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# THE LABOR, BUSINESS, AND SHADOW THE POLITICS OF HEALTH CARE WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES STATE

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Marie Gottschalk

# Shadow Welfare State

**Marie Gottschalk**



## **Shadow Welfare State:**

**The Shadow Welfare State** Marie Gottschalk, 2000 Why in the recent campaigns for universal health care did organized labor maintain its support of employer mandated insurance Did labor's weakened condition prevent it from endorsing national health insurance Marie Gottschalk demonstrates here that the unions surprising stance was a consequence of the peculiarly private nature of social policy in the United States Her book combines a much needed account of labor's important role in determining health care policy with a bold and incisive analysis of the American welfare state Gottschalk stresses that in the United States the social welfare system is anchored in the private sector but backed by government policy As a result the private sector is a key political battlefield where business labor the state and employees hotly contest matters such as health care She maintains that the shadow welfare state of job based benefits shaped the manner in which labor defined its policy interests and strategies As evidence Gottschalk examines the influence of the Taft Hartley health and welfare funds the Employee Retirement Income Security Act E R I S A and experience rated health insurance showing how they constrained labor from supporting universal health care Labor Gottschalk asserts missed an important opportunity to develop a broader progressive agenda She challenges the movement to establish a position on health care that addresses the growing ranks of Americans without insurance the restructuring of the U S economy and the political travails of the unions themselves

**Caring for America** Eileen Boris, Jennifer Klein, 2015-06-03 In this sweeping narrative history from the Great Depression of the 1930s to the Great Recession of today Caring for America rethinks both the history of the American welfare state from the perspective of care work and chronicles how home care workers eventually became one of the most vibrant forces in the American labor movement Eileen Boris and Jennifer Klein demonstrate the ways in which law and social policy made home care a low waged job that was stigmatized as welfare and relegated to the bottom of the medical hierarchy For decades these front line caregivers labored in the shadows of a welfare state that shaped the conditions of the occupation Disparate often chaotic programs for home care which allowed needy elderly and disabled people to avoid institutionalization historically paid poverty wages to the African American and immigrant women who constituted the majority of the labor force Yet policymakers and welfare administrators linked discourses of dependence and independence claiming that such jobs would end clients and workers dependence on the state and provide a ticket to economic independence The history of home care illuminates the fractured evolution of the modern American welfare state since the New Deal and its race gender and class fissures It reveals why there is no adequate long term care in America Caring for America is much more than a history of social policy however it is also about a powerful contemporary social movement At the front and center of the narrative are the workers poor women of color who have challenged the racial social and economic stigmas embedded in the system Caring for America traces the intertwined sometimes conflicting search of care providers and receivers for dignity self determination and security It highlights the senior citizen and independent living movements the civil rights organizing of

women on welfare and domestic workers the battles of public sector unions and the unionization of health and service workers It rethinks the strategies of the U S labor movement in terms of a growing care work economy Finally it makes a powerful argument that care is a basic right for all and that care work merits a living wage

**Authoritarian Populism and Liberal Democracy** Ivor Crewe, David Sanders, 2019-08-06 This edited volume offers new insights into the populist wave that is affecting democratic politics in a large number of countries The authoritarian populist turn that has developed in the US and various European countries in recent years both reflects and exacerbates the polarization of public opinion that increasingly characterizes democratic politics The book seeks to explain how and why authoritarian populist opinion has developed and been mobilised in democratic countries It also explores the implications of this growth in authoritarian anti immigrant sentiment for the operation of democratic politics in the future It concludes that liberals may need to abandon their big hearted internationalist instinct for open and unmanaged national borders and tacit indifference to illegal immigration They should instead fashion a distinctively liberal position on immigration based on the socially progressive traditions of planning public services community cohesion and worker protection against exploitation To do otherwise would be to provide the forces of illiberal authoritarianism with an opportunity to advance unparalleled since the 1930s and to destroy the extraordinary post war achievements of the liberal democratic order

