

● HV 84 A

71-135 ED

THE WELFARE SYSTEM AND WELFARE REFORM:
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

CONGRESSIONAL
RESEARCH
SERVICE

LIBRARY
SANTA BARBARA
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

JUN 29 1971

GOVT. PUBLICATIONS DEPT.

SHAUNEEN HUTCHINSON
Education and Public Welfare Division

May 21, 1971

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	
THE WELFARE SYSTEM.....	2
WELFARE REFORM.....	6
CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITIES.....	12
1962.....	12
1967.....	12
1968.....	12
1970.....	12

THE WELFARE SYSTEM AND WELFARE REFORM: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

During the past few years large increases in the number of recipients and in expenditures for welfare payments have focused national attention on the system of public assistance in the United States. Of late, the term most often connected with welfare has been "crisis," with all sides agreeing that a great deal of change in the present situation is needed. It is for the purpose of explaining the present system and the changes which have been proposed that this bibliography has been compiled.

Also of interest in the fields of public welfare, welfare reform and social services are the following periodicals:

Public Welfare: Journal of the American Public Welfare Association

The Social Service Review: edited by the Faculty of the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago

Social Work: Journal of the National Association of Social Workers

Welfare in Review: United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service.

Legal developments in the field of public welfare are covered in Poverty Law Reports published by Commerce Clearing House, Inc.

THE WELFARE SYSTEM

Bell, Winifred. Aid to dependent children. New York, Columbia University Press, 1965. 248 p.

Traces the history of the public assistance program of aid to dependent children with emphasis on the "suitable home" or "fit parent" aspects. Social and cultural context of the policies are examined. Uses of the "suitable home" requirements are analyzed, particularly 1960 use in Louisiana.

Clegg, Reed K. The administrator in public welfare. Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1966. 371 p.

Presents a view of welfare administration, the history and background of the American public assistance program and its administrative aspects. Describes the various roles of Federal, State and local officials. Analysis deals with every aspect of welfare administration and includes chapters on budget, personnel, public relations, law enforcement and specific problems involved in various welfare programs.

----- The welfare world. Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1968. 117 p.

Director of Fresno (California) County Department of Public Welfare gives description of the workings of local welfare office from an inside point of view. Presents specific case examples illustrating administrative problems of public assistance.

Friedlander, Walter A. Introduction to social welfare. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall, 1968. 604 p.

Textbook often used for graduate and undergraduate courses in social work. Includes fundamental concepts, historical perspective and main phases of social welfare organization.

Friedman, Lawrence M. Social welfare legislation: an introduction. Stanford Law Review, v. 21, January 1969: 217-247.

Purpose of the article is to clarify and define the concept of social legislation and to classify existing programs. Finds that over a long period of time welfare programs tend to polarize into

"middle class" programs (e.g. social security) versus "charity" programs (e.g. Aid to Families with Dependent Children). Further discusses welfare rights and the administration provisions of welfare programs. States that in "middle class" programs, benefits tend to be a matter of right; eligibility is earned; benefits are restitutionary; the means test is avoided. Characteristics of "charity" programs are the reverse.

Handler, Joel, and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth. The administration of social services and the structure of dependency: the views of AFDC recipients. Social Service Review, v. 43, December 1969: 2-34.

Study investigates social services, "one of the basic planks of proposals to reform welfare." Involved are the definition of what social services are, their level of assistance to clients and the question of how services can be expanded, modified and improved. Includes results of interviews with clients.

----- Stigma, privacy and other attitudes of welfare recipients. Stanford Law Review, v. 22, November 1969; 1-19.

Revolves around the stigma (or lack of) attached to receiving welfare payments, means tests and the welfare system in general. Survey of recipients in six Wisconsin counties found that desire for privacy was directly related to feelings of stigma. Recipients who resented unannounced caseworker visits were more embarrassed to be on welfare. Studied relationship between feelings of stigma and 1) use of social services, 2) time on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and 3) manner of leaving welfare.

Kasper, Hirschel. Welfare payments and work incentive: some determinants of general assistance payments. Journal of Human Resources, v. III, Winter 1968: 86-110.

