

WEBVTT

NOTE duration:"00:57:12"

NOTE recognizability:0.855

NOTE language:en-us

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:00.000 --> 00:00:03.978 All right. So good afternoon, everyone.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:03.980 --> 00:00:05.660 Thank you for being here today.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:05.660 --> 00:00:06.520 My colleague Kieran's a

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:06.520 --> 00:00:07.595 little bit under the weather,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:07.600 --> 00:00:10.820 so I'm going to do my best to pinch it here.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:10.820 --> 00:00:13.092 So I want to thank those of you

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:13.092 --> 00:00:15.623 who are here in person and on

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:15.623 --> 00:00:17.513 zoom for today's grand rounds.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:17.520 --> 00:00:19.248 I know that many of you are already

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:19.248 --> 00:00:20.880 connecting with your families in gratitude,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:20.880 --> 00:00:23.272 and then I invite you all to reflect

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:23.272 --> 00:00:25.768 on doctor Mays's message this morning.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:25.770 --> 00:00:27.170 I also want to let you know that

NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:27.170 --> 00:00:28.645 our next grand rounds will feature
NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:28.645 --> 00:00:29.995 Doctor Aaron Dunn from Harvard,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:30.000 --> 00:00:32.440 and she'll be describing biological
NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:32.440 --> 00:00:34.301 embedding of adversity. So.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:34.301 --> 00:00:37.429 For those here, and for those on zoom,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:37.430 --> 00:00:40.326 I also want to take a moment of
NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:40.326 --> 00:00:42.220 silence to honor the lives sensibly,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8793503233333333

00:00:42.220 --> 00:00:44.420 senselessly taken in Colorado Springs.
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:00:51.730 --> 00:00:53.911 The amount of hate that lives in our
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:00:53.911 --> 00:00:56.010 world is actually rather heartbreaking,
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:00:56.010 --> 00:00:58.596 and I'm saddened by safe spaces
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:00:58.596 --> 00:01:01.398 that I'm unsafe and fear that this
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:01.398 --> 00:01:03.283 evokes in the LGBTQ community,
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:03.290 --> 00:01:05.370 their parents, partners, and friends.
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:05.370 --> 00:01:07.250 You deserve to feel safe,
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:07.250 --> 00:01:08.900 and if I can be of support to you or

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:08.950 --> 00:01:10.648 help you connect with other supports,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:10.650 --> 00:01:13.120 please know that I'm here.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:13.120 --> 00:01:15.440 And so it is my pleasure to introduce

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:15.440 --> 00:01:17.479 you to doctor Darren Burani.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:17.480 --> 00:01:19.095 He's a professor of sociology

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:19.095 --> 00:01:20.387 at LaGuardia Community College

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:20.387 --> 00:01:22.198 at City University of New York.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:22.200 --> 00:01:24.438 He earned his PhD from the

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:24.438 --> 00:01:26.883 CUNY Graduate Center and has an

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:26.883 --> 00:01:28.639 MPA from Columbia University.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:28.640 --> 00:01:30.380 His work has primarily focused on

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:30.380 --> 00:01:31.955 how special interest groups and

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:31.955 --> 00:01:33.775 intellectuals shape the political culture,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:33.780 --> 00:01:35.980 especially in relation to welfare

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:35.980 --> 00:01:36.860 state policy.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:36.860 --> 00:01:39.035 His most recent project explores
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:39.035 --> 00:01:41.218 how the food industry influences
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:41.218 --> 00:01:42.970 public thinking on nutrition.
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:42.970 --> 00:01:44.510 Public health and the environment,
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:44.510 --> 00:01:47.317 with a focus on the harmful consequences
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:47.317 --> 00:01:49.380 of industrial animal agriculture,
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:49.380 --> 00:01:51.546 disproportionately experienced by
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:51.546 --> 00:01:54.434 frontline and marginalized communities.
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:54.440 --> 00:01:57.056 So I've known Doctor Virani D,
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:57.060 --> 00:01:59.724 as I call him, for about 20 years.
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:01:59.730 --> 00:02:01.596 And my first introduction to his
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:01.596 --> 00:02:03.445 brilliance was when he married a
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:03.445 --> 00:02:05.482 dear friend of mine from high school,
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:05.482 --> 00:02:08.112 both because of who he chose to marry
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:08.112 --> 00:02:10.639 and from the conversations that we had.
NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:10.640 --> 00:02:12.190 So for years we've engaged

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:12.190 --> 00:02:13.120 in deep analytical.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:13.120 --> 00:02:14.808 Conversations about the world

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:14.808 --> 00:02:16.496 and our evolving perspectives

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:16.496 --> 00:02:18.588 as young adults and parents.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:18.590 --> 00:02:19.678 And I was excited.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:19.678 --> 00:02:22.296 It was exciting to know that he was going

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:22.296 --> 00:02:24.445 to publish an analysis of anything like.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:24.450 --> 00:02:26.242 I was just excited because we've had

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:26.242 --> 00:02:27.730 so many wonderful conversations,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:27.730 --> 00:02:29.452 let alone on a topic of such

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:29.452 --> 00:02:30.630 relevance to our center.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:30.630 --> 00:02:32.628 And so at the time that it was published,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:32.630 --> 00:02:34.894 I actually didn't have any way of knowing

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:34.894 --> 00:02:36.731 how relevant and important his work

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:36.731 --> 00:02:38.555 would become to our community until

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:38.609 --> 00:02:40.545 my role at our at the center shifted.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:40.550 --> 00:02:42.674 And so as part of our commitment to DI,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:42.680 --> 00:02:43.588 we're consistently.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:43.588 --> 00:02:45.404 Working toward understanding how

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:45.404 --> 00:02:47.678 structures and systems have created

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:47.678 --> 00:02:49.663 and sustained narratives and policies

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:49.663 --> 00:02:51.761 that continue to oppress populations

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:51.761 --> 00:02:54.449 and that have populations that have

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:54.449 --> 00:02:55.793 been historically marginalized.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:55.800 --> 00:02:58.166 So we've all heard the narrative of

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:02:58.166 --> 00:03:00.498 pulling oneself up by their bootstraps,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:00.500 --> 00:03:02.535 but we rarely acknowledge that

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:02.535 --> 00:03:04.960 many have been denied access to

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:04.960 --> 00:03:06.565 boots in the first place.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:06.570 --> 00:03:07.311 And so today,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:07.311 --> 00:03:08.793 let's listen to Doctor Perini with

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:08.793 --> 00:03:10.463 open minds and hearts to understand

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:10.463 --> 00:03:12.135 how the narrative of poverty and

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:12.135 --> 00:03:13.885 welfare has been framed in our country,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:13.890 --> 00:03:15.906 to continue to oppress and see how

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:15.906 --> 00:03:18.210 we're able to disrupt this narrative.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:18.210 --> 00:03:19.547 And so for those who are here,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:19.550 --> 00:03:20.770 we also have planned for,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:20.770 --> 00:03:23.186 we noticed that every time after a speaker,

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:23.190 --> 00:03:25.014 people linger and want to ask more questions.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:25.020 --> 00:03:25.790 So we actually did it.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:25.790 --> 00:03:28.240 Plan fully this time and we'll have

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:28.240 --> 00:03:30.431 some vegan treats coming in and

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:30.431 --> 00:03:32.573 also the opportunity to continue to

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:32.573 --> 00:03:34.581 chat with Doctor Burani after you

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:34.581 --> 00:03:37.013 hear what he has to share with us.

NOTE Confidence: 0.7077882

00:03:37.013 --> 00:03:38.740 Now, Darren Doctor Virani, please join us.

NOTE Confidence: 0.749946745

00:03:53.750 --> 00:03:55.136 You're all set. You just gotta click

NOTE Confidence: 0.749946745

00:03:55.136 --> 00:03:56.665 on it first and then you can use

NOTE Confidence: 0.749946745

00:03:56.665 --> 00:04:01.060 the arrow keys. Gotcha. Oh, OK.

NOTE Confidence: 0.897761158

00:04:03.610 --> 00:04:04.800 I knew that would happen.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860374974

00:04:06.910 --> 00:04:07.990 Thank you so much, Tara,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860374974

00:04:07.990 --> 00:04:11.270 for that lovely introduction.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860374974

00:04:11.270 --> 00:04:12.686 I hope I can live up to that.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860374974

00:04:12.690 --> 00:04:15.746 But I I, I share your opinion that,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860374974

00:04:15.750 --> 00:04:17.340 you know, I think my my

NOTE Confidence: 0.860374974

00:04:17.340 --> 00:04:18.400 brightest moment of brilliance

NOTE Confidence: 0.860374974

00:04:18.459 --> 00:04:21.580 was my partner of choice, so.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860374974

00:04:21.580 --> 00:04:22.750 Who I think is watching.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:25.030 --> 00:04:26.278 It's a pleasure to be here,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:26.280 --> 00:04:28.296 and thank you so much for the opportunity

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:28.296 --> 00:04:30.367 to speak with all of you about my work.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:30.370 --> 00:04:32.946 And thank you for the important work you

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:32.946 --> 00:04:35.747 do here at the Yale Child Study Center.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:35.750 --> 00:04:38.942 You know, the title of today's talk is

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:38.942 --> 00:04:42.176 what I. Kind of wish the book was titled.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:42.180 --> 00:04:43.940 If I could do it all over again,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:43.940 --> 00:04:45.800 I probably wouldn't choose the name,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:45.800 --> 00:04:47.558 the new welfare consensus, and I'll

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:47.558 --> 00:04:49.620 explain kind of what that term means.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:49.620 --> 00:04:51.228 But this, I think,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:51.228 --> 00:04:53.238 is a better characterization of

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:53.238 --> 00:04:55.436 where the book is coming from.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:55.440 --> 00:04:56.796 You know, I did some thinking.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:56.800 --> 00:04:59.176 I've never, I haven't done this.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:04:59.180 --> 00:05:01.742 The book talk actually in in

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:01.742 --> 00:05:04.419 a minute as the kids say.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:04.420 --> 00:05:05.735 And I've certainly never done
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:05.735 --> 00:05:07.050 it in a healthcare setting.
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:07.050 --> 00:05:08.658 So I'm really delighted to be
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:08.658 --> 00:05:11.042 able to do this and it, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:11.042 --> 00:05:14.098 it got me thinking at 1st and how
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:14.098 --> 00:05:15.486 this material relates directly
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:15.486 --> 00:05:17.648 to the work that you all do.
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:17.650 --> 00:05:18.190 You know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:18.190 --> 00:05:20.080 it tells a story of how intellectuals
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:20.080 --> 00:05:21.842 and interest groups have shaped the
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:21.842 --> 00:05:23.722 debate and sort of the discourse
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:23.722 --> 00:05:25.667 around welfare and related issues,
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:25.670 --> 00:05:27.686 things like family and work and
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:27.686 --> 00:05:29.356 personal responsibility and the role
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:29.356 --> 00:05:31.267 of the state in providing a minimum,
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:31.270 --> 00:05:31.966 you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:31.966 --> 00:05:33.358 standard of living outside

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:33.358 --> 00:05:35.120 of Labor markets and such.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:35.120 --> 00:05:37.836 And over a long period of time,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:37.840 --> 00:05:39.628 narratives related to race

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:39.628 --> 00:05:40.969 and class demeaning,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:40.970 --> 00:05:43.205 narratives that demonized sexual behavior

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:43.205 --> 00:05:45.900 attributed to poor women of color,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:45.900 --> 00:05:47.600 drummed up hostility and

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:47.600 --> 00:05:49.300 opposition to these programs.

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:49.300 --> 00:05:51.898 So while it's in particular social

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:51.898 --> 00:05:53.984 environments that people develop a

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:53.984 --> 00:05:55.972 sense of what one or another program

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:55.972 --> 00:05:58.100 or or policy initiative does,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:58.100 --> 00:05:59.764 we're crucially it's people,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:05:59.764 --> 00:06:00.180 families,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:06:00.180 --> 00:06:00.544 children,
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:00.544 --> 00:06:02.364 already subject to the cold
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:02.364 --> 00:06:04.250 disaffection of the market and
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:04.250 --> 00:06:06.100 struggling to overcome the effects.
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:06.100 --> 00:06:07.704 Of poverty and exploitation,
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:07.704 --> 00:06:10.110 who bear the brunt of punitive
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:10.179 --> 00:06:13.175 policy and who are demeaned by the
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:13.175 --> 00:06:14.870 hurtful characterizations of them.
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:14.870 --> 00:06:15.181 Also,
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:15.181 --> 00:06:17.047 I'm really glad that in recent
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:17.047 --> 00:06:19.098 years there's been a growth of
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:19.098 --> 00:06:20.502 interest in having conversations
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:20.502 --> 00:06:22.070 around equity and justice.
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:22.070 --> 00:06:22.865 So, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:22.865 --> 00:06:23.925 another thread connecting this,
NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439
00:06:23.930 --> 00:06:26.030 I think is how when we interrogate

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:06:26.030 --> 00:06:28.223 the origins of what we think

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:06:28.223 --> 00:06:29.863 and sometimes uncritically and

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:06:29.863 --> 00:06:31.650 unconsciously take for granted,

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:06:31.650 --> 00:06:33.715 this can help us address forms of

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:06:33.715 --> 00:06:35.511 implicit bias and how we engage

NOTE Confidence: 0.90325439

00:06:35.511 --> 00:06:37.209 with the people that we serve.

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:06:40.340 --> 00:06:42.860 All right, method to do that this time.

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:06:42.860 --> 00:06:44.760 So the investigation mainly covers

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:06:44.760 --> 00:06:47.150 the period from the interwar period,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:06:47.150 --> 00:06:50.139 the 1930s, to the signing of the

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:06:50.139 --> 00:06:52.136 personal responsibility and Work

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:06:52.136 --> 00:06:54.059 Opportunity Reconciliation Act.

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:06:54.060 --> 00:06:56.195 Or perwira might be the most clumsy

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:06:56.195 --> 00:06:58.579 name for a piece of legislation.

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:06:58.580 --> 00:07:00.908 So and that was in 1996,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:00.908 --> 00:07:03.680 but for the remainder of the talk I'll refer

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:03.743 --> 00:07:06.224 to it as the welfare reform bill of 1996.

