

**Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy  
American Political Science Association**

**Outline and Recommended Readings for Graduate and Advanced  
Undergraduate Courses**

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We are grateful to the following individuals for sharing their ideas and syllabi with us: Keith Bybee, Elizabeth Cohen, Rogan Kersh, Grant Reeher, Joe Soss, and Jeff Stonecash. Amy Widstrom provided research assistance

The Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy was convened by the American Political Science Association with the support of the Russell Sage Foundation. The opinions expressed in the report are solely those of the Task Force members. No opinions, statements of fact or conclusions in the report should be attributed to the American Political Science Association or to the Russell Sage Foundation.

## Outline and Recommended Readings for Graduate and Advanced Undergraduate Courses

*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal...*

*Thomas Jefferson*

*Declaration of Independence, 1776*

Americans, at least since the Founding era, have cherished the ideal of political equality. Unlike European nations, the United States inherited no economic class distinctions from a feudal past. Time and again, American social reformers and mass movements have highlighted inconsistencies between the value of equality and the actual practice of democracy. Through the extension of rights to citizens who were previously excluded or treated as second-class citizens, such as women and African Americans, the polity has become more inclusive over time. Over the last three decades, however, American citizens have grown increasingly unequal in terms of income and wealth. Economic inequality is now greater than at any other point in American history except for the Gilded Age, and it continues to escalate. Far greater economic inequality exists in the United States today than in other western, industrialized nations. This new inequality began to emerge soon after the “rights revolution” had ended formal, legal discrimination. Tragically, economic divisions now reinforce many of the old divisions of race, ethnicity, and gender, undermining the promise of greater equality.

The central question posed by this course is the implications of such vast economic inequality for American democracy. Do these disparities between citizens curtail, limit, and perhaps threaten the functioning of genuinely representative governance? The material in this outline examines this question from several angles. By way of introduction, it explores what other social scientists—mostly economists and sociologists—know about contemporary inequality, particularly in terms of its causes, manifestation, and socio-economic effects. Second, this curricular framework considers the concept of inequality in political theory and in American political thought, and examines American public opinion with respect to matters of inequality.

The major focus of the course outline involves the current relationship between economic inequality and each of three major aspects of the American political system: political voice, governance, and public policy. First, the outline examines the implications of inequality for those processes and mechanisms through which citizens can influence the political process and have their voice heard. It considers citizen participation in political activities, interest groups, political parties (mass level), social movements, and civic associations. In each case, the materials in this outline ask how class intersects with other social divisions such as gender, race, ethnicity, and educational level. Second, the curricular outline examines the implications of inequality for the allocation of power in American government institutions and processes of making policy by exploring the following: influence and decision-making in Congress and the executive branch; the agenda of political parties at the elite level; and the allocation of tasks of governance between the national and sub-national government through federalism. The relationship between money and politics will be examined in this section. Third, the materials in this outline examine the relationship between public policy and inequality by considering the following: the extent to which United States policy ameliorates or exacerbates inequality, in both historical and comparative perspective; the extent to which growing inequality undercut the promises of the “rights revolution;” how some policies have ameliorated economic inequality and, in turn,

elevated the political participation of affected citizens. Finally, this course outline raises the question of whether public policy can make a difference in rectifying the extreme levels of inequality facing the United States today.

This outline and reading list offers considerably more—and in some ways, no doubt, less—than any instructor is likely to include in a particular syllabus. We offer it as a broad menu, arranged according to an overarching structure that makes sense to us given our work in reviewing the “state of the discipline” with respect to inequality and American democracy. Of course, instructors may elect to use some modules and not others, or to collapse some groupings of modules. In addition, within each module, instructors will want to make selections among readings.

## **I. Introduction**

### 1. Introduction: The State of Economic Inequality

What does economic inequality in the United States look like today, and how has it changed over time? We will examine the shifting dispersion of income and wealth over time: changes in real wages for various groups of Americans defined by such demographic characteristics as educational level, race and ethnicity, sex, employment sector, employment status, job experience, and family status.

Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and Heather Boushey, *State of Working America 2002/2003* (Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute, 2003).

