abortion, Supreme Court decisions regarding, 102
abortion rights, state and federal restriction of, 184, 286
abstinence education and antiabortion family values politics, 187
grants for states under TANF law, 170
proposed elimination, Rep. Mink’s H. R. 3113 (2001), 222
and state sex education curriculum law, 172
as vehicle for delivery of public funds to religious organizations, 187
adoption, utopian theory of, 236
Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997 (ASFA), 165, 166
fatherhood programs and, 78
AFDC/TANF enrollments, historical trends and poverty indicators, 279
Agamben, Giorgio, 10, 17, 81
AIDS and sex education, 151
Althusser, Louis, 76
American Association of University Women (AAUW), 221
antiabortion movement, 184
Aristotle, 81
Assistance to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, 18
substitute father rule and, 86
Bayh, Evan, Sen., 221
Bush, George W., President, 33, 49, 56, 173, 175, 187, 222, 271
Cardin, Benjamin, Rep., 219
caregiver competency principle, utopian theory of, 238, 240
caregivers, social justice claim of, 230, 239
caregivers’ entitlement model, 195, 200, 201, 210, 216, 228, 244, 268
feminist reservations about, 252
paid carework and, 252
utopian theory of, 232, 242, 251
caseworkers, disciplining of, 59, 61
child custody law, utopian theory of, 235, 241
child custody relinquishment, promotion within TANF program, 164
potential legal challenges to, 165, 166
Utah TANF law and, 164
Virginia TANF law and, 164
Washington TANF law and, 164
child poverty and adult wage levels, 221
Child Support Act of 1974, 96, 98
Child Support Amendments of 1984, 110
child support assurance model, 192, 199, 209
child welfare law, utopian theory of, 235, 241
child welfare system
child custody relinquishment trends among poor and, 77, 215
racial discrimination and, 163
violation of poor mothers’ parental rights and, 47, 163, 164, 166
childcare, 2, 20, 57, 61, 80, 81, 82, 93, 105, 109, 111, 141, 149, 156, 164, 177, 183, 187, 204, 212, 213, 219, 220, 222, 265, 274
Clinton, Bill, President, 116, 290
Clinton, Hillary Rodham, Sen., 219
position on 1996 welfare reform, 220
Cohen, Cathy, 33
Index