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:06.224 --> 00:07:08.168 And you know, this period saw

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:08.168 --> 00:07:09.648 the sequence of legislative

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:09.648 --> 00:07:12.264 developments leading up to the bill.

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:12.270 --> 00:07:13.314 But it also,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:13.314 --> 00:07:14.706 and probably more importantly,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:14.710 --> 00:07:16.816 as one where an emerging social

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:16.816 --> 00:07:18.220 policy narrative was solidified

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:18.284 --> 00:07:20.174 in the public consciousness and

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:20.174 --> 00:07:21.686 with informal policy circles.

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:21.690 --> 00:07:24.534 In other words, a new welfare

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:24.534 --> 00:07:27.510 consensus over time had solidified.

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:27.510 --> 00:07:29.478 And the study traces the origins

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:29.478 --> 00:07:30.790 of today's political debates

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:30.851 --> 00:07:32.626 around things like social policy,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:32.630 --> 00:07:34.064 equality, distributive justice,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:34.064 --> 00:07:37.410 both between the right and and left,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:37.410 --> 00:07:39.250 but also within the right and left too.

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:39.250 --> 00:07:40.093 As you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:40.093 --> 00:07:41.779 there was often debates and and,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:41.780 --> 00:07:43.985 you know, conflict within those

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:43.985 --> 00:07:45.308 those political formations.

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:45.310 --> 00:07:45.618 Also,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:45.618 --> 00:07:47.774 and of particular interest is how a

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:47.774 --> 00:07:50.163 set of ideas went from the political

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:50.163 --> 00:07:52.747 fringe in the 1930s and 40s to

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:52.747 --> 00:07:54.772 mainstream thinking on welfare policy

NOTE Confidence: 0.74659778375

00:07:54.772 --> 00:07:57.130 and related issues by the 1970s.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:00.580 --> 00:08:03.520 So. It's hard to see, apologies.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:03.520 --> 00:08:05.338 But you more or less just need to see

NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:05.338 --> 00:08:07.020 the relationship as it goes down.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:07.020 --> 00:08:09.762 And I'll explain, but the investigation
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:09.762 --> 00:08:11.940 mainly covers whoops, wrong part.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:11.940 --> 00:08:13.940 But unlike our European counterparts,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:13.940 --> 00:08:15.805 the US has not maintained
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:15.805 --> 00:08:17.297 an extensive safety net.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:17.300 --> 00:08:18.889 You know, it's often taken for granted
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:18.889 --> 00:08:20.558 that this is just part of America,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:20.560 --> 00:08:22.420 you know, rugged American culture,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:22.420 --> 00:08:24.322 or that we're just more inclined
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:24.322 --> 00:08:25.880 towards self-sufficiency and hard work.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:25.880 --> 00:08:27.756 Some see it as a superior arrangement,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:27.760 --> 00:08:30.760 more lean than our European counterparts,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:30.760 --> 00:08:31.984 but rather than uncritically.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:31.984 --> 00:08:33.395 Saying that, that's just how
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:08:33.395 --> 00:08:34.985 things are in the United States,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:34.990 --> 00:08:36.663 the study set out the trace of
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:36.663 --> 00:08:38.180 the origins of such ideology.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:38.180 --> 00:08:40.343 So it sees the new welfare consensus
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:40.343 --> 00:08:42.730 as the product of particular historic,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:42.730 --> 00:08:44.778 political, social, ideological currents.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:44.778 --> 00:08:47.850 And there's many myths in the
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:47.927 --> 00:08:50.047 popular discourse on welfare,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:50.050 --> 00:08:50.742 for example,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:50.742 --> 00:08:52.818 that the United States directs a
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:52.818 --> 00:08:54.584 significant portion of its resources
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:54.584 --> 00:08:55.944 to welfare state expenditures
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:55.944 --> 00:08:57.450 compared to other nations.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:57.450 --> 00:08:58.970 And as I said, it's a bit hard to see.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:08:58.970 --> 00:09:00.020 But if you look at the slide,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582
00:09:00.020 --> 00:09:02.547 there's a list of 29 OECD.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:09:02.550 --> 00:09:04.860 Countries in order of the percent of
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:09:04.860 --> 00:09:07.084 their gross domestic product that they
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:09:07.084 --> 00:09:09.039 they contribute to welfare programs,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8824582

00:09:09.040 --> 00:09:10.776 and the United States is at the bottom.
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:13.740 --> 00:09:15.652 And on this next slide is a list
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:15.652 --> 00:09:18.222 of 18 OCD countries in order of
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:18.222 --> 00:09:19.842 per capita welfare expenditures.
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:19.850 --> 00:09:21.896 That is the total amount contributed
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:21.896 --> 00:09:22.919 towards welfare programs,
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:22.920 --> 00:09:24.996 but then divided by the population.
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:25.000 --> 00:09:28.978 And again, we see the US at the bottom.
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:28.980 --> 00:09:30.702 So one of the questions that
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:30.702 --> 00:09:32.872 inform this study is why is the
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:32.872 --> 00:09:34.144 United States so different,
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:34.150 --> 00:09:36.220 compared again to our European counterparts,
NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105

00:09:36.220 --> 00:09:38.690 with regard to prioritizing benefits

NOTE Confidence: 0.856444456842105
00:09:38.690 --> 00:09:41.860 and services for those most in need?
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:09:44.600 --> 00:09:46.628 So another question that informed the
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:09:46.628 --> 00:09:48.774 study was why attitudes toward welfare
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:09:48.774 --> 00:09:50.976 in the United States shifted overtime.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:09:50.980 --> 00:09:53.796 And these tables just sort of show how,
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:09:53.800 --> 00:09:56.075 you know, opposition or support
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:09:56.075 --> 00:09:58.932 to to welfare spending and welfare
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:09:58.932 --> 00:10:01.417 policy shifts over the period.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:10:01.420 --> 00:10:03.926 The least opposition was in the decades
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:10:03.926 --> 00:10:06.858 after FDR rolled out the Social Security Act,
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:10:06.860 --> 00:10:08.912 which was in 1935 in response
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:10:08.912 --> 00:10:10.280 to the Great Depression.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:10:10.280 --> 00:10:12.260 And we see little opposition to
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:10:12.260 --> 00:10:15.720 welfare in 1939 and 1946, for example.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444
00:10:15.720 --> 00:10:16.716 Oh, and you specifically told me
NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:10:16.716 --> 00:10:17.918 not to look up at the screen.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:17.920 --> 00:10:19.800 Sorry.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:19.800 --> 00:10:23.450 Cameras over there with 23 and 19% saying
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:23.450 --> 00:10:25.680 that the government should not provide
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:25.680 --> 00:10:28.350 for people without means of subsistence,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:28.350 --> 00:10:30.050 meaning that close to 80%
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:30.050 --> 00:10:31.070 were in support of it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:31.070 --> 00:10:34.670 And this changes over time, as you'll see.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:34.670 --> 00:10:36.428 So the 1960s.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:36.428 --> 00:10:37.600 Look there,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:37.600 --> 00:10:39.508 the 1960s are significant because what
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:39.508 --> 00:10:42.376 you see is over the course of that decade,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:42.380 --> 00:10:45.172 a real shift in terms of public opposition
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:45.172 --> 00:10:47.240 with regard to welfare programs.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:47.240 --> 00:10:50.910 So in 1961 and 64, we see respondents
NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:10:50.910 --> 00:10:52.660 to the general Social Survey,

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:10:52.660 --> 00:10:55.278 and the former data was from the

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:10:55.278 --> 00:10:57.239 Roper polls from that time.

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:10:57.240 --> 00:10:59.976 And you know, over all of these decades,

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:10:59.980 --> 00:11:01.816 the wording of the questions they

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:01.816 --> 00:11:04.338 ask on the surveys kind of change a bit.

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:04.340 --> 00:11:05.642 And, you know, and depending on

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:05.642 --> 00:11:07.440 what it is that you're looking for.

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:07.440 --> 00:11:09.498 Sometimes you have to look at different

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:09.498 --> 00:11:11.747 opinion surveys so you know it's not perfect.

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:11.750 --> 00:11:15.478 Apples to apples, but it tells a story.

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:15.480 --> 00:11:17.454 So by the end of the 60s,

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:17.460 --> 00:11:19.266 forty 4 and 45% reported that

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:19.266 --> 00:11:21.249 too much is spent on welfare,

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:21.250 --> 00:11:21.519 right?

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:21.519 --> 00:11:23.402 Seeing more than a doubling in opposition

NOTE Confidence: 0.859867594444444

00:11:23.402 --> 00:11:25.697 from the beginning of that decade to the end.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:11:25.700 --> 00:11:27.562 And what we'll kind of like focus

NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:11:27.562 --> 00:11:29.807 in on the 60s in a in a bit and

NOTE Confidence: 0.8598675944444444

00:11:29.807 --> 00:11:30.788 why that's important.

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:32.870 --> 00:11:35.278 By the late 1970s, in the years leading

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:35.278 --> 00:11:39.176 up to the election of Reagan in 1978,

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:39.176 --> 00:11:42.070 and 198062 and 59% respectively responded

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:42.070 --> 00:11:44.889 that too much was spent on welfare.

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:44.890 --> 00:11:46.370 And in the Clinton years,

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:46.370 --> 00:11:47.930 the years leading up to the

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:47.930 --> 00:11:49.418 welfare reform bill of 1996,

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:49.418 --> 00:11:51.476 sixty two and 58% responded

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:51.476 --> 00:11:52.806 that too much was spent.

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:52.810 --> 00:11:54.966 So we see that same level of

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:54.966 --> 00:11:56.826 opposition kind of stabilizing and

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:56.826 --> 00:11:59.424 that 60 ish percent number stays

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:11:59.424 --> 00:12:01.209 consistent pretty much ongoing,

NOTE Confidence: 0.888397894285714

00:12:01.210 --> 00:12:03.149 give or take like. 5 to 7%.

NOTE Confidence: 0.71438193

00:12:05.770 --> 00:12:06.220 Oops.

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:10.560 --> 00:12:13.860 That's it. So.

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:13.860 --> 00:12:15.140 New welfare consensus refers

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:15.140 --> 00:12:17.524 to a new way of thinking about

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:17.524 --> 00:12:19.120 welfare and related issues,

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:19.120 --> 00:12:21.680 and that have particular consequences.

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:21.680 --> 00:12:23.224 The parameters around acceptable

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:23.224 --> 00:12:24.768 policy discourse and legislation

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:24.768 --> 00:12:26.810 as a result of the emergence

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:26.810 --> 00:12:28.628 of a new welfare consensus have

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:28.689 --> 00:12:30.399 been significantly constrained,

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:30.400 --> 00:12:32.367 and this has produced a welfare state

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:32.367 --> 00:12:34.438 that had become more fiscally austere,

NOTE Confidence: 0.82904852

00:12:34.440 --> 00:12:36.288 demeaning and coercive.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:12:39.980 --> 00:12:41.700 Now historically the attack
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:12:41.700 --> 00:12:44.280 on welfare is rooted in the
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:12:44.363 --> 00:12:47.180 conservative intellectual tradition.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:12:47.180 --> 00:12:49.532 So the attack on the safety net was
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:12:49.532 --> 00:12:51.245 initially waged by conservative
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:12:51.245 --> 00:12:52.838 politicians and intellectuals.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:12:52.840 --> 00:12:54.892 And this isn't meant to alienate
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:12:54.892 --> 00:12:56.260 anybody or their worldviews,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:12:56.260 --> 00:12:58.353 but simply a way of tracing where
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:12:58.353 --> 00:13:00.050 you know where anti welfarism
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:00.050 --> 00:13:01.875 as an ideology comes from.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:01.880 --> 00:13:04.064 So looking at how it evolved and essentially
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:04.064 --> 00:13:05.618 what mainstream in the United States.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:05.620 --> 00:13:07.092 And to be fair,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:07.092 --> 00:13:08.564 the attack on welfare

NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:08.564 --> 00:13:10.240 definitely became a bipartisan.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:10.240 --> 00:13:13.507 Effort by the 1970s and going into the 90s,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:13.510 --> 00:13:15.370 after all, it was Bill Clinton,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:15.370 --> 00:13:17.728 someone seen as a kind of a moderate liberal,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:17.730 --> 00:13:20.388 who signed the bill into enthusiastically
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:20.388 --> 00:13:22.520 signed the bill into law.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:22.520 --> 00:13:24.686 So many who didn't identify with
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:24.686 --> 00:13:26.576 conservative politics and saw themselves
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:26.576 --> 00:13:28.850 as moderate or pragmatic or centrist
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:28.850 --> 00:13:31.203 Democrats or even mild liberals would
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:31.203 --> 00:13:33.128 later become vociferous critics of
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:33.128 --> 00:13:35.300 the welfare state by the late 60s,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:35.300 --> 00:13:38.114 around 6869 and going into the 70s.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:38.120 --> 00:13:41.258 And this was the group that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769
00:13:41.260 --> 00:13:43.366 Came to be known as the
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:43.366 --> 00:13:44.419 new the neoconservatives.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:44.420 --> 00:13:46.340 It was a label that was used pejoratively
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:46.340 --> 00:13:48.260 at first, but then folks like Irving,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:48.260 --> 00:13:49.919 Crystal and others kind of embraced it,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:49.920 --> 00:13:51.775 and I'll go into a little bit
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:51.775 --> 00:13:53.578 of detail on that bit later.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:53.580 --> 00:13:54.960 But it included our Irving,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:54.960 --> 00:13:57.680 Crystal, Nathan Glazer, Daniel Bell,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:57.680 --> 00:13:59.720 politicians like Daniel Patrick Moynihan,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:13:59.720 --> 00:14:02.060 the late New York senator,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:14:02.060 --> 00:14:02.960 and you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:14:02.960 --> 00:14:05.060 I'll be mentioning names through the talk.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:14:05.060 --> 00:14:06.878 I didn't list them on slides.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:14:06.880 --> 00:14:08.968 If anyone has any questions later
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:14:08.968 --> 00:14:10.706 or wants any clarification on
NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:14:10.706 --> 00:14:12.398 any of these concepts or names,

NOTE Confidence: 0.871373729230769

00:14:12.400 --> 00:14:13.660 please feel free in the Q&A.

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:18.980 --> 00:14:20.975 So there's terms I'll use that are

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:20.975 --> 00:14:22.726 synonymous with each other and that

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:22.726 --> 00:14:24.406 have a particular meaning that I'd

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:24.406 --> 00:14:26.139 like to establish ahead of time.

