

FALL 2006 - POLI 446
The Politics of Poverty and Social Welfare Policy

Instructor: Stacey Bouchet, Ph.D. (smbouchet@umbc.edu)

Office information: PUP307 – 410-455-8477

Class Meets: Tuesdays 7:10-9:40PM, MP012A

OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday 5-6:30 PM and by appointment.

Course Objectives: (1) To understand how major political factors in Congress, the executive branch, federal-state relations and interest groups affect the formulation and implementation of social welfare and anti-poverty policies. (2) To develop an understanding of how different ideological perspectives of the welfare state (e.g. liberal, conservative, and radical) influence welfare policy-making. (3) To examine how economic and cultural factors, public opinion, and the media interact with politics to influence anti-poverty and welfare policy in the United States.

Course Requirements: This is a seminar course. Regular attendance and active participation in class discussions are expected. Students should come to class having read assigned material. Written assignments will be graded on both substantive content and quality of writing, and students should follow standard writing guidelines using any major style guide (e.g., APA, MLA, ASA). Written assignments must be turned in on time; if a student is absent on the date an assignment is due, the assignment is to be submitted to the instructor electronically. Extensions will be granted only in extraordinary circumstances.

Grading: The four grading components, and their importance to your final grade, are as follows:

- 20% class attendance, participation, and presentation
- 30% Research/Issue paper
- 25% mid-term exam
- 25% final exam

Class participation: This is an advanced undergraduate course and classes are conducted seminar-style. In-class participation is important to the learning process; accordingly, you will be graded on it. Since the quality of your comments and observations will be evaluated, it is essential that you read the assigned materials prior to class meetings. Regular attendance is expected. Students are responsible for all information presented in class. Students will choose 2 topics on which to present information from a specific ideological perspective and lead a class discussion around this topic. The presentation does not have to be formal, but should be well thought-out. The possibilities for topics are numerous, but must correspond to the course schedule. This is when your *Perspectives on Welfare* book will come in handy. Examples of topics include:

- The best way to define poverty
- An analysis of changes in state welfare caseloads since welfare reform
- Growth of a "living wage" movement;
- Welfare and teen pregnancy/non-marital births;
- Findings from public opinion polls about Americans' attitudes toward the poor;
- A comparison of the welfare reform debate in the U.S. and another country;
- A review of the findings on the effectiveness of job training in moving people out of poverty;
- A statistical/demographic profile of the poor;
- Trends in child poverty before and since PRWORA;
- Promotion of marriage under PRWORA as an anti-welfare/anti-poverty strategy.”

Note: For your final paper, you will also be required to give a formal 15-20 minute oral presentation with an accompanying power point presentation and handouts on the last day of class.

Mid-term Exam: Exam will be a combination of terms to identify and essay questions and will allow you to show understanding of key issues and concepts discussed in class and addressed through the readings to this point. Review terms are posted on Blackboard.

Final Exam: The final exam will be a take-home, comprehensive, but with an emphasis on material covered since the mid-term exam. Students will have the option of selecting among several essay questions, each of which will allow you to show understanding of key issues and concepts addressed through the readings and discussed in class. All exams must be typed or word-processed.

All these assessments will emphasize quality of argument. I encourage students to differ with my views, but your positions should rest on more than personal preferences. You must also appeal to hard evidence. Assessments will stress how, and whether, students make use of the assigned readings. You will not be able to get through the course relying only on background knowledge or the lectures. Students are *strongly* advised to do the readings prior to the classes for which they are assigned, and to take notes on them. Handouts on this and other useful skills will be distributed.

Academic Integrity:

By enrolling in this course, each student assumes the responsibilities of an active participant in UMBC's scholarly community in which everyone's academic work and behavior are held to the highest standards of honesty. Cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, and helping others to commit these acts are all forms of academic dishonesty, and they are wrong. Academic misconduct could result in disciplinary action that may include, *but is not limited to*, suspension or dismissal. To read the full Student Academic Conduct Policy, consult the UMBC Student Handbook or the UMBC Policies section of the UMBC Directory. Below is the UMBC Statement on Academic Integrity.

