

POLI 646 – Spring 2006
The Politics of Poverty and Social Welfare Policy

Prof. Cheryl Miller (cmiller@umbc.edu)

Office information: PUP416 – 410-455-2183

Class Meets: Tuesdays 4:30-7:00PM, PUP 454

OFFICE HOURS: Tuesdays 10:30 –11:30 noon; 7:00--7:30 PM;

Wednesdays. 1:00 - 2:30PM; Thursdays 2:00 –3:00 and; and by appt.

Course Objectives: (1) To understand how major political factors in Congress, the executive branch, federal-state relations and interest groups affect the formulation and implementation of social welfare and anti-poverty policies. (2) To develop an understanding of how different ideological perspectives of the welfare state (e.g. liberal, conservative, and radical) influence welfare policy-making. (3) To examine how economic and cultural factors, public opinion, and the media interact with politics to influence anti-poverty and welfare policy in the United States.

Course Requirements: This is a seminar course. Regular attendance and active participation in class discussions are expected. Students should come to class having read assigned material. Written assignments will be graded on both substantive content and quality of writing, and students should follow standard writing guidelines using any major style guide (e.g., *MLA style Manual*). Written assignments must be turned in on time; if a student is absent on the date an assignment is due, the assignment is to be submitted to the instructor electronically. Extensions will be granted only in extraordinary circumstances.

Grading: The four grading components, and their importance to your final grade, are as follows:

- 20% class attendance and participation
- 30% three issue papers
- 25% research paper
- 25% final exam

Class Participation: Classes are conducted seminar-style. In-class participation is important to the learning process; accordingly, you will be graded on it. Since the quality of your comments and observations will be evaluated, it is essential that you read the assigned materials prior to class meetings. Regular attendance is expected. Students are responsible for all information presented in class.

Written Assignments:

Issue/Reaction Papers:

To encourage the learning process and active participation, students will prepare and distribute three 3-5 page typed essays on theme or issue of the week's assigned reading. Students should be prepared to discuss these in class, especially points relevant to the readings. These essays should touch on one or more pertinent questions raised, relevant answer(s) or future direction(s) suggested by the week's reading(s). The papers should reflect some research/information gathering that supplements the assigned reading(s), with appropriate bibliographic citations. The e-mail function of the POLI 646 Blackboard course is to be used to mail your *second* essay as an attachment to all class members by Monday 8:00 PM, the day before paper is due.

These issue papers must be on **three different course topics** students (see course outline below). A sign up sheet will be distributed the second week of class for students to choose topics and dates. Each student must have submitted his/her first issue paper by February 28 and the second one by April 11. Students must have submitted their final (third) paper by May 2.

Research Paper:

Each student must also submit a longer research paper on a topic of his/her choice that is related to the course content. Papers should be 12-14 pages (not including tables and references). The paper can be (1) a literature review on a particular issue, (2) a legislative history of a federal or state law, or (3) an analysis of data compiled or available on a particular question/issue. Other types of papers are also acceptable, with approval of the instructor. A preliminary written statement of the topic is due no later than February 21; a revised topic statement is due no later than March 7; and an outline of the research paper is due March 28. The paper is due May 16.

The following is a short non-inclusive list of examples of potential research paper topics:

- Promotion of marriage under PRWORA as an anti-welfare/anti-poverty strategy
- An analysis of the changes in state welfare caseloads since welfare reform
- Growth of "living wage" movement
- Welfare and teen pregnancy/illegitimate births
- Findings from public opinion polls about Americans' attitudes toward the poor
- A comparison of the welfare reform debate in the U.S. and Great Britain.
- A review of the research findings on the effectiveness of job training to move people out of poverty
- A summary of the legislative formulation of a particular anti-poverty program (e.g., Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Food Stamps, Child Support Enforcement, Job Training Partnership Act, the 1998 Workforce Investment Act)
- A statistical analysis of factors that help families leave poverty or welfare
- A statistical profile of the poor
- Trends in child poverty

Final Exam: The final exam will be comprehensive. Students will have the option of selecting among several essay questions, each of which will allow you to show understanding of key issues and concepts addressed through the readings and discussed in class. Review terms and questions will be posted on Blackboard.

