order 12866, and major rules, as defined by the Small Business Regulatory Enforcement Act, require a 60-day delayed effective date (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

CONGRESS AND FINAL RULES

As a result of the Small Business Regulatory Enforcement Fairness Act (also known as the Congressional Review Act), a new rule must be sent to Congress and the Government Accountability Office for review before it can take final effect. If the House and Senate pass a resolution of disapproval, and the president signs it, the rule becomes void and cannot be republished by an agency in the same form without congressional approval. This is also the case if both houses override a presidential veto of a rule. Since this process began in 1996, Congress has disapproved only one rule (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

Congress can exercise oversight of the rule by holding hearings and posing questions to agency heads. Congress may also enact new legislation or impose funding restrictions (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

THE COURTS AND RULEMAKING

Individuals and corporations may go to court and file a lawsuit claiming that they have been or will be adversely affected by a rule or regulations. The reviewing court will consider factors such as the constitutionality of the rule/regulations, whether the rule/regulations go beyond the agency's legal authority, and was the notice-and-comment process adhered to as set out by the Administration Procedure Act. The court might also consider whether the rule/regulations are arbitrary, capricious, or an abuse of discretion (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

If the court vacates all or part of a rule, it will usually send the rule back to the agency to correct the deficiencies. In doing so, the agency might have to reopen the comment period, publish a new statement of basis and purpose in the Federal Register to explain its decisions, or restart the rulemaking process by issuing a new proposed rule (Office of the Federal Register, 2015).

The Budget

At the core of all public policy is the federal government's budget. The budget consists of an expenditure side, which finances public programs, and a revenue side, which raises funds to pay for those programs. The budgetary process is the medium used for reviewing government programs, assessing their costs and relating them to financial resources, and making choices among expenditures (Office of Management and Budget, 2015).

THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

Located in the Executive Office of the President, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) plays a pivotal role in developing and supporting the president's management budget and legislative agenda. To this end, the OMB assists the president in the preparation of the annual federal budget, which by law must be submitted to Congress on the first Monday of February for the next fiscal year (beginning in October). In meeting this responsibility, OMB, whose authority derives from Title 31 of the U.S. Code originally

enacted in the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, as amended, has a number of tasks. These tasks include the following:

- Reviewing agency budgets;
- Examining the effectiveness of agency programs, policies, and procedures;
- Assessing competing funding demands among agencies;
- Recommending funding priorities;
- Assuring that all budget proposals are consistent with relevant statutes and presidential objectives;
- Providing short- and long-range analysis and advice to government officials;
- Developing government-wide programs.

(Office of Management and Budget, 2015)

As well as these tasks, OBM develops the president's budget proposal and submits it to Congress and supports its enactment and oversees the Executive Branch's implementation of the enacted appropriations (Office of Management and Budget, 2015).

CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT'S FEDERAL BUDGET PROPOSAL

As mentioned earlier, the president is required to submit his federal budget proposal to Congress on the first Monday of February for the next fiscal year beginning in October. Upon the OBM's submission of the president's proposal, it is sent to the House and Senate Budget Committees and the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) for review. Once submitted, the president may, as need dictates, recommend further amendments (Office of Management and Budget, 2015).

THE HOUSE AND SENATE BUDGET RESOLUTIONS

After submission, both the House and Senate budget committees each write and vote on their budget resolutions. The budget resolution is not a binding document. Rather, it provides a framework for Congress for making budget decisions about spending and taxes. Furthermore, it sets annual spending limits for federal agencies. However, it does not set specific spending amounts for particular programs (Saturno, 2011).

After the passing of the budget resolutions, selected members of the House and Senate budget committees come together in a joint conference to resolve any differences between the two versions, with the resulting reconciled version being voted on again by each chamber (Saturno, 2011).

THE HOUSE AND SENATE SUBCOMMITTEES "MARKUP" APPROPRIATIONS BILLS

In the next step, the Appropriations Committees in both the House and Senate determine the precise levels of budget authority and/or allowed spending for all discretionary programs. In both the House and Senate, the Appropriations Committees are broken down into ten fairly independent subcommittees covering different areas of federal spending. For example, there is a subcommittee for defense spending and another for social security spending. Each subcommittee conducts hearings with agency leaders, posing questions to them about the requested budget. Based on all the information gathered, the chair of each subcommittee writes a draft of the subcommittees' appropriations bill abiding by the budget resolution spending limits. All subcommittee members then consider, amend, and then vote on the bill. Once passed, the bill is returned to the full Appropriations Committees. The full committees review it and then send it to the full House or Senate (Saturno, 2011).

THE HOUSE AND SENATE VOTE ON APPROPRIATIONS BILLS AND RECONCILE DIFFERENCES

After both the House and Senate pass their versions of the appropriations bill, a joint conference committee meets to resolve any differences between the two versions. After the conference committee produces a reconciled version of the bill, the House and Senate vote again on a now identical bill in both

chambers. After passing, both the House and Senate appropriation bills are sent to the president (Saturno, 2011).

THE FEDERAL BUDGET BECOMES LAW

After each appropriations bill has passed Congress and is sent to the president, the federal budget only becomes law when the president signs each of the 12 appropriations bills. When done, the budget process is complete (Saturno, 2011).

THE BUDGET AND PARTISAN POLITICS

For all of the budget process, a near two-thirds of the budget (60%) falls into a mandatory spending category, which is spending that is controlled by laws other than appropriation acts. Included in the mandatory spending category are programs such as Social Security and Medicare, which take up the bulk of mandatory spending (Levit et al., 2015). Other programs in this category are Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), Supplemental Security Income (SSI), unemployment insurance, federal employee retirement, some veterans' benefits, and the Supplementary Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, Levit et al., 2015).

Nevertheless, because government spending is big business involving trillions of dollars, the budget-making process is highly political and increasingly partisan in recent years. At the heart of this contention is the size of government spending. Liberal democrats argue for a more expansive government with higher taxes and many more social programs for lower- and middle-income families. Conversely, conservative Republicans, Tea Party members, libertarians, and some neoliberals argue for leaner government, less social programs, and lower taxes. Of particular concern for conservatives is the continued growth in mandatory spending, which, in 1962, before the creation of Medicaid and Medicare, accounted for less than 30% of mandatory spending (Levit et al., 2015). Conservatives suggest that without some retrenchment or reworking of such programs, the government will spend itself into oblivion. Notably missing in this argument, however, is the state of discretionary spending, where, in 2015, the military accounted for 54% of spending, at nearly \$600 billion (Office of Management and Budget, 2015).