Required Text: Required books are available at the UMBC Bookstore. All other reading is available on the blackboard site (BB) site, the Internet www address is provided, or will be distributed in class as handouts.

1. DiNitto, D. *Social Welfare: Politics and Public Policy*
2. Gladstone, D. *Perspectives on Welfare: Ideas, Ideologies and Policy Debates*

Course Outline:

9/5 Introduction and Overview of the Course

I. Background/History on Poverty and Welfare.

The welfare "problem"

1. The new welfare reform law.
 2. Anti-poverty programs (cash and in-kind): Income Support (AFDC, TANF, EITC), Food Stamps, Job Training
 3. Welfare Timeline, 1935 –2002. (Handout)
- DiNitto, Chapter 1, "Politics, Rationalism, and Social Welfare"
 - DiNitto, Chapter 2, "Government & Social Welfare"
 - Gladstone, "Introduction"

9/12 NO CLASS – READING CATCH-UP WEEK

9/19 II. Poverty:

A. Perspectives on the Poor and Causes and Effects of Poverty

- DiNitto, Chapter 3, “Defining Poverty: Where to Begin?”
- DiNitto, Chapter 9 “Poverty Wars”
- Gladstone, Chapter 1 “Welfare and Equality”

9/26 II. Poverty:

B. Feminization of Poverty & Race and Poverty

- McLanahan, S. & Kelly, E. The Feminization of Poverty: Past and Future, Available at: <http://www.olin.wustl.edu/macarthur/working%20papers/wp-mclanahan3.htm>
- Gladstone, Chapter 3 “Welfare and Paternalism”
- DiNitto, Chapter 11, “Challenging Social Welfare: Racism and Sexism.”
- Handout TBA
- Summary of Immigrant Eligibility Restrictions Under Current Law, As of 10/04/04, DHHS, pp. 1-8, optional. Available at <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/immigration/restrictions-sum.htm>
- **PAPER TOPICS & OUTLINES DUE**

10/3 II. Poverty:

C. Concentrated Urban Poverty/Underclass: Ideological Perspectives

- Warren Wilson, *When Work Disappears*, Chapter 2, "Societal Changes and Vulnerable Neighborhoods," pp. 25-50. (BB)
- Charles Murray. “The Underclass Revisited,” 2000. American Enterprise Institute, pp. 1-42. (BB)
- Gladstone, Chapter 4 “Welfare and Obligation”
- Cauther, N. (2006). *When Work Doesn’t Pay*. (Exercise - Handout)

10/10 III. Programs

- DiNitto, Chapter 4, “Preventing Poverty: The Social Insurance Programs”
- DiNitto, Chapter 5, “Helping the ‘Deserving Poor’: Aged, Blind, and Disabled”
- DiNitto, Chapter 7, “Hunger ...”- Food Stamp Program, pp. 265-288.

10/17 IV. Work, the Economy and Antipoverty Policy

- DiNitto, Chapter 9 - pp. 366-378, “Fueling Employment: Make-Work versus the Real Thing”
- DiNitto, Chapter 10, “Social Services ...”
- Robert Lerman and Pamela Loprest. "How Well Can Urban Labor Markets Absorb Welfare Recipients?" Urban Institute Policy Brief, June 1999, Available at <http://newfederalism.urban.org/html/anf33.html>
- Gladstone Chapter 5 “Welfare as Temporary Support”

10/24 MID-TERM EXAM – In Class

10/31 V. The Media and Public Opinion

- “Why Americans Hate Welfare,” American Prospect, <http://www.prospect.org/print/V11/15/lieberman-r.html>
- Misra, J., Moller, S., & Karides, M. (2003). Envisioning Dependency: Changing Media Depictions of Welfare in the 20th Century. *Social Problems*, 50, 482-504. (BB)

- Gilens, M. (1996). Race coding and white opposition to welfare. *American Political Science Review*, 90, 593-604, optional (BB).