### 2. Economic Inequality Today: Its Manifestation and Causes

Here we look, in a more in-depth manner, at the causes, manifestations, and known socio-economic effects of growing economic inequality. We will discuss the relative importance of such factors as technological change, the demand for skill, globalization of the economy, immigration, changing family structure, and the entrance of women into the workforce. We will explore how inequality in the United States today compares to that of other nations; compare the well-being of the poorest citizens across nations; and consider the extent to which social mobility offsets inequality over time. We will consider the extent to which public policies alleviate growing income inequality, comparing the United States to other nations.

Peter Gottschalk, “Inequality, Income Growth, and Mobility: The Basic Facts”

*Journal of Economic Perspectives* Vol. 11, #2, spring 1997, 21-40.

Christopher Jencks, “Does Inequality Matter?” *Daedalus* (winter 2002): pp. 49-65.

Isaac Shapiro, Robert Greenstein, and Wendell Primus, “Pathbreaking CBO Study Shows Dramatic Increases in Income Disparities in 1980s and 1990s: An Analysis of the CBO Data,” (Washington, D.C.: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2001)  
Available at: [www.cbpp.org/5-31-01tax.htm/](http://www.cbpp.org/5-31-01tax.htm/).

R. D. Plotnick, E. Smolensky, E. Evenhouse, and S. Reilly, “The Twentieth Century Record of Inequality and Poverty in the United States,” Institute for Research on Poverty, Discussion Paper no. 1166-98 (July 1998), University of Wisconsin.  
Available at [www.ssc.wisc.edu/irp/](http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/irp/).

- Gary Burtless, "Growing American Inequality: Sources and Remedies." In *Setting National Priorities: The 2000 Election and Beyond*, ed. Henry J. Aaron, Robert D. Reischauer (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1999), pp. 137-65.
- William A. Darity, Jr., and Samuel L. Myers, Jr., *Persistent Disparity: Race and Economic Inequality in the United States Since 1945* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 1998).
- Lisa A. Keister, *Wealth in America: Trends in Wealth Inequality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

### 3. Inequality and Struggles for Equality in American Political Development

Here we examine, in historical perspective, how Americans of the past struggled against inequalities of gender, race, and class. Under what circumstances and to what degree have they met with success? How have American political institutions and processes shaped the nature of such struggles and the form and sustainability of their achievements? Which kinds of political action led toward reform, and of what sort?

- Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20<sup>th</sup> Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- James T. Patterson, *America's Struggle Against Poverty, 1900-1980* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).
- Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Random House, 1979).
- Elizabeth Sanders, *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
- Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- John Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).
- Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

### 4. Poverty, Downward Mobility, and Wealth in the United States

This module explores, in a more contextual manner, the experiences of different groups within the American population as economic inequality has grown. We look at the fate of the poor, the middle-class, and the wealthy. In each case, we ask about the extent to which their status has emerged from economic factors, broadly conceived, compared to the role of public policy.

- Kathryn Edin and Laura Lein, "Work, Welfare, and Single Mothers' Economic Survival Strategies," *American Sociological Review* 62 (2) (April 1997): 253-66.
- William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (New York: Vintage, 1997).
- Teresa A. Sullivan, Elizabeth Warren, and Jay Lawrence Westbrook, *The Fragile Middle Class: Americans in Debt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), Chap. 1.
- Kevin Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy: A Political History of the American Rich* (New York: Broadway, 2002), Chaps. 3, 5.

Sheldon H. Danziger and Robert H. Haveman, eds. *Understanding Poverty* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), selections.  
Katherine S. Newman, *No Shame in My Game: The Working Poor in the Inner City* (New York: Vintage, 2000).

## 5. Theories about Inequality and Equality

How have political theorists thought about economic inequality? What is the relationship between inequality and both social and political justice? How can and should states manage conflicts between equality and other political goods?

