

# Hidden Welfare States

- Taking account of tax effects and private provision drastically changes the conventional picture about the size of the welfare state.
- Scandinavian countries are no longer so large welfare states as they are traditionally perceived, owing to the crawling-back effect of tax system.
- Rather surprisingly, the U.S. is the second largest welfare state in Net Total, owing to private provision of social support.
- Australia's position does not change in both gross and net social expenditure at this time.
- Australia will be considered as the large hidden welfare state if the size of superannuation increase.
- Countries with Gross Pub less than average are likely to have higher PrivPubRatio.
- Consequently, the variation in Net Total across nations is smaller than in Gross Pub.

# The Hidden Welfare State

**Huangqi Zhang**



## **The Hidden Welfare State:**

The Hidden Welfare State Christopher Howard, 1997-01-01 Despite costing hundreds of billions of dollars and subsidizing everything from homeownership and child care to health insurance tax expenditures commonly known as tax loopholes have received little attention from those who study American government This oversight has contributed to an incomplete and misleading portrait of U S social policy Here Christopher Howard analyzes the hidden welfare state created by such programs as tax deductions for home mortgage interest and employer provided retirement pensions the Earned Income Tax Credit and the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit Basing his work on the histories of these four tax expenditures Howard highlights the distinctive characteristics of all such policies Tax expenditures are created more routinely and quietly than traditional social programs for instance and over time generate unusual coalitions of support They expand and contract without deliberate changes to individual programs Howard helps the reader to appreciate the historic links between the hidden welfare state and U S tax policy which accentuate the importance of Congress and political parties He also focuses on the reasons why individuals businesses and public officials support tax expenditures The Hidden Welfare State will appeal to anyone interested in the origins development and structure of the American welfare state Students of public finance will gain new insights into the politics of taxation And as policymakers increasingly promote tax expenditures to address social problems the book offers some sobering lessons about how such programs work

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*The Hidden Welfare State* Christopher Howard, 1992      ***The Hidden Welfare State*** Chris D. Howard, 1992      *Democracy and the Welfare State* Alice Kessler-Harris, Maurizio Vaudagna, 2017-10-31

After World War II, states on both sides of the Atlantic enacted comprehensive social benefits to protect working people and constrain capitalism. A widely shared consensus specifically linked social welfare to democratic citizenship, upholding greater equality as the glue that held nations together. Though the two Wests—Europe and the United States—differ in crucial respects, they share a common history of social rights, democratic participation, and welfare capitalism. But in a new age of global inequality, welfare state retrenchment, and economic austerity, can capitalism and democracy still coexist? In this book, leading historians and social scientists rethink the history of social democracy and the welfare state in the United States and Europe in light of the global transformations of the economic order. Separately and together, they ask how changes in the distribution of wealth reshape the meaning of citizenship in a post-welfare state era. They explore how the harsh effects of austerity and inequality influence democratic participation. In individual essays as well as interviews with Ira Katznelson and Frances Fox Piven, contributors from both sides of the Atlantic explore the fortunes of the welfare state. They discuss distinct national and international settings, speaking to both local particularities and transnational and transatlantic exchanges. Covering a range of topics—the lives of migrant workers, gender, and the family in the design of welfare policies; the fate of the European Union; and the prospects of social movements—*Democracy and the Welfare State* is essential reading on what remains of twentieth-century social democracy amid the onslaught of neoliberalism and right-wing populism, and where this legacy may yet lead us.

***The Hidden Welfare State in Comparative Perspective*** Rune Ervik, 2000      ***Handbook on Society and Social Policy*** Nicholas Ellison, Tina Haux, 2020-07-31

This comprehensive Handbook provides a unique overview of the key issues and challenges facing society.

