

SEVENTH EDITION

# The Policy-Based Profession

---

An Introduction to Social Welfare Policy  
Analysis for Social Workers



SEVENTH EDITION

# The Policy-Based Profession

---

An Introduction to Social Welfare Policy  
Analysis for Social Workers

Philip R. Popple  
*University of Texas at Arlington*

Leslie Leighninger  
*Arizona State University*

with

Robert D. Leighninger  
*University of California, Berkeley*



330 Hudson Street, NY, NY 10013

**Director and Publisher:** Kevin M. Davis  
**Portfolio Manager:** Rebecca Fox-Gieg  
**Content Producer:** Pamela D. Bennett  
**Portfolio Management Assistant:** Casey Coriell  
**Executive Field Marketing Manager:** Krista Clark  
**Executive Product Marketing Manager:** Christopher Barry  
**Media Project Manager:** Lauren Carlson  
**Procurement Specialist:** Deidra Smith

**Cover Designer:** Melissa Welch, Studio Montage  
**Cover Photo:** Ohad Ben-Yoseph/Moment Open/Getty Images  
**Full-Service Project Management:** Thistle Hill Publishing Services  
**Composition:** Cenveo® Publisher Services  
**Printer/Binder:** LSC/Willard  
**Cover Printer:** Phoenix Color Corp.  
**Text Font:** Dante MT Pro Regular, 10.5/13

---

Copyright © 2019, 2015, 2011 by Pearson Education, Inc. or its affiliates. All Rights Reserved. Printed in the United States of America. This publication is protected by copyright, and permission should be obtained from the publisher prior to any prohibited reproduction, storage in a retrieval system, or transmission in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise. To obtain permission(s) to use material from this work, please visit <http://www.pearsoned.com/permissions/>

Acknowledgments of third-party content appear on the page within the text, which constitute an extension of this copyright page.

Unless otherwise indicated herein, any third-party trademarks that may appear in this work are the property of their respective owners and any references to third-party trademarks, logos or other trade dress are for demonstrative or descriptive purposes only. Such references are not intended to imply any sponsorship, endorsement, authorization, or promotion of Pearson's products by the owners of such marks, or any relationship between the owner and Pearson Education, Inc. or its affiliates, authors, licensees or distributors.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Popple, Philip R., author. | Leighninger, Leslie, author. | Leighninger, Robert D., author.

Title: The policy-based profession : an introduction to social welfare policy analysis for social workers / Philip R. Popple, University of Texas at Arlington, Leslie Leighninger, Arizona State University with Robert D. Leighninger, University of California, Berkeley.

Description: Seventh Edition. | New York, NY : Pearson, [2019] | Revised edition of The policy-based profession, [2015] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017055895 | ISBN 9780134794297 (pbk.) | ISBN 013479429X (pbk.)

Subjects: LCSH: Social workers—United States. | Public welfare—United States. | Social service—United States. | United States—Social policy.

Classification: LCC HV91 .P677 2019 | DDC 361.3/2—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017055895>





---

# Preface

For the seventh edition of *The Policy-Based Profession: An Introduction to Social Welfare Policy Analysis for Social Workers*, Dr. Robert Leighninger, editor of the *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, has been added as a named author. Bob has, in fact, been a shadow author since the very first edition of this book, but as his contribution has slowly grown, it has become obvious that he deserves formal recognition. Thanks to Bob for everything he has contributed to this book.

This book is written for students at both the baccalaureate and master's level of social work education. It is organized into four sections. The first outlines a policy-based model of the social work profession that explicitly recognizes the social welfare policy system as a major factor in social work practice, and in fact as a defining criterion of the social work profession. The second section presents a model of policy analysis that divides the task into three major facets of the policy context: historical, economic, and social. The third section of the book applies the policy analysis framework to representative policies and policy issues in the fields of public welfare, aging, mental health, substance abuse, health, child welfare, and immigration. The final section, "Taking Action" expands the book's treatment of the increasingly important area of politics and social welfare policy, and the social work profession's continually increasing emphasis on policy practice as an area of interest.