Evaluating the Policy

Numerous policy actors, stakeholders, and interested parties are continuously evaluating the effectiveness of the policy to see if it is accomplishing its goals and indeed solving the issue or problem identified. Also of interest in the evaluation of the policy is its cost/benefits ratio and indirect and unintended consequences. Congress will also use its oversight function and the General Accounting Office for evaluation, and agencies will also evaluate policy performance (Sullivan, 2007; Theodoulou & Cahn, 2012).

Academics, social scientists, think tanks, and social workers, on the other hand, organize their analysis around a series of four questions:

1. What kinds of benefits are offered by the policy? Benefits include cash, in-kind benefits, services, vouchers, and/or increased opportunity.
2. What is the basis of social allocation? That is, who is entitled to the benefits and under what conditions?
3. How are the policy's benefits delivered? In other words, what structures and institutions administer the policy, and at what level of government is this done?
4. How are the benefits financed? Specifically, who pays for the benefits and how? For example, are they financed through taxes, charitable contributions, fees, or a mixture of the three?

(Gilbert & Terrell, 2013; Reisch, 2014; Sullivan, 2007)

In addition to these questions, social workers evaluate the social justice implications of the policy for beneficiaries. In other words, is the policy fair; what are the potential intended or unintended

consequences of the policy; does the policy enhance or decrease autonomy? Also of interest for social workers is the ideological and/or value framework undergirding the policy. Is the ideological framework liberal, conservative, neoliberal, neoconservative, or some kind of hybrid?

Donald Chambers (2000) formulated a policy analysis framework that is particularly useful for social workers (Figure 1.4).

POLICY ELEMENTS					
1. Mission, Goals and Objectives	2. Forms of Benefits or Services Delivered	3. Entitlement (eligibility) Rules	4. Administrative Structure for Service Delivery	5. Financing Method	6. Interactions among the Foregoing Elements
EVALUATION CRITERIA	EVALUATION CRITERIA	EVALUATION CRITERIA	EVALUATION CRITERIA	EVALUATION CRITERIA	EVALUATION CRITERIA
Adequacy: Are goals and objectives of the policy adequate to their task? Equity: <i>Proportional equity</i> —Are benefits or services in proportion to relative need for them? <i>Absolute equity</i> —citizens receive benefits or services in absolutely equal amounts regardless of their need. Efficiency: Was there a better means to achieve policy's given outcome? Clarity: Are goals and objectives well defined? Measurability: Are goals and objectives capable of being measured? Manipulability: Are objectives open to change or influence? Concerns with outcomes, not services provided: Is there greater concern with outcomes than services provided?	Fit of the Benefit/Service Type to the Social Problem Analysis: Do provided benefits/services fit social problem analysis? Fit of the Benefit/Service with Program Design: Do provided benefits/services fit program design? Benefits a. Stigmatization: Are negative attributes assigned to consumers of benefits? b. Cost Effectiveness: How cost effective is the benefit? c. Substitutability d. Target Efficiency e. Trade-Offs Services a. Consumer Sovereignty: the degree to which the choice can be exercised with regard to services delivered. b. Coercion and Intrusiveness: degree to which public intrusion into the private life of consumer is mandated as a condition of service.	Fit with Social Problems Analysis: Correspondence between eligibility rules and the target specifications of the social problem analysis. Correspondence between eligibility rules and the ideology of the social problem. Eligibility Rules: a. Stigmatization. b. Off-targeted benefits—Are benefits directed to population groups who are not main object of the program? c. Overwhelming Costs d. Overutilization Underutilization. e. Political Interference. f. Negative Incentives and Disincentives (work, procreation, marriage, etc.)	Are services and benefits integrated and continuous? Are services and benefits easily accessible? Are organizations accountable for their actions and decisions, i.e., fair hearings and appeals procedure? Do citizens and consumers participate in organizational decision making? Are organizations and their staff able to relate to racial, gender and ethnic diversity?	Where is funding from? What is the amount of funding? What approaches are used to fund programs?	Coentitlement Disentitlement Contrary Effects Duplication Governmental-Level Interaction

Figure 1.4 Chambers' Policy Analysis Model: Value-Criteria

THEORIES OF SOCIAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Who gets to influence social policy development is increasingly the subject of debate in the contemporary United States. That this is a debate is hardly surprising given the substantial sums of money needed for political participation. Indeed, it has become even more of a debate since the *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* Supreme Court ruling in 2010 striking down by 5–4 the limits on the total amount that corporations can contribute to candidates and political committees. In its ruling, the majority maintained that political speech is indispensable to a democracy, which is no less true because the speech comes from a corporation (Oyez, 2015).

Social scientists have offered various theories to explain which individuals and groups have the power to meet their policy goals. The following are the most commonly used of these theories.

Pluralism Theory

Pluralism is the theory that most closely corresponds to what the mass media and mainstream political commentators present as the democratic political process of a free-market United States. As posited by the pluralism theory, a variety of organizations, not people as a whole, govern in the United States. These organizations, which include but are not limited to particular interest groups, civil rights activists, grassroots groups, political parties, and formal and informal coalitions, represent the interest of the American people. In doing so, they vie to influence the making of laws and policy. Despite often competing interests, all organizations ultimately strive for compromise in the system (Domhoff, 2014). Within the pluralism framework, no one organization, regardless of wealth or influence, is powerful enough to dictate the political process; rather, power emerges from the grass roots. Examples of pluralism include the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The act was passed despite strong opposition from influential southern political and business leaders, who saw it as destabilizing to local economies and the traditional social order.

Elite Theory

According to the power elite theory, change and policy are not the results of the work of a multiplicity of competing groups or organizations; rather, policy and change are dictated and dominated by an elite group of individuals that C.W. Mills described as the power elite. This power elite represents the interests of wealthy citizens and the leaders of corporations. In this model, those outside the elite class are viewed as powerless and, therefore, irrelevant. Even if not irrelevant, they rarely have the resources to organize as interest groups. In this model, power flows downward from the elite to the masses; they do not arise from mass demands (Gilbert & Terrell, 2013).

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory derived from the ideas of Karl Marx, who believed that society is a dynamic entity always undergoing change driven by class conflict. At the heart of this conflict is the push from the working class for greater access to societal resources. The conflict that comes from this push, which might include labor disputes, strikes, protest, or activism, brings about social change as society makes the necessary adjustments to allow greater access. An example in recent years of the use of conflict was the activism efforts of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) in the 1990s.

Incrementalism Theory

The American political scientist Charles E. Lindholm first developed incrementalism in the 1950s. According to Lindholm, one of the consequences of a pluralistic society where power is shared is that it values compromise and stability over large-scale change. As such, policy makers “muddle through” by making

incremental adjustments to a policy that maintains the status quo, rather than engaging in comprehensive policy changes. With small incremental changes, all groups and organizations can strategically influence policy making without upsetting the balance of power (Lindbolm & Woodhouse, 1993).