Academic Integrity:

By enrolling in this course, each student assumes the responsibilities of an active participant in UMBC's scholarly community in which everyone's academic work and behavior are held to the highest standards of honesty. Cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, and helping others to commit these acts are all forms of academic dishonesty, and they are wrong. Academic misconduct could result in disciplinary action that may include, *but is not limited to*, suspension or dismissal. To read the full Student Academic Conduct Policy, consult the UMBC Student Handbook or the UMBC Policies section of the UMBC Directory. See the

"Statement of Values for Student Academic Integrity at UMBC" at

<http://www.umbc.edu/provost/integrity/Honorcode.htm>

The Policy and Procedures for Graduate Student Academic Misconduct is available at

<http://www.umbc.edu/gradschool/procedures/misconduct.html>

UMBC Statement on Academic Integrity.

Statement of Values for Student Academic Integrity at UMBC

"Academic integrity is an important value at UMBC. By enrolling in a course, each student assumes the responsibilities of an active participant in the scholarly community in which everyone's academic work and behavior are held to the highest standards of honesty. Rigorous standards allow UMBC students, faculty,

and administrators, as well as scholars and employers in the larger community, to trust that the work that students submit is the fruit of their own learning and academic effort.

The purposes of higher education are the learning students and faculty undertake, the knowledge and thinking skills developed, and the enhancement of personal qualities that enable students to be strong contributing members of society. In a competitive world, it is essential that all members of the UMBC community uphold a standard that places the integrity of each student's honestly earned achievements above higher grades or easier work dishonestly sought.

All members of the UMBC community are expected to make a commitment to academic honesty in their own actions and with others. Academic misconduct could result in disciplinary action that may include suspension or dismissal. Following are examples of academic misconduct that are not tolerated at UMBC:

Cheating: Knowingly using or attempting to use unauthorized material, information, or study aids in any academic exercise.

Fabrication: Intentional and unauthorized falsification or invention of any information or citation in an academic exercise.

Facilitating Academic Dishonesty: Intentionally or knowingly helping or attempting to help another commit an act of academic dishonesty.

Plagiarism: Knowingly representing the words or ideas of another as one's own in any academic exercise, including works of art and computer-generated information/images."

Students should consult UMBC's Student Academic Conduct Policy for information on policy and procedures for upholding UMBC's high standards for academic integrity. Student who have questions or concerns are encouraged to talk with a member of the faculty or administration for assistance.

Of particular concern is plagiarism. Plagiarism is defined as "taking and passing off as one's own the ideas, writings, etc., of another" (Webster, 1983). In other words, plagiarism is theft of another's words and ideas. It constitutes serious academic dishonesty. Plagiarism can result from a student's failure to cite a source (e.g., of the ideas, writings, etc., of another that the student uses in his or her paper) or failure to appropriately block or use quotation marks (and an appropriate source citation) around directly quoted material.

This policy does not distinguish between intentional and inadvertent plagiarism. Nor does it distinguish between "drafts" and final submissions. Clearly, intentional plagiarism is a serious offense. Some students may feel, however, that inadvertent plagiarism is not a serious offense. It is – for at least two reasons. First, it is difficult (some might say impossible) to distinguish between intentional and inadvertent plagiarism. Second, inadvertent plagiarism suggests that students either have not paid attention to this policy or are willing to submit work that is carelessly and sloppily completed. In either event, plagiarism will be appropriately punished if it is found in any work for this course.

For those not familiar with the definition of plagiarism, these sites should be helpful:

<http://aok2.lib.umbc.edu/reference/plagiarism.php>

<http://www.wisc.edu/writing/Handbook/QuotingSources.html>

http://www.writing.northwestern.edu/avoiding_plagiarism.html

http://owl.english.purdue.edu/handouts/research/r_quotprsum.html

http://web.princeton.edu/sites/writing/writing_center/wcwritingres.htm

Required Text:

Required books are available at the UMBC Bookstore. All other reading is available on electronic reserve (R) at Kuhn Library (Username = poli646 and PW = c...t, is maintained on the POLI 646 course Blackboard (BB) site, the Internet www address is provided, or will be distributed in class as handouts.

1. DiNitto, D. ***Social Welfare: Politics and Public Policy***. 6th edition New York: Allyn and Bacon, 2005.
2. Albeda, R. and A. Withorn. ***Lost Ground: Welfare Reform, Poverty and Beyond***. Boston, MA: South End Press, 2002.
3. Blank, R. & Haskins, R. ***The New World of Welfare***. Washington, D.C. Brookings Institution Press, 2001
4. Charles Murray. ***The Underclass Revisited***. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 2000. You do **not** need to purchase this book. The pdf file is available at the POLI 646 Blackboard course site.