Amartya Sen, *Inequality Reexamined* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992) specially Chapters 1, 6, 7.  
Ian Shapiro, "Democracy and Distribution" in *The State of Democratic Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) pp. 104-145.  
John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1971) Ch 2, 5.  
Robert J. Antonio (ed), *Marx and Modernity* (Malden, Oxford, Victoria, Berlin: Blackwell, 2003) pp. 113-119, 135-42, 157-165, 199-203.  
Max Weber, "Class, Status, and Party," in *Economy and Society*, Book II, Chapter 9 section 6.  
Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice* (New York: Basic Books, 1983) Chapter 1.  
Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (New York: Basic Books, 1974) Chapter 7.  
Douglas Rae, *Equalities* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1981)  
T. H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development* (New York: Doubleday, 1965), pp. 65-122.

## 6. Inequality and Equality in American Political Thought

How have American political thinkers thought about equality and inequality? How did Alexis de Tocqueville perceive Americans and their government to grapple with such questions in the mid-nineteenth century? How has the Supreme Court understood the Constitution, namely the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, with respect to the role of government in guaranteeing equal protection of all citizens?

Thomas Jefferson, "Declaration of Independence."  
James Madison, *Federalist #10*.  
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Declaration of Sentiments," Seneca Falls.  
Abraham Lincoln, "Gettysburg Address."  
Martin Luther King, "I Have a Dream."  
Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Book One: Part I, Ch 2, especially conclusion/section entitled "Reasons for Some Peculiarities in the Laws and Customs of the Anglo-Americans;" Ch 3. Part II, Ch 5, sections entitled "Public Officers Under the Rule of American Democracy," "Public Expenses Under the Rule of American Democracy;" Book Two: Part II Ch 2, Part III Ch 1.

### *Economic Equality/Inequality*

John Adams, *Defense of Constitutions*, letter 25.

Alexander Hamilton, "Report on Manufactures."  
William Findley, "A Citizen," or William Manning, *The Key of Liberty*.  
Theophius Fisk, "Capital Against Labor" (1835).  
Andrew Carnegie, "Gospel of Wealth" (1889).  
J. B. Weaver, "A Call to Action" (1892).

#### *Social & Political Equality/Inequality*

Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*.  
"Federal Farmer," "Essentials of a Free Government" (Antifederalist letters).  
John Dickinson, "Fabius," "Observations on the Constitution, III."  
Frederick Douglass, *Autobiography*, or "What to the Slave is the 4th of July?"  
David Walker, *Appeal*.  
Noah Webster, "Slavery, Emancipation & Colonization" (1793).  
John C. Calhoun, "The Government of a White Race" (1848).  
Henry David Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience" (1848).  
William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (1883).

### 7. Inequality, the U.S. Constitution, and Constitutional Law

How democratic is the American Constitution? To what extent and in what ways has equality been understood as a value protected or guaranteed by the Constitution?

Robert A. Dahl, *How Democratic is the American Constitution?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).  
*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896.  
*Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, KS*, 1954.  
*San Antonio v. Rodriguez*, 1973.  
*Romer v. Evans*, 1996.  
*United States v. Virginia*, 1996.  
*Grutter v. Bollinger*, 2003.

### 8. Inequality and American Public Opinion

What do Americans think about economic inequality? In what circumstances and to what extent do they consider it a problem for democracy? Do they think that government should take measures to lessen inequality? If so, does that support extend to fostering equal outcomes, or, rather, providing equal opportunity? What policy alternatives do Americans most support toward such ends?

Everett Carl Ladd and Karlyn H. Bowman, *Attitudes toward Economic Inequality* (Washington, D.C.: AEI Press, 1998).  
David L. Weakliem, Robert Andersen, and Anthony F. Heath, "The Directing Power? A Comparative Study of Public Opinion and Income Distribution." (Storrs, CT: Department of Sociology, University of Connecticut, 2003).  
Herbert McClosky and John Zaller, *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes toward Capitalism and Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

- Sidney Verba and Gary Orren, *Equality in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985).
- Nathan Glazer, "Why Don't Americans Care about Income Inequality?" Wiener Inequality and Social Policy Seminar, Kennedy School, Harvard University, February 11, 2002. Available at: [www.ksg.harvard.edu/inequality/Seminar/Papers/Glazer.pdf](http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/inequality/Seminar/Papers/Glazer.pdf)
- Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends In America's Policy Preferences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) Chaps. 3-4.
- Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
- Fay Lomax Cook and Edith J. Barrett, *Support for the American Welfare State: The Views of Congress and the Public* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).
- Adam J. Berinsky, "Silent Voices: Social Welfare Policy Opinions and Political Equality in America." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2002): 276-287.