Rational Choice Theory

In this theoretical framework, policy making is a rational and objective exercise in which the benefits and costs of the policy options are examined, and the results are used to inform policy decisions. All political actors (lobbyists, voters, legislators, taxpayers, candidates) do this as part of the policy-making process (Gilbert & Terrell, 2013).

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has identified the various dimensions of social policy and the social policy-making process, as well as established a working definition of social policy for the rest of the book.

Retrieval Questions

1. What are some of the common themes from the various definitions of social policy?
2. What is the institutional redistributive model of social welfare?
3. What is the residual model of social policy?
4. What are some of the conservative views on human nature?
5. What are some of the liberal views on human nature?
6. What are the stages of development in the social policy-making process?
7. Name three nonofficial policy actors in the stages of policy development.
8. Name two of the official policy actors in the stages of policy development.
9. Name two of the theories of policy development.
10. Give two reasons why social policy is important to social work.

Discussion Questions

1. Identify and discuss the role you think social policy knowledge has in developing a professional social work identity.
2. What is the relationship between social policy and ethical social work practice?
3. What role does social policy play in achieving human rights and social justice?
4. What are some of the dimensions of policy practice?
5. How does social policy affect the practice context?

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CHAPTER 2

A Brief Historical Overview of Social Policy Development in the United States

Conflicting tendencies have powerfully shaped the development of social policy in the United States. On the one hand, there is an acceptance of a collective obligation to assist those in need and enthusiasm for developing policies that enhance opportunities (Jansson, 2009). On the other hand, there is a barely concealed antipathy toward certain categories of the needy, most specifically those perceived as the “unworthy” poor (Jansson, 2009; Segal, 2010). These include the able-bodied and voluntary jobless, people with substance abuse issues, unmarried single mothers, and the formerly incarcerated, particularly if for drug offenses. It also includes particular subordinated racial, ethnic, and social groups. Informed by religious doctrine, various ideological movements, and societal values, this antipathy is reflected in social policy, which among other things, makes various negative assumptions about its beneficiaries and the causes of the problems they experience (Martin, 2010). Perennially, these assumptions characterize the unworthy poor as morally bereft, shiftless, irresponsible, and lazy.

Certainly in the contemporary United States, the manifestation of these negative assumptions is a two-tier social policy system, one occupied by the so-called unworthy poor and one occupied by the worthy poor. For the unworthy poor, this system includes programs such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), the Supplemental Nutrition Aid Program (SNAP), and Medicaid. These programs are highly stigmatized and are closely associated with dependency (Stuber & Kronebusch, 2004). They are means-tested and, in the case of TANF, have lifetime eligibility limits, work requirements, and numerous stipulations and sanctions for noncompliance. Moreover, they are administered at the discretion of the states. Thus, they vary in terms of eligibility from state to state. In some states, for example, a drug felony conviction disqualifies TANF eligibility for life. Conversely, for the perceived worthy poor, the elderly, war veterans, and widows, programs include social security, social security survivors’ benefits, Veterans Administration benefits, and Medicare. The federal government, not the states, administers these programs. Lastly, these programs are not means-tested and do not have the stigma of dependency attached to them (Stuber & Kronebusch, 2004).

The antipathy toward the perceived unworthy poor and its manifestation in social policy is not a new phenomenon. It is as old as the United States itself and has its origins in the colonial era with the adoption of the Elizabethan Poor Laws (Day, 2008). The following narrative highlights some examples of how this antipathy has been manifested in American history, as well as challenges to the perspective in the progressive era.

COLONIAL PERIOD, 1601–1776

The culture, institutions, and social arrangements in the English-speaking colonies of the new world in most respects resembled those of England, where most of the earliest settlers were born (Jansson, 2009; Trattner, 1999). Not unexpectedly, then, when the colonial assemblies sought to install a formalized system of poor relief to address poverty in the colonies, they looked to the motherland and the Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1601.

Established by the British Monarchy and Parliament, the Elizabethan Poor Laws were a response to a severe economic depression in Britain, which among other things, caused large-scale unemployment and widespread hunger. The twin purposes of the laws were to regulate labor and the migration of people from one community to another and contribute to the general well-being of the destitute. Remaining as the principal form of poor relief in Britain for some 250 years after enactment, the laws had several features. These features included the following:

1. *Relative responsibility.* A needy person's family is primarily responsible for the care and welfare of that person. Moreover, the elderly should live with their children and dependent children should reside with grandparents. Public relief is only available if relatives cannot provide it themselves. (Quigley, 1997)
2. *Local administration.* The administration of the poor laws was the responsibility of the smallest unit of government, which had the power to raise taxes for poor relief. (Trattner, 1999)
3. *Residence requirements.* A local relief system is not responsible for those who are not members of the local community. Hence, residency requirements must be established to determine eligibility for relief. (Trattner, 1999)
4. *Classification of poor.* The poor/dependent were classified into three major categories: the impotent poor, the able-bodied poor, and dependent children. (Quigley, 1997)
5. *Poverty distinction.* A distinction was made between the "worthy" and "unworthy" poor. The worthy poor should receive a kinder and more benevolent relief, while the unworthy would get little if any relief. Related to this there were two kinds of relief: indoor relief in the form of placement in a house of correction or poorhouse; and outdoor relief, which subsidized people out of the poorhouse, usually with neighbors. (Quigley, 1997)
6. *Less eligibility.* Relief should never be higher than the lowest available wage.

Beginning with Plymouth in 1642, Virginia in 1646, Connecticut in 1673, and Massachusetts in 1692, the colonies adopted poor laws fashioned almost entirely on the 1601 Elizabethan Poor Laws (Axinn & Stern, 2001; Hansan, 2011a; Trattner, 1999). Reinforcing the colonial poor laws, most particularly in the New England colonies, were Calvinist ideas about the virtues of hard work, the sins of idleness, and the sanctity of patriarchal family arrangements. Coined the Protestant work ethic by German sociologist Max Weber, hard work, frugality, and diligence were thought of within the Calvinist religious doctrine as necessary for a person's salvation in the Christian faith (Hall, 2008; Martin, 2010). Moreover, idleness was seen as the pathway toward temptation and sin, and patriarchal family arrangements were seen as critical to retaining moral and social order (Martin, 2010).

