

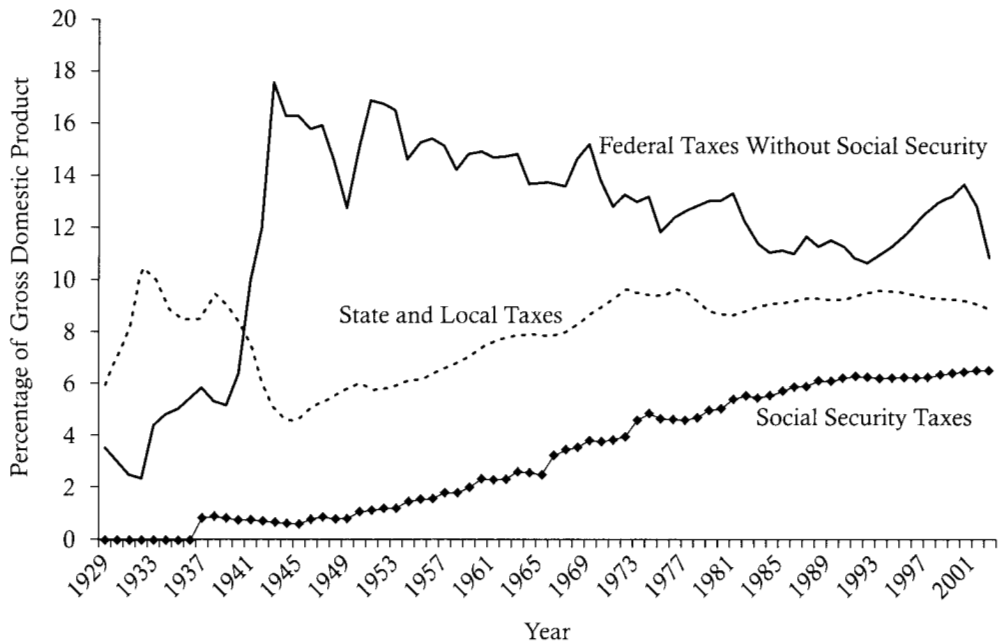
FIGURE 2.1 The Tax Mix and Social Spending



Source: OECD (2004); OECD (2001, 2002).

Note: Spending data are from 2001, and revenues from 2002.

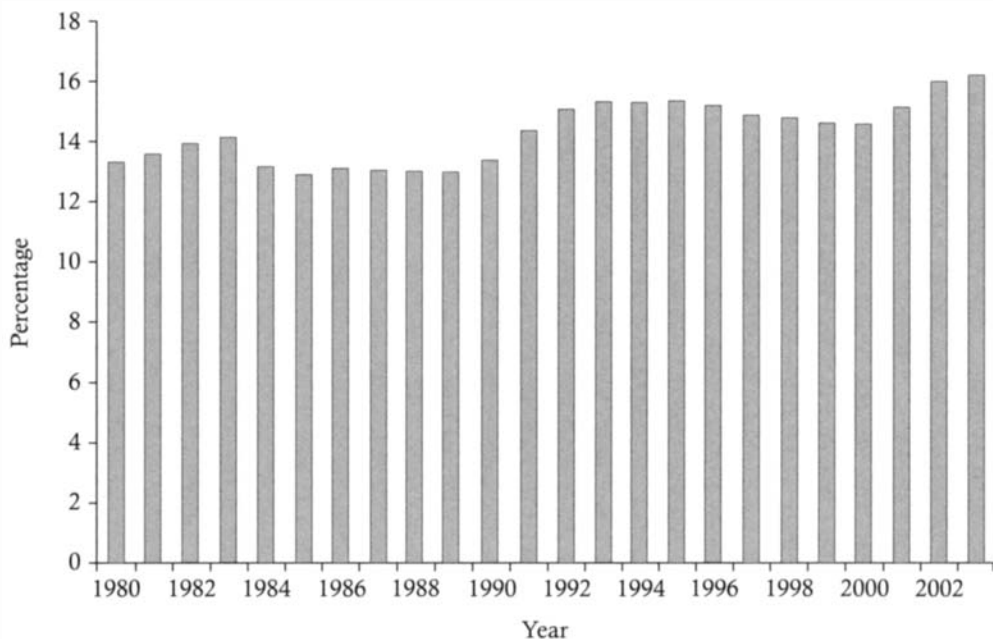
FIGURE 2.2 Federal, Social Security, and State and Local Taxes as Percentage of Gross Domestic Product, 1929 to 2002^a



Source: Tax Policy Center (Urban Institute-Brookings).

a. State and local revenues do not include federal grants to states and localities.