Paper deals with the relationship between level of welfare payments and the number of people on the welfare rolls. Analysis is based on a study of general assistance payment and recipients. Results suggest that labor market conditions, particularly the unemployment level, are the most consistent causes of variations in general assistance payment levels. Level of payments themselves plays a secondary role.

Klein, Philip. From philanthropy to social welfare; an American cultural perspective. San Francisco. Jossey-Bass, inc., 1968. 307 p.

Deals with philosophy and practice of social work and social workers. Discusses present welfare services, welfare methods and personnel. Further makes suggestions for reorganization of training programs in the academic structure and for a reorientation of professional organization and purpose.

Levinson, Perry. How employable are AFDC women? Welfare in Review, v. 6, July-August: 12-16.

Study of the degree to which women on Aid to Families with Dependent Children are employable based on data gathered by the Social and Rehabilitation Service of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Analysis includes an examination of the employment potential (e.g. education level and previous employment) and employment barriers (conditions that could keep women on Aid to Families with Dependent Children away from jobs.)

Leyendecker, Hilary Moorehead. Problems and policy in public assistance. New York, Harper & Brothers publishers, 1955. 400 p.

An introduction to the public assistance system and its related income-maintenance programs. Presents the general characteristics of public assistance, its processes and problems in organization and client social worker relationships.

Ritz, Joseph P. The despised poor: Newburgh's war on welfare. Boston, Beacon press, 1966. 215 p.

Describes the action and aftermath when Newburgh, New York, officials headed by City Manager Joseph McDowell Mitchell, decided to enact strict regulations designed to assure that welfare recipients were not shirking work responsibilities. The issue revolved around the strict "thirteen point program" adopted by the city council which set rigid requirements for receiving welfare payments.

Schorr, Alvin Louis. Explorations in social policy. New York, Basic Books, inc., 1968. 308 p.

Collection of essays dealing with Aid to Families with Dependent Children, family responsibility, public housing, community services and national policy issues involved in public assistance.

----- The President's welfare reform and commission. Public Welfare, v. XXVII, January 1970: 26-32.

Evaluates and compares Nixon's family assistance plan and the recommendations of the Presidential Commission on Income Maintenance appointed in January of 1968. Contends that the Heineman Commission ignores the real issues and offers impractical, deceiving solutions. Points out the program would include 4 out of every 10 Americans in welfare payments. Calls for welfare reform to include 1) Federal administration 2) minimum standards 3) modern work requirements 4) full Federal financing. Believes that Nixon's family assistance plan could be amended to include these.

Skolnik, Alfred M., and Sophie R. Dales. Social welfare expenditures, 1969-70. Social Security Bulletin, v. 33, December 1970: 3-17.

Article includes charts showing social welfare payments from 1928 to 1970. Presents a summary of a wide spectrum of social welfare expenditures during the last four decades, with emphasis on fiscal year 1970. Also includes both private and public welfare expenditures. These statistical data have been included in the December issue of the Social Security Bulletin during past years.

Steiner, Gilbert Y. Social insecurity: the politics of welfare. Chicago, Rand McNally and co., 1966. 270 p.

Begins with the situation and philosophy leading to adoption of the Social Security Act in 1935. Examines the political circumstances that have produced particular welfare policies. Evaluates the relevance and roll of professional social workers. Also concerned with the determinants of change in public assistance policy. Discusses what changes are likely and how they may be instituted.

WELFARE REFORM

Banfield, Edward C. Welfare: a crisis without solutions. Public Interest, no. 16, Summer 1969: 89-101.

Using statistics from New York City, discusses why dependency on welfare increased in the sixties, citing increased leniency of social workers and increased benefit levels as causes. Also discusses negative "side effects" of the present welfare system including: family breakup, refusal of employable persons to work, deterring people from moving to places where opportunities are greater and incentive to cheat. Concludes that there is no simple solution to the problems, not even a negative income tax. Suggests that welfare, as presently known "cannot in and of itself, constitute a satisfactory answer to the problem of income redistribution."

Bartley, Robert L. Federalized welfare: the realities. The Wall Street Journal, v. CLXXVII, March 29, 1971: 12.

Article says that apparently "federalization" currently means having the Federal government pick up a larger share of welfare costs, but contends that a simple take over of existing State programs is not feasible. Because of great discrepancies among the States in standards and payment levels, the Federal government could not fully assume responsibility for all present welfare programs. Contends that the solution is to be found by not only increasing benefits in less generous States but inviting their reduction in more generous ones."