Although the Calvinist religious doctrine of predetermination certainly supported the notion of a collective obligation to assist those in need, the colonial poor laws nevertheless made a clear distinction between the worthy and the unworthy poor (Hansan, 2011a; Jansson, 2009; Martin, 2010; Trattner, 1999). The worthy poor were the elderly, infirmed, widows, dependent children, and injured war veterans. At least initially, relief for the worthy poor might be the delivery of food or the provision of a service. Much more typical, however, was placement with a family at the town's expense. Dependent children would be apprenticed. Although ostensibly generous, even for the worthy poor, relief was never so generous as to be more comfortable than work. The ethos here is that relief was a hand up, not a handout (Quigley, 1997).

The unworthy poor were individuals who were perceived as not having the requisite work ethic, or they had in some way demonstrated poor moral conduct. In the parlance of the day, these people included able-bodied

men who refused to work, beggars, vagrants, idlers, and unmarried mothers (Quigley, 1997). For the unworthy poor, if not banished or placed in a house of detention, relief was indoors. It included placement in an almshouse or being auctioned to a farmer or other employer as labor for upkeep (Day, 2008). In this work, the unworthy poor were expected to take the opportunity to reflect on their moral failings (Quigley, 1997).

Notably excluded from the colonial poor laws, worthy or unworthy, were Native Americans and Blacks, free, indentured, or enslaved. Both groups were considered inferior to their White counterparts and existed outside of the colonial compact and obligation to help those in need (Jansson, 2009).

Although the colonial poor laws were the public response to need, they were not the only source of poor relief. Based on Protestant religious values and later nationality, a tradition of private philanthropy developed in the colonies, and in many instances led to jointly funded public and private donor relief efforts (Jansson, 2009). It also led to the creation, beginning with the Scots Charitable Society in 1657, of a number of nationality-based, private charity organizations, which were much less moralistic and punitive in their relief giving to fellow nationals than the colonial poor laws.

In its moralistic and punitive orientation toward those perceived as the unworthy poor, the colonial poor laws and the Calvinist values that underpinned them set a number of precedents that influence United States social welfare today. As will be discussed in the benefits chapter of the book (Chapter 6), these precedents, among other things, make an arbitrary distinction between worthy and unworthy at the expense of actually assessing need. They also disproportionately affect women and particularly subordinated racial, ethnic, and social groups.

THE NEW NATION, 1776–1860

Having thrown off the shackles of the motherland to become a new nation, there were great hopes for the United States, including the hope of banishing the social ills of the past, such as poverty and discrimination. Certainly, the Enlightenment movement and the Great Awakening had allowed the nation and its residents to be optimistic about what they could achieve in this land of abundance (Day, 2008; Jansson, 2009; Trattner, 1999). They were no longer restricted by the notion of predetermination, as the Calvinist doctrine had asserted. People had potential, and if they worked hard enough, they could fulfill it. Moreover, poverty could be banished. It was a belief that was embraced with great enthusiasm, as numerous charities were founded with the express aim of eliminating poverty (Jansson, 2009; Hansan, 2011a).

Yet this very enthusiasm would also prove to be the catalyst for a shift back to the colonial era's more moralistic view of the poor and the notion of the unworthy poor. Prompting this return was the continued rise of poverty at the turn of the 19th century despite the efforts of the public relief and private charities. Much of this poverty could be attributed to the mass immigration of primarily impoverished German and Irish people to already overcrowded northeastern cities between 1800 and 1860.

Between 1785 and 1862, the federal government was active in social policy development. In 1785, it set aside land for public education. In 1789, it took responsibility for providing pensions for disabled veterans of the Revolutionary War. Relatedly, and also in 1789, it established a system of health insurance for merchant seaman. Lastly, in 1862, the Homestead Act offered settlers free land in exchange for five years of residency on the land and the promise to make improvements to it. Yet, for all these policies, the federal government played no role in providing relief for the poor.

Leaders of the public and private welfare organizations soon began to question how, in this land of abundance where new frontiers were opening up in the West and people could choose their own path, could people remain poor? Clearly, it was not the lack of opportunity but rather the poor's personal failings (Day, 2009).

This sentiment was echoed in the Second Annual Report of the Managers of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in New York. Read and accepted on December 29, 1819, the report listed a litany of reasons why poverty persisted. Among them was intemperance in the use of ardent spirits (p. 6). These spirits, it was suggested, "consumed every virtue of the poor and banished industry, honesty, and self-regard." It was also the nursery, the managers believed, for crime. Other causes of persistent poverty identified were

lottery tickets, which it was believed encouraged the poor to gamble, leading to indigence and other vices. Also of particular concern for the managers was the poor's ignorance and illiteracy, which they described as being rife. The managers posited that charitable institutions were compounding the issue of persistent poverty. In extending charitable relief to the poor, the managers believed that idleness was encouraged, and the responsibility to be industrious and frugal was diminished (Second Annual Report of the Managers of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in the City of New York, 1819).

Concerned about the potential for social unrest in the wake of the growing number of poor, authorities grudgingly accepted that poverty was a problem that society needed to solve. To this end, local governments began to commission survey reports about their poor relief recipients. The intent of these reports was to identify the problems of poor relief and come up with recommendations for reform. Two of the most influential reports of the day were the Quincy Report, which was commissioned by the Massachusetts General Court in 1820, and the Yates Report, which was commissioned by the New York state legislature in 1824.

The Quincy Report

The author of the Quincy Report, Josiah Quincy, was a well-known politician and social reformer. Based on the report findings, taken from completed questionnaires sent to all of the towns in Massachusetts asking them to describe their poor relief systems and problems encountered, Quincy identified several concerns. Primary among these concerns was that while there were undoubtedly small pockets of those deserving of poor relief, for example, the elderly and absolutely impotent, there were much larger numbers that were undeserving. Quincy described these undeserving recipients as treating poor relief as a right to be relied upon as a wage (Quincy, 1821). Quincy suggested that relief in these cases was excessive, misplaced, and a disincentive to industry. More importantly, Quincy posited, "the pride of independence, so honorable to a man, in every condition, is thus corrupted by the certainty of public provision" (Quincy, 1821, p. 6). Quincy concluded his report with the following principles:

1. Providing for the poor is wasteful, expensive, and injurious to their morals and motivation to supply their own family.
2. The most economical mode of relief is that of the alms house, where the poor can provide for their families.
3. Of all modes of employment, agriculture affords the best and most healthy way for poor to be profitable by raising their own provisions.
4. The success of establishments is contingent upon being placed under the supervision of a Board of Overseers.
5. Of all causes of pauperism, nothing is more injurious as is spirituous liquors.