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:26.140 --> 00:14:27.166 So economic conservatism,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:27.166 --> 00:14:29.560 one of the major sort of strands

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:29.622 --> 00:14:31.477 of conservatism that becomes part

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:31.477 --> 00:14:33.332 of the new welfare consensus,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:33.340 --> 00:14:34.870 will be used interchangeably in

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:34.870 --> 00:14:37.205 the talk and more or less means

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:37.205 --> 00:14:39.055 the same thing as libertarianism,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:39.060 --> 00:14:40.572 laissez-faire individualism,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:40.572 --> 00:14:42.840 classical liberalism, etcetera.

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:42.840 --> 00:14:44.150 And it might seem confusing,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:44.150 --> 00:14:45.458 like how could a tradition of.
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:45.460 --> 00:14:47.492 Liberalism be connected to
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:47.492 --> 00:14:48.508 economic conservatism,
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:48.510 --> 00:14:50.170 and that's actually a
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:50.170 --> 00:14:51.415 really interesting history,
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:51.420 --> 00:14:52.590 and that's something we could
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:52.590 --> 00:14:54.030 talk about later if you want.
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:54.030 --> 00:14:55.968 But classical liberalism at one point
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:55.968 --> 00:14:58.687 used to be the term used to describe,
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:58.690 --> 00:14:59.542 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:14:59.542 --> 00:15:01.246 the libertarians or economic
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:01.246 --> 00:15:03.410 conservatives prior to the 1950s.
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:03.410 --> 00:15:05.438 Now for economic conservatism,
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:05.438 --> 00:15:08.480 the key political questions are economic.
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:08.480 --> 00:15:10.880 They tend to be philosophically
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:10.880 --> 00:15:11.360 individualist.

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:11.360 --> 00:15:13.346 Champions of the free market with

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:13.346 --> 00:15:15.839 emphasis on things like individual liberty,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:15.840 --> 00:15:16.832 private property,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:16.832 --> 00:15:18.816 limited government and their

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:18.816 --> 00:15:20.800 anti collectivist and anti

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:20.868 --> 00:15:22.344 communist and by collectivism.

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:22.344 --> 00:15:25.023 It's a term that's used a lot in the

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:25.023 --> 00:15:27.299 political discourse up to the early 1950s,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:27.299 --> 00:15:30.512 and it simply means the drive toward

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:30.512 --> 00:15:32.731 central planning and government

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:32.731 --> 00:15:35.179 control over public institutions.

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:35.180 --> 00:15:36.080 Umm, now,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:36.080 --> 00:15:39.230 this included the early kind of economic

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:39.230 --> 00:15:41.438 conservatives or libertarian thinkers,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:41.440 --> 00:15:44.038 included people like Albert J Knock,

NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:44.040 --> 00:15:46.360 HL Mencken, Frank Chodorov,
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:46.360 --> 00:15:47.520 Milton Friedman,
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:47.520 --> 00:15:50.957 who becomes really a kind of premier,
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:50.960 --> 00:15:53.300 you know, a free market intellectual
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:53.300 --> 00:15:55.960 in the in the Reagan years,
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:55.960 --> 00:15:59.758 Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich von Hayek,
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:15:59.760 --> 00:16:01.540 and others.
NOTE Confidence: 0.872157136

00:16:01.540 --> 00:16:02.220 Now.
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:05.320 --> 00:16:08.236 Social conservatism, the other major strand.
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:08.240 --> 00:16:09.662 And there's a lot of disagreement
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:09.662 --> 00:16:11.200 over what the major strands are.
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:11.200 --> 00:16:12.632 Should religious conservatism be
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:12.632 --> 00:16:14.340 its own thing? And, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:14.340 --> 00:16:15.810 if you've looked at the literature and
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:15.853 --> 00:16:17.599 political science or political sociology or,
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:17.600 --> 00:16:19.024 you know, political theory,

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:19.024 --> 00:16:21.108 etcetera, there are a lot of ways

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:21.108 --> 00:16:22.260 these discussions are framed.

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:22.260 --> 00:16:24.115 But I don't want to get so

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:24.115 --> 00:16:27.840 bogged down in all of that. But.

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:27.840 --> 00:16:30.025 Social conservatism is also known

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:30.025 --> 00:16:31.336 as traditional conservatism,

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:31.340 --> 00:16:33.152 traditionalism, moral conservatism,

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:33.152 --> 00:16:34.863 moral values, conservatism,

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:34.863 --> 00:16:36.372 classical conservatism, etcetera.

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:36.372 --> 00:16:39.897 And the key questions for this strand

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:39.897 --> 00:16:42.495 of conservatism are religious and moral,

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:42.500 --> 00:16:43.900 and the principles include that

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:43.900 --> 00:16:45.300 morality should be the guiding

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:45.353 --> 00:16:46.439 principle of government,

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:46.440 --> 00:16:48.785 that government should play a role in

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:48.785 --> 00:16:50.658 regulating moral conduct in the society,
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:50.660 --> 00:16:52.944 and that traditional judeo-christian
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:52.944 --> 00:16:56.370 values represent an absolute moral truth.
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:56.370 --> 00:16:58.330 So with regard to the welfare state,
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:58.330 --> 00:16:59.694 the economic conservatives or
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:16:59.694 --> 00:17:01.399 libertarians would really want to
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:01.399 --> 00:17:03.329 see the government out of the way,
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:03.330 --> 00:17:04.866 right to don't interfere with the
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:04.866 --> 00:17:06.270 invisible hand of the market.
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:06.270 --> 00:17:07.634 Whereas the social conservatives
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:07.634 --> 00:17:09.339 thought the government should play
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:09.339 --> 00:17:11.410 a role with regard to such programs.
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:11.410 --> 00:17:13.405 If it meant that they could encourage,
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:13.410 --> 00:17:14.026 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:14.026 --> 00:17:15.874 the right kind of morality or
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:15.874 --> 00:17:17.050 behaviors among the poor.

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:17.050 --> 00:17:18.436 And they disagreed over this a

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:18.436 --> 00:17:20.118 great deal and it would become kind

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:20.118 --> 00:17:21.770 of an issue going into the 50s.

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:21.770 --> 00:17:23.940 But it resolves and then the movement

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:23.940 --> 00:17:26.360 becomes a real driving force directing.

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:26.360 --> 00:17:29.579 A policy discourse.

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:29.580 --> 00:17:33.437 They were also seen as anti collectivist.

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:33.440 --> 00:17:35.195 And the influential thinkers in

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:35.195 --> 00:17:37.434 this camp included folks like the

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:37.434 --> 00:17:39.440 Southern agrarian, Richard Weaver,

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:39.440 --> 00:17:41.760 Austrian emigre, Eric Vogelin,

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:41.760 --> 00:17:43.640 and Leo Strauss and others.

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:43.640 --> 00:17:46.140 And it's the the classical,

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:46.140 --> 00:17:48.350 the sort of classical social

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:48.350 --> 00:17:50.118 conservative literature as it

NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:50.118 --> 00:17:52.377 addresses issues related to equality.
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:52.380 --> 00:17:53.995 It's actually a really fascinating
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:53.995 --> 00:17:55.012 literature, and I'd be again,
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:55.012 --> 00:17:56.338 I'd be happy to take any questions
NOTE Confidence: 0.84384539

00:17:56.338 --> 00:17:57.079 on that later.
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:01.460 --> 00:18:03.860 Now, I found in my research that the
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:03.860 --> 00:18:06.000 emergence of a new welfare consensus.
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:06.000 --> 00:18:08.316 It was related to several factors.
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:08.320 --> 00:18:09.908 For one, the successful
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:09.908 --> 00:18:11.496 consolidation and organization of
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:11.496 --> 00:18:13.219 several strands of conservatism.
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:13.220 --> 00:18:15.565 So fusing these different traditions
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:15.565 --> 00:18:18.619 together into more cohesive and organized
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:18.619 --> 00:18:21.159 intellectual and political movement.
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:21.160 --> 00:18:23.200 The decline into two parent family
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:23.200 --> 00:18:24.980 ideal beginning in the 1960s.

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:24.980 --> 00:18:26.714 This was something that was very

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:26.714 --> 00:18:29.051 much latched on to and exploited to

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:29.051 --> 00:18:30.794 stoke resentment toward populations.

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:30.794 --> 00:18:32.782 We utilized public assistance

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:32.782 --> 00:18:34.770 on the programs themselves,

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:34.770 --> 00:18:37.332 racist and nativist reactions to the

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:37.332 --> 00:18:39.408 migration of African Americans from

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:39.408 --> 00:18:41.501 the rural S to urban centers mostly

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:41.501 --> 00:18:43.827 in the industrial Midwest and NE,

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:43.830 --> 00:18:46.536 and to the influx of immigrants

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:46.536 --> 00:18:47.889 from Latin America.

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:47.890 --> 00:18:50.335 Also, the decentralization of welfare

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:50.335 --> 00:18:52.291 program financing at administration

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:52.291 --> 00:18:54.247 was relevant for this too,

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:54.250 --> 00:18:56.266 but I'm going to probably go

NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:56.266 --> 00:18:57.610 into that the least.
NOTE Confidence: 0.842684347142857

00:18:57.610 --> 00:19:00.214 But again, if anyone has questions and.
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:02.660 --> 00:19:03.752 Probably most importantly,
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:03.752 --> 00:19:05.572 the paradigm shift with regard
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:05.572 --> 00:19:07.591 to poverty that went from seeing
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:07.591 --> 00:19:09.136 poverty as a structural issue,
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:09.140 --> 00:19:10.848 right that that individuals,
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:10.848 --> 00:19:12.983 families fell through the cracks
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:12.983 --> 00:19:15.019 of the market and it wasn't
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:15.019 --> 00:19:17.105 their fault to a more behavioral
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:17.105 --> 00:19:19.029 framing of poverty right.
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:19.030 --> 00:19:19.948 And given this,
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:19.948 --> 00:19:21.478 appealing to things like racial
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:21.478 --> 00:19:23.426 fear and patriarchal and class
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:23.426 --> 00:19:25.130 insecurity and representing the
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105

00:19:25.130 --> 00:19:26.842 problems associated with poverty

NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105
00:19:26.842 --> 00:19:28.702 as the result of individual
NOTE Confidence: 0.890900146842105
00:19:28.702 --> 00:19:30.190 familial and cultural pathology.
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:33.990 --> 00:19:36.306 Now, these two strands of conservatism
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:36.306 --> 00:19:38.310 come together in the 1950s.
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:38.310 --> 00:19:40.886 At first, it's known as Fusion Fusionism,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:40.890 --> 00:19:42.828 quite literally, because the two strands
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:42.828 --> 00:19:44.869 fused together to create a new kind of,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:44.870 --> 00:19:46.865 you know, syncretic tradition that
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:46.865 --> 00:19:49.310 included aspects of both of these,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:49.310 --> 00:19:51.186 you know, smaller movements.
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:51.186 --> 00:19:54.925 And it's really a progenitor of today's
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:54.925 --> 00:19:57.448 contemporary conservative movement.
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:57.450 --> 00:19:59.396 It was a generative moment of folks
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:19:59.396 --> 00:20:01.130 like William F Buckley Junior,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:20:01.130 --> 00:20:02.544 who's a Yale alum, by the way,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:02.550 --> 00:20:04.530 and Russell Kirk put together the
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:04.530 --> 00:20:05.850 Conservative journal of Opinion,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:05.850 --> 00:20:07.036 National Review,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:07.036 --> 00:20:09.408 which becomes wildly popular,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:09.410 --> 00:20:11.270 huge readership at that time,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:11.270 --> 00:20:13.790 and still is a pretty prominent
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:13.790 --> 00:20:15.449 conservative outlet today.
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:15.449 --> 00:20:17.108 In the beginning,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:17.110 --> 00:20:19.036 it included work by prominent libertarians
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:19.036 --> 00:20:21.130 as well as social conservatives,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:21.130 --> 00:20:22.488 and it was part of a growing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:22.490 --> 00:20:23.326 Conservative press,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:23.326 --> 00:20:24.998 along with other publications
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:24.998 --> 00:20:27.030 like human events, the Freeman,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:27.030 --> 00:20:27.800 and others,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091

00:20:27.800 --> 00:20:29.725 and there was conflict among

NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:20:29.725 --> 00:20:30.919 conservatives at this time.
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:20:30.920 --> 00:20:32.632 So the social conservatives
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:20:32.632 --> 00:20:34.344 thought the libertarians lacked
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:20:34.344 --> 00:20:36.500 a kind of moral framework,
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:20:36.500 --> 00:20:38.215 and the libertarians thought the
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:20:38.215 --> 00:20:39.930 social conservatives were were too
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:20:39.991 --> 00:20:41.519 worried about regulating people's
NOTE Confidence: 0.915057030909091
00:20:41.519 --> 00:20:43.429 lives and were too authoritarian.
NOTE Confidence: 0.888891875555555
00:20:48.400 --> 00:20:50.480 But it was the anti communism of the
NOTE Confidence: 0.888891875555555
00:20:50.480 --> 00:20:52.889 new right and in each of these groups
NOTE Confidence: 0.888891875555555
00:20:52.889 --> 00:20:54.784 and anti collectivism that kind of
NOTE Confidence: 0.888891875555555
00:20:54.784 --> 00:20:56.575 like brings them all together, right?
NOTE Confidence: 0.888891875555555
00:20:56.575 --> 00:20:58.360 Because they can focus their energies on
NOTE Confidence: 0.888891875555555
00:20:58.360 --> 00:20:59.818 something that they both agreed upon.
NOTE Confidence: 0.888891875555555
00:20:59.820 --> 00:21:01.695 And ultimately as people were
NOTE Confidence: 0.888891875555555

00:21:01.695 --> 00:21:03.195 joining this growing movement,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8888918755555555

00:21:03.200 --> 00:21:04.645 people were picking up different
NOTE Confidence: 0.8888918755555555

00:21:04.645 --> 00:21:06.454 aspects of each of these political
NOTE Confidence: 0.8888918755555555

00:21:06.454 --> 00:21:08.589 formations and it more or less became,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8888918755555555

00:21:08.590 --> 00:21:09.424 even if contradictory,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8888918755555555

00:21:09.424 --> 00:21:10.814 it kind of cohesive movement
NOTE Confidence: 0.8888918755555555

00:21:10.814 --> 00:21:12.546 on at least the veneer of it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:18.530 --> 00:21:20.870 So. Internationally, right,
NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:20.870 --> 00:21:23.030 they were certainly opposed to the,
NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:23.030 --> 00:21:24.242 to Communist Russia.
NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:24.242 --> 00:21:26.439 But domestically, they targeted welfare
NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:26.439 --> 00:21:28.754 state programs and often portrayed
NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:28.754 --> 00:21:30.805 welfare bureaucrats as either liberals
NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:30.805 --> 00:21:32.923 who'd been duped by communist plants
NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:32.923 --> 00:21:35.574 or actual communists working, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:35.574 --> 00:21:37.506 undercover to destroy America from within.