## II. Inequalities in Political Voice

What are the avenues by which citizens in American democracy have an opportunity to exercise political voice—as individuals and in concert with others? How representative are expressions of political voice both in terms of who takes part and what they say? Why is the propensity to take part in politics so stratified by income, occupation and, especially, education? What are the implications of the social stratification of participation for the exercise of political voice for disadvantaged groups defined along axes of cleavage other than social class—among them race and ethnicity, gender, and age? How do the mediating institutions and processes of citizen politics—in particular, political parties, organized interests, and social movements—function to shape who is brought into politics and what public officials hear? In an era of both rising levels of education and rising levels of economic inequality, how has the stratification of political voice changed in recent decades—with respect to individual political activity as well as activity through electoral politics, organized interest politics, and social movement politics?

### 9. Political Participation

- Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- Warren E. Miller and J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996) Chaps. 1-5.
- Richard B. Freeman "What, Me Vote?" In *Social Inequality*, ed. Kathryn Neckerman. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004).

### 10. Political Parties

- Jeffrey M. Stonecash, *Class and Party in American Politics* (Boulder: Westview, 2000).
- Nolan M. McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, *Income Redistribution and the Realignment of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: AEI Press, 1997).
- Larry M. Bartels, "Partisan Politics and the U.S. Income Distribution, 1948-2000," unpublished paper (May 2003). Available at: [www.princeton.edu/~bartels/papers/](http://www.princeton.edu/~bartels/papers/).

## 11. Organized Interests

- Kay Lehman Schlozman and John T. Tierney, *Organized Interests and American Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986) Chap. 4.
- David Vogel, *Kindred Strangers: The Uneasy Relationship between Politics and Business in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- Neil J. Mitchell, *The Conspicuous Corporation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).
- Michael Goldfield, *The Decline of Organized Labor in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
- Jeffrey M. Berry, *The New Liberalism: The Rising Power of Citizen Groups* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1999).

## 12. Social Movements and Civic Associations

- Michael Lipsky, "Protest as a Political Resource," *American Political Science Review* 62 (1968): 1144-58.
- John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (1977): 1212-41.
- Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
- David Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robert, eds. *Social Movements: Identity, Culture and the State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2003).

## III. Inequalities in Representation and Governance

### 13. The Role of Policymaking Institutions

How does economic inequality relate to political power in governing institutions? Do those with greater resources have greater influence on the political process? Is "representative governance" compromised by inequality?

- Larry M. Bartels, "Economic Inequality and Political Representation," Paper delivered at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 2002. Available at: <http://www.princeton.edu/~bartels/papers/>.
- Paul S. Martin, "Voting's Rewards: Voter Turnout, Attentive Publics, and the Congressional Allocation of Federal Money," *American Journal of Political Science* 47(1): 2003.
- Martin Gilens, "Public Opinion and Democratic Responsiveness: Who Gets What They Want from Government?" Available at: [www.princeton.edu/~csdp/events/pdfs/Gilens.pdf](http://www.princeton.edu/~csdp/events/pdfs/Gilens.pdf)
- Lawrence R. Jacobs and Benjamin I. Page, "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy Over Time?" Available at: [www.princeton.edu/~csdp/events/pdfs/JacobsPage.pdf/](http://www.princeton.edu/~csdp/events/pdfs/JacobsPage.pdf/).



Thomas A. Husted and Lawrence W. Kenny, "The Effect of the Expansion of the Voting Franchise on the Size of Government," *Journal of Political Economy* 105 (10 (1997): 54-82.

#### 14. Federalism, Urban Governance

What difference do the institutions of federalism make for inequality of citizens and or political influence? Is one level of government or another more effective in ameliorating economic inequality? How do the politics of place in the federal system affect political power and the well-being of citizens?

Pamela Winston, *Welfare Policymaking in the States* (Georgetown University Press, 2002) Chaps. 1-3, 7.