Yates Report

John Yates was the Secretary of State of New York. In 1824, he was commissioned by the legislature to conduct the first survey of public poor relief throughout New York state. The survey findings indicated that New York had no single method of poor relief; rather, it was divided between several public assistance methods (institutional relief, home relief, the contract system, and the auction system). Yates concluded that this method of poor relief was chaotic, wasteful, inefficient, and cruel, particularly in the areas of contract and auctioning of people. He also believed that the children whose parents were utilizing poor relief services suffered both educationally and morally and in terms of neglect. Finally, Yates concluded that home relief encouraged idleness, vice, and drunkenness.

As a result of the Yates Report, in 1824, the New York legislature enacted the County Poorhouse Act. The act mandated the following:

1. The building of poorhouses in each county to which all public relief recipients were to be sent unless sick or infirmed.

2. All expenses for the poorhouses were to be paid for by the county through taxes.
3. The appointment of Superintendents of the Poor officials.

The Quincy Report was instrumental in the termination of outdoor relief and the wholesale move toward institutional relief and almshouses in Massachusetts. Similarly, the New York State Poor Law of 1824 implemented the Yates' Report's recommendations, requiring every county in the state to build a poorhouse (Katz, 1987; Mohl, 1971). Following this trend, other northeastern states also turned to indoor relief. More importantly, though, the sentiments expressed in the reports perpetuated a belief that the poor were somehow morally defective, who, if not given the spur of work, would lapse into vice and bad behavior. It was a sentiment that would endure throughout the 19th century and inform almost all poor relief efforts.

Although the wholesale shift to indoor relief was supposed to cure the supposedly morally defective poor, in actuality the almshouses did no such thing. Rather, they better represented the intolerance for the poor and soon became institutions that simply warehoused them, often described as places of routine abuse and despair (Katz, 1987; Mohl, 1971). Moreover, there was little effort to separate residents by gender, age, or marital status. Thus, children were exposed and subjected to all kinds of abuse.

In addition to institutional poor relief, the mid-1800s saw the emergence of several new organizations whose specific purpose was to address the poor's so-called moral failings. One such organization was the New York Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor. Robert Hartley, who believed poverty was caused by moral failings and the degrading conditions in which the poor were forced to live, founded the association in 1843 (Burrows & Wallace, 1999; Jackson, 2010). Disturbed by what Hartley saw as the lax oversight of charity distribution, the association represented a new, private, and systematic attempt to rectify the poor's so-called moral failing and their living conditions (Jackson, 2010). To this end, the association, which was funded by some of the richest individuals in the country, provided the poor with modest financial assistance, as well as encouraged them to adopt Protestant middle-class values.

To do this, the association hired middle-class visitors (all male). These visitors had a threefold responsibility. First, they had to identify and visit poor families in a designated section of the city. Second, they had to determine whether or not families fit the criteria for assistance, and, if not, refer them to the appropriate public or private institution. Third, if it were determined that families were eligible for services, the visitor would provide limited material support as well as friendly intercourse with the specific aim of reforming character and providing moral uplift (Burrows & Wallace, 1999; Jackson, 2010). In providing its relief, the association kept case records, coordinated services, and made referrals. In its use of scientific philanthropy and visitors, the association was a precursor to the scientific charity that would emerge in the last decades of the 19th century.

THE CIVIL WAR AND SOCIAL WELFARE, 1860–1880

The Civil War, which lasted from 1861 to 1865, was the most bloody and destructive conflict of its day. The unprecedented level of poverty created during the conflict and its aftermath necessitated a significant involvement of the federal government in social welfare. Beginning in 1861, and as a response to the numerous reports of poor sanitary conditions and the lack of medical attention in the army camps and hospitals, the U.S. Sanitary Commission was created by federal legislation. Run by volunteers and private citizens, its purpose was to supplement government agencies in supporting sick and wounded soldiers, as well as attending to their spiritual needs. In a model of efficiency, the U.S. Sanitary Commission not only raised significant private funds for its operations, it also enlisted thousands of volunteers and united numerous local voluntary agencies into a coherent national relief organization. Going beyond its charge, the commission took on responsibilities that included recruiting and supplying nurses; setting up communication channels between soldiers on the front lines and their families at home; and distributing clean bandages, food, and clothing (Trattner, 1999, p. 78). So successful was the U.S. Sanitary Commission that it was credited with saving thousands of lives. Moreover, it stimulated the public health reform that would emerge some 20 years after the Civil War conclusion (Trattner, 1999).

In the aftermath of the war, thousands of permanently injured and often destitute soldiers needed ongoing medical attention and financial support. There was also the matter of what to do with the millions of newly emancipated slaves who were without support or resources. Moreover, there were thousands of widows and orphans due to the war's high rate of mortality. In response, Congress enacted a series of pensions acts for injured veterans. These pensions started in 1861 and culminated in the Dependent and Disability Act of 1890 (Trattner, 1999). Also established by Congress was the Freedman's Bureau under the direction of General Oliver Howard. In its six years of existence (1865–1871), the Freedman's Bureau provided newly emancipated slaves with social welfare, as well as economic, legal, health, educational, and land assistance (Trattner, 1999). Despite the continued need for the Freedman's Bureau's services, when it came up for renewal in 1871, President Andrew Johnson vetoed its continuation. In vetoing the Freedman's Bureau, President Johnson declared that the indigent's government support was never contemplated by the authors of the Constitution (Trattner, 1999).

Johnson's assertion, however, was not a new one. As far back as 1794, James Madison remarked that charity was no part of the government's legislative duty; rather, it was better located in the states whose powers are more general. It was the position that President Franklin Pierce would also take in 1854 when vetoing Dorothea Dix's bill for the Benefit of the Indigent Insane. In doing so, President Pierce opined that if the federal government assumed responsibility for the care of the indigent insane, the care of all impoverished Americans would then become its responsibility. This, Pierce suggested, was a development that the founders would never have accepted (Trattner, 1999).

SCIENTIFIC CHARITY, 1877–1879

In the decade following the Civil War, there was a renewed focus on the plight of the poor, whose numbers had continued to swell despite the presence of almshouses and numerous private charity organizations. The Reverend Stephen Gurteen was one who saw the problem of persistent poverty as indiscriminate relief giving, which he suggested was wasteful and prone to fraud because of the duplication of services (Hansan, 2011b). Ultimately, this situation made private charity organizations ineffective in ameliorating poverty (Hansan, 2011b). In an attempt to reverse the ineffectiveness and make charitable organizations more efficient and direct in treating and decreasing poverty, Reverend Gurteen turned to scientific charity, which he had witnessed being practiced very effectively by the London Charity Organization Society (LCOS) in England (Hansan, 2011b; Trattner, 1999).