Colen, Shellee, 217
Collins, Patricia Hill, 256
communitarian movement, conservative antifeminist variant, 186
Corrigan, Rose, 75, 131
Corzine, Jon, Sen., 221
Davis, Mike, 72
Deficit Reduction Act of 2005 (TANF reauthorization law), 2, 64, 146, 176, 180
dependents, social justice claim of, 230
domestic violence, 3
availability of welfare benefits and, 34
Family Violence Option in TANF law, 133
income differences and, 130
TANF requirements and elevated risk of, 131, 202
Violence against Women Act (VAWA), 133
welfare program design and, 132, 133, 134, 136, 202, 222, 246
domesticity, ideological construction of, 255
Earned Income Tax Credit, 192, 274
Emily’s List, 219
Enlightenment thought, 12, 22, 39, 40, 41
family cap, 5, 148
antinatalist dimension of, 183
benefit reduction and, 157
California TANF law and, 156
Clinton’s position on, 220
exemption for temporary poor, 154
feminist critique of, 288
Florida TANF law and, 156
Illinois TANF law and, 154
instrumentalist ideology of, 41, 149
lack of empirical foundation for, 149
legal challenges to, 152
limited scholarly understanding of the impact of, 151
limits of biopower theory and, 57
narrow and punitive character of, 152
New Jersey TANF law and, 155
Oklahoma TANF law and, 155
proposed ban, Rep. Mink’s H. R. 3113 (2001), 223
race of TANF mother and, 155
racial/ethnic makeup of state TANF rolls and state adoption of, 188, 283, 284, 291
family planning promotion campaigns within TANF
Iowa TANF law and, 158
New York TANF law and, 160
Ohio TANF law and, 159
systematic exposure of TANF mothers to, 158, 161
West Virginia TANF law and, 160
Family Support Act of 1988, 111
family wage ideology, 18, 33, 86, 92, 181
fascism, German, 10, 81
fatherhood movement, 179, 182
backlash against feminism and, 49
and poverty programs, 179
fatherhood programs, 178, 246
Michigan TANF program and, 180
neoliberal budgets and, 204
and paternafare incentives, 181, 204
TANF reauthorization law and, 2
feminist economists’ interpretation of poverty in the United States, 109
feminist movement, conservative backlash against, 49
feminist theory, 6, 33, 34
Foucault, Michel, 6, 8
biopower theory and confessional technology, 53
biopower theory and “swarming,” 47, 161, 177, 275
biopower theory of, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 35, 38, 42, 44, 45, 46, 241
critique of, 44, 54, 62, 76
juridico-discursive power theory of, 38
post-Foucauldian risk society theory, 67
welfare mother as sexual subject, 54
Fraser, Nancy, 257
Galston, William, 107
Gavanas, Anna, 182
gender and the adult TANF population, 261
Gilder, George, 104
Gingrich, Newt, Rep., 114
Goldman, Emma, 31
Gramsci, Antonio, 1, 6, 76, 254
Hancock, Ange-Marie, 256
Hardt, Michael, and Antonio, Negri, 13
Heritage Foundation, 114, 174
heterosexism, critique of, 247, 248, 268
heterosexual distinction and socioeconomic class, 32
hooks, bell, 253
Horn, Wade, 49, 174, 182
immigrant status, exclusion from poverty programs and, 19, 116, 219, 220, 222
indigent conditions, Supreme Court treatment of, 102
Jackson, Jesse, Jr., Rep., 179
Johnson, Nancy Lee, Rep., 179
Keating, Frank, Gov., 175
Kennedy, Edward, Sen., 221
King v. Smith (1968), 85, 88, 90, 92
Kramer, Marion, 254
legal marriage, abolition of, 196, 228, 234, 244
lesbian parenting and parenthood, Elisa B. v. Superior Court (2005), 99
Malthus, T. R., 25
Malthusian reform and 1834 Poor Law, 23
opposition to birth control, 31
providentialism and empiricism of, 25
sexual regulation theory of, 28, 32
marriage promotion as antipoverty measure, 33, 173, 246
Arizona TANF program and, 174
Arkansas TANF program and, 174
as case of Foucauldian “swarming,” 177
federal TANF grant application and domestic violence reduction requirement, 176
Florida TANF program and, 174
limited effectiveness of, 56
Michigan TANF program and, 175
Oklahoma TANF program and, 175
poverty rate and family structure, 265
Preparation and Relationship Enhancement Program (PREP), 56, 175
religious dimension of, 175, 176, 223
TANF reauthorization law and, 2, 176, 222
Utah TANF program and, 175
as vehicle for cutting state spending on TANF benefits and work support, 177
as vehicle for delivery of public funds to religious organizations, 177
West Virginia TANF program and, 175
Wisconsin TANF program and, 175
marriage rates and racial/ethnic differences, 244, 247
Marx, Karl, 25, 31, 63
Milksulski, Barbara, Sen., 219
Mink, Gwendolyn, 3
Mink, Patsy, Rep., 222
mothers’ pension programs, 46
Moynihan, Daniel P., Sen., 111
The Negro Family, 20, 106
Mullings, Leith, 212
Murray, Charles, 108, 113
National Fatherhood Initiative, 174, 182
National Organization of Women (NOW), 221
National Welfare Rights Organization, 227, 257
neo-eugenics, 77, 79, 188, 215, 216, 232, 238
class differences among women and, 81
disciplining of labor and, 82
incarceration of poor women and, 76
neoliberalism, 9, 33, 50, 68, 118, 140, 142, 177, 184, 187, 211, 213, 222, 247, 265
neoliberal feminism, 218, 258
Norplant, failed state AFDC bills requiring use of, 185, 186, 187
NOW-Legal Defense and Education Fund (Legal Momentum), 221
Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981, 105
Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993, 112
out-of-wedlock childbirth
federal and state obligation under TANF law to reduce illegitimacy, 170
mythical construction as cause of poverty, 173, 221
state competition for illegitimacy reduction bonus under TANF law, 170
state obligation under TANF law to reduce illegitimacy, 173
state obligation under TANF law to report out-of-wedlock childbirth rates, 170