*How It Works* Robert P. Fairbanks, 2009-09-15 Of the some sixty thousand vacant properties in Philadelphia half of them are abandoned row houses Taken as a whole these derelict homes symbolize the city's plight in the wake of industrial decline But a closer look reveals a remarkable new phenomenon street level entrepreneurs repurposing hundreds of these empty houses as facilities for recovering addicts and alcoholics *How It Works* is a compelling study of this recovery house movement and its place in the new urban order wrought by welfare reform To find out what life is like in these recovery houses Robert P Fairbanks II goes inside one particular home in the Kensington neighborhood Operating without a license and unregulated by any government office the recovery house provides food shelter company and a bracing self help philosophy to addicts in an area saturated with drugs and devastated by poverty From this starkly vivid close up Fairbanks widens his lens to reveal the intricate relationships the recovery houses have forged with public welfare the formal drug treatment sector criminal justice institutions and the local government

Differential Diagnoses Paul V. Dutton, 2012-11-07 Although the United States spends 16 percent of its gross domestic product on health care more than 46 million people have no insurance coverage while one in four Americans report difficulty paying for medical care Indeed the U S health care system despite being the most expensive health care system in the world ranked thirty seventh in a comprehensive World Health Organization report With health care spending only expected to increase Americans are again debating new ideas for expanding coverage and cutting costs According to the historian Paul V Dutton Americans should look to France whose health care system captured the World Health Organization's number one spot In *Differential Diagnoses* Dutton debunks a common misconception among

Americans that European health care systems are essentially similar to each other and vastly different from U S health care In fact the Americans and the French both distrust socialized medicine Both peoples cherish patient choice independent physicians medical practice freedoms and private insurers in a qualitatively different way than the Canadians the British and many others The United States and France have struggled with the same ideals of liberty and equality but one country followed a path that led to universal health insurance the other embraced private insurers and has only guaranteed coverage for the elderly and the very poor How has France reconciled the competing ideals of individual liberty and social equality to assure universal coverage while protecting patient and practitioner freedoms What can Americans learn from the French experience and what can the French learn from the U S example *Differential Diagnoses* answers these questions by comparing how employers labor unions insurers political groups the state and medical professionals have shaped their nations health care systems from the early years of the twentieth century to the present day

**The Politics of Extreme Austerity** G. Karyotis, R. Gerodimos, 2015-03-24 This volume investigates the policies and politics of extreme austerity setting the crisis in Greece in its global context Featuring multidisciplinary contributions and an exclusive interview with former Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou this is the first comprehensive account of the economic crisis at the heart of Europe

*Ensuring America's Health* Christy Ford Chapin, 2015-05-28 *Ensuring America's Health* explains why the US health care system offers world class medical services to some patients but is also exceedingly costly with fragmented care poor distribution and increasingly bureaucratized processes Based on exhaustive historical research this work traces how public and private power merged to favor a distinctive economic model that places insurance companies at the center of the system where they both finance and oversee medical care Although the insurance company model was created during the 1930s it continues to drive health care cost and quality problems today This wide ranging work not only evaluates the overarching political and economic framework of the medical system but also provides rich narrative detail examining the political dramas corporate maneuverings and forceful personalities that created American health care as we know it This book breaks new ground in the fields of health care history organizational studies and American political economy

**Learning from the Federal Market? Based Reforms** William J. Mathis, Tina M. Trujillo, 2016-06-01 Over the past twenty years educational policy has been characterized by top down market focused policies combined with a push toward privatization and school choice The new Every Student Succeeds Act continues along this path though with decision making authority now shifted toward the states These market based reforms have often been touted as the most promising response to the challenges of poverty and educational disenfranchisement But has this approach been successful Has learning improved Have historically low scoring schools turned around or have the reforms had little effect Have these narrow conceptions of schooling harmed the civic and social purposes of education in a democracy This book presents the evidence Drawing on the work of the nation's most prominent researchers the book explores the major elements of these reforms as