Course Outline and Assignments:

1/31 I. Introduction and Overview of the Course

Sources of information useful in this course.

Background on Poverty and Welfare.

The welfare "problem"

1. Anti-poverty programs (cash and in-kind): Income Support (AFDC, TANF, EITC), Food Stamps, Job Training
 2. The new welfare reform law.
- Blank & Haskins, "Introduction" pp. 1-15.
 - DiNitto, Chapter 1, "Politics, Rationalism, and Social Welfare"
 - DiNitto, Chapter 6, "Ending Welfare as We Knew It: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families"
 - Welfare Timeline, 1935 –2002. (Handout)
 - *The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996* (P. L. 104-93 especially Title I on TANF) <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c104:H.R.3734.ENR>: One can also access a copy of the PRWORA legislation from the following url: <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d104:HR03734:TOM:bss/d104query.html>. Once at this url, simply select text of legislation.

2/7 II. Historic Context: U.S. Policy Toward the Poor

- DiNitto, Chapter 2, "Government and Social Welfare"
- DiNitto, Chapter 9 "Poverty Wars," omit pages 366-378 until Topic V.
- Lowell, J. "The Economic and Moral Effects of Public Outdoor Relief" in *The Philanthropic Work of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (1974), skim (R).

2/14 III (A). Perspectives on the Poor and Causes and Effects of Poverty

- DiNitto, Chapter 3, "Defining Poverty: Where to Begin?"
Feminization of Poverty
- Mink, Gwendolyn. *The Lady and the Tramp*: ... (R) (skim).
- McLanahan, S. & Kelly, E. *The Feminization of Poverty: Past and Future*. (R) Also available at: <http://www.olin.wustl.edu/macarthur/working%20papers/wp-mclanahan3.htm>
- Institute for Women's Policy Research, *Overview of the Status of Women in the U. S. 2004* (5pp.) – at http://www.iwpr.org/States2004/PDFs/National_RIB.pdf optional.

2/21 **III (B). Perspectives on the Poor and Causes and Effects of Poverty (Continued)**
Race and Poverty

- Linda Gordon, "Who Deserves Help ..." in Albelda and Withorn, pp. 9-26.
- DiNitto, Chapter 11, "Challenging Social Welfare: Racism and Sexism."
- Linda Burham, "Welfare Reform, Family Hardship, and Women of Color," in Albelda and Withorn, pp. 43-56.
- Timothy Smeeding. 2001. "United States Poverty in a Cross-National Context," Focus 21:3. Available at <http://www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc213.pdf#page=50>

Paper Proposal due on February 21

2/28 Concentrated Urban Poverty/Underclass

- Warren Wilson, *When Work Disappears*, Chapter 2, "Societal Changes and Vulnerable Neighborhoods," pp. 25-50. (R)
- Charles Murray. "The Underclass Revisited," 2000. American Enterprise Institute, pp. 1-42. (BB)
- Blank & Haskins, Chapter 5, Charles Murray "Family Formation," pp. 137-168 (skim).
- AFDC Characteristics, 1969-1998. (Handout)

DEADLINE FOR FIRST REACTION PAPER

3/7 **IV. Ideological Perspectives on the Causes of and Solutions for Poverty**

- DiNitto, Chapter 4, "Preventing Poverty: The Social Insurance Programs"
- DiNitto, Chapter 5, "Helping the 'Deserving Poor': Aged, Blind, and Disabled"
- *The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996* (Public Law 104-93 especially Title I on TANF) <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c104:H.R.3734.ENR>:
- Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. *The Breaking of the American Social Compact*, pp. 267-270 (Handout)
- Blank & Haskins, Chapter 7, Lawrence Mead, "The Politics of Conservative Welfare Reform," pp. 201-222.
 - Robert Samuelson, "Welfare Junkies," Washington Post, 3/24/05 (Handout).