John D. Donahue, *The Devolution Revolution: Hazardous Crosscurrents: Confronting Inequality in an Age of Devolution* (New York: Century Foundation Press, 1999).

Kim Q. Hill, Jan E. Leighley and Angela Hinton-Andersson, "Lower-Class Mobilization and Policy Linkage in the U.S. States," *American Journal of Political Science* 39, 1, (February): 75-86.

Paul Peterson, "Who Should Do What? Divided Responsibility in the Federal System," *Brookings Review* (Spring 1995).

Peter Dreier, John Mollenkopf, and Todd Swanstrom, *Place Matters: Metropolitcs for the Twenty-First Century* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001).

#### 15. Money and Politics

Does money buy influence and access in the political process? If so, to what extent, and through what kinds of dynamics?

Stephen Ansolabehere, John M. De Figueiredo, and James M. Snyder, "Why Is There So Little Money in U.S. Politics?" Working Paper 9409 (Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2002).

Stephen Ansolabehere, John M. De Figueiredo, and James M. Snyder, "Why Is There So Little Money in U.S. Politics?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(1) (2003): 105-130.

Stephen Ansolabehere, and Alan Gerber, "The Mismeasure of Campaign Spending: Evidence from the 1990 U.S. House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 56 (1994): 1106-18.

Stephen Ansolabehere, Alan Gerber, and James M. Snyder, Jr., "Corruption and the Growth of Campaign Spending." In *A User's Guide to Campaign Finance Reform*, ed. Gerald C. Lubenow (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001).

Richard Hall and Frank Wayman, "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." *American Political Science Review* 84 (1990): 797-820.

Fred McChesney, *Money for Nothing: Politicians, Rent Extraction, and Political Extortion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

Darrell West and Burdett Loomis, *Sound of Money: How Political Interests Get What They Want* (New York: Norton, 1999).

Thomas Ferguson, *Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

#### IV. Implications of Inequality for Public Policy, and Vice Versa: Some Examples

##### 16. Contemporary U.S. Policy: Ameliorating or Reinforcing Inequality?

To what extent do public policies in the United States ameliorate and/or exacerbate inequality? What aspects of social well-being are assumed by government, which are left to private employers or families, and how do such efforts compare to those of other nations? Which tools of public policy are most and least effect in alleviating inequality? How are different groups in the population affected by particular programs, depending on employment status, income or wealth, and age?

Jonathan Schwabish, Timothy Smeeding, and Lars Osberg, "Income Distribution and Social Expenditures: A Crossnational Perspective," Unpublished paper, May 2003. Available at:

[www-cpr.maxwell.syr.edu/faculty/smeeding/selectedpapers/litreview.pdf/](http://www-cpr.maxwell.syr.edu/faculty/smeeding/selectedpapers/litreview.pdf/).

Benjamin I. Page and James Roy Simmons, *What Government Can Do: Dealing With Poverty and Inequality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Michael Katz, *The Price of Citizenship: Redefining the American Welfare State* (New York: Owl Books, 2002).

Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle Over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Christopher Howard, "Is the American Welfare State Unusually Small?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36(3) (2003): 411-416.

Jacob Hacker, "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States," *American Political Science Review*, June 2004.

##### 17. The Rights Revolution Meets Economic Inequality

During the 1960s and early 1970s, American policymakers acted to rectify long-established patterns of racial and sex discrimination in government, the workplace, educational institutions, and other institutions of American society. Yet, no sooner had new laws been enacted than economic inequality began to grow, lowering especially the wages of workers in the lower rungs of the income spectrum. What have been the implications of growing economic inequality for the success of the rights revolution? How does the widening class divide intersect with divisions of race, ethnicity, and gender, and what are the implications for American citizenship?

Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998) Chaps. 1,3,4,6.

Alice O'Connor, Chris Tilly, and Lawrence Bobo, *Urban Equality: Evidence from Four Cities* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001) selections.

Francine D. Blau and Lawrence M. Kahn, "Gender Differences in Pay," NBER Working Paper No. w7732 (June 2000). Available at: [papers.nber.org/papers/W7732/](http://papers.nber.org/papers/W7732/).