well as the social political and educational contexts in which they take place It examines the evidence supporting the most common school improvement strategies school choice reconstitutions or massive personnel changes and school closures From there it presents the research findings cutting across these strategies by addressing the evidence on test score trends teacher evaluation miracle schools the Common Core State Standards school choice the newly emerging school improvement industry and re segregation among others The weight of the evidence indisputably shows little success and no promise for these reforms Thus the authors counsel strongly against continuing these failed policies The book concludes with a review of more promising avenues for educational reform including the necessity of broader societal investments for combatting poverty and adverse social conditions While schools cannot single handedly overcome societal inequalities important work can take place within the public school system with evidence based interventions such as early childhood education detracking adequate funding and full service community schools all intended to renew our nation s commitment to democracy and equal educational opportunity

**Trump and the Deeper Crisis** Kevin Young,Michael Schwartz,Richard Lachmann,2022-12-12 As far right forces cement their hold on the Republican Party and as the Democratic Party appears unable to stop them what lies ahead The authors argue that confronting Trumpism requires a frontal attack on the conditions that incubated the monster

**The SAGE Handbook of Social Work** Mel Gray,James Midgley,Stephen A Webb,2012-06-22 This Handbook is the world s first generic major reference work to provide an authoritative guide to the theory method and values of social work in one volume Drawn from an international field of excellence the contributors each offer a critical analysis of their individual area of expertise The result is this invaluable resource collection that not only reflects upon the condition of social work today but also looks to future developments Split into seven parts the Handbook investigates Policy dimensions Practice Perspectives Values and ethics The context of social work Research Future challenges It is essential reading for all students practitioners researchers and academics engaged in social work

**Healthy, Wealthy, and Fair** James A. Morone,Lawrence R. Jacobs,2005-03-10 America may be one of the wealthiest countries in the world yet its citizens have lower life expectancy more infant mortalities and higher adolescent death rates than those in most other advanced industrial nations and even some developing countries In *Healthy Wealthy and Fair* a distinguished group of health policy experts pointedly examines this troubling paradox as they chart the stark disparities in health and wealth in the United States Rich in insight and extensive in scope these incisive essays explain how growing income inequality high poverty rates and inadequate coverage combine to create the U S s current healthcare difficulties Ultimately *Healthy Wealthy and Fair* not only identifies the problems contributing to America s healthcare woes but also outlines concrete policy proposals for reform issuing a clarion call to end the stalemate over health reform

**A Fabulous Failure** Nelson Lichtenstein,Judith Stein,2023-09-12 How the Clinton administration betrayed its progressive principles and capitulated to the right When Bill Clinton was elected president in 1992 he ended twelve years of Republican rule and seemed poised to enact a progressive

transformation of the US economy touching everything from health care to trade to labor relations Yet by the time he left office the nation's economic and social policies had instead lurched dramatically rightward exacerbating the inequalities so troubling in our own time This book reveals why Clinton's expansive agenda was a fabulous failure and why its demise still haunts us today Nelson Lichtenstein and Judith Stein show how the administration's progressive reformers people like Robert Reich Ira Magaziner Laura Tyson and Joseph Stiglitz were stymied by a new world of global capitalism that heightened Wall Street influence undermined domestic manufacturing and eviscerated the labor movement Robert Rubin Larry Summers and Al Gore proved champions of this financialized world Meanwhile Clinton divided his own party when he relied on Republican votes to overhaul welfare liberalize trade and deregulate the banking and telecommunications industries Even the economic boom Clinton ushered in which tamed unemployment and sent the stock market soaring in what Alan Blinder and Janet Yellen termed a fabulous decade ended with a series of exploding asset bubbles that his neoliberal economic advisors neither foresaw nor prevented A Fabulous Failure is a study of ideas in action some powerfully persuasive others illusionary and self defeating It explains why and how the Clinton presidency's progressive statecraft floundered in a world where the labor movement was weak civil rights forces quiescent and corporate America ever more powerful

**Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health Care in Twentieth-Century America** Colin Gordon, 2009-01-10