The Charity Organization Societies (COS)

Modeled along the lines of the LCOS, Gurteen established the first charity organization society in the United States in Buffalo, New York, in 1877. The Buffalo Charity Organization Society brought the disparate local charity organizations together as a systematically coordinated single charitable society employing a rational system of scientific, charitable administration. Methods of operation included a detailed investigation of each applicant for relief. Furthermore, there was the maintenance of a centralized register of relief applicants and the services and referrals rendered to them. In the field there was the use of trained volunteers known as “friendly visitors,” who worked face-to-face with relief applicants in the field. Finally, there was the employment of a paid agent who would make the final decision on whether or not services were tendered to an applicant (Zastro, 2009). In short order, there were numerous COSs in the major cities employing scientific charity methods.

Much like most of the 19th-century voluntary charities, conceptually underpinning the COS movement's relief efforts was a philosophy that was predicated on a series of middle-class preconceived moral judgments about the poor (Hansan, 2011b). Unlike the views of the poor before the Civil War, these judgments were very much steeped in the self-help cult of the Gilded Age. They were also to a large degree influenced by the Social Darwinism perspective that had gained popularity among wealthy and middle-class elites in the late 1800s (Hansan, 2011b; Trattner, 1999). Popularized by the English philosopher Herbert Spencer, Social Darwinism located the causes of poverty within the person who was poor. The thinking was that if people were poor, it was a function of their actions and, as such, a personal flaw

or defect. After all, it was reasoned, the United States was the land of opportunity. If people were not successful, it must be because of some personal flaw. More specifically, they were lazy, immoral, or lacked the initiative to take advantage of the country's many opportunities to progress (Day, 2009; Hansan, 2011b; Trattner, 1999). Added to this was a somewhat pessimistic view of human nature that suggested that the poor would not help themselves if they felt a sense of security. Thus, if the poor were to rise above their condition, they had to endure deprivation as a spur to keep them working and off the dole (Trattner, 1999).

As if not patronizing enough, among the remedies the COS movement proposed for relieving poverty was the use of friendly visitors, female volunteers from a middle-class or wealthy background, as role models for the poor. In this role, the no doubt well-intentioned friendly visitors not only investigated relief applicants but also determined who was “worthy” or “unworthy” of assistance. They also provided friendship and dispensed advice. The advice was typically about the virtue of hard work and initiative. The rationale and assumption for this kind of intervention were twofold. One, the poor wanted and would benefit from moral guidance rather than a living wage and decent housing. And two, proximity to and friendship with the middle class and wealthy would act as a spur for betterment (Hansan, 2011b).

In terms of actual relief, the COSs were remarkably reticent to recommend outdoor relief even to mothers with children. The rationale for this position being that material aid demoralized the poor and kept them from the moral salvation they really needed (Day, 2009). As such, the COSs only provided relief to women and children if a male breadwinner had died. If that was not the case, the mother would be sent to the poorhouse and the children to an orphanage to provide for their moral salvation and turn them away from pauperism. Likewise, unemployed nondisabled men were denied relief and instead encouraged to find work, even if none was available. Moreover, even if proved eligible for relief, one would have to provide evidence that they had exhausted all other avenues of support. These avenues of support were the family, then the church, or local relief organizations (Hansan, 2011b). Only in the event that the residual process had been followed could an eligible person or family receive relief. No surprise, then, that those individuals who were deemed to have contravened decent behavior—alcoholics, vagrants, so-called wayward husbands—were denied any relief. Instead, they were reported to the police and sent to a house of correction and then a house of rehabilitation (Day, 2009). All in all, then, when relief was given, it was nearly always institutional (Day, 2009; Trattner, 1999).

Though they did not significantly change their approach to poor relief, the COSs eventually realized that poverty was much more complicated than individual culpability or moral failings. As the data they had collected on poor relief applicants revealed, poverty was much more a function of environmental factors, among them unemployment (Day, 2009; Zastrow, 2009). The COSs would remain relevant into the early 20th century, but would continue to place greater emphasis on the individual. Importantly, though, they would transition from volunteers to professionals by the early years of the 20th century. They offered training and education and developed casework as a discipline. They also brought a focus to personal and social diagnoses, which were prototypes for the person-in-situation focus of social work today (Day, 2009, p. 228).

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT, 1880–1920

In the last decades of the 19th century, the United States experienced a second industrial revolution. Unlike the first industrial revolution in the 1830s, which was textile based, the second industrial revolution was technology based. It was characterized by railroads, large-scale iron and steel production, and the widespread uses of machinery in manufacturing, all of which were fueled by steam power, oil, and later electricity. In short order, the second industrial revolution ushered in an unprecedented period of social change and economic growth. Among the social changes was the transformation of the country from an agrarian society in which most adult workers were farmers living in rural communities to an urban society where most adult workers were waged factory employees living in industrialized cities (Foner, 2011). Indeed, so rapid was this transformation that within the lifetime of a single generation, the top ten largest industrialized cities in the United States grew from a population of 3.7 million in 1870 to 15.3 million in 1920 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998). Furthermore, by 1870, eight of the ten largest

industrialized cities were located in the northeastern and midwestern regions of the country: New York City, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, Baltimore, and Cincinnati (Gibson, 1998).

During this period, which Mark Twain called the Gilded Age, wages, wealth, capital, and GDP all increased at the fastest rate in the nation's history. Moreover, the hundreds of factories in the industrialized cities churned out an array of consumer and industrial goods, which elevated the country to among the most powerful industrial nations globally, on par with England and Germany. In its elevation, a new class of super-wealthy industrialists embodying the capitalist ideal emerged. These wealthy industrialists, including John Jacob Astor, Andrew Carnegie, Jay Gould, J.P. Morgan, Charles Schwab, and Charles Yerks, to name a few, had a monopoly on the industry, all of whom were supported and encouraged by the federal government. In addition to these wealthy industrialists, was the emergence of a prosperous, educated, and well-to-do middle class.

Yet, for all the wealth created, the industrialized cities, the nation's cultural and economic lifeline, were also the hubs of unprecedented economic and social inequality. It was an economic and social inequality that saw the majority laboring class toiled in the factories and mines essentially as exploited labor (Ehrenreich, 1985). The exploitation of the laboring class had men, women, and children, mostly immigrants from Europe or rural migrants, working long hours for relatively low pay. Additionally, the working conditions under which these men, women, and children toiled were often hazardous with little in the way of regulation and/or insurance against injury or unemployment (Ehrenreich, 1985; Yarrow, 2009).