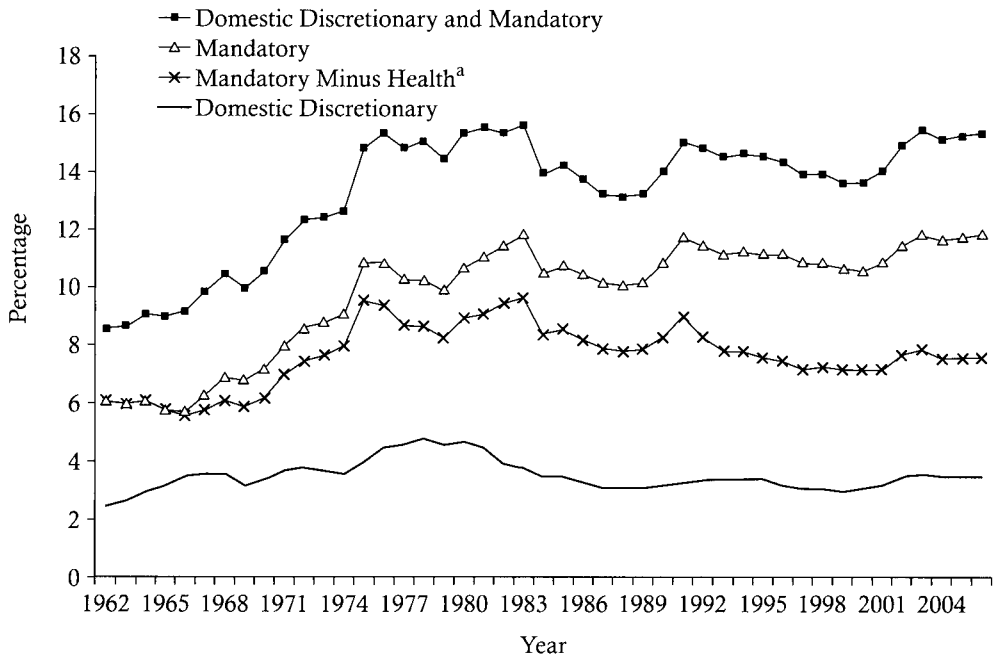
FIGURE 2.3 U.S. Public Social Spending as Percentage of Gross Domestic Product, 1980 to 2003^a



Source: OECD (2004).

a. Social spending includes all direct, public spending on programs such as Old Age Survivors and Disability Insurance, Medicare and Medicaid, AFDC and TANF, Food Stamps, and other income supports for the poor. Tax expenditures are excluded, except for cash payments made through the refundable part of the Earned Income Tax Credit.

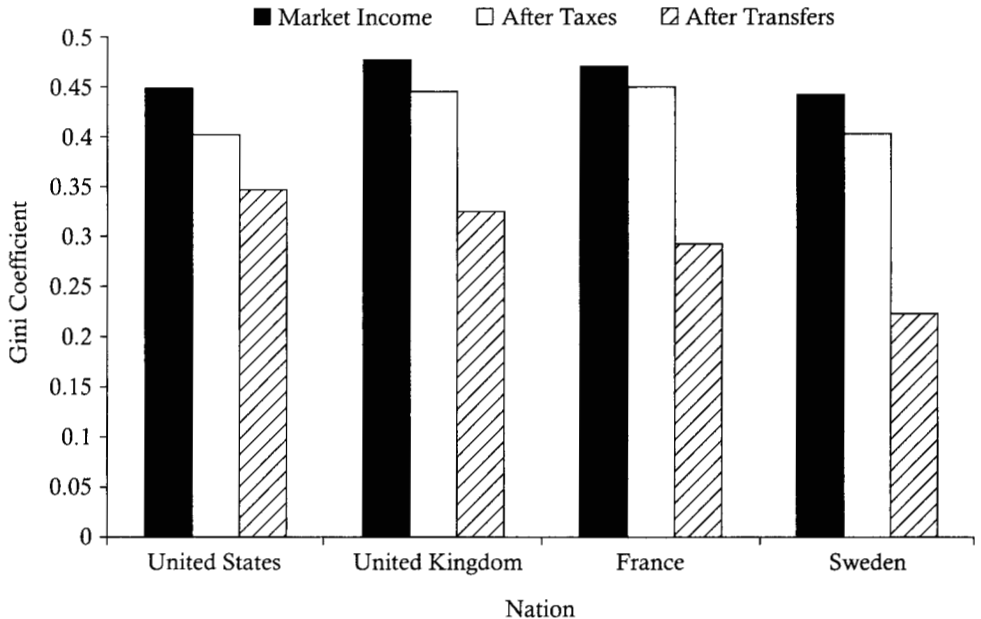
FIGURE 2.4 Federal Spending as a Percentage of Gross Domestic Product, 1962 to 2006



Source: Congressional Budget Office (2007).

a. "Mandatory minus health" means mandatory spending minus Medicare and Medicaid spending.