and social policy in the twenty first century discussing how welfare is conceptualised organised and delivered in contemporary global society Chapters engage with specific areas of social policy as well as with the social divisions and institutional infrastructures that underpin them The Handbook also considers how social policy should respond to the challenges posed by austerity human migration and the climate crisis      *Constraint of Race* Linda Faye Williams,2010-11-01 The winner of the 2004 W E B DuBois Book Award NCOBPS and the2004 Michael Harrington Award for an outstanding book that demonstrates how scholarship can be used in the struggle for a better world      *The Oxford Handbook of American Women's and Gender History* Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor,Lisa G. Materson,2018-09-04 From the first European encounters with Native American women to today s crisis of sexual assault The Oxford Handbook of American Women s and Gender History boldly interprets the diverse history of women and how ideas about gender shaped their access to political and cultural power in North America Over twenty nine chapters this handbook illustrates how women s and gender history can shape how we view the past looking at how gender influenced people s lives as they participated in migration colonialism trade warfare artistic production and community building Theoretically cutting edge each chapter is alive with colorful historical characters from young Chicanas transforming urban culture to free women of color forging abolitionist doctrines Asian migrant women defending the legitimacy of their marriages and transwomen fleeing incarceration Together their lives constitute the history of a continent Leading scholars across multiple generations demonstrate the power of innovative research to excavate a history hidden in plain sight Scrutinizing silences in the historical record from the inattention to enslaved women s opinions to the suppression of Indian women s involvement in border diplomacy the authors challenge the nature of historical evidence and remap what counts in our interpretation of the past Together and separately these essays offer readers a deep understanding of the variety and centrality of women s lives to all dimensions of the American past even as they show that the boundaries of women American and history have shifted across the centuries      **A Government Out of Sight** Brian Balogh,2009-04-06 A Government Out of Sight revises our understanding of the ways in which Americans turned to the national government throughout the nineteenth century      **School, Society, and State** Tracy L. Steffes,2011-04-01 Democracy has to be born anew every generation and education is its midwife wrote John Dewey in his classic work The School and Society In School Society and State Tracy Steffes places that idea at the center of her exploration of the connections between public school reform in the early twentieth century and American political development from 1890 to 1940 American public schooling Steffes shows was not merely another reform project of the Progressive Era but a central one She addresses why Americans invested in public education and explains how an array of reformers subtly transformed schooling into a tool of social governance to address the consequences of industrialization and urbanization By extending the reach of schools broadening their mandate and expanding their authority over the well being of children the state assumed a defining role in the education and in the lives of American families In School Society and State Steffes returns the state to the

study of the history of education and brings the schools back into our discussion of state power during a pivotal moment in American political development *The American Political Economy* Marc Allen Eisner, 2010-09-13 Policy debates are often grounded within the conceptual confines of a state market dichotomy as though the two existed in complete isolation In this innovative text Marc Allen Eisner portrays the state and the market as inextricably linked exploring the variety of institutions subsumed by the market and the role that the state plays in creating the institutional foundations of economic activity Through a historical approach Eisner situates the study of American political economy within a larger evolutionary institutional framework that integrates perspectives in American political development and economic sociology This volume provides a rich understanding of the complexity of U S economic policy explaining how public policies become embedded in bureaucracy and reinforced by organized beneficiaries and public expectations This path dependent layering process helps students better understand the underlying historical dynamics which provide a clearer sense of the constraints faced by policymakers now and in the future Thorough coverage of the entitlement crisis globalization's impact on the U S political economy and the recent financial crisis in the final chapters demonstrate the importance of this historical institutionalist framework

**Up from Conservatism** Michael Lind, 2013-08-06 For nearly a decade Michael Lind worked closely as a writer and editor with the intellectual leaders of American conservatism Slowly he came to believe that the many prominent intellectuals he worked with were not the leaders of the conservative movement but the followers and apologists for an increasingly divisive and reactionary political strategy orchestrated by the Republican party Lind's disillusionment led to a very public break with his former colleagues on the right as he attacked the Reverend Pat Robertson for using anti-Semitic sources in his writings In *Up From Conservatism* this former rising star of the right reveals what he believes to be the disturbing truth about the hidden economic agenda of the conservative elite The Republican capture of the U S Congress in 1994 did not represent the conversion of the American public to conservative ideology Rather it marked the success of the thirty year old southern strategy begun by Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon From the Civil War to the civil rights revolution the southern elite combined a low wage low tax strategy for economic development with a politics of demagoguery based on race baiting and Bible thumping Now Lind maintains the economic elite that controls the Republican party is following a similar strategy on a national scale using their power to shift the tax burden from the rich to the middle class while redistributing wealth upward To divert attention from their favoritism toward the rich conservatives play up the culture war channeling popular anger about falling real wages and living standards away from Wall Street and focusing it instead on the black poor and nonwhite immigrants The United States Lind concludes could use a genuine one nation conservatism that seeks to promote the interests of the middle class and the poor as well as the rich But today's elitist conservatism poses a clear and present danger to the American middle class and the American republic