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:37.510 --> 00:21:39.380 They had some conspiratorial narratives

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:39.380 --> 00:21:41.682 like that, but by and large,

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:41.682 --> 00:21:44.342 Buckley and others sort of, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:44.342 --> 00:21:46.478 working within the conservative press at

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:46.478 --> 00:21:49.069 the time and reaching out to to people,

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:49.070 --> 00:21:50.288 you know, policymakers.

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:50.288 --> 00:21:52.724 And and folks with actual power,

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:52.730 --> 00:21:54.236 they're able to.

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:54.236 --> 00:21:56.400 You know, remake conservatism

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:56.400 --> 00:21:59.300 into more of an intellectual,

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:21:59.300 --> 00:22:01.940 more of a respectable movement,

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:22:01.940 --> 00:22:03.350 and one that was more

NOTE Confidence: 0.9027021

00:22:03.350 --> 00:22:04.478 organized politically as well.

NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:07.910 --> 00:22:10.458 Now National Review and the new right

NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:10.458 --> 00:22:13.108 at the time really stick to the,

NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:13.110 --> 00:22:14.594 the economic conservative script
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:14.594 --> 00:22:16.449 when attacking the welfare state.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:16.450 --> 00:22:18.520 So it's wasteful in terms of
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:18.520 --> 00:22:20.590 spending and allocation of resources.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:20.590 --> 00:22:22.708 And they were certainly concerned that,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:22.710 --> 00:22:24.810 you know, the consolidation of power by
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:24.810 --> 00:22:27.454 the state in terms of administering welfare
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:27.454 --> 00:22:30.686 state programs could be a slippery slope to,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:30.690 --> 00:22:32.832 you know, a totalitarian system and
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:32.832 --> 00:22:34.750 regulating the lives of people.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:34.750 --> 00:22:36.686 And this was more or less the economic
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:36.686 --> 00:22:38.184 conservative or libertarian. Argument.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:38.184 --> 00:22:41.576 And it's the argument that the new right
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:41.576 --> 00:22:44.497 largely sticks to up until the early 60s.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:44.500 --> 00:22:47.410 So in 1960 and 61, there's some test
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:22:47.410 --> 00:22:49.230 cases which happened that that kind of

NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:22:49.280 --> 00:22:51.000 start pushing against that narrative.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:22:51.000 --> 00:22:52.623 So in 1960,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:22:52.623 --> 00:22:56.379 the Governor of Louisiana had cut 23,000
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:22:56.379 --> 00:22:58.924 mostly African American children from
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:22:58.924 --> 00:23:02.529 the AFDC roles or the welfare rolls.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:02.530 --> 00:23:04.186 And the rationale for the cuts,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:04.190 --> 00:23:04.938 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:04.938 --> 00:23:06.808 he deliberately tried to racialize
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:06.808 --> 00:23:08.684 the discourse and he argued
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:08.684 --> 00:23:10.409 that homes where families had,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:10.410 --> 00:23:12.510 where children had been born
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:12.510 --> 00:23:14.190 outside of marriage were,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:14.190 --> 00:23:16.446 should be considered as unsuitable and
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:16.446 --> 00:23:18.389 therefore their benefits should be cut.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:18.390 --> 00:23:20.568 Which is kind of contradictory, right?
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:20.568 --> 00:23:22.312 If you were thinking of a home as
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:22.312 --> 00:23:24.009 being unsuitable and unfit for kids,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:24.010 --> 00:23:25.760 why would you want to cut resources
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:25.760 --> 00:23:27.560 going to those homes to be able to,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:27.560 --> 00:23:29.464 you know, make ends meet and so forth?
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:29.470 --> 00:23:31.846 But nonetheless, that was the narrative,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:31.850 --> 00:23:33.254 but ultimately the Louisiana.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:33.254 --> 00:23:36.040 Cuts are reversed by the federal government.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:36.040 --> 00:23:37.798 The media pushes back against it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:37.800 --> 00:23:41.913 At that time, the public largely sees it as,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:41.920 --> 00:23:42.928 as, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:42.928 --> 00:23:44.944 as a wrongheaded and mean spirited
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:44.944 --> 00:23:46.300 kind of thing to do.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:46.300 --> 00:23:48.463 And it was framed as hurting innocent
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:48.463 --> 00:23:50.340 children and starving babies and so on.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:23:50.340 --> 00:23:52.380 So it's able to be reversed and and

NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:52.380 --> 00:23:54.200 most people are on board with that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:54.200 --> 00:23:56.713 However, just the next year in 1961,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:56.713 --> 00:23:58.365 the Newburgh controversy takes
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:58.365 --> 00:23:59.604 place in Newburgh,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:23:59.610 --> 00:24:02.301 NY and this is a kind of historical pilot
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:24:02.301 --> 00:24:04.690 case illustrating the effectiveness.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:24:04.690 --> 00:24:06.270 Of exploiting the public's
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:24:06.270 --> 00:24:08.245 disdain toward poor black mothers
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:24:08.245 --> 00:24:10.100 with disgusting stereotypes,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:24:10.100 --> 00:24:12.878 calling their sexual morality into question.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:24:12.880 --> 00:24:14.376 So whereas the Louisiana,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:24:14.376 --> 00:24:16.246 Louisiana controversy was framed in
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:24:16.246 --> 00:24:18.300 terms of hurting innocent children,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:24:18.300 --> 00:24:19.168 in Newburgh,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286
00:24:19.168 --> 00:24:21.338 the city manager Joseph Mitchell,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:21.340 --> 00:24:23.265 he scapegoated the city's growing
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:23.265 --> 00:24:25.190 black population for the city's
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:25.254 --> 00:24:27.330 industrial decline and joblessness.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:27.330 --> 00:24:28.410 And, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:28.410 --> 00:24:30.570 instead of thinking about it as
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:30.570 --> 00:24:32.741 hurting innocent people who who were
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:32.741 --> 00:24:35.150 in need of benefits and services.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:35.150 --> 00:24:37.244 He put forward the narrative that
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:37.244 --> 00:24:39.206 black mothers were being subsidized
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:39.206 --> 00:24:40.697 for their promiscuity.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:40.700 --> 00:24:42.368 He also implied that having children
NOTE Confidence: 0.881466670714286

00:24:42.368 --> 00:24:43.979 while poor was akin to abuse.
NOTE Confidence: 0.888543593333333

00:24:46.140 --> 00:24:49.024 So the attitude of the public unfortunately
NOTE Confidence: 0.888543593333333

00:24:49.024 --> 00:24:52.177 kind of follow in kind through the 1960s,
NOTE Confidence: 0.888543593333333

00:24:52.180 --> 00:24:54.133 and this is reflected in the opinion
NOTE Confidence: 0.888543593333333

00:24:54.133 --> 00:24:56.078 polls that I showed before Mitchell

NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:24:56.078 --> 00:24:58.166 capitalized on hit on the publicity
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:24:58.166 --> 00:24:59.998 he was getting at that time.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:00.000 --> 00:25:02.205 He was extensively covered in the growing
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:02.205 --> 00:25:04.433 body of of conservative literature as
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:04.433 --> 00:25:07.275 well as mainstream outlets at that time.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:07.280 --> 00:25:10.880 And he developed a 13 point plan for reform,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:10.880 --> 00:25:12.760 reforming the welfare state that
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:12.760 --> 00:25:14.640 included things like child caps,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:14.640 --> 00:25:16.408 time limits, work requirements.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:16.408 --> 00:25:18.618 Things that are strikingly familiar
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:18.618 --> 00:25:20.444 features of contemporary welfare
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:20.444 --> 00:25:22.204 reform discourse and aspects,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:22.210 --> 00:25:23.935 actually, that are included in
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:23.935 --> 00:25:26.592 the 1996 welfare reform bill.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333
00:25:26.592 --> 00:25:30.060 And it's not that Clinton and.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:30.060 --> 00:25:30.742 You know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:30.742 --> 00:25:32.447 the House and Senate Republicans
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:32.447 --> 00:25:34.249 and Democrats who are supportive
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:34.249 --> 00:25:36.397 of welfare reform looked back to
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:36.397 --> 00:25:37.953 Joseph Mitchell in 1961 and said
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:37.953 --> 00:25:39.500 we're going to do what he said.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:39.500 --> 00:25:40.716 But Rather Mitchell's proposal
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:40.716 --> 00:25:42.952 of this and the the the extensive
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:42.952 --> 00:25:45.076 coverage that he was getting indicated
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:45.076 --> 00:25:47.608 that there was a shift in in the
NOTE Confidence: 0.8885435933333333

00:25:47.608 --> 00:25:49.013 public's thinking on this issue.
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:25:55.270 --> 00:25:56.968 So after saying all of this,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:25:56.970 --> 00:25:59.554 it should be noted that it was intellectuals
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:25:59.554 --> 00:26:01.607 who were on the political left,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:01.610 --> 00:26:05.946 self identified as liberals and so on who?
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:05.950 --> 00:26:08.354 Really gave social scientific

NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:08.354 --> 00:26:10.758 credibility to behavioral analysis
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:10.758 --> 00:26:13.536 of poverty that explicitly evoked
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:13.536 --> 00:26:16.524 race and gender and family roles.
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:16.530 --> 00:26:18.020 And again, these were figures
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:18.020 --> 00:26:20.042 like Irving Crystal, Daniel Bell,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:20.042 --> 00:26:22.286 Norman Podhoretz, Earl Rabb,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:22.290 --> 00:26:24.770 Nathan Glazer and a whole host of others,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:24.770 --> 00:26:25.892 Daniel Patrick Moynihan,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:25.892 --> 00:26:27.388 as I mentioned before,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:27.390 --> 00:26:30.702 who later again come to be identified with
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:30.702 --> 00:26:33.419 this political label of neoconservative.
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:33.420 --> 00:26:35.355 These critics of welfare state
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:35.355 --> 00:26:36.903 programs illustrated concern for
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:36.903 --> 00:26:38.163 preserving traditional institutions
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153
00:26:38.163 --> 00:26:40.599 like marriage and the nuclear family,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:40.600 --> 00:26:42.604 and we're very concerned with the
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:42.604 --> 00:26:44.839 effects of welfare state programs in
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:44.839 --> 00:26:46.934 terms of disrupting these institutions.
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:46.940 --> 00:26:49.106 And they highlighted this again by
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:49.106 --> 00:26:50.938 demonizing poor black communities and
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:50.938 --> 00:26:53.220 framing their economic poverty in terms like,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:53.220 --> 00:26:53.682 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:53.682 --> 00:26:54.837 referring to children as quote,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:54.840 --> 00:26:56.550 UN quote, illegitimate,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:56.550 --> 00:26:59.400 using terms like cultural pathology,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:26:59.400 --> 00:27:01.208 community and family disorganization,
NOTE Confidence: 0.93252153

00:27:01.208 --> 00:27:02.564 etcetera and etcetera.
NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:05.540 --> 00:27:07.430 They were very active in magazines
NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:07.430 --> 00:27:09.399 and journals of opinion at the time,
NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:09.400 --> 00:27:11.780 as well as academic journals.
NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:11.780 --> 00:27:13.620 They published in magazines

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:13.620 --> 00:27:15.142 like Commentary, The Atlantic,

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:15.142 --> 00:27:16.948 which was a very different magazine

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:16.948 --> 00:27:18.478 back then than it is today.

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:18.480 --> 00:27:19.251 The public interest,

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:19.251 --> 00:27:20.793 the New York review of Books,

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:20.800 --> 00:27:24.356 also a bit different back back then.

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:24.360 --> 00:27:26.484 Now the public interest was founded

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:26.484 --> 00:27:29.198 by Irving Crystal and Daniel Bell and

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:29.198 --> 00:27:31.253 was presented as scholarly discourse.

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:31.260 --> 00:27:32.644 It wasn't peer reviewed,

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:32.644 --> 00:27:34.374 but it was editorial reviewed.