11/7 VI. Welfare Reform

- DiNitto, Chapter 6, “Ending Welfare as We Knew It: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.”
- Gladstone, Chapter 6 “Ending Dependency”
- Douglas Besharov, "End Welfare Lite as We Know It" *New York Times*, August 15, 2006 (Handout)

11/14 VI. Welfare Reform

A. Special Issues: Family Formation

- Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, “Religion, the Marriage Movement, & Marriage Policy” Conference Event Transcript. Available at <http://pewforum.org/events/index.php?EventID=26>
- Paul Offner, August 2001. “Reducing Non-Marital Births,' Policy Brief 5. Available at www.brookings.org
- Gibson-Davis, ChristinaM.; Edin, Kathryn; McLanahan, Sara (2005). *High Hopes but Even Higher Expectations: The Retreat From Marriage Among Low-Income Couples*. [Journal of Marriage and Family](#), Volume 67, Number 5, December 2005, pp. 1301-1312(12) (BB)

11/21 VI. Welfare Reform

B. Special Issues: Faith-Based Initiatives

- Carlson-Thies, Stanley. 2001. "Charitable Choice: Bringing Religion Back into American Welfare" *Journal of Policy History* 13:1 Winter, pp. 109-32, (R).
- Formicola, Seegers and Weber. 2003. “Faith-based Initiatives and the Bush Administration: the good, the bad and the ugly,” skim the book, (R)
- **FILM: “Tempting Faith.”**
- **FINAL PAPERS DUE**

11/28 VII. Welfare Reauthorization

- Lucie White, "Closing the Care Gap that Welfare Reform left Behind," in Albelda and Withorn, pp. 179-194.
- Loprest and Zedlewski, “Making TANF Work for the Hard to Serve,” April 30, 2002 Policy Brief, Urban Institute, available at <http://www.urban.org>
- Gladstone, Chapter 7
- 2006 Reauthorization Presentation (Handout)

12/5 VIII. Future Directions and Policy Issues

- DiNitto, Chapter 12, “Implementing and Evaluating Social Welfare Policy: What Happens After a Law is Passed?”
- Gladstone, Conclusion
- Theda Skocpol. *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective 1995*, Chapter 8, "Targeting within Universalism: Politically Viable Policies to Combat Poverty in the United States." (BB)

12/12 FINAL PRESENTATIONS & TAKE HOME EXAM

The Politics of Poverty and Social Welfare Policy

Research/Issue/Position Paper: The research/issue paper's subject will be of each person's choosing, but should focus on the topics covered, or at least touched on, in the course (and be different from your presentation topics). The organization, format, and content of each paper should be scholarly in nature (not based on your opinions). The paper should be about 10 double spaced word-processed pages, excluding footnotes, figures, etc. Choose a topic or issue that will actively engage you in the research and writing.

All sources in this or any other research paper must be fully acknowledged. This includes all sources from which you derive ideas, analyses or leads, and not simply sources you quote or paraphrase.

Structure of Paper

- 1) An introductory section that summarizes the issue to be examined and tells what you plan to cover in the balance of the paper.
- 2) A section that traces the development of the issue historically and why we should care about this issue.
- 3) A critical analysis of any policies, laws, cases, or actions by government, interest groups, etc. dealing with the issue.
- 4) A description of the main divergent points of view in debates over the issue. (What interests are served by each point of view?)
- 5) A description of alternative and creative approaches to resolving the issue. (Don't hesitate to draw from other fields of knowledge and experience.)
- 6) A presentation of your rationale for recommending a particular approach or course of action.
- 7) A conclusion that ties ideas together and synthesizes the information brought out in the paper.

Expected Research Strategies

1. First, conduct a thorough search of the library literature and available documents and articles from legal and other scholarly journal articles. Use newspaper, magazine, and websites **sparingly** and **ONLY** to complement your other materials.
4. When discussing a particular issue, controversy, or conflict, ask yourself whether you have identified the major players and the interests they represent.
5. When reviewing and assessing the effectiveness of a policy or program, you ought to ask: Is the policy/program accomplishing its purpose? (If not, why not?) Which interests (economic and/or

political) have benefited or been hurt by the policy? Have certain interests taken control over implementing (or undermining) the policy?

6. When discussing a law, explain not only what the law says but how it works.

7. Stop researching when you have enough material to substantiate your claims, enlighten your reader, and put the problem in context. You must make sense of what you have gathered and learned. Too much time devoted to the research will leave you too little time for intelligent writing. You ought to spend 60% to two-thirds of your available time researching and one-third to 40% of your time writing.