**Deficits, Debt, and American Politics** Marc Allen Eisner, 2023-05-31 For most of the history of the United States periods of growing indebtedness a

product of wars and economic crises were followed by reductions in the debt to GDP ratio But why have the last several decades failed to follow this pattern leaving the national debt at its highest level since World War II In this groundbreaking new book author Marc Allen Eisner who has devoted most of his scholarly career to studying the evolution of the US political economy explores the significant changes in the fiscal conditions of the United States during the postwar period embedding the discussion in a broader historical context He demonstrates that the national debt is in part a product of reduced revenues and the growing costs of the largest entitlement programs but it also reflects a long series of shocks including two wars the financial crisis and Great Recession and the COVID 19 pandemic *Deficits Debt and American Politics* chronicles the history of the US debt in the postwar period placed in the context of broader changes in the political economy and partisan politics But it grounds this exploration in reader friendly chapter length discussions of public finance taxation mandatory spending and the budgetary process from a policy perspective The volume concludes with a discussion of the challenges of comprehensive tax and program reforms in the current political climate *Deficits Debt and American Politics* assumes little prior knowledge on the part of the reader making it an ideal book for courses on public policy and political economy taught at both the upper level undergraduate and graduate level The material on public finance long term trends in taxation and spending and the budgetary process often relegated to descriptive texts will be invaluable in courses engaging the deficit and debt

*The Many Hands of the State* Kimberly J. Morgan, Ann Shola Orloff, 2017-02-27 This book offers a sampling of cutting edge research on the state pointing to future directions for research and providing innovative ways of theorizing states

**The Motherless State** Eileen McDonagh, 2009-08-01 American women attain more professional success than most of their counterparts around the world but they lag surprisingly far behind in the national political arena Women held only 15 percent of U S congressional seats in 2006 a proportion that ranks America behind eighty two other countries in terms of females elected to legislative office A compelling exploration of this deficiency *The Motherless State* reveals why the United States differs from comparable democracies that routinely elect far more women to their national governing bodies and chief executive positions Explaining that equal rights alone do not ensure equal access to political office Eileen McDonagh shows that electoral gender parity also requires public policies that represent maternal traits Most other democracies she demonstrates view women as more suited to govern because their governments have taken on maternal roles through social welfare provisions gender quotas or the continuance of symbolic hereditary monarchies The United States has not adopted such policies and until it does McDonagh insightfully warns American women run for office with a troubling disadvantage

**The Welfare State Nobody Knows** Christopher Howard, 2008-08-10 This book analyzes the politics of social programs that are well known such as Social Security and welfare and less well known but still important such as workers compensation home mortgage interest deduction and the Americans with Disabilities Act Although it emphasizes developments in recent decades the book ranges across the entire twentieth century to identify patterns of policymaking

*The Other Side of the Coin* Christopher G. Faricy, Christopher Ellis, 2021-02-25 Despite high levels of inequality and wage stagnation over several decades the United States has done relatively little to address these problems at least in part due to public opinion which remains highly influential in determining the size and scope of social welfare programs that provide direct benefits to retirees unemployed workers or poor families On the other hand social tax expenditures or tax subsidies that help citizens pay for expenses such as health insurance or the cost of college and invest in retirement plans have been widely and successfully implemented and they now comprise nearly 40 percent of the spending of the American social welfare state In *The Other Side of the Coin* political scientists Christopher Ellis and Christopher Faricy examine public opinion towards social tax expenditures the other side of the American social welfare state and their potential to expand support for such social investment Tax expenditures seek to accomplish many of the goals of direct government expenditures but they distribute money indirectly through tax refunds or reductions in taxable income rather than direct payments on goods and services or benefits They tend to privilege market based solutions to social problems such as employer based tax subsidies for purchasing health insurance versus government provided health insurance Drawing on nationally representative surveys and survey experiments Ellis and Faricy show that social welfare policies designed as tax expenditures as opposed to direct spending on social welfare programs are widely popular with the general public Contrary to previous research suggesting that recipients of these subsidies are often unaware of indirect government aid sometimes called the hidden welfare state Ellis and Faricy find that citizens are well aware of them and act in their economic self interest in supporting tax breaks for social welfare purposes The authors find that many people view the beneficiaries of social tax expenditures to be more deserving of government aid than recipients of direct public social programs indicating that how government benefits are delivered affects people's views of recipients' worthiness Importantly tax expenditures are more likely to appeal to citizens with anti government attitudes low levels of trust in government or racial prejudices As a result social spending conducted through the tax code is likely to be far more popular than direct government spending on public programs that have the same goals The first empirical examination of the broad popularity of tax expenditures *The Other Side of the Coin* provides compelling insights into constructing a politically feasible and potentially bipartisan way to expand the scope of the American welfare state

*The G.I. Bill* Kathleen Frydl, 2009-03-23 Kathleen J Frydl examines how the GI Bill serves as an instructive example of successful federal power in modern America



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