----- Welfare II: the Nixon plan assessed. Wall Street Journal, v. CLXXVI, February 19, 1970: 16.

Article asserts that the family assistance plan must be thoroughly analyzed before passing judgment. Says great confusion has ensued from the 1967 Social Security Amendments, pointing out the main features included incentive payments for female headed families, funds for day care and work requirements. Nixon Plan includes all these on a larger scale. Points out the questionable effectiveness of the present WIN program in New York City, but says the new work requirements in the family assistance plan could get some people off rolls. Adds that this possibility is "an iffy proposition." The new principle in the plan is the guaranteed income floor and the plan's real advantage lies in making the present system more equitable.

Bernstein, Blanche. Welfare in New York City. City Almanac, v. 4, February 1970: 1-12.

Analysis of characteristics and trends of welfare in New York City. Cites increase in numbers of persons on welfare rolls and discusses causes as well as possible solutions. Among explanations for the increase in welfare rolls are: the increasing number of persons applying for and receiving aid; the disinclination of AFDC women to work due to lack of adequate monetary work incentive; the increasing number of deserting husbands and fathers; increased permissiveness by welfare administrators. Suggestions for reform include more stringent work requirements and increased monetary incentives to keep families together. (City Almanac is published bi-monthly by the Center for New York City Affairs, New School for Social Research, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Burke, Edmund M. The trouble with welfare. Commonweal, v. 88, June 28, 1968: 433-436.

Article deals with the growing disenchantment with the nation's welfare system. Maintains that solutions based on the belief that welfare is for people temporarily down on their luck are doomed to failure. Cites ineffectiveness of work programs and abuses under the present system. Believes the final solution will be found in having the Federal government assume responsibility for welfare standards and payment levels.

Clapp, Stephen. Washington pressures, national welfare rights organization, National Journal, v. 2, January 17, 1970: 142-147.

Article includes brief background of the National Welfare Rights Organization, its administrative structure, goals, source of funds lobbying techniques and relationship to the Federal government. A profile entitled "The metamorphosis of George Wiley" is also included.

Cloward, Richard A., and Frances Fox Piven. Birth of a movement: the weapon of poverty. The Nation, v. 204, May 8, 1967: 582-588.

Describes the beginning of the National Welfare Rights Movement during the last days of June, 1966 on a march of relief recipients to Cleveland. Result was the formation of the Poverty Rights Action Center headed by George Wiley. Asserts the full impact of the movement will be felt when it begins recruiting recipients and maintains that the "legitimacy of disrupting a system that is already so corrupt is unassailable."

Cloward, Richard A., and Frances Fox Piven. A strategy to end poverty. The Nation, v. 202, May 2, 1966: 510-17.

Basic assumption is that many eligible recipients are not receiving welfare payments. Suggests a massive drive to recruit people onto the welfare rolls. Detailed strategy for organizing welfare recipients is included along with possible obstacles to be encountered and benefits to be gained. Comprehensive coverage of approaches and methods to be used.

Committee for Economic Development. Improving the public welfare system: a statement on national policy by the research and policy committee of the Committee for Economic Development. New York, April 1970. 75 p.

Recommends a national minimum income program with eligibility based solely on need. Would include the working poor and incorporate work incentives. Generally similar to the Nixon family assistance plan in content and direction. Includes a summary of recommendations and numerous statistical charts.

Controversy in Congress over public welfare revision: pro and con. Congressional Digest, v. 47, June-July, 1968: 163-192.

Traces briefly legislation since 1935 describing in greater detail the public assistance provisions of the 1967 Social Security Amendments. Opinions of a great variety of persons for and against job-training provisions of welfare legislation are included.

Faltermayer, Edmund K. A way out of the welfare mess. Fortune, v. LXXVII, July 1968: 62-67, 134-137.

Author believes the best immediate solution to the present welfare situation is to be found in reforming the existing system. Suggests transferring the administration of adult categories to social security and broadening aid for dependent children to include all families below the poverty line. Also emphasizes need for strong work incentive. Includes description of how the negative income tax would work.