The previous edition of this book included, for the first time, a chapter on health policy. This was done, of course, in recognition of the Affordable Care Act (Obama-care) as an important addition to our country's safety net. Because we now have Donald Trump as president and the Republicans control both houses of Congress, the ACA is under serious attack, although all indications are that the act will prove much more resilient than its attackers ever imagined. Because health care is one of the major social welfare policy areas currently in play, we have made significant revisions, updates, and expansions to the health policy chapter.

For the seventh edition we have added, also for the first time, a chapter on immigration policy. We have done this for two major reasons. One is that immigration is now front and center as a major social justice issue with the current president's attempts to restrict immigration by proposing to build a wall on the border with Mexico and by placing what amounts to a ban on immigrants from majority Muslim countries. The second reason, of course, is that many social work clients are immigrants, and many of them are undocumented, so immigration policy is critical to their well-being; the social workers who assist them must be familiar with this policy area. On a more personal note, all of the authors either currently or recently have been affiliated with universities that are Hispanic-serving institutions. We have watched the struggle of students brought to this country as small children, who have done everything right, who are now earning professional degrees and facing the huge barrier to beginning their careers of being (through no fault of their own) undocumented. We were heartened by President Obama's executive order establishing the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals

(DACA) program and are hopeful that Congress will turn it into black letter law. By the time this book is published, the DACA issue will likely have been resolved. Parts of the immigration chapter will undoubtedly remain permanently relevant. This chapter explains that our country has periodically gone through periods of intense anxiety about immigration and has often responded in ways that are not constructive, but it has always emerged from the crisis ever more diverse and ever stronger. We are confident that this will happen once again.

Every chapter in this new edition has been updated to cover the most recent research, theories, and political developments related to each field of practice presented. Significant new material includes the problem of drug dependence among military veterans, the opioid epidemic, and the problem (and often tragic results) of social media bullying. In each area covered, we have purposefully avoided presenting a comprehensive (and soon outdated) overview of all current policies. Rather, our intent has been to choose a current example of a major social welfare issue within each policy area. Using these examples, we have sought to acquaint students with a process and skills for understanding policies that they can continue to apply in their professional practice. We hope that by teaching students to use a policy analysis technique, which we have termed *practitioner policy analysis*, we will equip them with a skill that will be useful throughout their careers and from which they can develop additional policy practice skills.

### New to This Edition

The seventh edition of *The Policy-Based Profession: An Introduction to Social Welfare Policy Analysis for Social Workers* has been thoroughly updated to reflect current issues that affect social work policy:

- Content regarding the relevance of historical analysis in social welfare policy analysis has been strengthened (chapter 4).
- In keeping with the increasing emphasis in social work education on teaching policy practice skills, the relationship of policy analysis to practice with individuals, families, and small groups has been strengthened throughout.
- The health chapter (chapter 9), while acknowledging that it cannot keep up with the ongoing struggle to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act, does discuss some of the favorite policies of those who favor repeal, specifically individual health savings accounts and separate high-risk insurance pools. There is also an example of a little discussed health care reform approach—concierge medicine.
- This edition includes a new chapter on immigration (chapter 11). The chapter discusses the epic drama of our glorious and not-so-glorious history of wave after wave of new arrivals and how each welcomed (or didn't) the next wave. Readers are challenged to decide whether current immigration stimulates or weakens our economy, whether it threatens the jobs of high-tech engineers and construction workers or creates new jobs in both areas, whether keeping the right people out of the country is worse than letting the wrong people in, whether immigrants commit more or fewer crimes than native-born citizens, whether refugees are carefully vetted before being allowed into the country or they just walk in, and other perplexing and debatable issues.
- Additional attention is directed to program evaluation as a policy analysis technique (chapters 10 and 13).

