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Review of Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal.
Cybelle Fox. Reviewed by Marguerite G. Rosenthal.

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Translation: Americans' support of coercive military activities abroad that would not be tolerated at home. A fourth pattern was resistance to visible forms of taxation, yet tolerance of invisible forms, such as tariffs. And finally, the use of law promulgated by the judiciary to shape the political economy.

Each of the chapters provides rich historical evidence for patterns within each policy arena covered. Showing the steady rise of federal and state government intervention in Americans' lives, they also demonstrate the consistent opposition to this. While federal intervention was often necessary to redistribute national assets to those excluded by the market or victims of racial or gender discrimination, they also show that federal intervention has not always worked perfectly, often benefitting the middle class or the wealthy over lower income Americans (e.g., home mortgage deductions). Beyond these well-known programs, however, the authors also bring to light little known or forgotten examples of federal largesse, such as Conn's chapter on New Deal arts and culture programs, which supported some of the nation's most talented cultural workers during a time of deep unemployment, and also brought arts and culture to many for whom quality cultural activity had been beyond reach. These are important lessons at a time when our leaders appear either wary (or weary) of tackling large problems or refuse to admit that the federal government is even needed to solve the nation's problems. The book should be read by everyone interested in a government that works.

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Cybelle Fox, *Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal*. Princeton University Press (2012). \$35 (paperback); \$80 (hardcover).

Cybelle Fox, a UC Berkeley sociologist, has written a masterful history that chronicles the interweaving of assistance and public works policies with immigration policies in the 1920s and 30s in three distinct regions of the U.S.: the urban, industrial sections of the Northeast and middle America, the

South, and the Southwest. Fox's purpose is to augment our understanding of the development of welfare policy by adding to the usual history of North versus South—otherwise understood as White versus Black—and the harsh treatment of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans who, more than any other immigrant population, suffered discrimination and deportation on a scale that resonates with current policies.

One of the many virtues of this book is its detailing the extent to which state and local governments, as well private charities, were or were not providing relief to the destitute in the decade before the New Deal. This carefully researched history, discussed in chapters 3-7, documents how policies were heavily influenced by the need for cheap labor—immigrant European in the industrialized North, tenant and sharecropper African American in the South, and Mexican (both migrant and American) in the Southwest. While public assistance programs were relatively generous (and more prevalent than is generally known) in the North, and deportations generally less aggressively pursued, welfare programs in the South were very under-developed, forcing Black farm workers to remain dependent on their "paternalist" landlords during the winter. Relief in the West and Southwest remained primarily under the auspices of private charities, including Catholic welfare organizations, which were generally hostile to Mexican migrant farm workers and frequently cooperated with immigration authorities to further deportations. Although large agricultural employers sought to keep the immigration authorities at bay, social workers reflected an underlying prejudice that Mexicans were not amenable to being Americanized, in contrast to European immigrants in the North, where active assimilation efforts were common. As the Depression worsened, however, nearly all cities instituted some form of immigrant expulsion, often under the guise of nominally voluntary "repatriation" programs. Again, authorities in the West and Southwest were much more aggressive in these efforts; Los Angeles deported far more non-citizens than New York City, despite the latter's much greater immigrant population and harsher employment circumstances (ch. 7).

Chapter 8, "A Fair Deal or a Raw Deal," discusses the continuing regional differences in the provision of aid under

the Roosevelt administration's Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), where state and local administrations had considerable discretion. In the South, where there had been virtually no public assistance for African Americans, there was now a shift to minimal winter aid for Black agricultural workers that terminated with the planting season, relieving plantation owners of responsibility to maintain the workforce. Where assistance was given to Blacks and in the West and Southwest, to Mexicans, it was done discriminatorily and with lower amounts than that to Whites. Interestingly, the frequent complaints that non-citizens were receiving disproportionate shares of assistance and, later, WPA jobs, were resisted by FERA head Harry Hopkins, and Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins.

Federal directives to implement non-discriminatory work programs under the WPA were thwarted both by local administrators, particularly those in rural areas, and ultimately by Southern and Western members of Congress who passed amendments requiring that jobs be provided only to citizens or to those who had initiated the citizenship process. This material, detailed in the 9th chapter, reveals a strong nativist strain in the provisions of the various New Deal programs that adds to our understanding of how complicated political realities compromised the egalitarian thrust of that era.

"A New Deal for the Alien" (ch. 10) reprises the political jockeying that resulted in the exclusion of agricultural and domestic workers—the majority of Black and Mexican workers—from the Social Security Act's provisions; interestingly, European immigrants, primarily industrial workers, were the big winners. By contrast, aliens were included in the social insurance provisions of the Act but were frequently excluded from the categorical assistance programs administered by the states. Fox provides considerable detail about the formulation of the provisions and their consequences for specific populations.

There are two areas of omission in this otherwise comprehensive and fascinating study: (1) an inattention to agency on the part of any constituent group, but especially Mexican workers who were organizing in California's fields in the 1920s and 30s; and (2) the absence of a discussion of

Filipino and Asian immigrants who were a large proportion of agricultural workers, again in California. Given the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II, this oversight is striking.

Three Worlds of Relief covers new territory in social welfare history and will interest academics and students in the field. Of particular importance to the social work profession is the author's attention to the role that social workers played in advocating both for progressive legislation and practice, except in the West and Southwest. And prominent New Deal officials, notably Hopkins and Perkins, are acknowledged as social workers who pushed for expansive and inclusive policies, often in the face of opposition from other policy-makers in the Roosevelt administration.

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Heikki Ervasti, Jorgen Goul Andersen, Torben Fridberg and Kristen Ringdal (Eds.). *The Future of the Welfare State: Social Policy Attitudes and Social Capital in Europe*. Edgar Elgar Publishing Limited (2012). \$110.00 (hardcover).

Ervasti, Anderson, Fridberg, and Ringdal, with the help of 11 other authors, have created an edited collection that rightfully deserves a prominent position in the vast body of scholarship focused on the European social welfare state. The editors more than accomplish their stated goal of compiling a book focused on the changing "attitudes to the welfare state of ordinary people in almost thirty European countries" (p. 1).

The book and its 12 chapters are well conceptualized, well structured, and well written. Exemplifying that excellence is Chapter 5, authored by Mare Ainsaar, the Estonian National Coordinator for the European Social Survey. The chapter is a masterfully written piece. Ainsaar's chapter could easily be used to exemplify good writing and rhetorical strategies for any group of faculty or advanced graduate students eager to learn/improve their scholarly writing. Indeed, one of the pleasures of the book is the congruence of presentation in each chapter of a solid introduction, a clear statement of purpose,