

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments

List of Illustrations

List of Acronyms

page

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Focus of the study and core research questions 1
- 2 Plan of analysis 9

PART I

A Portrait of the Reagan and Clinton Presidential Agendas

- 1 Reagan and his “New Right” policy approach..... 13
- 2 Clinton and his “New Democratic” policy agenda 25
- 3 Summary: Reagan *versus* Clinton — political philosophies and political objectives in comparative perspective 42

PART II

Exploring the Dynamics of Welfare State Retrenchment during the Reagan and Clinton Years

- 1 A Framework for Measuring Cutbacks 59
- 2 Presenting program-specific degrees of retrenchment 63
 - 2.1 Cutbacks in universal social insurance programs 64
 - 2.1.1 Old-Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance 64
 - 2.1.2 Unemployment Insurance 142
 - 2.2 Cutbacks in selective public assistance programs 185
 - 2.2.1 Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) / Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) 185
 - 2.2.2 Food Stamps 342
- 3 Summarizing and comparing retrenchment dynamics: Reagan *versus* Clinton 442

PART III**Explaining Policy Outcomes — the Key Factors Determining Program Fate in a Red-Ink Policy Context**

1	Retrenchment susceptibility of social insurance programs	455
1.1	Old-Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance.....	455
1.1.1	Old-Age and Survivors Insurance	456
1.1.2	Disability Insurance	483
1.2	Unemployment Insurance.....	494
2	Retrenchment susceptibility of public assistance programs.....	509
2.1	AFDC / TANF.....	509
2.2	Food Stamps.....	526
3	Summary I: Explaining variations in retrenchment outcomes across programs	535
4	Summary II: Explaining variations in retrenchment outcomes across presidencies.....	549
5	A critical review of current scholarly concepts of welfare state retrenchment.....	563
	CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE	591
	<i>Bibliography</i>	615
	<i>Appendices</i>	