FIGURE 2.5 The Reduction of Inequality, Measured by the Gini Coefficient, by Means of Taxes and Transfers



Source: Mahler and Jesuit (2004, 30).

TABLE 2.1 Property and Corporate Income Taxes as a Percentage of Gross Domestic Product, 1965 to 2004

	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2004
Property taxes									
Continental Europe ^a	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.6	1.9	1.9
Scandinavia ^b	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6
Liberal ^c	3.5	3.5	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.9
United States	3.9	3.8	3.6	2.8	2.7	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.1
Corporate income taxes ^d									
Continental Europe ^a	1.7	1.7	1.9	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.1	3.1	2.8
Scandinavia ^b	1.5	1.2	1.3	2.0	2.7	2.0	2.4	4.7	4.3
Liberal ^c	3.3	3.5	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.8	3.3	4.1	3.9
United States	4.0	3.6	2.9	2.8	1.9	2.4	2.9	2.6	2.2

Source: OECD (2006).

a. Continental Europe = Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland.

b. Scandinavia = Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden.

c. Liberal = Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

d. Corporate income tax data for Portugal are not available.

TABLE 3.1 National Support Centers

AARP/Legal Counsel for the Elderly
ABA Commission on Legal Problems of the Elderly
ABA Center on Children and the Law
Center for Adolescent Health and the Law
Center for Law and Education
Center for Law and Social Policy
Center for Social Gerontology
Child Care Law Center
Farmers' Legal Action Group
Food Resources and Action Center
Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law
Indian Child Welfare Law Center
Health Care for All
Center for Medicare Advocacy
Migrant Legal Action Program
National Center for Youth Law
National Center on Poverty Law
National Consumer Law Center
National Economic Development and Law Center
National Employment Law Project
National Health Law Program
National Housing Law Project
National Immigration Law Center
National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty
National Senior Citizens Law Center
National Veterans Legal Service Project
Welfare Law Center

Source: Author's compilation.

Table 3.2 Sources of Legal Authority

Federal constitutional provisions

Federal statutes

Federal legislative histories

House and Senate reports and hearings

Floor debate

Presidential signing statements

Federal administrative regulations

Federal administrative guidelines and informal directive

Cross-cutting administrative rules (Title VI, Title IX, and the Americans with Disabilities Act)