Pateman, Carole, 257
paternalism (TANF paternity identification and child support enforcement)
assignment of support collections to State and, 122
as case of Foucauldian “swarming,” 47, 51, 275
civil service staffing and, 128
collections-related case closures and, 124
commodification and, 62
comparison with post-divorce child support suits, 97
disciplining of payer and, 65, 66, 205
disciplining of TANF mother and, 74
elevated risk of domestic violence and, 131, 181, 202, 203, 246
Family Violence Option and, 133
fatherhood rights and, 74
Federal Parent Locator Service, 127
federal subsidization of, 137, 144, 146, 274
feminist critique of, 118, 189, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 209, 210, 213
good cause exemption and, 132
hospital paternity identification programs and, 48, 112
ideological dimension of, 126, 207
legal definition of, 3, 99
limited antipoverty potential of, 35, 64, 136, 138, 139, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146
pass through and, 122
paternity disputes, legal resolution of, 120
payer locator databases and, 127
as policing technology, 27, 58, 62, 67, 73, 75
racial differences and, 103
sanctions for nonpayment, 64, 128
state licenses and new hires database and, 47

state requirements under PRA and, 118, 127
TANF program avoidance and, 121
TANF roll trimming and, 50, 51, 122, 279
weak domestic violence exemptions and, 132, 134, 136, 191
welfare mothers’ opinion of, 100
patriarchal republicanism, critique of, 250
Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRA), 2, 18, 69, 89, 95, 114, 116, 118
congressional women of color who opposed, 221, 222
women Democratic representatives who voted for, 219
Petchesky, Rosalind, 33
Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard Cloward, 15, 19, 22, 37
critique of, 18, 121
cycle of relief, 16
dramaturgical theory of relief, 17, 22, 23, 26, 27
relief in expansionary moment, 16
spatial dimension of protest theory and, 13
populationist movement, 20, 21, 92, 184, 185, 288
poverty rates and race/ethnicity, gender, and family formation, 268
primordial pair bond, ideological construction of, 242, 244
Quayle, Dan, 104
race, ethnicity, and the TANF population, 262
racism, intersectional theory of, 20, 109, 262
Reagan, Ronald, President, 105
Rector, Robert, 174
religious right, 186
backlash against feminism and, 49
reproductive justice, 253, 258, 259, 288
family planning and, 149, 170
utopian theory of, 236, 251
Republicans’ Contract with America, 113
Roberts, Dorothy, 57, 216
Index

same-sex marriage, 258
sexual regulation
definition, 8, 14
failure of, 42, 147
family law and modern State, 254
potential legal challenges to sexual
regulation within TANF, 94
social sciences and, 39
Victorian, 29
social caregiving, utopian theory of, 236,
238
Stanley v. Illinois (1972), 101
Steinem, Gloria, 221
surrogate motherhood contracts, utopian
theory of, 235

teen parents in TANF program, special
obligations of, 170
teen pregnancy as cause of poverty,
ideological construction of, 169
teen pregnancy epidemic, ideological
construction of, 167
teen pregnancy prevention programs
within TANF, 170
New York TANF law and, 160, 161
teen sexuality in the United States
inadequate use of contraception among
heterosexual teens and, 167
prosecuting statutory rape and, 168
teen pregnancy rates, international
comparisons, 168
teen pregnancy rates, socioeconomic
factors and, 169
Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
(TANF) program, overview of, 2,
261
Tillmon, Johnnie, 227
Wacquant, Loïc, 72
welfare equality, utopian theory of, 229
welfare mother, racial and sexual
demonization of, 18, 21, 33, 43, 113,
118, 148, 187, 211, 221, 232, 247,
253, 292
welfare mothers, resistance strategies of,
9, 14, 18, 75, 211, 258
welfare programs, American, general
overview, 45
disciplining of labor and, 20
gendered organization of, 18
Wellstone, Paul, Sen., 221
Wisconsin
flat TANF benefit, 148
pass through experiment, 122, 191,
198, 199, 201, 203, 205, 209
Women’s Committee of 100, The 221
workfare, 2, 4, 8, 9, 22, 51, 52, 53, 56,
60, 83, 86, 92, 105, 111, 112, 113,
115, 116, 122, 131, 133, 149, 164,
173, 183, 193, 211, 215, 219, 220,
222, 381