Handler, Joel F., and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth. Work, welfare and the Nixon proposals. Stanford Law Review, v. 21, May 1970: 907-942.

Using a survey of welfare recipients in six Wisconsin counties, the authors analyze the relationship between welfare payments and recipients' capacity to work and job possibilities. Analyses are

limited to women receiving AFDC payments. Also included is the role of caseworkers in influencing recipients' attempts to secure employment. The paper deals extensively with the WIN program and its implementation in Wisconsin. Contends that work requirements for those on the AFDC program presently will be a "meaningless formality" as jobs are not available and administration is ineffective.

Hawkins, Charles E., et al. The Social Security Amendments of 1967: legislative history and summary of the welfare and child health provisions. *Welfare in Review*, v. 6, May-June, 1968: 3-34.

Article gives extensive history of legislative progress and events leading to adoption of 1967 social security amendments. Summarizes all provisions dealing with 1) Aid to Families with Dependent Children program 2) child welfare services 3) medical assistance 4) child health and 5) other public assistance.

Moynihan, Daniel P. The crises in welfare. *Public Interest*, no. 10, Winter 1968: 3-29.

Points out that 1) rising increases in dependency have not been distributed evenly across welfare categories but have been only in AFDC 2) the nation is more likely to improve the present system than to change it 3) national political leaders have avoided welfare problems 4) professional direction of welfare is being replaced by political direction 5) the proposals presently being made for improving the welfare system would have the effect of enlarging it. Also points out that a high level of dependency has become a normal condition of American society.

Poverty amid plenty: the American paradox. The report of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs. U.S. Govt. Print. Off., Washington, D.C., November 1969. 155 p.

Commission appointed in January 1968 by President Johnson to study income needs of poor Americans, examine existing government programs and make recommendations for improvements. November 1969, report finds existing income maintenance programs inadequate and recommends a new program of income supplementation. Main recommendation is for "the creation of a universal income supplement program financed and administered by the Federal government making cash payments to all members of the population with income needs.

Richardson, Elliot, and Alvin L. Schorr. Two views on the welfare plan. New York Times, v. CXX, December 1, 1970: 47.

Richardson asserts that immediate welfare reform legislation is necessary, pointing to rapidly growing Aid to Families with Dependent Children rolls. Says the center of the issue is coverage of the working poor. Their exclusion in any welfare reform legislation would be self-defeating, leading to erosion of the country's work ethic. Schorr says the Family Assistance Plan is based upon a contemptuous view of welfare recipients: hence, the emphasis on desertion by fathers in order to make their families eligible for higher welfare payments. Says that the proposal cloaks vast expansion of the welfare rolls in work requirements. Yet it would raise present welfare standards in only "three or four" States.

Rogin, Richard. Now it's welfare lib. New York Times magazine. V. CXIX, September 27, 1970: 30-31, 73-76, 80, 83, 87.

Article deals extensively with the National Welfare Rights Organization, particularly in New York City. Includes discussion on complications of the Nixon family assistance plan with particular emphasis on the roles played by Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven in the welfare right movement. Presents specific examples of recipients who are living in New York City -- the living conditions and budget allotments for expenses.

Salamon, Lester M. Family assistance: the stakes in the rural south. New Republic, v. 164, February 20, 1971: 17-18.

Contends that critics of the Nixon family assistance plan have ignored the benefits to be reaped in the rural south. In Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina coverage would be extended to thousands who are now excluded. Also adds that administration could be made more equitable if taken from the hands of local officials.

Steiner, Gilbert Y. The state of welfare. Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institute, 1971. 346 p.

An inquiry into the politics involved in retaining and changing public welfare policy. Steiner examines the welfare reform proposals which have been advanced during the past decade, pointing out their strengths and weaknesses. Reviews causes and results of suggested reform, finding the present prospect for constructive policy change to be improving.

Watts, Harold W. Graduated work incentives: an experiment in negative taxation. *American Economic Review*, v. LIX, May 1969: 463-472.

The article describes an experiment in negative income taxation presently being conducted in New Jersey. The experiment consists of numerous families who are being guaranteed a certain income level, their own earnings being supplemented by payments each month for a period of three years. Initial payments to first group began in August, 1968.