Executive orders

Federal court decisions

Supreme Court decisions

Circuit court decisions

District court decisions

Treaty provisions

State constitutional provisions

State statutes

State legislative histories

State regulations, guidelines, and informal guidance

State court decisions interpreting the above

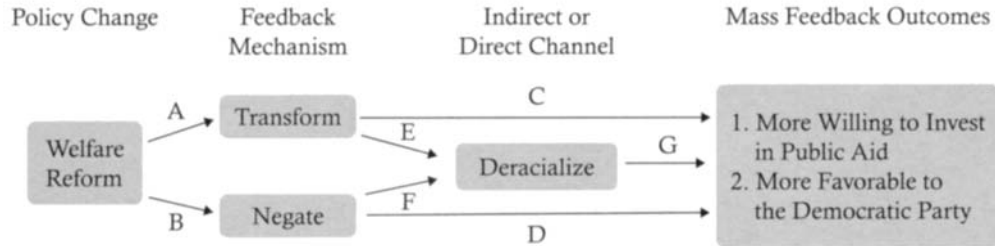
State court common law rulings

Local ordinances

Tribal law

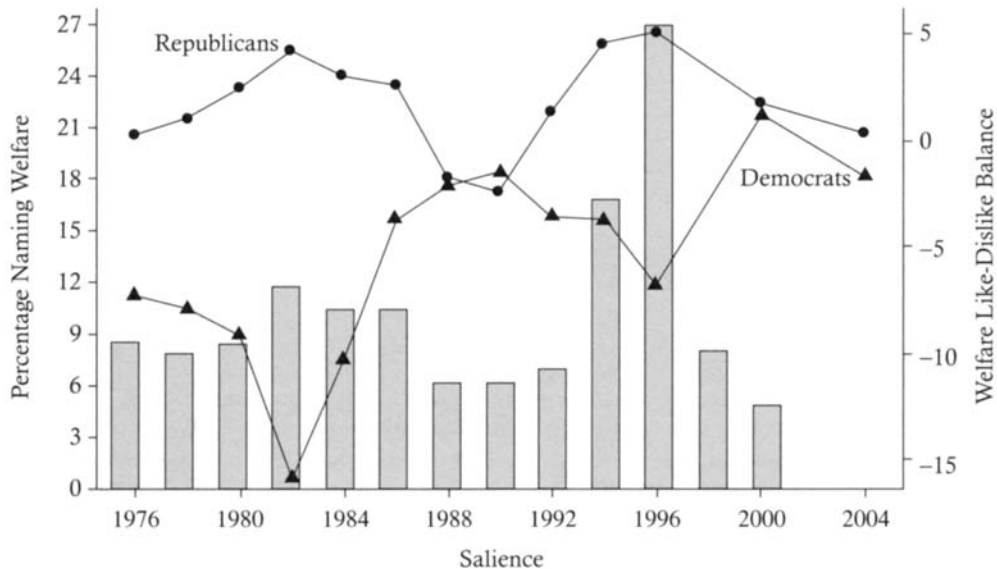
Source: Author's compilation.

FIGURE 5.1 Path Diagram of the Progressive Revisionist Thesis



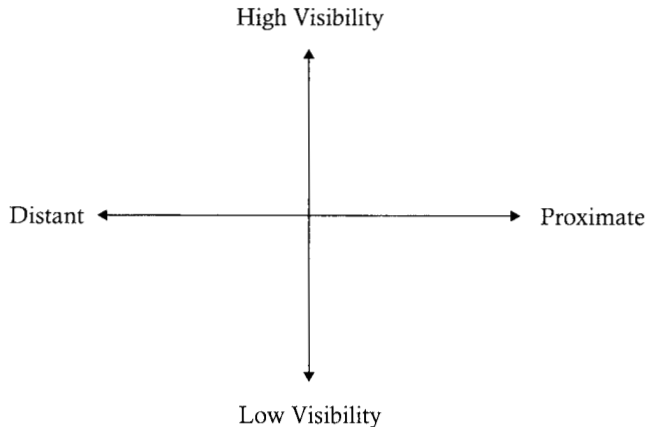
Source: Authors' compilation.

FIGURE 5.2 Percentage of People Naming Welfare as a Reason to Like or Dislike the Democratic and Republican Parties; Comparison of Party Balances and Issue Salience over Time



Source: Authors' calculations.

FIGURE 5.3 A General Framework for the Analysis of Mass Feedback Processes: Policy Visibility and Proximity



Source: Authors' compilation.

FIGURE 8.1 Racial Classification Forms from Two Public Universities

University of California, Berkeley

Race/ethnicity Please choose one category. If more than one choose the one with which you most closely identify.

- White, not of Hispanic origin: persons having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East
- African American, not of Hispanic origin: persons having origin in any of the Black racial groups of Africa
- American Indian or Alaskan native: persons having origins in any of the original American Indian peoples of North America, including Eskimos and Aleuts, or who maintain cultural identification through tribal affiliation or community recognition
- Unknown

Hispanic (including Black individuals whose origins are Hispanic)

- Mexican/Mexican American/Chicano: persons of Mexican culture or origin, regardless of race
- Latin-American/Latino: persons of Latin American (e.g., Central American, South American, Cuban, Puerto Rican) culture or origin, regardless of race
- Other Spanish/Spanish American: persons of Spanish culture or origin, not included in any of the Hispanic categories listed above

Asian or Pacific Islander

- Chinese/Chinese American: persons having origins in any of the original people of China
- Japanese/Japanese American: persons having origins in any of the original people of Japan
- Filipino/Pilipino: persons having origins in any of the original people of the Philippine islands
- Pakistan/East Indian: persons having origins in any of the original people of the Indian subcontinent (India and Pakistan)
- Other Asian: persons having origins in any of the original people of the Far East (including Korea), Southeast Asia, or Pacific islands (including Samoa), not included in any of the Asian categories listed above.

The Pennsylvania State University
Affirmative Action Data Card

PLEASE CHECK THE APPLICABLE CATEGORIES
(Group definitions can be found on the back of this card.)

- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Black (non-Hispanic)
- Hispanic
- White (non-Hispanic)
- Disabled
- Disabled or Vietnam Era Veteran
- United States Citizen or Permanent Resident

FIGURE 8.2

The Boondocks by Aaron McGruder



Source: Universal Press Syndicate (1990).

TABLE 8.1 Life Expectancy for Blacks as a Percentage of Life Expectancy for Whites, 1900 to 1940^a

Year	Both Sexes	Men	Women
1900	84.2	83.4	85.3
1910	84.6	84.4	84.8
1920	82.5	83.7	80.2
1930	78.3	80.4	79.0
1940	82.7	83.2	82.6

Sources: Column 2: Haines (2006a); columns 3 and 4: Haines (2006b).

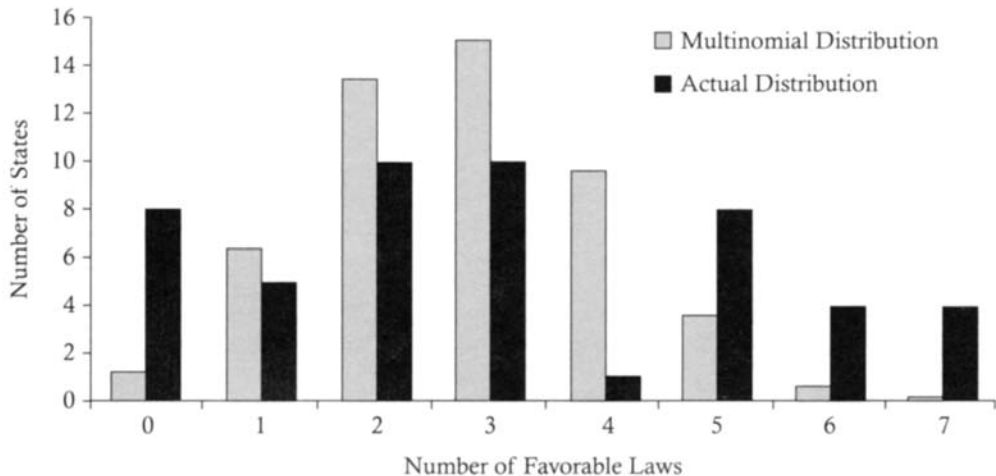
a. 1900 is the first year for which these data are available; they are not available for 1950 and 1960.

TABLE 8.2 Annual Family Income of Poorest and Most Affluent Black and White Families, 1947 to 1970 (in 1967 Dollars)

Year	Blacks		Whites	
	Less than \$3000	More than \$10,000	Less than \$3000	More than \$10,000
1947	62.4%	2.2%	24.1%	9.5%
1957	46.7%	3.7%	17.6%	15.4%
1967	27.2%	16.7%	10.7%	36.4%
1970	25.0%	20.6%	9.7%	40.7%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (1975), series G 16-30.

FIGURE 10.1 Multinomial Versus Actual Distribution of Pro-Worker Laws, by States



Source: Authors' compilation.

TABLE 10.1 Regional Differences in Per Capita Personal Income, 1969 to 2004 (2004 Dollars)

Bureau of Economic Analysis Regions	1969	2004	Annualized Growth
New England	\$18,480	\$40,059	2.34%
Mideast	\$19,067	\$38,023	1.99%
Great Lakes	\$17,840	\$32,171	1.70%
Plains	\$15,830	\$32,164	2.05%
Southeast	\$13,561	\$29,927	2.29%
Southwest	\$14,660	\$29,919	2.06%
Rocky Mountains	\$15,137	\$31,416	2.11%
Far West	\$19,469	\$34,741	1.67%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of Economic Analysis and authors' calculations.

TABLE 10.2 Seven Pro-Worker Laws in States

Law	Number of States with Law	Names of States
State minimum wage is more than federal minimum wage ^a	30	AK, AZ, AR, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, IL, IA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MO, MT, NV, NJ, NY, NC, OH, OR, PA, RI, VT, WA, WI, WV
Medicaid income eligibility level for working parents equal to or greater than the federal poverty line ^b	13	AZ, CA, CT, DE, IL, ME, MA, MN, NM, NY, RI, VT, WI
Postsecondary scholarship aid to low-income families equal to or greater than 40 percent of Federal Pell Grant aid ^c	15	CA, CT, DE, IL, IN, KY, MD, MA, MN, NJ, NY, PA, VT, WA, WI
Transitional Food Stamp option for families leaving welfare ^d	17	AZ, CA, CO, IL, MD, MA, NE, NH, NM, NY, NC, OR, PA, TN, VA, WA, WI
Prevailing wage for state construction projects ^e	31	AK, AR, CA, CT, DE, HI, IL, IN, KY, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MO, MT, NE, NV, NJ, NM, NY, OH, OR, PA, RI, TN, TX, WA, WV, WI, WY
State supplement to federal Earned Income Tax Credit ^f	18	CO, DE, IL, IN, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MN, NJ, NY, OK, OR, RI, VT, VA, WI
Public sector collective bargaining ^g	27	AK, CA, CT, DE, FL, HI, IL, IA, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, MT, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NY, OH, OR, PA, RI, SD, VT, WA, WI