- Additional case vignettes illustrating the importance of understanding social welfare policy for direct practice social workers have been added throughout.
- Chapter 8 combines and updates the material formerly presented in the separate mental health and substance abuse chapters. The new chapter includes material on the opioid epidemic, problems faced by returning veterans, and recent responses to suicides caused by cyberbullying.
- The seventh edition includes updates on research and theory references, as well as references to the most current material (all chapters).

### Pearson Enhanced eText

The seventh edition of *The Policy-Based Profession: An Introduction to Social Welfare Policy Analysis for Social Workers* includes the following Enhanced eText features:

**Check Your Understanding:** Embedded assessment questions appear as a link at the end of each major chapter section in the Pearson eText. Using multiple-choice questions, the self-checks allow readers to assess how well they have mastered the content.

**Chapter Review:** At the end of each chapter, short-answer questions encourage readers to reflect on chapter concepts. We have provided feedback to support the development of thoughtful responses.

### Acknowledgments

We are grateful to the following people for assistance in researching and writing this text: Laura Dase, Barry Daste, Joseph Delatte, Wendy Franklin, Kenneth Miller, Matt Leightninger, Judith Kolb Morris, Shannon Robshaw, Todd Akins, J. Dennis Tyler, Catherine Lemieus, Anita Evans, Tanya Blom, Kim Chapman, Natisha Nason, David Austin, Ronald B. Dear, Nelson Reid, Paul H. Stuart, James L. Wolk, Nancy Kropf, Marie-Antoinette Sossou, and Carole Cox. We are also grateful to the members of the first Ph.D. class of the School of Social Work at Louisiana State University, and to the students in the spring 2013 sections of Social Work 3303 (BSW), Social Welfare Policy and Services, and the spring 2017 sections of Social Work 5303 (MSW) Foundations of Social Welfare in the School of Social Work at the University of Texas at Arlington.

Many thanks to the reviewers of this new edition: Sheri Boyle, California University of Pennsylvania; René Daniel, Daemen College; Patience Togo Malm, St. Cloud State University; and Daniel B. Rosen, Metropolitan College of New York.







---

# Brief Contents

## Part One: Social Welfare Policy and the Social Work Profession 1

1. The Policy-Based Profession 3
2. Defining Social Welfare Policy 20

## Part Two: Social Welfare Policy Analysis 31

3. Social Welfare Policy Analysis 33
4. Policy Analysis from a Historical Perspective 54
5. Social/Economic Analysis 76

## Part Three: The Framework Applied 95

6. Fighting Poverty: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families 99
7. Aging: Social Security as an Entitlement 138
8. Mental Health and Substance Abuse 161
9. Health 192
10. Child Welfare: Family Preservation Policy 214
11. Immigration 246

## Part Four: Taking Action 267

12. Politics and Social Welfare Policy 269
13. Taking Action: Policy Practice for Social Workers 285
14. Conclusion 307





---

# Contents

## PART ONE: SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY AND THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION 1

---

### 1. The Policy-Based Profession 3

- The Target of Social Work—The Individual and Society 4
    - The Social Function of Social Work* 4
    - The Dual Targets of Social Work* 5
    - The Dominance of Micropractice* 5
  - Social Work's Pursuit of Professional Status 7
  - The Policy-Based Profession 10
    - Expert Technique* 12
    - Professional Practice within an Organizational Context* 13
  - Social Work as a Policy-Based Profession: Practice Implications 14
    - Social Welfare Policy and Social Work Competencies* 15
    - Policy Practice as a Social Worker Role* 16
    - The Importance of Understanding Social Welfare Policy for the Direct-Practice Social Worker* 17
  - Conclusion 18
- 

### 2. Defining Social Welfare Policy 20

- Social Welfare Policy—Basic Definition 22
- Factors Complicating the Definition of Social Welfare Policy 22
  - Social Welfare or Social Well-Being?* 23
  - Social Welfare Policy and Social Policy* 23
  - Social Welfare Policy as an Academic Discipline and a Social Work Curriculum Area* 24
  - Social Workers Are Interested in Social Welfare Policy in All Sectors of the Economy* 26
  - The Multiple Levels of Social Welfare Policy* 27
- Social Welfare Policy—A Working Definition 30
- Conclusion 30