Welfare: time for reform. *Saturday Review*, v. LIII, May 23, 1970: 19-30.

Issue includes articles on welfare and reform by Daniel P. Moynihan, John A. Hamilton, Richard M. Elman, Yale Brozen and Joseph C. Wilson. Scope of topics includes legislation, work incentives, growth in payments and rolls and attitudes of welfare recipients.

The workfare state. *New Generation*, v. 52, Winter 1970: 3-36.

Entire issue is devoted to the subject of welfare and welfare reform. Directed specifically at Nixon's family assistance plan, issue covers numerous opinions and points of view on welfare reform. Included are George P. Schulz, Joel F. Handler, S.M. Miller, George A. Wiley, Robert Harris and Theodore Marmor.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

1962

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Ways and Means. Public Welfare Amendments of 1962; report to accompany H.R. 10606. [Wash., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1962] 86 p. (87th Cong., 2nd sess., House. Report no. 1414).

----- Senate. Committee on Finance. Public Welfare Amendments of 1962; report to accompany H.R. 10606. [Wash., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1962] 82 p. (87th Cong., 2nd sess., Senate. Report no. 1589).

1967

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Ways and Means. Social Security Amendments of 1967; report to accompany H.R. 12080. [Wash., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1967] 201 p. (90th Cong., 1st sess., House. Report no. 544).

----- Senate. Committee on Finance. Social Security Amendments of 1967; report to accompany H.R. 12080. [Wash., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1967] 341 p. (90th Cong., 1st sess., Senate. Report no. 744).

1968

U.S. Congress. Joint Economic Committee. Income Maintenance Proposals. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1968. 2 volumes.

Hon. Martha W. Griffiths (D-Michigan) presided over the subcommittee hearings on income maintenance programs. Committee held hearings to investigate the purpose of the welfare system, who should receive income transfers and how these transfers should be made without undermining dignity and the incentive to work. Appendix materials are included in the second volume.

1970

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Ways and Means. Social Security and Welfare proposals. Hearings, 91st Cong., 1st sess., Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 7 parts.

Hearings held during October and November of 1969 include extensive testimony by administration and public witnesses and numerous tables and material submitted for the record.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Ways and Means. Family Assistance Act of 1970; report to accompany H.R. 16311. [Wash., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970]. 85 p. (91st Cong., 2nd sess., Senate. Report no. 91-904).

Report of the Committee on the Family Assistance Act, including additional and dissenting views.

----- Committee on Rules. Family Assistance Act of 1970. Hearings on H.R. 16311, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., Wash., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 253 p.

Hearings held April 7-14, 1970; include testimony of various members of the House.

The Family Assistance Act of 1970. Debate on the floor of the House of Representatives held April 15 and 16, 1970. Congressional record, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., v. 116: H3069-3105, H3146-3221.

Debate of the House floor which resulted in the passage of the Family Assistance Act of 1970 by a 243-155 vote. Debate was conducted for two days under a closed rule with time limited to six hours. Floor manager for the bill was Hon. Wilbur Mills (D-Arkansas), Chairman of Ways and Means.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Finance. Family Assistance Act of 1970. Hearings on H.R. 16311, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., Wash., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 3 parts.

Hearings held during April, May, July, August, and September of 1970 including testimony and information supplied for the record by administration and public witnesses as well as extensive written testimony, articles and tables. Hearings ended with the bill being returned to the administration for revision.

----- Social Security Amendments of 1970; report to accompany H.R. 17550. [Wash., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., December 11, 1970] 456 p. (91st Cong., 2nd sess., Senate. Report no. 91-1431).

Report also contains separate and additional views on the Family Assistance Act of 1970.

Social Security Amendments of 1970. Debate on the floor of the Senate held December 16-19, 21, 22, 28, 29, 1970. Congressional record, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., v. 116: S20307, S20312, S20314-20343, S20447-20458, S20470-20473, S20477-20482, S20618-20638, S20801, S20805-20820, S20938-20951, S21072-21090, S21217-21284, S21314-21345.

Debate on H.R. 17550, the Social Security Amendments of 1970. This bill included a number of welfare provisions; however, with the exception of provision for an experimental program, the family assistance plan was not included. The bill was managed on the floor by Hon. Russell B. Long (D-La.).