Source: Authors' compilation.

Note: (1) actual/possible number of pro-labor laws: 151/350; (2) average/weighted probability of a state having a law: 0.43/.52; (3) average/weighted number of such laws *per* state: 3.0/3.6; (4) standard deviation of random (multinomial)/actual distribution of laws by state: 1.25/2.18.

a. See U. S. Department of Labor, "Minimum Wage Laws in the States," <http://www.dol.gov/esa/minwage/america.htm>.

b. See Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, "In a Time of Growing Need: State Choices Influence Health Coverage Access for Children and Families" (2005, figure 9).

c. See National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education, *Measuring Up 2006: The National Report Card on Higher Education*, "About Measuring Up: Measuring Up 2006 Database" <http://measuringup.highereducation.org/about/database.cfm> (see "Affordability 2006").

d. See U. S. Department of Agriculture, "Transitional Benefits," http://www.fns.usda.gov/fsp/rules/Memo/Support/State_Options/fifth/transitional-benefits.pdf.

e. See National Alliance for Fair Contracting, "Prevailing Wage Law Answers," <http://www.faircontracting.org/NAFCnewsite/prevlawquestions/prevwagestates.htm>.

f. See Nagle and Johnson (2006).

g. From Brian Klopp, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, personal communication, 4/7/06.

TABLE 10.3 States with One to Seven Pro-Worker Laws

Number of Laws	States
0	AL, GA, ID, LA, MS, ND, SC, UT
1	KS, OK, SD, TX, WY
2	AK, FL, KY, MO, NV, NH, NC, TN, VA, WV
3	AK, AZ, CO, HI, IN, IA, MI, MT, NE, OH
4	NM
5	CT, ME, NJ, OR, PA, RI, VT, WA
6	CA, DE, MD, MN
7	IL, MA, NY, WI

Source: Authors' compilation.

TABLE 10.4 Pro-Worker Laws by Positive or Negative Public-Sector Labor Law

Pro-Worker Law	Positive Public-Sector Labor Laws N = 27		Negative Public-Sector Labor Laws N = 23			
	Number of Laws	Percentage of States That Have	Percentage of National	Number of Laws	Percentage of States That Have	Percentage of National
Minimum wage is above the federal minimum wage	23	85	77	7	30	23
Medicaid income eligibility level for working parents is 100 percent of federal poverty line	12	44	92	1	4	8
Postsecondary need-based aid is 40 percent of federal Pell Grant	13	48	87	2	9	13
Transitional Food Stamp option for families leaving welfare	12	44	71	5	22	29
Prevailing wage law for state construction projects	22	81	71	9	39	29
State supplement to federal Earned Income Tax Credit	14	52	78	4	17	22
Total pro-worker laws	123			28		
Average per state	4.6			1.2		
Share of national	81%			19%		

Source: Authors' compilation.

FIGURE II.1 Box and Whisker Plot of Correctional Spending as a Percentage of Total State Spending in Fifty States, 1971 to 2003