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:34.380 --> 00:27:36.612 Um, and they would later link up with

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:36.612 --> 00:27:38.480 editors and and associates at the

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:38.480 --> 00:27:40.358 Wall Street Journal and it really

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:40.417 --> 00:27:42.608 became a kind of mouthpiece for the

NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:42.608 --> 00:27:44.723 growing supply side economics kind of
NOTE Confidence: 0.91366201

00:27:44.723 --> 00:27:47.069 Reaganomics frame that would come later.
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:27:50.590 --> 00:27:53.327 Umm. And in the public interest they
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:27:53.327 --> 00:27:55.582 regularly talked about things like so
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:27:55.582 --> 00:27:57.948 an article by Earl Robb talked about
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:27:58.016 --> 00:28:00.122 liberals being and this idea again
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:00.122 --> 00:28:02.086 that like you know well-intentioned
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:02.086 --> 00:28:04.866 bureaucrats were being duped by
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:04.870 --> 00:28:07.168 people who had nefarious aims was
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:07.168 --> 00:28:09.530 very common across the literature.
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:09.530 --> 00:28:11.648 But being duped white liberals were
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:11.648 --> 00:28:14.325 being duped by quote black and Spanish
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:14.325 --> 00:28:16.315 speaking anti poverty militants that
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:16.315 --> 00:28:18.942 the slum ***** is the special target
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:18.942 --> 00:28:21.610 of the anti poverty program UN quote.
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:21.610 --> 00:28:23.674 During a sit in by welfare

NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:23.674 --> 00:28:25.161 rights demonstrators in 1967,
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:25.161 --> 00:28:27.416 Senator Russell Long of Louisiana
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:27.416 --> 00:28:28.769 uses really nasty,
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:28.770 --> 00:28:30.134 racialized and gendered language
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:30.134 --> 00:28:31.157 to disparage them,
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:31.160 --> 00:28:32.200 referring to them as quote,
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:32.200 --> 00:28:35.410 UN quote black brood mayors incorporated.
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:35.410 --> 00:28:38.086 Moynihan in 1968 in the public
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:38.086 --> 00:28:40.413 interest blamed the mean spirited
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:40.413 --> 00:28:43.125 and racist tone of of Russell,
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:43.130 --> 00:28:44.810 Long directed towards the
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:44.810 --> 00:28:46.070 welfare rights mothers,
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:46.070 --> 00:28:47.126 on the mothers themselves,
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:47.126 --> 00:28:49.149 saying that in truth this is a quote.
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333
00:28:49.150 --> 00:28:51.280 Their tactics have invited the
NOTE Confidence: 0.825519765333333

00:28:51.280 --> 00:28:52.984 racial slurs End Quote.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8255197653333333

00:28:52.990 --> 00:28:54.555 And Moynihan was considered a
NOTE Confidence: 0.8255197653333333

00:28:54.555 --> 00:28:55.807 Liberal Democrat by them.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:28:59.490 --> 00:29:02.330 So in 1965, Moynihan publishes
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:02.330 --> 00:29:04.602 the infamous Moynihan report.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:04.610 --> 00:29:05.935 The actual title of the
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:05.935 --> 00:29:07.343 report was the ***** family,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:07.343 --> 00:29:09.401 and it provided a moral dimension
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:09.401 --> 00:29:11.514 to the critique of the welfare
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:11.514 --> 00:29:13.209 state and analysis of poverty.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:13.210 --> 00:29:16.130 Like it further reinforced that,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:16.130 --> 00:29:18.522 and he appropriated what was at the time
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:18.522 --> 00:29:20.842 called the culture of poverty argument
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:20.842 --> 00:29:22.922 from the anthropologist Oscar Lewis.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:22.930 --> 00:29:24.538 And Moynihan used it,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:24.538 --> 00:29:26.950 and and other others of his

NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:27.041 --> 00:29:29.585 cohorts used it to under score.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:29.590 --> 00:29:31.872 What they saw as behavioral patterns among
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:31.872 --> 00:29:34.166 poor among the poor that were considered
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:34.166 --> 00:29:36.860 out of sync with white middle class values.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:36.860 --> 00:29:38.378 Oscar Lewis, it should be noted,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:38.380 --> 00:29:39.548 did not approve, right?
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:39.548 --> 00:29:41.300 He never meant for his concept
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:41.363 --> 00:29:42.605 to be used in that way.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:42.610 --> 00:29:45.101 But those who had more, one might say,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:45.101 --> 00:29:46.436 in terms of policy issues,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:46.440 --> 00:29:47.472 more conservative agenda,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:47.472 --> 00:29:50.820 used it that way and and with great success.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:50.820 --> 00:29:52.544 Again, they used stigmatizing
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:52.544 --> 00:29:53.837 words like illegitimacy,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:29:53.840 --> 00:29:54.852 welfare dependence,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:54.852 --> 00:29:57.382 and highlighted especially divorce and
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:57.382 --> 00:29:59.800 single motherhood as pathological.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:29:59.800 --> 00:30:01.045 Cultural patterns demonstrated
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:01.045 --> 00:30:02.290 by black families,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:02.290 --> 00:30:04.342 and it should be noted that
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:04.342 --> 00:30:05.710 single motherhood and divorce,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:05.710 --> 00:30:05.946 right?
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:05.946 --> 00:30:07.362 The increase in those rates was
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:07.362 --> 00:30:08.382 something that was happening
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:08.382 --> 00:30:09.948 across racial groups at that time,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:09.950 --> 00:30:12.482 but it was being highlighted in
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:12.482 --> 00:30:14.660 particular for communities of color.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:14.660 --> 00:30:16.034 And, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:16.034 --> 00:30:17.866 this contributed to revitalizing
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:17.866 --> 00:30:19.679 old stigmatizing labels like
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889

00:30:19.679 --> 00:30:21.509 the worthy and unworthy core,

NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:30:21.510 --> 00:30:22.326 for example.
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:30:22.326 --> 00:30:25.590 And while he didn't use the term culture
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:30:25.667 --> 00:30:28.898 of poverty verbatim in in the report,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:30:28.898 --> 00:30:30.666 he described these behaviors
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:30:30.670 --> 00:30:32.005 with regard to black communities
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:30:32.005 --> 00:30:33.710 as being stuck in a quote,
NOTE Confidence: 0.829637498888889
00:30:33.710 --> 00:30:35.708 UN quote tangle of cultural pathology.
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:30:39.530 --> 00:30:41.625 So. This shift among intellectuals
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:30:41.625 --> 00:30:44.377 that we're looking at policy was part
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:30:44.377 --> 00:30:46.721 of a larger trend and that was that
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:30:46.787 --> 00:30:48.929 the political culture in the US in
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:30:48.929 --> 00:30:51.390 the 60s and although we don't usually
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:30:51.390 --> 00:30:54.144 associate the 60s with the with this
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:30:54.144 --> 00:30:56.346 was actually moving to the right.
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:30:56.350 --> 00:30:58.290 You know typically the movements
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:30:58.290 --> 00:31:00.929 for justice at the time you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:00.930 --> 00:31:03.360 economic justice, the feminist movement,
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:03.360 --> 00:31:05.238 the anti war movement, gay liberation,
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:05.240 --> 00:31:06.146 etcetera, they,
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:06.146 --> 00:31:09.317 they get a lot of attention by
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:09.317 --> 00:31:11.778 folks as an indication that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:11.780 --> 00:31:14.006 Sort of radical left politics and reforms
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:14.006 --> 00:31:16.298 were kind of universally accepted and and
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:16.298 --> 00:31:19.294 and kind of you know part of how people
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:19.294 --> 00:31:21.340 were were looking at their worldviews.
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:21.340 --> 00:31:23.460 But you know Nixon at that time you
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:23.460 --> 00:31:25.748 know he coined this term that when
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:25.748 --> 00:31:28.049 Trump was running for office in 2015
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:28.049 --> 00:31:30.217 and 2016 he kind of rekindled it the
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:30.220 --> 00:31:33.328 term the silent majority to actually
NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333
00:31:33.328 --> 00:31:36.609 you know highlight that you know this

NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:31:36.610 --> 00:31:38.578 and I don't believe that this was the

NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:31:38.578 --> 00:31:40.620 case but this small vocal minority right

NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:31:40.620 --> 00:31:42.710 that was getting all the attention.

NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:31:42.710 --> 00:31:44.882 That actually most Americans were still

NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:31:44.882 --> 00:31:46.720 traditionally conservative in their values,

NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:31:46.720 --> 00:31:48.496 and they were a silent majority.

NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:31:48.500 --> 00:31:49.496 And in fact,

NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:31:49.496 --> 00:31:51.156 we're probably becoming more conservative.

NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:31:51.160 --> 00:31:51.948 And in that respect,

NOTE Confidence: 0.857923447333333

00:31:51.948 --> 00:31:52.539 he was right.

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:31:54.620 --> 00:31:56.867 This was empowered by a growing sense

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:31:56.867 --> 00:31:58.879 of material and social insecurity

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:31:58.879 --> 00:32:00.855 experienced across the classes,

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:00.860 --> 00:32:02.230 except for the very rich,

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:02.230 --> 00:32:04.180 which is usually the case,

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:04.180 --> 00:32:05.800 for example, a working or middle
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:05.800 --> 00:32:07.867 class family by the end of the decade.
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:07.870 --> 00:32:09.788 The end of the 1960s was feeling
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:09.788 --> 00:32:11.723 the effects of inflation and was
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:11.723 --> 00:32:13.823 more likely exposed to print and
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:13.823 --> 00:32:15.636 broadcast media accounts of the
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:15.636 --> 00:32:17.386 welfare poor that associated fraud
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:17.386 --> 00:32:20.728 and abuse of the system with black
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:20.728 --> 00:32:23.343 Americans in the 1969 Life magazine.
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:23.343 --> 00:32:25.198 Article and Life published a
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:25.198 --> 00:32:27.637 lot of articles of this nature.
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:27.640 --> 00:32:29.440 They really worked to you know
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:29.440 --> 00:32:31.649 today we would say to get clicks
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:31.649 --> 00:32:32.909 but to sell magazines.
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:32.910 --> 00:32:35.328 Back then they really capitalized and
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:35.328 --> 00:32:37.759 and kind of exploited white fear.

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:37.760 --> 00:32:39.860 So they published a lot of articles

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:39.860 --> 00:32:41.450 about black militants at the time.

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:41.450 --> 00:32:43.382 They created the trope of the black

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:43.382 --> 00:32:44.899 sniper in cities shooting police

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:44.899 --> 00:32:46.807 which and the pictures they use,

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:46.810 --> 00:32:48.916 it turned out later were totally

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:48.916 --> 00:32:50.756 fabricated but in Life magazine

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:50.756 --> 00:32:52.940 they had an article that said

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:52.940 --> 00:32:54.550 quote the ordinary person.

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:54.550 --> 00:32:56.998 If not affluent, was likely unblack.

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:57.000 --> 00:32:59.136 How's that for euphemism, for white,

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:32:59.140 --> 00:33:01.680 urban and in seething revolt?

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:01.680 --> 00:33:03.976 If among the skilled wage earners and

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:03.976 --> 00:33:05.779 property owning middle income groups,

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:05.780 --> 00:33:07.156 they were likely white,

NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:07.156 --> 00:33:09.220 respectable suburban and small town and
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:09.279 --> 00:33:11.274 equally convinced that Boondoggling poor
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:11.274 --> 00:33:13.980 welfare cheats were getting away with murder.
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:13.980 --> 00:33:14.834 UN quote.
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:14.834 --> 00:33:15.688 And again,
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:15.688 --> 00:33:17.823 this is 1 quote that's
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:17.823 --> 00:33:18.920 representative of many,
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:18.920 --> 00:33:20.528 many many articles and and again
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:20.528 --> 00:33:21.932 a growing narrative in terms
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:21.932 --> 00:33:23.624 of trying to appeal to people's
NOTE Confidence: 0.89253169125

00:33:23.624 --> 00:33:25.159 resentment and anger at that time.
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:29.760 --> 00:33:31.860 So the attack on the welfare
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:31.860 --> 00:33:33.260 state during this period,
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:33.260 --> 00:33:35.396 with the influence of this newer
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:35.396 --> 00:33:38.176 discourse on the issue, began to shift.
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:38.176 --> 00:33:41.016 So up through the early 1960s,

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:41.016 --> 00:33:43.320 people like, for example,

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:43.320 --> 00:33:44.976 Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater,

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:44.976 --> 00:33:47.046 who ran against Lyndon Johnson

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:47.046 --> 00:33:50.940 in 64 and lost, National Review,

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:50.940 --> 00:33:52.660 the new right, human events,

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:52.660 --> 00:33:54.004 the Freeman, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:54.004 --> 00:33:56.020 this sort of growing a body

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:56.091 --> 00:33:57.839 of intellectuals from the.

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:33:57.840 --> 00:34:00.129 From the 50s into the early 60s,

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:00.130 --> 00:34:01.186 they characterized the welfare

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:01.186 --> 00:34:03.574 state as a kind of, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:03.574 --> 00:34:05.170 socialism creeping or

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:05.170 --> 00:34:06.766 socialism through welfarism.

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:06.770 --> 00:34:07.988 But by 1990,

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:07.988 --> 00:34:10.830 and this comes from the contract with

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:10.911 --> 00:34:14.287 America by Newt Gingrich in the in the
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:14.287 --> 00:34:17.650 Congress that then a prominent conservative,
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:17.650 --> 00:34:18.404 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:18.404 --> 00:34:21.043 politician who addressed these issues a lot,
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:21.050 --> 00:34:25.220 ***** Army and the House Republicans.
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:25.220 --> 00:34:26.668 That welfare reform should
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:26.668 --> 00:34:28.539 set out to address, quote,
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:28.539 --> 00:34:30.634 destructive social behavior by quote
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:30.634 --> 00:34:32.750 requiring welfare recipients to take
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:32.750 --> 00:34:35.048 responsibility for the decisions they make.
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:35.050 --> 00:34:35.678 UN quote.
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:35.678 --> 00:34:37.562 So we see this decisive shift
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:37.562 --> 00:34:39.897 in the in the narrative around,
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:39.900 --> 00:34:40.544 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:40.544 --> 00:34:42.154 the the discourse on welfare
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284

00:34:42.154 --> 00:34:43.120 policy going from,

NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284
00:34:43.120 --> 00:34:43.325 again,
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284
00:34:43.325 --> 00:34:44.555 more of an economic argument to
NOTE Confidence: 0.900093284
00:34:44.555 --> 00:34:46.069 more of a behavioral argument.
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:34:48.490 --> 00:34:52.045 So by 1980, Ronald Reagan
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:34:52.045 --> 00:34:54.889 is elected as president.
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:34:54.890 --> 00:34:56.938 The the Reagan Revolution
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:34:56.938 --> 00:34:58.474 was truly unmistakable.
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:34:58.480 --> 00:34:59.920 Reagan popularized something
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:34:59.920 --> 00:35:01.840 called supply side economics.
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:35:01.840 --> 00:35:02.748 He didn't invent it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:35:02.748 --> 00:35:04.600 It's also known as trickle down economics.
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:35:04.600 --> 00:35:07.053 You've probably heard of it and
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:35:07.053 --> 00:35:09.018 it it defined government spending,
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:35:09.020 --> 00:35:10.088 social programs,
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111
00:35:10.088 --> 00:35:12.758 and taxes as unnecessary evils.
NOTE Confidence: 0.897165911111111

00:35:12.760 --> 00:35:14.920 And it consisted of drastic
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:14.920 --> 00:35:16.216 reductions in taxes,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:16.220 --> 00:35:18.596 especially for corporations in the affluent,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:18.600 --> 00:35:20.091 and significant spending
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:20.091 --> 00:35:22.079 cuts to social programs.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:22.080 --> 00:35:23.560 Now Irving Crystal against
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:23.560 --> 00:35:25.040 one of the intellectuals.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:25.040 --> 00:35:25.943 I discussed before,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:25.943 --> 00:35:28.490 he's still very much active in this debate.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:28.490 --> 00:35:29.998 He's still very relevant.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:29.998 --> 00:35:31.506 He recalled that when
NOTE Confidence: 0.8971659111111111