Why alone among industrial democracies does the United States not have national health insurance While many books have addressed this question Dead on Arrival is the first to do so based on original archival research for the full sweep of the twentieth century Drawing on a wide range of political reform business and labor records Colin Gordon traces a complex and interwoven story of political failure and private response He examines in turn the emergence of private work based benefits the uniquely American pursuit of social insurance the influence of race and gender on the health care debate and the ongoing confrontation between reformers and powerful economic and health interests Dead on Arrival stands alone in accounting for the failure of national or universal health policy from the early twentieth century to the present As importantly it also suggests how various interests doctors hospitals patients workers employers labor unions medical reformers and political parties confronted the question of health care as a private responsibility as a job based benefit as a political obligation and as a fundamental right Using health care as a window onto the logic of American politics and American social provision Gordon both deepens and informs the contemporary debate Fluidly written and deftly argued Dead on Arrival is thus not only a compelling history of the health care quandary but a fascinating exploration of the country's political economy and political culture through the American century of the role of private interests and private benefits in the shaping of social policy and ultimately of the ways the American welfare state empowers but also imprisons its citizens

*Employment Relations in the United States* Raymond L Hogler, 2003-12-15 Employment is closely connected to wealth status and security and is therefore a subject of interest across a range of academic disciplines Employment Relations in the United States incorporates a wealth

of research material from these different specialties to provide a historical perspective on the American workplace and the evolution of legal policies affecting employment. The analysis follows both a chronological and thematic arrangement beginning with the importance of management practices, the growth of labor organizations and the impact of collective bargaining on employment institutions and the subsequent rise of individual employment rights enforced through administrative and judicial means. Through its evolutionary approach, the book explains the fragmented, overlapping and conceptually confusing regulatory environment governing workplace relations. It offers an integrated approach to such important contemporary policy issues as health care coverage, pensions and effective dispute procedures. The book provides an analytical framework for an understanding of the unique nature of our labor markets and the role of government employers and unions.

**Key Features:** Provides students with the historical background they need to understand how the U.S. system developed and how it differs from systems in other industrialized nations. Discusses individual employment rights including protection from discrimination. Covers current policy issues in employment including raising the minimum wage, the growth of a contingent workforce and privatizing retirement. Offers a unique historical and evolutionary explanation of the nature of employment relations. As a general overview of contemporary employment relations, *Employment Relations in the United States* is a perfect supplement to college courses in employment law, human resource management and collective bargaining. Human resource managers, mediators and professionals involved in labor relations will also find this an essential reference.

The Oxford Handbook of American Bureaucracy Robert F. Durant, 2012-08-02

One of the major dilemmas facing the administrative state in the United States today is discerning how best to harness for public purposes the dynamism of markets, the passion and commitment of nonprofit and volunteer organizations and the public interest oriented expertise of the career civil service. Researchers across a variety of disciplines, fields and subfields have independently investigated aspects of the formidable challenges, choices and opportunities this dilemma poses for governance, democratic constitutionalism and theory building. This literature is vast, affords multiple and conflicting perspectives, is methodologically diverse and is fragmented. The Oxford Handbook of American Bureaucracy affords readers an uncommon overview and integration of this eclectic body of knowledge as adduced by many of its most respected researchers. Each of the chapters identifies major issues and trends, critically takes stock of the state of knowledge and ponders where future research is most promising. Unprecedented in scope, methodological diversity, scholarly viewpoint and substantive integration, this volume is invaluable for assessing where the study of American bureaucracy stands at the end of the first decade of the 21st century and where leading scholars think it should go in the future. The Oxford Handbooks of American Politics are a set of reference books offering authoritative and engaging critical overviews of the state of scholarship on American politics. Each volume focuses on a particular aspect of the field. The project is under the General Editorship of George C. Edwards III and distinguished specialists in their respective fields edit each volume. The Handbooks aim not just to report on the discipline



but also to shape it as scholars critically assess the scholarship on a topic and propose directions in which it needs to move