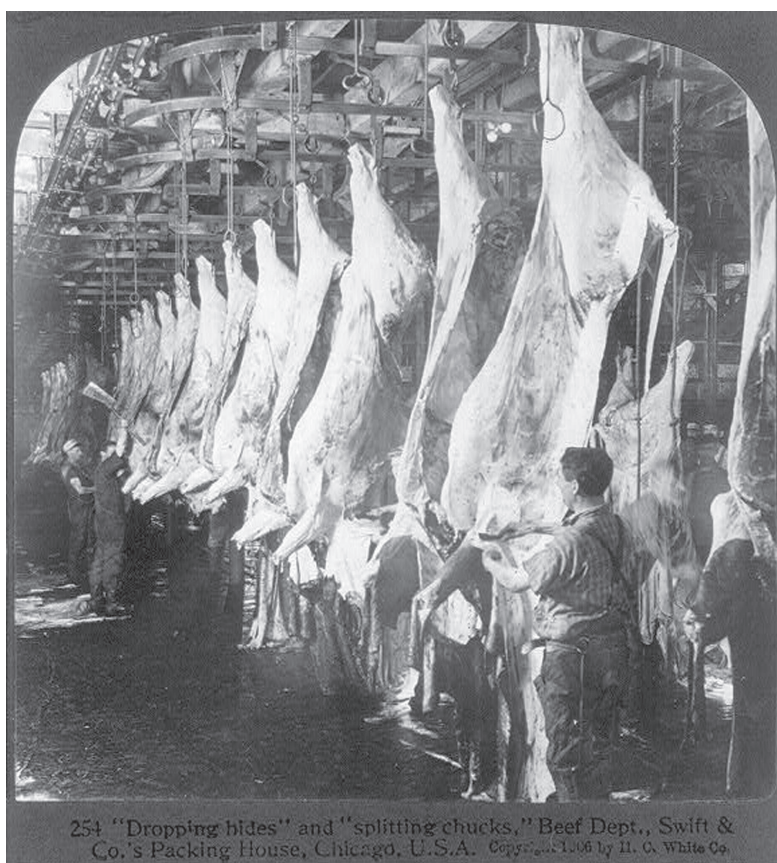


Figure 2.1 Conditions in the Meat Packing Plant: Chicago 1900



Figure 2.2 Breaker Boys, Woodward Cola Mines, Kingston, Pennsylvania



Figure 2.3 Glass Factory Workers

Living conditions for the laboring class were little better than their working conditions. Most typically it was in an overcrowded, subdivided, dilapidated tenement building located in an ethnic ghetto. Their living situation was often the result of property owners and landlords seeking to maximize rental profits because of the premium on housing and space. Toward this end, they would squeeze as many potential renters into a tenement building as possible (Ehrenreich, 1985).

Compounding the problem of overcrowding in the tenement buildings was the absence of essential municipal services such as clean water, refuse collection, and a sewage system. This lack was a symptom of a larger problem that the local municipalities of industrialized cities wrestled within the face of the population growth brought on by rapid urbanization—the needs of a rapidly growing population outpaced local municipalities' ability to respond effectively or appropriately. It was not surprising, then, that the overcrowded urban ghettos where the laboring classes resided were not only unsanitary but also host to a raft of infectious diseases. These diseases, including tuberculosis, smallpox, measles, and diphtheria, were little understood. Infant mortality rates were exceptionally high in these urban ghettos, with one in four children dying before the age of five in 1900 (Fogel et al., 2000; Yarrow, 2009).

In addition to inferior living conditions, the laboring class was also at the behest of corrupt city government officials. Specifically, these corrupt officials courted their votes and their unconditional support, typically along ethnic lines, in exchange for patronage.

So dire was the plight of the laboring class that industrialized cities such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston were as synonymous with urban blight as they were with wealth and



Figure 2.4 Tenement in Roosevelt Street, New York



Figure 2.5 In the Poverty Gap, West 28th Street, New York: An English Coal Heavers Home



Figure 2.6 Three Generations in a New York Tenement

culture. This urban blight was characterized by poverty, periodic large-scale unemployment, overcrowding, unsanitary living conditions, high crime, family dislocation, corruption, and child and labor exploitation.

The Progressives

In response to the plight of the laboring class and the extreme levels of social, economic, and political inequality, progressives from across a broad spectrum of disciplines made a concerted push for social reform. The push, almost exclusively composed of middle-class elites, became the progressive movement. The movement would profoundly impact social policy, politics, and social science and would set in motion much of the social welfare agenda of the 20th century (Ehrenreich, 1985). Unlike the public and private poor relief efforts that went before them, the progressives did not see the poor as morally defective or the cause of their own suffering; they saw society's social structures and rampant capitalism as the real cause of poverty. For the progressives, the only way to eliminate poverty was to reform society so that, at the very least, it would provide citizens with basic protections against the laissez-faire economics of the day.

The Muckrakers

One representation of this push was the work of reform-oriented investigative journalists, writers, and photographers who used their medium to bring the plight of the laboring class to the attention of the American public. So effective were they at doing this that they were given the moniker "muckrakers." For example, Jacob Riis's hauntingly illustrated *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York*, published in 1890, exposed the poor living conditions of the laboring class. Jacob Riis's work resulted in significant tenement reforms.

In 1904, Robert Hunter's book *Poverty* was the first to use extensive research to identify poverty's widespread prevalence. According to Hunter's research, at least ten million Americans, or one out of every eight, were poor in the early 1900s (Trattner, 1999, p. 101). In 1904, Lincoln Steffens's series of investigative articles, "The Shame of the Cities," revealed the full extent of the political corruption in Chicago and New York's party machines. And most famously, Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, which was published in 1906, vividly illustrated the abuses in Chicago's meatpacking industry. *The Jungle* was so well received that it led to two crucial labor reform policies: the Federal Meat Inspection Act of 1906 and the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906.

These and the many other muckraking newspaper articles, books, and investigative photography by reformers such as Ida B. Wells, Lewis Hines, Ida Tarbell, and Frank Norris proved to be powerful tools of reform. They seared into the public consciousness the social issues of the day in a way that had not been done previously. In turn, this helped to create a groundswell of much-needed public support for social reform and social justice for the laboring class.

The Settlement House Movement

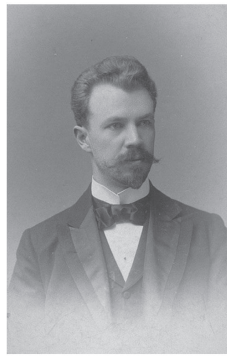
Paralleling the muckraking journalists' work, novelists and photographers were the front line and policy advocacy efforts of the settlement house movement and influential progressives from academia and politics. Fashioned after the Toynbee Hall Settlement House in London, the first settlement house in the United States was the Neighborhood Guild, opened in 1866 by co-founders Stanton Coit, Charles B. Stover, and Edward King (Carson, 1990).