Expected Writing Strategies

1. Writing a paper is an interpretative process. After you have gathered the necessary materials, sit down and start writing freely. Just get your ideas down on paper. When you review what you've written, remember that vigorous writing is concise. A sentence should contain no unnecessary words, a paragraph no unnecessary sentences.

2. Spend time perfecting your introduction. The intro should be tightly written and clear. Do you have a main contention? What is the central issue—is it in a clearly written thesis statement? Your opening paragraph is especially important. It must capture the reader. It must also provide a few hard details that tell the reader why you are writing this research paper and why she/he ought to read it.

3. Strive for cadence, balance, and logical sequence. Think about the logical progression of your arguments. Present facts chronologically and in an organized fashion. Make the connections between various pieces of information; don't leave it up to the reader.

5. EDIT, EDIT, EDIT!!! This cannot be stressed enough. Recast and tighten your material. Have the courage to cut. Correct spelling, punctuation, and typographical errors. Leave at least one hour for proofreading before submitting. WARNING: Poorly edited and proofread papers show lack of care, and will gravely impact your grade.

Paper Presentation

In order to further your professional development and to share your ideas with you peers, you will be required to give a formal 15 minute oral presentation (plus 5 minutes for question and answers) with an accompanying power point presentation and handouts on the last day of class. A typical data slide takes an average of 2 min for presentation. Therefore, **plan on presenting about half a dozen slides**. Simpler slides (e.g. consisting only of text) may take less time. You may prepare extra slides which you would only show if you get a question about a specific point. You will be graded on organization, clarity, appearance, and overall quality of the presentation. Avoid jargon, address your audience directly, and try to appear engaged. Also, you must dress professionally.

SELECT BIBIOGRAPHY AND BACKGROUND MATERIAL
(These sites should be useful in preparing for your informal presentations.)

Relevant Web sites

- American Public Human Services Association: <http://www.aphsa.org/>
Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin-Madison. <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/irp/>
- American Public Welfare Association: Welfare News in the States, State-by-state descriptions of welfare reform initiatives. www.apwa.org/
- Brookings Institute, www.brookings.org
Center for Law and Social Policy, Lists the most recent developments in welfare issues. www.clasp.org.
- Congressional Budget Office: <http://www.cbo.gov/>
Focus, Institute for Research on Poverty publishes quarterly research briefs on issues related to poverty and welfare. www.ssc.wisc.edu/irp/focus/.
- Heritage Foundation, a research and educational institute whose mission is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense. www.heritage.org.
- Insight & Action: The Human Needs Report, Coalition on Human Needs biweekly newsletter and legislative update. www.chn.org.
- Library of Congress web site, THOMAS: <http://www.loc.gov/>
- National Conference of State Legislatures – Welfare Reform Connection, Provides information about state and federal actions and analyses of key welfare issues. www.ncsl.org
- National Governors' Association: <http://www.nga.org/>
- Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government conducts research on the role of state and local governments in American federalism and the management and finances of states and localities. www.rockinst.org
- Poverty in the United States (Current Population Reports), U.S. Bureau of the Census annual summary of poverty data. www.gpo.gov
- Poverty Research News, Joint Center for Poverty Research quarterly research summaries. www.jcpr.org.
- The Public Agenda: <http://www.publicagenda.org/>
Roundtable on Religion and Social Policy, www.religionandsocialpolicy.org
- Urban Institute, a nonprofit research organization produces research reports and policy briefs, most of which are accessible on this web site; <http://www.urban.org/>
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration on Children and Families; web site has extensive data on welfare caseloads, trends, federal regulations, program rules, and links to state programs: <http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/>
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Assistance Secretary for