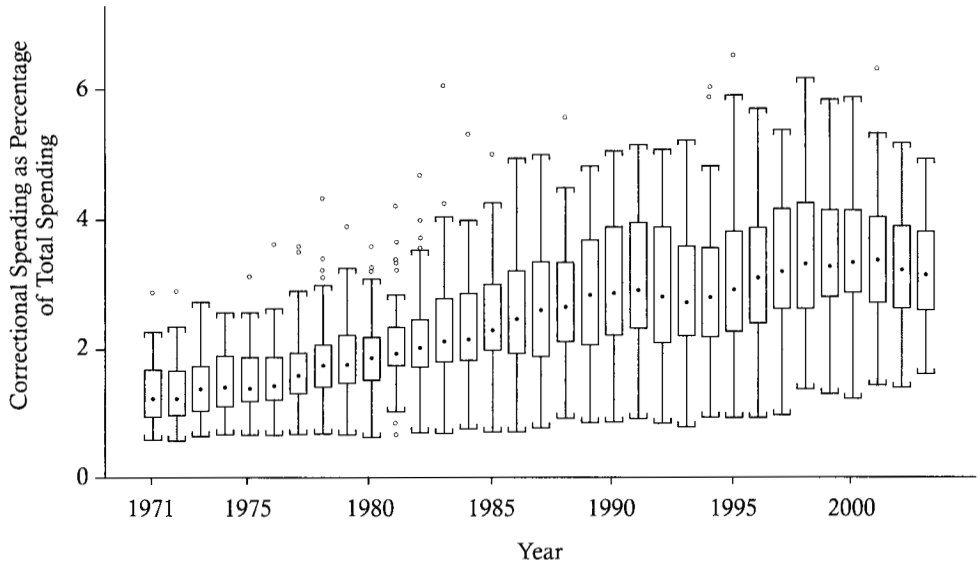
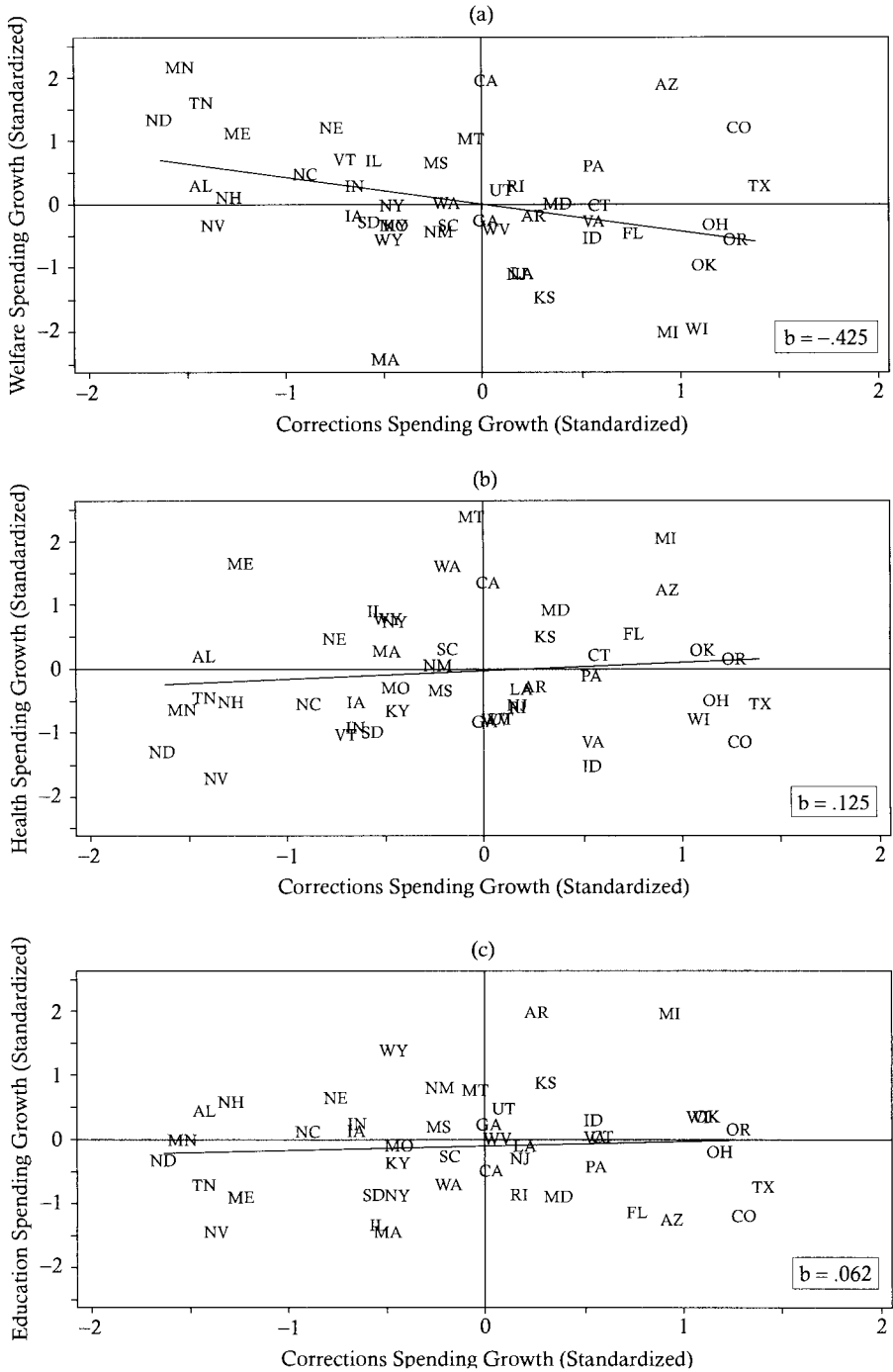


FIGURE II.2 Growth in Per Capita State Spending on Welfare, Health, and Education Plotted Against Growth in Per Capita Corrections Spending, 1980 to 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of State Government Finances.