FINAL RESEARCH PAPER TOPIC STATEMENT DUE NO LATER THAN TODAY

3/14 **V. Work, the Economy and Antipoverty Policy**

- DiNitto, Chapter 9 - pp. 366-378, "Fueling Employment: Make-Work versus the Real Thing"
- R. Albelda, "Fallacies of Welfare to Work Policies," in Albelda and Withorn, pp. 79-94.
- S. Danziger and M. Corcoran, "Barriers to the Employment of Welfare Recipients," IRP, pp. 1-44. skim. (R)
- Blank & Haskins, Chapter 8, Strawn, Greenberg, and Savner, "Improving Employment Outcomes under TANF" pp. 223-244.
- MDRC Web Video Describing Best Welfare-to-Work Strategies: Effective Ways to Move Welfare Recipients into Work" Available online at: http://www.mdrc.org/announcement_hp_43.html (7 minutes)

3/21 **SPRING BREAK**

3/28 VI. The Media and Public Opinion

- Schram and Soss, "Success Stories: Welfare Reform, Policy Discourse, and the Politics of Research," in Albelda and Withorn, pp. 57-78.
- "Attitudes about Welfare Reform," American Enterprise Institute Studies in Public Opinion, (BB).
- Misra, J., Moller, S., & Karides, M. (2003). Envisioning Dependency: Changing Media Depictions of Welfare in the 20th Century. *Social Problems*, 50, 482-504. (R)
- Gilens, M. (1996). Race coding and white opposition to welfare. *American Political Science Review*, 90, 593-604 (R).
- "National Survey on Poverty in America" <http://www.kff.org/kaiserpolls/3118-index.cfm>
- "Why Americans Hate Welfare" Review <http://www.prospect.org/print/V11/15/lieberman-r.html>
- Garin, G. & Molyneux, G. (1994). Public Attitudes Toward Welfare Reform, *Social Policy*, 25, 44-50. (optional) (R)

OUTLINE OF RESEARCH PAPER DUE

4/4 VII (A). Politics in the Formulation of Welfare Reform Policy

Congress, the presidency and politics, budgetary process, interest groups

- DiNitto, Chapter 6, "Ending Welfare as We Knew It: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families."
- Blank & Haskins, Chapter 6, Hecllo, Hugh. "The Politics of Welfare Reform," pp. 169-200.
- Edelman, Peter. "The Worst Thing Bill Clinton Has Done," *The Atlantic Monthly* (March 1997), (BB).
- Miller, Cheryl, 2000. "Presidential Advocacy of Welfare Reform,' *NPSR* 8 skim, (R).

4/11 VII (B). Politics in the Formulation of Welfare Policy (Continued)

Evolution of Welfare Reform and Administrative Process

- Blank & Haskins, Chapter 2, Gais, Nathan, Lurie, & Kaplan, "Implementation of the Personal Responsibility Act of 1996," pp.35-69.
- Withorn, " Friends or Foes? Nonprofits and the Puzzle of Welfare Reform," in Albelda and Withorn, pp. 145-161.
- "Marriage Fund for Poor Proposed," *Washington Post*, May 1, 2005 (BB – External Links)
- Haskins and Sawhill, 2003. "Work and Marriage: The Way to End Poverty and Welfare," pp. 1-8. (BB)
- Dion, "Healthy Marriages Report" by Mathematica, Fall 2005 (BB)
- GUEST SPEAKER?

DEADLINE FOR SECOND REACTION ESSAY

4/18 VII (C). Politics in the Formulation of Welfare Policy (Continued)

Interest groups, poverty advocates; religious right, governmental associations

- Carlson-Thies, Stanley. 2001. "Charitable Choice: Bringing Religion Back into American Welfare" *Journal of Policy History* 13:1 Winter, pp. 109-32, (R).
- Formicola, Seegers and Weber. 2003. "Faith-based Initiatives and the Bush Administration: the good, the bad and the ugly," Chapter 3 (R)

- Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, “Religion, the Marriage Movement, & Marriage Policy” Conference Event Transcript, skim. (R) May also be available at <http://pewforum.org/events/index.php?EventID=26>
FILM: “Tempting Faith.”