00:35:31.506 --> 00:35:33.338 he first was exposed to.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:35.990 --> 00:35:37.055 Supply side economics.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:37.055 --> 00:35:38.830 He actually didn't understand it,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:38.830 --> 00:35:41.400 but he immediately saw its
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:41.400 --> 00:35:42.428 political possibilities.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:42.430 --> 00:35:46.140 And, you know, he realized that this

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:46.140 --> 00:35:48.330 critique of progressive taxes and

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:48.330 --> 00:35:51.432 social policy that is centered on the

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:51.432 --> 00:35:54.117 idea that strategies for distributive

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:54.117 --> 00:35:55.728 justice disjoint individuals

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:55.728 --> 00:35:58.269 from regulatory and moral norms,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:35:58.270 --> 00:36:00.208 such that strategies tend to weaken

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:00.208 --> 00:36:02.009 the position of elites as well.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:02.010 --> 00:36:04.826 So he really, he knew that he could.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:04.830 --> 00:36:06.865 Present supply side economics as

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:06.865 --> 00:36:09.186 an effective way of, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:09.186 --> 00:36:11.244 relegating the poor to the discipline

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:11.244 --> 00:36:13.861 of the market and at the same time

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:13.861 --> 00:36:16.516 cutting taxes for the rich and it would

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:16.516 --> 00:36:18.532 be politically very possible to do.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:18.540 --> 00:36:20.570 Poverty was being framed increasingly
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:20.570 --> 00:36:23.140 as a managerial and behavioral problem.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:23.140 --> 00:36:25.100 Welfare reform was predicated on
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:25.100 --> 00:36:27.060 identifying the everyday behavior of
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:27.120 --> 00:36:29.064 a large portion of the population
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:29.064 --> 00:36:30.718 as pathological and non productive
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:30.718 --> 00:36:32.524 and moving them off the rolls
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:32.524 --> 00:36:35.310 into the low wage labor market or
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:35.310 --> 00:36:37.190 mandating behavioral compliance in
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:37.190 --> 00:36:39.779 return for benefits and services.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:39.780 --> 00:36:42.020 Reports, Books, media appearances,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:42.020 --> 00:36:44.820 congressional testimony by key scholars,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:44.820 --> 00:36:46.914 and a growing network of policy
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:46.914 --> 00:36:49.031 planning groups also was a very
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:49.031 --> 00:36:50.676 significant part of the story.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:50.680 --> 00:36:52.536 It's, you know, for the sake of time.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:52.540 --> 00:36:54.754 I'm not going to get into it too much.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:54.760 --> 00:36:55.092 However,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:55.092 --> 00:36:57.416 you might be familiar with the work

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:57.416 --> 00:36:59.600 of Charles Murray or George Gilder.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:36:59.600 --> 00:37:01.880 Murray infamously wrote the Bell Curve,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:01.880 --> 00:37:04.380 which was explicitly racist book

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:04.380 --> 00:37:06.766 that claimed that, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:06.766 --> 00:37:09.424 non whites were were genetically inferior.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:09.430 --> 00:37:10.910 That had lower IQ's.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:10.910 --> 00:37:12.760 And the justification was that,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:12.760 --> 00:37:13.720 you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:13.720 --> 00:37:15.640 welfare programs were therefore

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:15.640 --> 00:37:17.560 encouraging inferior people with

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:17.626 --> 00:37:19.306 lower IQ's to have more children when

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:19.306 --> 00:37:21.179 we we should be doing the opposite.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:21.180 --> 00:37:23.562 And it sounds like those ideas
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:23.562 --> 00:37:25.651 should have been on the fringe
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:25.651 --> 00:37:27.136 and not in the mainstream,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:27.140 --> 00:37:30.218 but by the 1980s and 90s,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:30.220 --> 00:37:32.120 scholars like Murray and others,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:32.120 --> 00:37:32.720 George Gilder,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:32.720 --> 00:37:34.220 Robert Rector, and you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:34.220 --> 00:37:37.188 the the the experts who worked within the
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:37.188 --> 00:37:40.078 context of the think tanks and lobbying.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:40.080 --> 00:37:43.128 Groups and other policy planning groups.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:43.130 --> 00:37:44.725 Their ideas were becoming quite
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:44.725 --> 00:37:47.406 salient in the halls of Congress and
NOTE Confidence: 0.8694939775

00:37:47.406 --> 00:37:50.186 informal policy circles as well.
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:37:57.050 --> 00:38:01.306 So. The debates in the Congress and
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:01.306 --> 00:38:04.342 the 1980s and 90s revealed that
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:04.342 --> 00:38:06.834 there was a decisive shift in the

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:06.834 --> 00:38:09.670 political culture in how poverty and

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:09.670 --> 00:38:11.650 welfare policy were conceptualized.

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:11.650 --> 00:38:13.799 The idea is advocated by folks like

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:13.799 --> 00:38:15.703 Charles Murray and George Gilder and

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:15.703 --> 00:38:17.852 others was echoed in the chambers of

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:17.914 --> 00:38:20.430 Congress with a logic that situated

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:20.430 --> 00:38:22.490 adversary adversity and suffering as

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:22.565 --> 00:38:24.990 necessary for ensuring good behavior,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:24.990 --> 00:38:27.558 especially for poor families of color.

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:27.560 --> 00:38:29.864 Moynihan, the sponsor of a major

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:29.864 --> 00:38:32.960 precursor to the 96 welfare reform bill,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:32.960 --> 00:38:35.296 the 1988 Family Support Act,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:35.296 --> 00:38:37.585 and the the cover of the book where

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:37.585 --> 00:38:39.523 Clinton and Reagan are shaking hands.

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:39.530 --> 00:38:41.385 It's actually at the signing of the

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:41.390 --> 00:38:45.695 1988 signing of the Family Support Act.

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:45.700 --> 00:38:46.981 You know, poverty.

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:46.981 --> 00:38:49.543 What he continued the frame poverty

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:49.543 --> 00:38:52.379 in a behavioral context which still

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:52.379 --> 00:38:55.278 it never really departed from his

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:55.278 --> 00:38:57.258 tangle of pathology analysis.

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:57.260 --> 00:38:59.516 And the focus on individual behavior,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:38:59.520 --> 00:39:01.644 especially reproductive, domestic,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:01.644 --> 00:39:03.060 sexual, occupational,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:03.060 --> 00:39:05.526 was now part of mainstream policy

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:05.526 --> 00:39:09.079 discourse and was by no means the

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:09.079 --> 00:39:10.906 exclusive intellectual enterprise

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:10.906 --> 00:39:12.124 of conservatives.

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:12.130 --> 00:39:13.795 This behavioral focus and emphasis

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:13.795 --> 00:39:16.270 on the otherness of the welfare poor,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:16.270 --> 00:39:18.002 with reference to worthiness,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:18.002 --> 00:39:20.610 work ethic, race, gender, role,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:20.610 --> 00:39:21.770 performance, sexuality,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:21.770 --> 00:39:22.140 etcetera,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:22.140 --> 00:39:23.990 constructed a caricature of those

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:23.990 --> 00:39:26.385 who relied on public assistance that

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:26.385 --> 00:39:28.525 discouraged the general public from

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:28.525 --> 00:39:30.908 being sympathetic with them or even

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:30.908 --> 00:39:32.990 identifying their own hardship with them.

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:32.990 --> 00:39:36.238 So the attack on the welfare state.

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:36.240 --> 00:39:38.472 Reflected that programs were seen as

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:38.472 --> 00:39:40.373 no longer disciplining productive and

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:40.373 --> 00:39:42.202 reproductive norms and, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:42.202 --> 00:39:43.330 among, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:43.330 --> 00:39:46.880 target populations for welfare programs.

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:46.880 --> 00:39:48.854 And what emerged over time was a

NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:48.854 --> 00:39:50.550 weaker and more enfeebled welfare
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:50.550 --> 00:39:52.914 state that could become more vulnerable
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:52.914 --> 00:39:55.552 to attack and reform in ways that
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:55.552 --> 00:39:57.342 were considered consistent with elite
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:57.350 --> 00:39:59.915 prerogatives and and the economic
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:39:59.915 --> 00:40:02.570 system and with the consequences of
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:40:02.570 --> 00:40:04.282 stigmatizing and further reducing
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:40:04.282 --> 00:40:06.349 services and benefits for the most.
NOTE Confidence: 0.88578998

00:40:06.350 --> 00:40:08.468 Vulnerable and marginalized in our society.
NOTE Confidence: 0.905542475454545

00:40:10.810 --> 00:40:12.748 And that's it. Happy to take
NOTE Confidence: 0.905542475454545

00:40:12.748 --> 00:40:14.430 any questions at this time.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143

00:40:19.520 --> 00:40:21.333 Thank you, Darren. That was you hit
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143

00:40:21.333 --> 00:40:23.578 on so many different things that my,
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143

00:40:23.580 --> 00:40:27.036 my brains are my brain is like spinning.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143

00:40:27.040 --> 00:40:28.996 I have one question and you,
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143

00:40:29.000 --> 00:40:31.282 you began to refer to this with

NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143
00:40:31.282 --> 00:40:33.472 the the sort of liberal movements
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143
00:40:33.472 --> 00:40:36.118 that were going on in the 60s,
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143
00:40:36.120 --> 00:40:38.288 but I'd be curious to hear a little
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143
00:40:38.288 --> 00:40:40.686 bit more about sort of. Yes.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143
00:40:40.686 --> 00:40:42.342 How did the civil rights movement
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143
00:40:42.342 --> 00:40:44.008 impact some of these decisions that
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143
00:40:44.008 --> 00:40:46.150 were being made in the 60s as well,
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143
00:40:46.150 --> 00:40:49.146 if there was any like backlash and.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143
00:40:49.150 --> 00:40:50.165 Just would love to hear a little
NOTE Confidence: 0.859967557857143
00:40:50.165 --> 00:40:51.130 bit more about your thoughts on
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126
00:40:51.140 --> 00:40:54.560 that. That's a great question.
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126
00:40:54.560 --> 00:40:59.903 So people like like Daniel Patrick
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126
00:40:59.903 --> 00:41:02.267 Moynihan especially among others,
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126
00:41:02.270 --> 00:41:04.646 there was there was a push in the
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126
00:41:04.646 --> 00:41:06.386 welfare rights movement to actually
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:06.386 --> 00:41:08.899 have folks in the communities who who
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:08.967 --> 00:41:10.857 who utilize public assistance actually
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:10.857 --> 00:41:13.569 have more input and to be more empowered
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:13.569 --> 00:41:15.207 in terms of the administration and
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:15.207 --> 00:41:16.679 structuring of the programs themselves.
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:16.680 --> 00:41:19.110 This was called the Community Action
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:19.110 --> 00:41:22.190 programs and one thing that this emerging
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:22.190 --> 00:41:24.505 group of of intellectuals formally.
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:24.510 --> 00:41:26.176 On the left, formerly on the left,
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:26.180 --> 00:41:28.020 but whose politics kind of
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:28.020 --> 00:41:30.280 migrated to the right over time.
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:30.280 --> 00:41:33.115 They hated the idea of non elites
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:33.115 --> 00:41:35.311 expressing any kind of collective
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:35.311 --> 00:41:37.566 political agency or having any
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:37.566 --> 00:41:40.860 kind of direct input in in program
NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:40.860 --> 00:41:43.656 administration or or or even politically.

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:43.660 --> 00:41:45.516 And you know, it was this kind of.

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:45.520 --> 00:41:47.802 And what's ironic is many of them

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:47.802 --> 00:41:50.028 themselves came from very working class

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:50.028 --> 00:41:52.386 origins folks like Norman Podhoretz and

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:52.386 --> 00:41:54.657 Daniel Bell and Glazer and on and on.

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:54.660 --> 00:41:55.156 Going on.

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:55.156 --> 00:41:57.140 But they saw the system as being good

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:57.194 --> 00:41:58.965 to them because they kind of played

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:41:58.965 --> 00:42:00.920 by the rules and they thought that

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:42:00.920 --> 00:42:02.630 other people should do the same.

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:42:02.630 --> 00:42:04.569 It just so happened that they became

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:42:04.569 --> 00:42:06.091 very influential in the intellectual

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:42:06.091 --> 00:42:07.676 and political spheres and their

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:42:07.676 --> 00:42:09.666 ideas were able to, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.78140126

00:42:09.666 --> 00:42:10.920 have have influence.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8997643325

00:42:12.710 --> 00:42:14.218 Anyone have any questions?
NOTE Confidence: 0.90158263

00:42:19.550 --> 00:42:21.482 Yes, thank you. I think we could
NOTE Confidence: 0.90158263

00:42:21.482 --> 00:42:23.470 talk for a while about this.
NOTE Confidence: 0.90158263

00:42:23.470 --> 00:42:24.790 One question I have is,
NOTE Confidence: 0.90158263

00:42:24.790 --> 00:42:27.588 is as the discourse starts to shift.
NOTE Confidence: 0.90158263

00:42:27.590 --> 00:42:30.355 Do you start to see rural urban
NOTE Confidence: 0.90158263

00:42:30.355 --> 00:42:31.848 differences in that discourse?
NOTE Confidence: 0.90158263

00:42:31.850 --> 00:42:33.677 Does it become more prominent in one
NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:42:33.690 --> 00:42:36.039 versus the other?
NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:42:36.040 --> 00:42:37.272 That's an excellent question.
NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:42:37.272 --> 00:42:39.120 It's interesting in that one of
NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:42:39.174 --> 00:42:41.410 the stereo, I didn't do that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:42:41.410 --> 00:42:44.383 One of the stereotypes with regard to
NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:42:44.383 --> 00:42:46.538 folks who utilize public assistance
NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:42:46.538 --> 00:42:49.265 is that the majority of people that
NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:42:49.265 --> 00:42:51.883 do are live in urban communities and

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:42:51.883 --> 00:42:54.915 are and are are black and brown and

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:42:54.920 --> 00:42:57.839 the reality is that there are more

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:42:57.839 --> 00:43:00.135 rural white populations that utilize

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:00.135 --> 00:43:03.045 welfare than urban non white populations.