Note: Standardized Values with Bivariate Regression line. Plots include forty-eight contiguous states; plots (a) and (b) exclude Delaware; plot (c) excludes Delaware and Vermont.

TABLE 11.1 Number of States with Selected Determinate Sentencing Provisions, 1980, 1990, and 2000

Sentencing Provision	1980	1990	2000
Sentencing guidelines	2	10	17
Abolished or limited parole	17	21	33
Three-strikes laws	0	0	24
Truth-in-sentencing laws	3	7	40

Source: Authors' compilation.

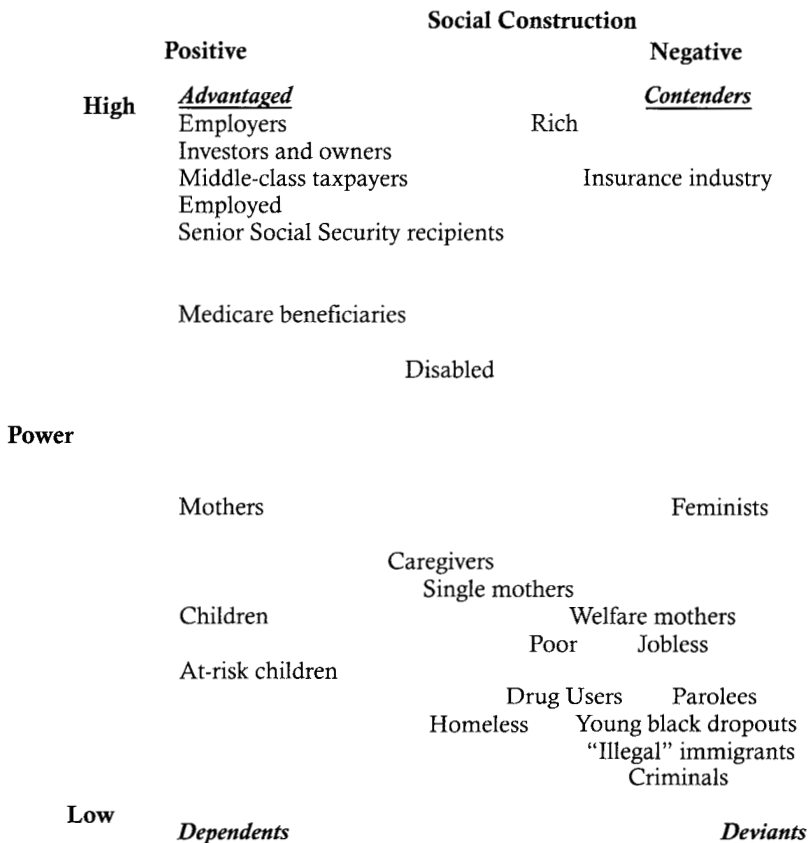
TABLE II.2 Incarceration Rates and Cumulative Risk of Imprisonment Among Young Men, by Education Level and Race and Ethnicity, 1980 and 2000 (Percentage)

	1980	2000
Noncollege men, twenty to forty, in prison or jail		
White	.9	3.2
Hispanic	2.6	5.5
Black	6.0	17.0
Male high school dropouts, twenty to forty, in prison or jail		
White	2.1	6.7
Hispanic	3.2	6.0
Black	10.7	32.4
Noncollege men's risk of imprisonment by age thirty to thirty-four		
White	2.1	5.3
Black	12.0	30.2
Male high school dropouts' risk of imprisonment by age thirty to thirty-four		
White	4.0	11.2
Black	17.1	58.9

Source: Pettit and Western (2004).

Note: Prison and jail incarceration rates are estimated by the authors; cumulative risks of imprisonment are calculated for birth cohorts born 1945 to 1949 and 1965 to 1969, as reported by Pettit and Western (2004).

FIGURE 12.1 A Framework for the Social Construction of Target Groups



Source: Author's compilation.