The series is an indispensable reference for anyone working in American politics General Editor for The Oxford Handbooks of American Politics George C Edwards III      **The Oxford Handbook of American Political History** Paula Baker, Donald T. Critchlow, 2020 This collection of essays by twenty nine distinguished scholars provides readers with a complete overview of American politics and policy that can be found in any single volume These essays reveal that American politics historically is volatile not given easily to civility and polarizing at the same time they explore important political developments in addressing real issues confronting the nation and the world      *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development* Richard M. Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, Robert C. Lieberman, 2016 Scholars working in or sympathetic to American political development APD share a commitment to accurately understanding the history of American politics and thus they question stylized facts about America's political evolution Like other approaches to American politics APD prizes analytical rigor data collection the development and testing of theory and the generation of provocative hypotheses Much APD scholarship indeed overlaps with the American politics subfield and its many well developed literatures on specific institutions or processes for example Congress judicial politics or party competition specific policy domains welfare policy immigration the foundations of inequality in American politics the distribution of wealth and income race ethnicity gender class and sexual and gender orientation public law and governance and representation What distinguishes APD is careful systematic thought about the ways that political processes civic ideals the political construction of social divisions patterns of identity formation the making and implementation of public policies contestation over and via the Constitution and other formal and informal institutions and processes evolve over time and whether and how they alter compromise or sustain the American liberal democratic regime APD scholars identify in short the histories that constitute American politics They ask what familiar or unfamiliar elements of the American past illuminate the present Are contemporary phenomena that appear new or surprising prefigured in ways that an APD approach can bring to the fore If a contemporary phenomenon is unprecedented then how might an accurate understanding of the evolution of American politics unlock its significance Featuring contributions from leading academics in the field The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development provides an authoritative and accessible analysis of the study of American political development      [The Next Shift](#) Gabriel Winant, 2021-03-23 Winner of the Frederick Jackson Turner Award Winner of the Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Prize Winner of the C L R James Award A ProMarket Best Political Economy Book of the Year Men in hardhats were once the heart of America's working class now it is women in scrubs What does this shift portend for our future Pittsburgh was once synonymous with steel But today most of its mills are gone Like so many places across the United States a city that was a center of blue collar manufacturing is now dominated by the service economy particularly health care which employs more Americans than any other industry Gabriel Winant takes us inside the Rust Belt to show how America's cities have weathered new economic realities In

Pittsburgh's neighborhoods he finds that a new working class has emerged in the wake of deindustrialization. As steelworkers and their families grew older they required more health care. Even as the industrial economy contracted sharply the care economy thrived. Hospitals and nursing homes went on hiring sprees. But many care jobs bear little resemblance to the manufacturing work the city lost. Unlike their blue collar predecessors home health aides and hospital staff work unpredictable hours for low pay. And the new working class disproportionately comprises women and people of color. Today health care workers are on the front lines of our most pressing crises yet we have been slow to appreciate that they are the face of our twenty first century workforce. *The Next Shift* offers unique insights into how we got here and what could happen next. If health care employees along with other essential workers can translate the increasing recognition of their economic value into political power they may become a major force in the twenty first century.

*When Affirmative Action Was White* Ira Katznelson, 2013-03-04 A groundbreaking work that exposes the twisted origins of affirmative action. In this penetrating new analysis New York Times Book Review Ira Katznelson fundamentally recasts our understanding of twentieth century American history and demonstrates that all the key programs passed during the New Deal and Fair Deal era of the 1930s and 1940s were created in a deeply discriminatory manner. Through mechanisms designed by Southern Democrats that specifically excluded maids and farm workers the gap between blacks and whites actually widened despite postwar prosperity. In the words of noted historian Eric Foner Katznelson's incisive book should change the terms of debate about affirmative action and about the last seventy years of American history.

*Poverty in America* John Iceland, 2012-03-22 In an in depth look at trends patterns and causes of poverty in the United States John Iceland combines the latest statistical information historical data and social scientific theory to provide a comprehensive picture of poverty in America a picture that shows how poverty is measured and understood and how this has changed over time as well as how public policies have grappled with poverty as a political issue and an economic reality. This edition is updated with a 2012 preface addressing the most current data on poverty in light of the recent economic downturn. Back cover

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