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support for economic modernization, racial moderation, and modest government activism (and the delivery of federal money by the region's representatives) was a winning formula. The lesson, argues Boyd, is that racial backlash did not destroy the Democratic Party and that racial moderation actually sustained it. The irony is that the Loyalist agenda of economic growth and moderate racial politics have—together with demographic change, suburban growth, and migration from the North—set up Republicans for the success that they are currently experiencing in the region.

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Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race by Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford Schram. Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 2011. 368 pp. Paper, $25.00.

Joe Soss, Richard Fording, and Sanford Schram use welfare reform in 1996 and subsequent implementation of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program to examine poverty governance in the United States today. Understanding poverty governance is essential to understanding antipoverty policy, as it reflects states' efforts to "manage" the poor and decide who is deserving of which assistance. The book argues that today's welfare cash assistance programs are powerfully shaped by neoliberal values that preference market actors and incentives, devolution, and work activity in low-wage jobs over cash aid. At the same time, strong paternalistic pressures have created more-punitive welfare programs intended to discourage client behavior deemed socially undesirable and to divert potential clients away from assistance in the first place. Within this devolved paternalistic welfare system, racial stereotypes about the poor shape policymaker and caseworker perceptions of who is deserving and who should be monitored closely. Such perceptions and decisions often disadvantage racial and ethnic minorities.

The book is an impressive mixed-methods study that immerses readers in empirical evidence. For example, a series of analyses show that places where African Americans compose a larger share of the TANF caseload enact more-punitive policies than places with fewer African American TANF clients, even when controlling for many other socioeconomic and political factors. A thorough examination of the Florida Welfare Transition program offers unique perspective on how neoliberal paternalism, political conservatism, and race

schemas shape delivery of TANF at the local level. Whether through accounts of caseworker experiments or in-depth interviews with frontline staff, *Disciplining the Poor* starkly demonstrates how market forces, policy incentives to punish clients who are non-compliant, and perceptions of race shape street-level decisions about how to provide help, when to be lenient, and when to stop giving second chances.

One fair critique of this book is that poverty and the safety net are much different today than in 1996 or even a decade ago when this book project began. Welfare caseloads are down more than 50 percent from their peak in the early 1990s, and the real-dollar value of cash assistance delivered through TANF has diminished precipitously. The changes are so great that one may ask whether a story about a shrinking social program that reaches a fraction of the poor is relevant to the policy debates of the present.

I would argue that TANF matters well beyond its annual expenditure and that the program remains a powerful symbol in the debate over antipoverty policy in the United States. Similarly, *Disciplining the Poor* has broad applicability past the immediacy of TANF. Not only is the conceptual framework portable to other social policy settings, but the argument inspires thinking beyond welfare. Consider the social service elements of the safety net. For every dollar spent on TANF, the safety net spends at least $10 on social services delivered through community-based nonprofit organizations. Community-based nonprofit service organizations help low-income families provide food and housing and search for a job, and address other dimensions of well-being. At the same time, nonprofits improve safety-net responsiveness and strengthen civic community. The text challenges us, however, to wrestle with the threads of neoliberal paternalism woven through many well-meaning and successful social service programs. For example, community-based nonprofit programs often focus on behavioral change and barriers to self-sufficiency with intent to increase labor market participation. Nonprofits compete for funding and face pressure to show improved performance measures. Moreover, the echoes of neoliberalism can be heard in some of the most-exciting and promising local market-based social enterprise approaches that have emerged recently to address poverty. The story of poverty governance told through TANF proves to be the story of poverty governance more broadly in the United States.

It is rare that one encounters a book that is as rich empirically as it is well-researched historically and sophisticated conceptually. *Disciplining the Poor* is that rare scholarly achievement and a must-read for those working at the intersection of poverty policy and poverty politics.

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