Robert Lieberman, *Race, State, and Policy: American Race Politics in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

Julia S. O'Connor, Ann Shola Orloff, and Sheila Shaver, *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

## 18. Policy Cases

Looking in a more in-depth manner at particular types of public policy, to what extent does each alleviate or worsen economic inequality in the United States? How do policy design and the institutional arrangements for program implementation matter? What are the implications of each policy for particular groups of citizens, for example, in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender? How could government respond more effectively?

### a. Educational Policy, K-12

Jennifer L. Hochschild and Nathan Scovronick, *The American Dream and the Public Schools* (New York: Oxford University Press 2003) Chaps. 1-3.

John E. Chubb and Terry M. Moe, *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1990).

Claudia Goldin, "The Human Capital Century and American Leadership: Virtues of the Past," NBER Working Paper #8239. Available at: [www.nber.org/papers/w8239/](http://www.nber.org/papers/w8239/).

### b. Family Support

Joe Soss, Sanford F. Schram, Thomas Vartanian, and Erin O'Brien, "Setting the Terms of Relief: Explaining State Policy Choices in the Devolution Revolution," *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (2) (2001): 378-95.

Alan Weil, "Ten Things Everyone Should Know About Welfare Reform," *New Federalism* Urban Institute, Series A, No. 1-52, May 2002, pp. 1-7.

Lee Rainwater and Timothy M. Smeeding, *Rich Kids in a Poor Country: America's Children in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Russell Sage 2003).

Janet C. Gornick and Marcia K. Meyers, *Families That Work: Policies for Reconciling Parenthood and Employment* (New York: Russell Sage 2003).

### c. Health Policy

John Mullahy and Barbara L. Wolfe, "Health Policies for the Non-Elderly Poor." In *Understanding Poverty*, Sheldon Danziger and Robert H. Haveman, eds. (New York: Russell Sage, 2001), pp. 278-313.

Sharon K. Long, "Hardship among the Uninsured: Choosing among Food, Housing, and Health Insurance," *New Federalism: National Survey of America's Families*, Urban Institute, Series B, No. B-54, May 2003, pp. 1-7.

James Morone and Lawrence Jacob, eds. *Healthy, Wealthy, and Fair* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Ichiro Kawachi, "Income Inequality and Health," *Social Epidemiology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 76-94.

### d. Tax Policy

Christopher Howard, "The Hidden Side of the American Welfare State," *Political Science Quarterly* 108 (1993): 403-436.

Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, "Abandoning the Middle: The Revealing Case of the Bush Tax Cuts," Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 2003. Available at: [www.politicalscience.org/](http://www.politicalscience.org/).

Edward N. Wolff, *Top Heavy: The Increasing Inequality of Wealth and What Can Be Done About It*, (New York: The New Press, 2002) Chaps. 6, 7, 8.

e. Incarceration

Christopher Uggen and Jeff Manza, "Democratic Contraction: The Political Consequences of Felon Disenfranchisement Laws in the United States," *American Sociological Review* 67 (December): 777-803.

Bruce Western, Becky Petit, and Josh Guetzkow, "Black Economic Progress in the Era of Mass Imprisonment," In *Invisible Punishment*, M. Mauer and M. Chesney-Lind, eds. (New York: New Press, 2002) pp.165-80.

19. How Policy Reshapes Citizenship: Political Power, Preferences, and Efficacy

How do policies, even those geared toward social and economic goals, affect citizenship? Through what dynamics do policies with distinct design promote or discourage civic engagement? How do they shape citizens preferences and sense of political efficacy? What is meant by social citizenship, and does it matter?

Andrea Campbell, *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

Suzanne Mettler, "Bringing the State Back In to Civic Engagement: Policy Feedback Effects of the G.I. Bill for World War II Veterans," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 96, No. 2 (June 2002): 351-365.

Joe Soss, "Lessons of Welfare: Policy Design, Political Learning, and Political Action," *American Political Science Review* 93 (1999): 363-80.

Hugh Heclo, "The Social Question." In *Poverty, Inequality, and the Future of Social Policy*, K. McFate, R. Lawson, and W.J. Wilson, eds. (New York: Russell Sage, 1995) pp. 665-91.