4/25 **VIII. Intergovernmental Apparatus and Social Policy Devolution**

- DiNitto, Chapter 7, “Hunger ...”- Food Stamp Program, pp. 265-288.
- DiNitto, Chapter 10, “Social Services ...”
- DiNitto, Chapter 12, “Implementing and Evaluating Social Welfare Policy: What Happens After a Law is Passed?”
- William Beach, June 15, 2005, Policywire Archive. “The 2005 Index of Dependency,” available at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Budget/cda05-05.cfm>

5/2 **IX(A). Future Directions and Policy Issues**

- Blank & Haskins, Chapter 9: Pavetti & Bloom, “State Sanctions and Time Limits,” pp.223-244.
- Blank & Haskins, Chapter 15: Welfare Reform and Children’s Well-Being
- Blank & Haskins, Chapter 17, Child Support in the New World of Welfare
- “Congress Proposes ...: What Will the New Federal Changes Mean for Maryland?” (BB)

DEADLINE FOR THIRD REACTION PAPER

5/9 **IX(B). Future Directions and Policy Issues**

The Hard to Serve and What’s Ahead?

- Blank & Haskins, Chapter 12: Zedlewski & Loprest, “Will TANF Work for the Most Disadvantaged Families?” pp. 311-334.
- Summary of Immigrant Eligibility Restrictions Under Current Law, As of 10/04/04, DHHS, pp. 1-8, Available at <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/immigration/restrictions-sum.htm>
- Blank & Haskins, “Introduction” pp. 17-32.
- Lucie White, "Closing the Care Gap that Welfare Reform left Behind," in Albelda and Withorn, pp. 179-194.
- Soss, Schram, et al. 2004 “Welfare Policy Choices in the States: Does the hard line follow the color line?” pp. 9-16. (R)
- Gooden, Susan. 2003 “Contemporary Approaches ...: Using Performance Measures to Promote Racial Equality under TANF” pp. 254 -275. (R)

5/16 **RESEARCH PAPERS DUE** - One Page Presentation of Research Papers

May FINAL EXAMINATION – to .

The Politics of Poverty and Social Welfare Policy**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BACKGROUND MATERIAL**

(These sites should be useful in completing the three reaction /issues papers.)

Relevant Web sites

American Public Human Services Association: <http://www.aphsa.org/>

Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin-Madison. <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/irp/>

American Public Welfare Association: Welfare News in the States, State-by-state descriptions of welfare reform initiatives. www.apwa.org/

Brookings Institute, www.brookings.org

Center for Law and Social Policy, Lists the most recent developments in welfare issues. www.clasp.org.

Congressional Budget Office: <http://www.cbo.gov/>

Focus, Institute for Research on Poverty publishes quarterly research briefs on issues related to poverty and welfare. www.ssc.wisc.edu/irp/focus/.

Heritage Foundation, a research and educational institute whose mission is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense. www.heritage.org.

Insight & Action: The Human Needs Report, Coalition on Human Needs biweekly newsletter and legislative update. www.chn.org.

Library of Congress web site, THOMAS: <http://www.loc.gov/>

National Conference of State Legislatures – Welfare Reform Connection, Provides information about state and federal actions and analyses of key welfare issues. www.ncsl.org

National Governors' Association: <http://www.nga.org/>

Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government conducts research on the role of state and local governments in American federalism and the management and finances of states and localities. www.rockinst.org

Poverty in the United States (Current Population Reports), U.S. Bureau of the Census annual summary of poverty data. www.gpo.gov

Poverty Research News, Joint Center for Poverty Research quarterly research summaries. www.jcpr.org.

The Public Agenda: <http://www.publicagenda.org/>

Roundtable on Religion and Social Policy, www.religionandsocialpolicy.org

Urban Institute, a nonprofit research organization produces research reports and policy briefs, most of which are accessible on this web site; <http://www.urban.org/>

- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration on Children and Families; web site has extensive data on welfare caseloads, trends, federal regulations, program rules, and links to state programs: http://www.acf_dhhs.gov/
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Assistance Secretary for Policy and Evaluation; web site has extensive links and access to many HHS-funded research reports: <http://aspe.os.dhhs.gov/>
- U.S. Department of Labor-Bureau of Labor Statistics, the BLS web site allows access to all statistics and has links to Census Bureau, include Current Population Survey data: <http://www.bls.gov/>
- U.S. Department of Labor-Employment and Training Administration; the ETA web site has links to state programs, a special site for the Welfare-to-Work Grants Program, and access to many DOL funded research reports: <http://www.doleta.gov/>
- U.S. Congress House Ways and Means Committee Green Book. The 1994 edition is most extensive. 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000: <http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/wm001.htm>
1994, 1996: <http://aspe.os.dhhs.gov/news/welfare>
- U.S. General Accounting Office: <http://www.gao.gov/>
- U.S., State and Local Gateway (U.S. Government federal interagency site with links to policy information: extensive links on many topics including families/children for welfare and poverty issues: <http://www.statelocal.gov/index.html>
- Welfare Information Network, a clearinghouse for information, policy analysis, and technical assistance resources on welfare reform; extensive links: <http://www.welfareinfo.org/>