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:03.050 --> 00:43:05.348 But. You know.

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:05.348 --> 00:43:07.430 Finding a, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:07.430 --> 00:43:09.355 in the the folks who are crafting

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:09.355 --> 00:43:11.039 and refining the discourse.

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:11.040 --> 00:43:13.931 Over time it became much more effective

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:13.931 --> 00:43:16.500 to scapegoat groups that already you

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:16.500 --> 00:43:18.600 know lacked political agency because

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:18.600 --> 00:43:21.330 of you know structural inequality and

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:21.330 --> 00:43:24.500 and systemic racism and and sexism etcetera.

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:24.500 --> 00:43:28.020 So it's much more effective for them to

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:28.020 --> 00:43:31.340 highlight what they saw as being problematic.

NOTE Confidence: 0.960526953333333

00:43:31.340 --> 00:43:33.386 You know characteristics of of those

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:33.386 --> 00:43:35.550 folks and and those communities.

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:35.550 --> 00:43:37.086 And what's sad is it worked.

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:37.090 --> 00:43:37.612 You know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:37.612 --> 00:43:39.178 it really appealed to mostly folks

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:39.178 --> 00:43:40.939 who were struggling like in the

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:40.939 --> 00:43:42.419 middle class and working class.

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:42.420 --> 00:43:46.180 And you saw going into the mid and

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:46.180 --> 00:43:48.305 late 1970s and with the election

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:48.305 --> 00:43:49.629 of Reagan in 1980,

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:49.630 --> 00:43:52.087 a lot of working class people in

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:52.087 --> 00:43:54.285 what were considered kind of blue

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:54.285 --> 00:43:56.433 states right flipped and voted for

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:56.433 --> 00:43:58.079 Reagan and Reagan overwhelmingly

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:58.079 --> 00:43:59.975 beat Carter in in 1980.

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:43:59.975 --> 00:44:01.830 So you know that was an important

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:44:01.830 --> 00:44:03.683 kind of distinction and and between

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:44:03.683 --> 00:44:05.579 those two groups and how it.

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:44:05.580 --> 00:44:06.959 Kind of played out with regard to

NOTE Confidence: 0.9605269533333333

00:44:06.959 --> 00:44:08.460 the shift in thinking on welfare.

NOTE Confidence: 0.876029255

00:44:11.560 --> 00:44:12.110 Any other?

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:14.220 --> 00:44:16.770 Thank you for really fascinating talk

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:16.770 --> 00:44:18.980 and history being the Child Study Center.

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:18.980 --> 00:44:21.440 I'm wondering this question is about

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:21.440 --> 00:44:24.206 child focused policies, which I know kind

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:24.206 --> 00:44:26.126 of welfare policies affect children,

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:26.130 --> 00:44:27.850 but they're not necessarily

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:27.850 --> 00:44:29.628 directed towards them explicitly.

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:29.628 --> 00:44:33.044 So I'm curious as the conversation on

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:33.044 --> 00:44:36.420 welfare and welfare policies has changed,

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:36.420 --> 00:44:41.142 I guess how has that mirrored or been

NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:41.142 --> 00:44:44.089 different from other child focused?
NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:44.089 --> 00:44:45.448 Policies, for example,
NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:45.450 --> 00:44:48.266 early head start or maybe free and reduced
NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:48.266 --> 00:44:50.988 meal programs at schools or things like that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.86463687625

00:44:50.990 --> 00:44:53.174 Have they seen similar changes over time?
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:44:55.090 --> 00:44:55.866 It's interesting.
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:44:55.866 --> 00:44:57.902 So the expansion, for example,
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:44:57.902 --> 00:45:01.054 the child tax credit has been a real
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:01.054 --> 00:45:03.160 success in reducing poverty and among
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:03.235 --> 00:45:06.083 folks of color and in communities of color.
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:06.090 --> 00:45:09.290 And it's, it's, it's interesting.
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:09.290 --> 00:45:11.530 I think his name is Martin Gillins,
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:11.530 --> 00:45:13.610 and I think he's a Yale political scientist.
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:13.610 --> 00:45:14.582 He did a great,
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:14.582 --> 00:45:17.438 he did a great study and his book was titled
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:17.438 --> 00:45:19.929 Why Americans Hate Welfare and what he saw,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:19.930 --> 00:45:22.675 he studied media representation from

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:22.675 --> 00:45:26.040 the 1960s onward into the 1990s.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:26.040 --> 00:45:27.380 If I'm remembering it correctly,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:27.380 --> 00:45:30.480 I read it a long time ago and what he

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:30.572 --> 00:45:33.179 saw was that when programs were being

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:33.179 --> 00:45:35.537 featured in in media narratives that

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:35.537 --> 00:45:37.458 that addressed children specifically

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:37.458 --> 00:45:40.380 or the elderly like Social Security,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:40.380 --> 00:45:40.729 etcetera,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:40.729 --> 00:45:43.172 the pictures and images that tended to

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:43.172 --> 00:45:45.555 go along with those stories were often

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:45.555 --> 00:45:47.979 of like white people in the suburbs.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:47.980 --> 00:45:49.982 But then when when they looked at

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:49.982 --> 00:45:51.919 issues like the underclass or welfare

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:51.919 --> 00:45:54.292 fraud and abuse and and and wasteful

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:54.351 --> 00:45:56.625 spending and those kinds of narratives.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:56.630 --> 00:45:59.204 More often than not they portrayed

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:45:59.204 --> 00:46:01.793 those images that they they featured

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:01.793 --> 00:46:04.163 images of of folks of color.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:04.170 --> 00:46:06.770 So I mean that was a really you know I the,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:06.770 --> 00:46:09.990 the. I think that as.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:09.990 --> 00:46:12.365 As intellectuals were crafting and

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:12.365 --> 00:46:15.187 refining a narrative to convince folks

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:15.187 --> 00:46:18.240 that welfare spending was a bad idea,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:18.240 --> 00:46:20.704 they had to kind of go after those

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:20.704 --> 00:46:22.270 programs that targeted those

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:22.270 --> 00:46:24.800 populations that had less, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:24.800 --> 00:46:27.495 power and agency in in the society.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:27.500 --> 00:46:28.676 So as you saw,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:28.676 --> 00:46:30.440 like with Louisiana in 1960 when

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:30.507 --> 00:46:32.853 the issue was framed as hurting

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:32.853 --> 00:46:34.744 innocent children, it got reversed.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:34.744 --> 00:46:36.216 It got rolled back.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:36.220 --> 00:46:37.645 But when Mitchell,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:37.645 --> 00:46:40.020 Joseph Mitchell and Newberg spun.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:40.020 --> 00:46:42.192 The the narrative as where we're

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:42.192 --> 00:46:44.067 subsidizing all of this immoral

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:44.067 --> 00:46:46.559 behavior of these you know of these

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:46.559 --> 00:46:48.922 women quote UN quote then the the

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:48.922 --> 00:46:51.122 opposition kind of held and and and in

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:51.122 --> 00:46:52.861 many ways it was sort of the beginning

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:52.861 --> 00:46:54.909 of a new way of thinking about it.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:54.910 --> 00:46:56.958 So in terms of the you know the

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:56.958 --> 00:46:58.798 details of specific programs and

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:46:58.798 --> 00:47:00.898 how that affected those overtime,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:00.900 --> 00:47:03.014 I'm not sure I didn't really get

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:03.014 --> 00:47:04.920 granular with regard to the actual
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:04.920 --> 00:47:06.485 programs and funding for each
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:06.485 --> 00:47:08.317 program but I was looking more
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:08.317 --> 00:47:10.027 at the discourses but you know.
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:10.030 --> 00:47:11.140 In terms of the attack,
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:11.140 --> 00:47:13.330 they they featured within their
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:13.330 --> 00:47:15.939 narratives things that they knew they
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:15.939 --> 00:47:18.333 could sort of tap into and exploit.
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:18.340 --> 00:47:20.250 Things like popular resentment right
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:20.250 --> 00:47:22.578 around things like the changing family
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:22.578 --> 00:47:24.906 structure and gender roles and, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:24.906 --> 00:47:26.817 the gains made in civil rights and,
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:26.820 --> 00:47:27.584 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:27.584 --> 00:47:28.730 black liberation movements
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:28.730 --> 00:47:30.258 and things like that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:30.260 --> 00:47:33.116 I hope that answers your question somewhat.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:33.120 --> 00:47:34.910 Thank you.

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:34.910 --> 00:47:35.130 Darren,

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:35.130 --> 00:47:36.890 thank you so much for that and that

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:36.890 --> 00:47:38.539 was a wonderful synthesis and I've

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:38.539 --> 00:47:40.250 certainly learned a lot from the

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:40.250 --> 00:47:41.655 from your presentation as someone

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:41.655 --> 00:47:43.278 who's not from America and Julia

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:43.278 --> 00:47:45.270 Zane has a question in the chat and

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:45.326 --> 00:47:46.952 she was wondering to what extent

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:46.952 --> 00:47:48.758 do you think the Immigration Act

NOTE Confidence: 0.860330336

00:47:48.758 --> 00:47:51.806 of 1965 and also played a part in

NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:47:51.810 --> 00:47:53.940 politicians movement to attack black

NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:47:53.940 --> 00:47:55.644 communities and welfare programs.

NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:47:55.650 --> 00:47:59.705 You know, it's interesting. With the the.

NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:47:59.705 --> 00:48:01.715 The wave of immigration that happens

NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:01.715 --> 00:48:04.352 in the 60s and and the destination
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:04.352 --> 00:48:06.344 country are not destination the
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:06.344 --> 00:48:08.960 countries folks are coming from being
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:08.960 --> 00:48:11.192 predominantly Latin America and Asia,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:11.192 --> 00:48:14.419 they're able to weave into the narrative.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:14.420 --> 00:48:15.926 Um, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:15.926 --> 00:48:18.436 the issue of immigration somewhat,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:18.440 --> 00:48:20.540 but it's not something for whatever reason
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:20.540 --> 00:48:22.966 that that is featured nearly as much as,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:22.970 --> 00:48:25.498 you know the the culture of poverty stuff
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:25.498 --> 00:48:28.187 and black communities and and all of that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:28.190 --> 00:48:31.284 I think that for a lot of.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:31.290 --> 00:48:33.103 You know, a lot of these figures
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:33.103 --> 00:48:35.212 that were that were engaged in this
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:35.212 --> 00:48:36.802 discourse and in these debates,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:48:36.810 --> 00:48:38.546 they saw a lot what was happening

NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:38.546 --> 00:48:40.530 in a lot of the immigrant
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:40.530 --> 00:48:42.490 communities actually were were they,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:42.490 --> 00:48:44.632 they saw it as people conforming to the sort
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:44.632 --> 00:48:47.007 of achievement ethos and that kind of thing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:47.010 --> 00:48:49.074 So they didn't feature as prominently
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:49.074 --> 00:48:50.450 in their negative characterizations.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:50.450 --> 00:48:51.650 And just if I may,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:51.650 --> 00:48:52.868 while I still have the microphone,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:52.870 --> 00:48:54.820 I was just wondering you, you,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:54.820 --> 00:48:56.338 you started by presenting,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:56.338 --> 00:48:57.186 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:48:57.186 --> 00:49:00.050 the kind of per capita investment in
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:00.050 --> 00:49:01.158 welfare across different countries.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:01.158 --> 00:49:01.989 And I'm just.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:01.990 --> 00:49:02.946 Interested in your research?
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:02.946 --> 00:49:05.110 Have you looked at any kind of cross
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:05.110 --> 00:49:06.854 cultural or country specific analysis
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:06.854 --> 00:49:09.220 of of narratives on poverty and how
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:09.283 --> 00:49:11.178 they differ between countries that
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:11.178 --> 00:49:12.640 invest heavily in social welfare
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:12.640 --> 00:49:14.840 programs versus the United States?
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:14.840 --> 00:49:15.185 Yeah,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:15.185 --> 00:49:17.945 so the countries that are most like us
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:17.945 --> 00:49:20.273 but they're still the welfare states
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:20.273 --> 00:49:23.120 of say Canada and UK for example,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:23.120 --> 00:49:25.045 are still much more expansive
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:25.045 --> 00:49:27.560 than that of the United States,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:27.560 --> 00:49:29.606 but they're closer to us than
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:29.606 --> 00:49:31.590 say our central European and
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:31.590 --> 00:49:33.249 Northern European counterparts.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:49:33.250 --> 00:49:35.882 Remember in in the UK when the Reagan

NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:35.882 --> 00:49:38.010 Revolution is happening here the
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:38.010 --> 00:49:40.350 Thatcher revolution is happening there.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:40.350 --> 00:49:42.375 And you know I I I kind of mentioned
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:42.375 --> 00:49:43.979 briefly the think tanks when I had
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:43.979 --> 00:49:45.532 to cut this down to 35 minutes
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:45.532 --> 00:49:47.210 I had a whole thing on the think
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:47.210 --> 00:49:48.890 tanks that I could get into it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:48.890 --> 00:49:51.802 But you know there's there's a guy
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:51.802 --> 00:49:53.839 named Anthony Fisher in England he
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:53.839 --> 00:49:55.680 was kind of like the Frank Perdue
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:55.741 --> 00:49:57.933 of England he he ran like a chicken
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:49:57.933 --> 00:50:00.070 operation and he had a lot of money and
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:50:00.070 --> 00:50:02.338 he decided to get into politics and.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:50:02.338 --> 00:50:03.946 They started the Institute
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:50:03.946 --> 00:50:05.340 for Economic Affairs,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:05.340 --> 00:50:07.223 which was one of the first think
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:07.223 --> 00:50:09.190 tanks in England that kind of was
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:09.190 --> 00:50:10.840 looking at these sorts of issues.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:10.840 --> 00:50:12.758 And there were a whole host of,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:12.760 --> 00:50:14.856 and this was under the influence of one
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:14.856 --> 00:50:17.267 of the libertarians I mentioned before,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:17.270 --> 00:50:18.446 Friedrich von Hayek.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:18.446 --> 00:50:20.014 He told people interested
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:20.014 --> 00:50:21.620 in addressing this issue.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:21.620 --> 00:50:22.700 He said, listen,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:22.700 --> 00:50:24.500 don't talk to the politicians,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:24.500 --> 00:50:25.880 but talk to the professors,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:25.880 --> 00:50:27.220 talk to the intellectuals,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:27.220 --> 00:50:29.230 go into the arena of ideas,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:29.230 --> 00:50:30.290 because that's that's where
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445

00:50:30.290 --> 00:50:31.615 you can make a difference.

NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:50:31.620 --> 00:50:32.920 And it was him and.
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:50:32.920 --> 00:50:34.584 And Milton Friedman and
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:50:34.584 --> 00:50:36.248 others who started what?
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:50:36.250 --> 00:50:38.490 It wasn't the first political think tank,
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:50:38.490 --> 00:50:40.230 but it was the first one
NOTE Confidence: 0.752815094444445
00:50:40.230 --> 00:50:41.390 that was dedicated to
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:50:41.457 --> 00:50:43.662 advancing a kind of singular
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:50:43.662 --> 00:50:44.854 political objective, right?
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:50:44.854 --> 00:50:46.678 And that was the Palaran society
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:50:46.678 --> 00:50:48.541 and that became kind of the
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:50:48.541 --> 00:50:50.026 blueprint for later think tank.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:50:50.030 --> 00:50:54.522 So the IEA in England is really
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:50:54.522 --> 00:50:57.394 effective at demonizing, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:50:57.394 --> 00:50:59.386 folks who are struggling there and,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:50:59.390 --> 00:51:01.575 you know, allocations for public
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:01.575 --> 00:51:03.323 housing get cut somewhat.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:03.330 --> 00:51:04.675 Um, the healthcare system doesn't
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:04.675 --> 00:51:06.020 really get touched so much.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:06.020 --> 00:51:07.450 Taxes get reduced for the
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:07.450 --> 00:51:08.594 wealthy and the affluent,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:08.600 --> 00:51:10.854 but it's not nearly to the extent
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:10.854 --> 00:51:12.338 that happened here and there.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:12.338 --> 00:51:14.410 There were at least 6 to 8 other
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:14.478 --> 00:51:16.634 think tanks after the IEA that that
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:16.634 --> 00:51:18.579 were created by Anthony Fisher that
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:18.579 --> 00:51:20.819 we're doing the same kind of work
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:20.820 --> 00:51:24.140 both in the US and in in in the UK
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:24.242 --> 00:51:29.396 and Canada and you know the in 19.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:29.400 --> 00:51:30.380 Gosh, I think it was,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:30.380 --> 00:51:31.900 this was the late 1980s.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:31.900 --> 00:51:34.720 Margaret Thatcher actually,

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:34.720 --> 00:51:35.226 you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:35.226 --> 00:51:36.997 granted a Lordship to the director of

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:36.997 --> 00:51:38.856 the IEA saying that without them and

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:38.856 --> 00:51:40.989 without the work of the think tanks that,

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:40.990 --> 00:51:41.976 you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:41.976 --> 00:51:44.934 their revolution wouldn't have been possible.

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:44.940 --> 00:51:48.200 So, yeah, but, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:48.200 --> 00:51:48.720 it's interesting.

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:48.720 --> 00:51:48.986 I,

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:48.986 --> 00:51:51.889 I had a slide and I cut it again for

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:51.889 --> 00:51:54.920 time that looked at support in the

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:54.920 --> 00:51:57.460 European countries for welfare spending.

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:57.460 --> 00:51:59.482 And whereas in the US we're

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:51:59.482 --> 00:52:01.341 consistently at about a 60%,

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:01.341 --> 00:52:03.896 sixty five sometimes close to

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:03.896 --> 00:52:06.358 70% rate of opposition towards
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:06.358 --> 00:52:08.306 towards expanding welfare programs.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:08.310 --> 00:52:09.941 And the the way the questions are
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:09.941 --> 00:52:11.900 worded I mean we can get granular with
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:11.900 --> 00:52:13.605 like well what does that really mean
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:13.605 --> 00:52:16.214 and all of that but it's what we have there.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:16.214 --> 00:52:19.238 It's kind of the it's kind of
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:19.238 --> 00:52:22.066 the way it looked like here.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:22.070 --> 00:52:24.694 In the early 1960s.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:24.694 --> 00:52:26.006 So they,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:26.010 --> 00:52:26.780 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:26.780 --> 00:52:28.705 some of the lowest support
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:28.705 --> 00:52:30.410 for welfare programs are in,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:30.410 --> 00:52:31.634 if I'm remembering correctly,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:31.634 --> 00:52:33.164 believe it or not Switzerland,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235

00:52:33.170 --> 00:52:34.640 even though they have an extensive welfare

NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:34.640 --> 00:52:36.090 state and some of the other country,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:36.090 --> 00:52:38.436 I think because it's extensive some
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:38.436 --> 00:52:40.830 there's a little more opposition,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:40.830 --> 00:52:43.605 but that's about 65% support
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:43.605 --> 00:52:45.554 with about 35% opposition.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:45.554 --> 00:52:48.890 That's still a drastic change from the US
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:48.971 --> 00:52:52.025 and Luxembourg actually has like 90% support.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:52.025 --> 00:52:55.120 And that's about the range about 65% to
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:55.120 --> 00:52:58.169 90 compared to what it is in the US.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:58.170 --> 00:52:59.946 Which is about 30% in any odd year,
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:52:59.950 --> 00:53:01.759 30 to 40.
NOTE Confidence: 0.894092400588235
00:53:01.760 --> 00:53:01.970 And
NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766
00:53:01.980 --> 00:53:03.534 I think we have one last question
NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766
00:53:03.534 --> 00:53:05.288 that we can take sort of on this.
NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766
00:53:05.290 --> 00:53:08.350 Apologies if I rambled there, but.
NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:08.350 --> 00:53:09.910 But remember please that Doctor

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:09.910 --> 00:53:11.158 Brennan's going to linger.

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:11.160 --> 00:53:12.288 So if you have other questions,

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:12.290 --> 00:53:16.808 please stay around and and ask him but this.

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:16.810 --> 00:53:18.570 I thank you for your talk.

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:18.570 --> 00:53:19.764 I was curious,

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:19.764 --> 00:53:22.152 you mentioned a bunch about the

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:22.152 --> 00:53:24.738 media and control of magazines and

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:24.738 --> 00:53:27.376 narratives like that and I was

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:27.376 --> 00:53:30.070 wondering if you've noticed or you've

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:30.070 --> 00:53:32.737 seen a change in trends of public

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:32.737 --> 00:53:35.688 opinion with the rise of social media

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:35.688 --> 00:53:38.251 and having more individuals be have

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:38.251 --> 00:53:40.657 larger platforms or if that's still

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:40.657 --> 00:53:42.948 largely controlled by the billionaires

NOTE Confidence: 0.875872766

00:53:42.948 --> 00:53:44.976 they're owning these companies

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:53:45.790 --> 00:53:47.322 that's. An excellent question.

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:53:47.322 --> 00:53:50.600 I'm by no means a social media expert,

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:53:50.600 --> 00:53:51.640 even though I threw my,

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:53:51.640 --> 00:53:53.080 you know, my ads up there.

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:53:53.080 --> 00:53:55.708 But. Feel free to reach out,

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:53:55.710 --> 00:53:56.994 but it's interesting,

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:53:56.994 --> 00:53:58.518 you know, in 2012,

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:53:58.518 --> 00:54:01.190 Newt Gingrich makes a run for the presidency.

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:01.190 --> 00:54:02.690 He's, he's, he wants to,

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:02.690 --> 00:54:06.274 he's in the the the group of

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:06.274 --> 00:54:08.202 Republican presidential hopefuls to

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:08.202 --> 00:54:10.534 run against Barack Obama in 2012.

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:10.534 --> 00:54:13.548 And he kind of gets caught up in a

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:13.548 --> 00:54:15.634 he makes a speech somewhere and he

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:15.711 --> 00:54:18.263 and he uses the same kind of language

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:18.263 --> 00:54:20.848 that he and others did in the 1990s
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:20.848 --> 00:54:22.790 with regard to welfare programs.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:22.790 --> 00:54:24.946 And he alluded to the fact that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:24.950 --> 00:54:26.830 Poor folks in black communities
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:26.830 --> 00:54:28.334 had used strange language.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:28.340 --> 00:54:29.360 He said something like that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:29.360 --> 00:54:31.453 They have no habituation to work and
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:31.453 --> 00:54:33.530 they don't see anybody go to work.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:33.530 --> 00:54:34.286 On Monday morning,
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:34.286 --> 00:54:35.546 he said something along those
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:35.546 --> 00:54:37.099 lines and he got a real backlash,
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:37.100 --> 00:54:39.350 actually on social media and
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:39.350 --> 00:54:41.600 and his his approval ratings.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:41.600 --> 00:54:43.700 He was considered a frontrunner in the
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:43.700 --> 00:54:45.638 beginning of the primaries in 2012.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:45.640 --> 00:54:48.256 His approval ratings came down somewhat

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:48.260 --> 00:54:50.598 with the midterm elections that just passed.

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:50.600 --> 00:54:52.976 You know, I I tuned into Fox News just

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:52.976 --> 00:54:55.308 to see what the discourse was and.

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:55.310 --> 00:54:57.256 There was a there was a particular

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:57.256 --> 00:54:59.072 analyst I can't remember his name

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:54:59.072 --> 00:55:00.908 who was really laboring over the

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:00.908 --> 00:55:02.891 fact that single women just didn't

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:02.891 --> 00:55:05.006 turn out for the Republicans to and

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:05.006 --> 00:55:06.990 and and the split was like 38 points

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:07.054 --> 00:55:08.993 and his response to that is sounded

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:08.993 --> 00:55:10.824 so much like the language around

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:10.824 --> 00:55:13.008 welfare reform years ago he said I

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:13.010 --> 00:55:14.418 think we need he said something like

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:14.418 --> 00:55:16.410 we need to get these women married or

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:16.460 --> 00:55:18.084 something like that and I was like

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:18.090 --> 00:55:19.770 really that's your take home point
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:19.770 --> 00:55:21.498 and he got and what's interesting
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:21.498 --> 00:55:23.648 is is that that was very common
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:23.648 --> 00:55:25.526 discourse back when in fact the.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:25.530 --> 00:55:27.119 The language of the bill has all
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:27.119 --> 00:55:28.698 of this stuff in the beginning,
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:28.700 --> 00:55:29.732 where it's like.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:29.732 --> 00:55:30.420 You know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:30.420 --> 00:55:34.249 whereas marriage is the cornerstone of what,
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:34.250 --> 00:55:35.362 you know of society.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:35.362 --> 00:55:37.030 And this is the idea was,
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:37.030 --> 00:55:37.628 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:37.628 --> 00:55:40.020 really to encourage women to be an intact
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:40.086 --> 00:55:42.726 relationships regardless of the consequences,
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:42.730 --> 00:55:44.014 regardless of the the
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:55:44.014 --> 00:55:45.298 quality of the relationship,

NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:55:45.300 --> 00:55:46.728 the demonization of single
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:55:46.728 --> 00:55:47.799 motherhood and everything.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:55:47.800 --> 00:55:49.655 And it was almost refreshing
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:55:49.655 --> 00:55:51.750 that the day after he mentioned
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:55:51.750 --> 00:55:53.580 that with regard to the midterms,
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:55:53.580 --> 00:55:54.076 I mean,
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:55:54.076 --> 00:55:56.060 he was crucified on social media for it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:55:56.060 --> 00:55:58.430 And a lot of that discourse
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:55:58.430 --> 00:56:00.010 now sounds just absolutely.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:56:00.010 --> 00:56:02.565 You know just medieval and I think
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:56:02.565 --> 00:56:04.742 that's because of you know people
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:56:04.742 --> 00:56:07.101 on social media are are you know
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:56:07.172 --> 00:56:09.300 the in in some ways I mean we
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:56:09.300 --> 00:56:10.990 all know that the downside of it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667
00:56:10.990 --> 00:56:13.110 But in some ways the you know the
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:56:13.110 --> 00:56:15.405 the arena of ideas has become more
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:56:15.405 --> 00:56:17.100 democratized and that's a good
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:56:17.171 --> 00:56:19.300 thing but the narratives are still
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:56:19.300 --> 00:56:21.546 constrained you know the build back
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:56:21.546 --> 00:56:23.730 better act turned into the Inflation
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:56:23.730 --> 00:56:25.715 Reduction Act and like was cut
NOTE Confidence: 0.837972474166667

00:56:25.715 --> 00:56:27.654 in more more than more more than
NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:27.660 --> 00:56:29.308 by half and a lot of things taken
NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:29.308 --> 00:56:31.138 out and that was mostly because of.
NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:31.140 --> 00:56:33.078 Disagreement among Democrats,
NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:33.078 --> 00:56:35.022 not even, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:35.022 --> 00:56:36.652 because of the the negotiations
NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:36.652 --> 00:56:38.270 happening across the party line.
NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:38.270 --> 00:56:40.950 So the narratives are still
NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:40.950 --> 00:56:43.055 constrained in ways that I think
NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:43.055 --> 00:56:45.010 are important and related to this.

NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:45.010 --> 00:56:46.426 But I think they're giving way a bit,

NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:46.430 --> 00:56:48.002 and I think social media has

NOTE Confidence: 0.879140149333333

00:56:48.002 --> 00:56:49.950 played somewhat of a role. Yeah,

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:56:50.270 --> 00:56:51.705 well, clearly there's lots we

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:56:51.705 --> 00:56:53.140 can continue to talk about.

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:56:53.140 --> 00:56:54.132 And again, you know,

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:56:54.132 --> 00:56:55.936 if you're able to stay, please do.

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:56:55.936 --> 00:56:58.510 Thank you to everyone who tuned in on Zoom.

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:56:58.510 --> 00:57:00.748 Everyone here, please know that you

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:57:00.748 --> 00:57:03.253 are such an integral part to all

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:57:03.253 --> 00:57:05.444 of our missions here at the center,

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:57:05.450 --> 00:57:07.532 and we're so grateful to have

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:57:07.532 --> 00:57:08.796 such a wonderful community.

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:57:08.800 --> 00:57:10.400 And thank you for showing

NOTE Confidence: 0.859026891

00:57:10.400 --> 00:57:12.000 up and enjoy your break.