## PART TWO: SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY ANALYSIS 31

---

### 3. Social Welfare Policy Analysis 33

- The Many Meanings of Policy Analysis 35
  - Methods of Policy Analysis 37
    - Descriptive Analysis* 37
    - Process Analysis* 46
    - Evaluation* 47
    - Policy Analysis Methods as Ideal Types* 51
  - Policy Analysis as Science, Art, and Politics 51
  - Conclusion 53
- 

### 4. Policy Analysis from a Historical Perspective 54

- Historical Context of Social Welfare Policies 55
    - The Role of History in Understanding Policy* 55
    - Examples of Policy History* 56
    - Historical Analysis and Policy Practice* 61
  - Methods of Policy History 62
  - The Benton Park Crisis Center 72
  - Conclusion 75
- 

### 5. Social/Economic Analysis 76

- Delineation of the Policy Under Analysis 78
- Social Problem Analysis 78
- Facts Related to the Problem 80
  - Completeness of Knowledge Related to the Problem* 80
  - Population Affected by the Problem* 81
- Theory of Human Behavior Undergirding the Policy 81
- Social Values Related to the Problem 82
  - Achievement and Success* 83
  - Activity and Work* 83
  - Moral Orientation* 83
  - Humanitarian Mores* 83
  - Efficiency and Practicality* 84
  - Progress* 84
  - Material Comfort* 84
  - Equality* 85
  - Freedom* 85
  - External Conformity* 85
  - Science and Secular Rationality* 86
  - Nationalism-Patriotism* 86
  - Democracy* 86

<i>Individual Personality</i>	87
<i>Racism, Sexism, and Related Group Superiority Themes</i>	87
<i>Contradictions in the U.S. Value System</i>	88
Goals of the Policy Under Analysis	88
Hypotheses Underlying the Policy	90
Economic Analysis	91
<i>Macroeconomic Analysis</i>	91
<i>Opportunity Cost</i>	92
<i>Effects on Individual Consumer Behavior</i>	93
Conclusion	94

## PART THREE: THE FRAMEWORK APPLIED 95

---

### 6. Fighting Poverty: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families 99

Historical Analysis	104
<i>The Effort to Reform Welfare</i>	109
Social Analysis	110
<i>Problem Description</i>	110
<i>Population</i>	111
<i>Relevant Research</i>	118
<i>Values and Welfare Reform</i>	119
Economic Analysis	121
<i>Macroeconomic Issues</i>	121
<i>Microeconomic Analysis</i>	123
Evaluation	126
<i>Is TANF Succeeding?</i>	129
Conclusion	135
<i>American Values Related to Welfare Have Permanently Changed</i>	135
<i>Welfare Is Not the Problem; Poverty Is the Problem</i>	136
<i>Public Assistance Is a Social Condition, Not a Social Problem</i>	136

### 7. Aging: Social Security as an Entitlement 138

The Problem That Social Security Was Developed to Solve	140
The Social Security Act of 1935	140
Historical Development of Social Security Programs in the United States	142
<i>Precedents of the Social Security Act</i>	142
<i>Creation of the Social Security Act</i>	143
<i>Changes in Social Security</i>	147
Contemporary Analysis of Social Security	149
<i>Social Analysis</i>	149
<i>Political Analysis</i>	152

<i>Economic Analysis and Proposals for Reform</i>	153
<i>The Older Americans Act</i>	155
<i>Pensions</i>	156
End of Life	158
Conclusion	160