The settlement house movement had twin purposes: to address the immediate needs of neighborhood residents through a daily program of direct services and to bring about social reform to end pauperism. Unlike its English counterpart, the settlement house method in the United States made a point of locating the settlement house within the community. Furthermore, settlement workers moved into the settlements and lived in the community on a full-time basis. In doing so, settlement workers gained firsthand experience and insight into the plight of the disadvantaged, adding weight and legitimacy to their call for social reform.

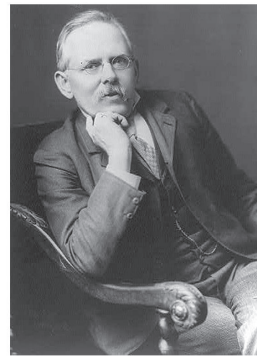
In a country grappling with the social problems related to rapid industrialization, urbanization, and mass immigration/migration, the settlement house idea spread rapidly. By 1897, 74 settlement houses had been established, which increased to 100 by 1900, and 400 by 1910 (Carson, 1990; Hansan, 2011c). Most of the



Upton Sinclair



Lincoln Steffens



Jacob Riis



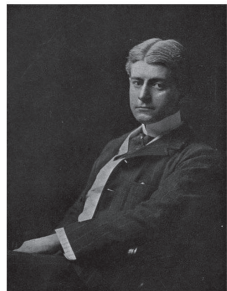
Ida B. Wells



Lewis Hines



Ida Tarbell



Frank Norris

Figure 2.7 The Muckrakers

settlements were located in large, urbanized cities, with 40% in Boston, Chicago, and New York. These settlements were typically located in immigrant neighborhoods. The settlement workers helped ease the residents' transition to the United States by providing English and civic lessons and daycare services and establishing penny-saving banks. No distinction was made between "unworthy" and "worthy." Moreover, every effort was made to empower residents through education and recognition of their inherent strengths and qualities.

The Black Settlement House Movement

For all its work in urban centers, the settlement house movement was not purely an urban phenomenon, nor work that was just with immigrants. For example, many small cities and rural communities had at least one settlement house (Hansan, 2011c). Moreover, because of racism and social exclusion, the settlement

house movement remained a largely racially segregated endeavor. This segregation was maintained primarily because, although settlements had no problem believing that they could assimilate immigrants into middle-class American society, this was not the case for Black Americans (Carson, 1990). Consequently, Black female activists and reformers of the day, including Lugenia Burns Hope, Victoria Earl Matthews, and Gertrude Brown, to name but a few, involved themselves in establishing a separate Black settlement house movement. Black settlement houses proliferated in response to the increasingly needy population of Black southern migrants to midwestern and northeastern cities (Hounmenou, 2012). Indeed, Black settlement houses soon outnumbered their mainstream counterparts (Lasch-Quinn, 1993). As suggested by Hounmenou (2012), Black settlement houses were not just safe havens for poor Blacks, they were also an appropriate and free space for activism (p. 651). Much like their mainstream counterparts, the leaders of the Black settlement houses were educated women from the Black middle class (Hounmenou, 2012). They were progressive and used their platform to aid disadvantaged Blacks and address problems in the Black community (Hounmenou, 2012). However, because a substantial part of the resources for at least half the Black settlement houses came from White donors and reformers, leaders of these settlement houses had to be adept at straddling the line between confrontation and the call for equal rights and the less threatening call for racial uplift (Carlton-LeNey, 2001). However, for those Black settlement houses with full autonomy by virtue of having all Black funders and board members, activism was much more overtly confrontational and involved building networks with local politicians and lobbying for essential services, including improved schools and public facilities, police protection, and equality (Neverdon-Morton, 1982).

So important was the Black settlement house movement in its activism that Hounmenou posits that it provided an environment for culturally based empowerment that contributed to the development of oppositional consciousness in the Black community. This oppositional consciousness, which simply put is the attitudes and disposition of members of a dominant community to challenge injustice and oppression, would be necessary to all future movements for racial equality (Mansbridge & Morris, 2001).

Settlement House Movement Activism

Notwithstanding racial segregation, between 1870 and 1920, the mainstream settlement house movement was a driving force in the progressive era. Much of this was the direct result of the social justice reform agenda of the female leaders and influential figures in the settlement house movement. These women included social workers and avid social reformers such as Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, who co-founded Hull House in Chicago. There was also Lilian Wald and Mary Simkhovitch, founders of the Henry Street Settlement House and Greenwich Houses, respectively. Likewise, there was Helena Dudley, Florence Kelly, Alice Hamilton, and Edith Abbot (Carson, 1990). Their ambitious social justice reform agenda called on the federal government to create social policies that, as a matter of social justice, would address the issues of the day and bring about a more equitable society. Among the policies championed were child labor practices, workplace safety, widows' pensions, labor union rights, juvenile justice, unemployment compensation, maternal health care, social security, and universal health care (Abramovitz, 2008; Carson, 1990; Popple & Leighninger, 2011).

Inherent in this demand for governmental social policies offering all citizens a level of protection against the vagaries of life in a complex, modern industrialized city was a challenge to the American values of rugged individualism and self-reliance. It also called into question the viability in a complex modern society of the residual model of social welfare. Except for a couple of occasions in American history, the residential model had up until that point been the dominant social welfare model.

The Federal Government

Until the progressive movement, the notion that the federal government had a responsibility to formulate policies that addressed social inequality issues would likely have been anathema to most American presidents. However, this was to change in 1901 when Vice President Theodore Roosevelt assumed the United States' presidency after the assassination of President William McKinley (Gould, 2001). Roosevelt, a Republican, a product of privilege, and on the face of it a seemingly unlikely supporter of progressive

ideals, believed very much in capitalism's ethos. However, he also believed in the notion that the government should use its resources to help achieve economic and social justice for all citizens, regardless of class. Indeed, the term "square deal" was to become synonymous with Roosevelt's domestic program (Gould, 2001). In his two terms in office, Roosevelt, among other things, took on the big corporations that had become monopolies and was successful, via Supreme Court rulings, in having them dismantled. He also pushed, after reading Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, for the passing of the Federal Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906 (Gould, 2001).

A NEW ERA OF LIBERALISM

The confluence of the muckraking journalism, social progressive policy advocacy on the part of the settlement house movement, and a strong and supportive voice in the White House achieved some impressive social policy outcomes in the progressive era, albeit mostly at the state level.

Box 2.1 Progressive Era Federal and State Policies and Constitutional Amendments Timeline

