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Citizens and Paupers: Relief, Rights, and Race, from the Freedmen's Bureau to Workfare. Chad Alan Goldberg.
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solidarities, buttressed by a generous amount of insightful and revealing quotes from the participants, as well as timely statistical analysis, legitimizes the book's conclusions. A shortcoming of the book is the paucity of specific examples of what types of activities and policies could emanate from its findings. Thus, the book's potential as a catalyst for social change remains undeveloped. Nevertheless, the author's clarity, incisiveness and use of methodological rigor results in a book that makes an important contribution to our understanding of how America's working poor perceive themselves, and the implications these perceptions could have for social action and policy.

Robert D. Weaver, University of Windsor

Chad Alan Goldberg, *Citizens and Paupers: Relief, Rights, and Race, from the Freedmen's Bureau to Workfare*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008. \$22.00 papercover.

The question of why the Western governments rapidly expanded their social programs and increased social expenditures during the 20th century has generated a great deal of scholarly research. Although a large number of explanations have been offered, many are simplistic and deterministic, attributing the expansion of social programs to a single factor such as industrialization, the role of interest groups or class conflict. Today there is a greater awareness of the complexity of the processes that contributed to the emergence of modern-day welfare systems. Rather than seeking to identify a single cause, contemporary research is much more nuanced and more interested in interpretation and analysis than simple explanation.

Goldberg's account of the historical evolution of welfare programs in the United States since the mid-19th century is a good example of the sophistication of more recent social policy scholarship. His answer to the question of why and how social programs evolve focuses on political struggles to classify those who receive social benefits either as dependent paupers or worthy citizens. At the center of his analysis is the concept of citizenship and the way it is defined. Drawing on Marshall's seminal contribution, he shows that the definition of citizenship is subject to interpretation. Those who are believed to be

working hard and meeting society's expectations, are not only defined as citizens but provided with generous benefits. On the other hand, those who are defined as work-shy and irresponsible are subjected to mean and often coercive interventions. Although popular opinion helps to shape these classifications, it is primarily through the political process that those receiving benefits are defined. Policy debates resulting in social legislation are, Goldberg reveals, characterized by fierce struggles around the citizenship issue. To illustrate his argument, he neatly compares social welfare initiatives in the United States at different times in the country's history. He begins with the period after the Civil War and compares the very different ways that beneficiaries of the Freedmen's Bureau's services were treated in comparison to those who received Veteran's pensions. Next, he compares the activities of the Works Progress Administration with the retirement provisions of the Social Security Act. Although both were products of the New Deal, their beneficiaries were defined very differently. Finally, New York City's "workfare" program of the 1990s and the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) are compared. Again both produced very different classifications of poor people with significant implications for the way they were perceived and treated. These historical accounts are linked to issues of race, gender and cultural institutions but, the author concludes, it is ultimately the definition of citizenship that shapes welfare provision.

The book is richly documented, drawing on a vast array of authoritative sources and it clearly demonstrates the author's scholarly credentials. He builds on previous research into the dynamics of social welfare in the United States and gently contests popular explanations of what are sometimes called America's "reluctant welfare state." His book will undoubtedly provoke further debates. Although it is primarily concerned with explanation, its relevance for policy could have received a little more attention. The question of how political classificatory struggles can be changed to meet the needs of all Americans, and not only those who are deemed worthy, still needs to be answered. Nevertheless, this important book deserves to be widely read. It makes a significant contribution to the literature.

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