---

## 8. Mental Health and Substance Abuse 161

The Problem of Mental Illness	162
The Problem of Substance Abuse	163
The History of Substance Abuse Policies	166
History of Mental Health Policy	170
Social Analysis	172
<i>Mental Health</i>	172
<i>Substance Abuse</i>	173
Political Analysis	175
<i>Mental Health</i>	175
<i>Substance Abuse</i>	176
<i>Drug Testing</i>	178
Economic Analysis	179
<i>Mental Health</i>	179
<i>Substance Abuse</i>	180
Separation of Treatment for Those with Mental Health and Substance Abuse	180
Emerging Policy Issues	182
<i>Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders–5 (DSM5)</i>	182
<i>Autism and Vaccination</i>	182
<i>Mental Health in Cyberspace</i>	184
<i>The Mental Health of Veterans</i>	185
<i>Gun Violence and Mental Health</i>	187
<i>Opioid Epidemic</i>	190
Conclusion	191

---

## 9. Health 192

The Problem That Health Policy Was Developed to Solve	193
The Proposed Solution: The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010	195
<i>Access</i>	195
<i>Costs</i>	196
History of Health Care Policies	197
Social Analysis of Health Policy	200
Economic Analysis of Health Policy	201
<i>Hospitals</i>	202
<i>Drugs</i>	204
<i>Insurance</i>	205

<i>Physicians</i>	206
<i>State Governments</i>	207
Political Analysis of Health Policy	209
Program/Policy Evaluation	211
Conclusion	213

---

## 10. Child Welfare: Family Preservation Policy 214

Historical Analysis	218
<i>The Child Rescue Movement</i>	219
<i>Social Work Takes Over</i>	220
<i>Child Abuse Becomes the Dominant Theme</i>	221
<i>Foster Care—From Solution to Problem</i>	223
<i>The Emergence of Family Preservation</i>	227
Social Analysis	229
<i>Problem Description</i>	229
Political Analysis	236
Economic Analysis	238
Policy/Program Evaluation	239
Current Proposals for Policy Reform	242
Conclusion	244

---

## 11. Immigration 246

The Problems That Immigration Policy Is Attempting to Solve	247
Historical Analysis	248
<i>Front Door</i>	248
<i>Side Door</i>	253
<i>Back Door</i>	254
<i>The DREAM Act</i>	255
<i>Current Immigration Process</i>	255
Social Analysis	256
<i>Crime</i>	256
<i>Terrorism</i>	257
<i>Cultural Insecurity</i>	259
Economic Analysis	260
<i>Jobs</i>	260
<i>Public Resources</i>	263
Political Analysis	264
The Current Policy Arena	265
<i>The Wall</i>	265
<i>The Ban</i>	265
<i>Deportation</i>	266
Conclusion	266

## PART FOUR: TAKING ACTION 267

---

### 12. Politics and Social Welfare Policy 269

- The Politics of Policymaking 273
  - Models of Policymaking 275
    - Who Makes Policy?* 275
    - How Are Policies Made?* 278
    - Phases in the Policy Process* 281
    - Legitimation* 282
    - Policy Implementation* 283
  - Conclusion 284
- 

### 13. Taking Action: Policy Practice for Social Workers 285

- Analytical Skill: Program Evaluation 287
  - Interactional Skills: Negotiation and Persuasion 291
    - Subprocesses of Negotiation* 292
    - Stages of Negotiation* 294
    - Strategy and Tactics in Negotiation* 296
  - Political Skills 299
    - Building Coalitions* 300
    - Information Dissemination* 302
    - Lobbying* 304
    - Political Action for Candidate Election* 305
    - Running for Office* 306
  - Conclusion 306
- 

### 14. Conclusion 307

- Lessons from Policy Analysis 308
  - The Bottom Line Is the Bottom Line* 308
  - Compassion and Protection: Dual Motivations for Social Welfare Policy* 308
  - Ideology Drives Out Data in Social Welfare Policymaking* 309
  - Policymakers Are Generally More Sophisticated Than They Appear* 310
  - Our Expectations for Social Welfare Policy Are Unrealistic* 311

References 315

Index 335