- Policy and Evaluation; web site has extensive links and access to many HHS-funded research reports: <http://aspe.os.dhhs.gov/>
- U.S. Department of Labor-Bureau of Labor Statistics, the BLS web site allows access to all statistics and has links to Census Bureau, include Current Population Survey data: <http://www.bls.gov/>
- U.S. Department of Labor-Employment and Training Administration; the ETA web site has links to state programs, a special site for the Welfare-to-Work Grants Program, and access to many DOL funded research reports: <http://www.doleta.gov/>
- U.S. Congress House Ways and Means Committee Green Book. The 1994 edition is most extensive. 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000: <http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/wm001.htm>
1994, 1996: <http://aspe.os.dhhs.gov/news/welfare>
- U.S. General Accounting Office: <http://www.gao.gov/>
- U.S., State and Local Gateway (U.S. Government federal interagency site with links to policy information: extensive links on many topics including families/children for welfare and poverty issues: <http://www.statelocal.gov/index.html>
- Welfare Information Network, a clearinghouse for information, policy analysis, and technical assistance resources on welfare reform; extensive links: <http://www.welfareinfo.org/>

The Politics of Poverty and Social Welfare Policy**Selected Books and Reports**

- Anderson, Martin. *Welfare*. Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, 1978.
- Bane, Mary Jo and David Ellwood. *Welfare Realities: From Rhetoric to Reform*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Burke, Vincent and Vee Burke. *Nixon's Good Deed-Welfare Reform*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.
- Butler, Stuart and Anna Kondratas. *Out of the Poverty Trap*. New York: Free Press, 1987.
- Citro, Constance and Robert Michael, eds. *Measuring Poverty: A New Approach*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1995.
- Danziger, Sheldon, Gary Sandefur, and Daniel Weinberg. *Confronting Poverty: Prescriptions for Change*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Davies, Gareth. *From opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism*. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1996.
- Ellwood, David. *Poor Support: Poverty in the American Family*. New York: Basic Books, 1988.
- Fogg, Neal, Andrew Sum, and Garth Mangum. *Poverty Ain't What it Used to Be: The Case for and Consequences of Redefining Poverty*. Policy Issues Monograph 99-03. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies, June 1999.
- Friedlander, Daniel and Gary Burtless. *Five Years After: The Long-Term Effects of Welfare-to-Work Programs*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995.
- Funciello, Theresa. *Tyranny of Kindness: Dismantling the Welfare System to End Poverty in America*. New York: Atlantic Press, 1993.
- Gueron, Judith and Edward Pauly. *From Welfare to Work*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993.
- Katz, Michael. *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1986.
- Katz, Michael. *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1990.
- Kaus, Mickey. *The End of Equality*. New York: Basic Books, 1992.
- Lynn, Lawrence. *The President as Policy Maker: Jimmy Carter and Welfare Reform*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981.
- Mead, Lawrence M. *Beyond Entitlement: The Social Obligations of Citizenship*. New York: Free Press, 1986.
- Moffitt, Robert. "Incentive Effects of the U.S. Welfare System: A Review." *Journal of Economic Literature* 30 (1992): 1-61.
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*. New York: Free Press, 1970.

- Murray, Charles. *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- Nightingale, Demetra Smith and Robert A. Haveman, Editors. *The Work Alternative: Welfare Reform and the Realities of the Job Market*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 1995.
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- Peterson, Paul and Mark Rom. *Welfare Magnets*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1990.
- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. *The Breaking of the American Social Compact*. New York: New Press, 1997.
- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993 ed.
- Rawls, John. *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.
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- Sawhill, Isabel V. "Poverty in the U.S.: Why Is It So Persistent?" *Journal of Economic Literature* 22 (1988): 367-388.
- Schram, S., Soss, J., & Fording, R. (Eds.) (2003). *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Secombe, Karen. *So You Think I Drive a Cadillac: Welfare Recipients' System and Its Reform*. New York: Allyn & Bacon, October 1998.
- Skocpol, Theda. *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Spalter-Roth, Roberta, Beverly Burr, Heidi Hartmann, and Lois Shaw. *Welfare That Works: The Working Lives of AFDC Recipients*. A Report to the Ford Foundation. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research, 1995.
- Tanner, Michael. *The End of Welfare: Fighting Poverty in the Civil Society*. Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1996.
- Teles, Steven M. *Whose Welfare: AFDC and Elite Politics*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996.
- Trattner, Walter. *From Poor Law to Welfare State*. New York: Free Press, 1984.
- Wilson, William Julius. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1996.
- Wilson, William Julius. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.