The Politics of Poverty and Social Welfare Policy

Selected Books and Reports

- Anderson, Martin. *Welfare*. Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, 1978.
- Bane, Mary Jo and David Ellwood. *Welfare Realities: From Rhetoric to Reform*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Burke, Vincent and Vee Burke. *Nixon's Good Deed-Welfare Reform*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.
- Butler, Stuart and Anna Kondratas. *Out of the Poverty Trap*. New York: Free Press, 1987.
- Citro, Constance and Robert Michael, eds. *Measuring Poverty: A New Approach*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1995.
- Danziger, Sheldon, Gary Sandefur, and Daniel Weinberg. *Confronting Poverty: Prescriptions for Change*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Davies, Gareth. *From opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism*. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1996.
- Ellwood, David. *Poor Support: Poverty in the American Family*. New York: Basic Books, 1988.
- Fogg, Neal, Andrew Sum, and Garth Mangum. *Poverty Ain't What it Used to Be: The Case for and Consequences of Redefining Poverty*. Policy Issues Monograph 99-03. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies, June 1999.
- Friedlander, Daniel and Gary Burtless. *Five Years After: The Long-Term Effects of Welfare-to-Work Programs*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995.
- Funiciello, Theresa. *Tyranny of Kindness: Dismantling the Welfare System to End Poverty in America*. New York: Atlantic Press, 1993.
- Gueron, Judith and Edward Pauly. *From Welfare to Work*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993.
- Katz, Michael. *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1986.
- Katz, Michael. *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1990.
- Kaus, Mickey. *The End of Equality*. New York: Basic Books, 1992.
- Lynn, Lawrence. *The President as Policy Maker: Jimmy Carter and Welfare Reform*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981.
- Mead, Lawrence M. *Government Matters: Welfare Reform in Wisconsin*. Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Mead, Lawrence M. *Beyond Entitlement: The Social Obligations of Citizenship*. New York: Free Press, 1986.
- Mink, Gwendolyn. *Welfare's End*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

- Moffitt, Robert. "Incentive Effects of the U.S. Welfare System: A Review." *Journal of Economic Literature* 30 (1992): 1-61.
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*. New York: Free Press, 1970.
- Murray, Charles. *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- Nightingale, Demetra Smith and Robert A. Haveman, Editors. *The Work Alternative: Welfare Reform and the Realities of the Job Market*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 1995.
- Patterson, James T. *America's Struggle Against Poverty, 1900-1994*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995 ed.
- Peterson, Paul and Mark Rom. *Welfare Magnets*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1990.
- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. *The Breaking of the American Social Compact*. New York: New Press, 1997.
- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993 ed.
- Rawls, John. *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Rodgers, Harrell, Jr. *Poor Women Poor Children*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1996.
- Sawhill, Isabel V. "Poverty in the U.S.: Why Is It So Persistent?" *Journal of Economic Literature* 22 (1988): 367-388.
- Schram, S., Soss, J., & Fording, R. (Eds.) (2003). *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Secombe, Karen. *So You Think I Drive a Cadillac: Welfare Recipients' System and Its Reform*. New York: Allyn & Bacon, October 1998.
- Skocpol, Theda. *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Spalter-Roth, Roberta, Beverly Burr, Heidi Hartmann, and Lois Shaw. *Welfare That Works: The Working Lives of AFDC Recipients*. A Report to the Ford Foundation. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research, 1995.
- Tanner, Michael. *The End of Welfare: Fighting Poverty in the Civil Society*. Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1996.
- Teles, Steven M. *Whose Welfare: AFDC and Elite Politics*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996.
- Trattner, Walter. *From Poor Law to Welfare State*. New York: Free Press, 1984.
- U. S. Conference of Mayors. 2005. Hunger and Homelessness Survey: A 24 City Survey. Available at <http://www.mayors.org/uscm/hungersurvey/2005/HH2005FINAL.pdf>
- Wilson, William Julius. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1996.
- Wilson, William Julius. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.