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twentieth-century policies: the implementation of the legalization provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, and the expanded investment in border enforcement of the 1990s focused on the U.S.–Mexican border, known as Operation Gatekeeper. Hing's discussion of the implementation of the IRCA is particularly rich and will offer important lessons should the United States again pursue a large-scale legalization.

Defining America Through Immigration Policy makes a convincing and provocative argument that immigration policy has been used as a tool to reinforce notions of who is within the sphere of American identity. The volume, however, is troublingly incomplete in two areas. First, the exclusionary policies are often bundled into immigration reforms that offer opportunities for greater migration for other groups (the exception was the 1920s National Origin Quota laws). Yet, there is little discussion of these broader policies. So, although the reader of *Defining America Through Immigration Policy* would understand how the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act amendments disadvantaged western hemisphere immigrants, s/he would have no sense of the broader effect of the bill to end the national origin quotas and to establish the foundation for steadily expanding immigration from Latin America and Asia for the next forty years (and beyond). Hing's core assertion about the exclusionary nature of immigration law could have been made more forcefully had the exclusions been analyzed in the context of the broader changes in immigration law and policy.

Second, Hing is unclear on the ideal type of the potentially "American" immigrant who is being advantaged through the exclusions. He identifies a Eurocentric model, but then doesn't analyze how southern and eastern Europeans moved from outside this norm in the 1920s to inside today. More importantly, today's immigration can hardly be characterized as reinforcing a white America, despite the many barriers that exist to Latin American and, particularly, Mexican migration. Over the past two decades, the U.S. immigration flow has overwhelmingly been made up of Asian and Latin American migrants and, because of family preference categories, these contemporary migrants have not been made up exclusively of wealthy migrants or those with professional skills. Mexican immigrants may well be the most excluded, but they are also the largest single group of migrants.

Defining America Through Immigration Policy offers a rich history of immigration law and policy that demonstrates that the United States is not a nation of immigrants. It is not, however, designed to stand alone as a text or resource on U.S. immigration policy.

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Robert Ball and the Politics of Social Security *by Edward D. Berkowitz. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2003. 432 pp. $45.00.*

In the preface to *Robert Ball*, Edward Berkowitz confesses that he shares his subject's views about Social Security: that this program embodies one of America's "greatest social policy achievements" (p. xvii). Although Ball, who

worked for Social Security from 1939 until 1972, was in no position to claim objectivity, Berkowitz, who has written dozens of books and articles on the topic, is in an ideal position to do so. His latest work will disappoint those who are looking for yet another critique of the program, which, at its inception, scrupulously replicated the racial and gender biases of millions of Americans. Nor will the reader discover the "hidden welfare state" that political scientists have explicated in recent works. Rather, Berkowitz keeps his eye on the Ball, so to speak, and delivers a compelling, important, and insightful look at how a liberal program expanded in a conservative political environment.

Ball played a key role at every major turning point of the program, from the founding legislation in 1935 and the crucial amendments that reoriented the program in 1939, through Ronald Reagan's bipartisan commission, established in 1982. Notably, this last contribution came as a private citizen. Berkowitz examines these key policy-making moments in great detail. In crafting the key advisory report that led to the 1950 Social Security amendments, Ball laid the groundwork for solidifying the contributory "insurance" principle over the means-tested "welfare" approach to social provision. By yoking beneficiaries to the labor market, Ball and his liberal allies used conservative means to achieve liberal ends. Social Security benefits often redistributed "contributions" between classes and, as today's younger workers well know, between generations. Having secured a mechanism that was politically viable, Ball pressed relentlessly to expand the population that benefited from it. Disability, added in 1956, and Medicare, added in 1965, were Ball's two greatest achievements on this front. In 1972, Ball negotiated an agreement between Richard Nixon and a Democratic Congress that not only increased retirement benefits by 20 percent but also ensured permanent cost-of-living adjustments. When some of Social Security's more fiscally profligate promises came due, Ball worked with another Republican president—this time one who detested Social Security—to broker a compromise on Ronald Reagan's bipartisan commission.

Robert Ball should be read by social scientists and historians who are interested in post-World War II public policy making and the ways in which it evolved through the end of the Cold War. While Berkowitz delivers a treasure trove of detail, his greatest contribution is to illuminate the shifting basis of power inside the beltway. As Ball's service within the Social Security Administration demonstrates, power from the end of World War II through Ball's tenure as the program's chief administrator (1953 to 1972) resided *inside* the agency. It was Ball's ability to master the arcane policy language of Social Security while retaining his strategic vision that was the key to program expansion. By the mid-seventies, the policy-making environment had shifted dramatically. Social Security was now fair game for presidential intervention—even campaigning. Berkowitz illustrates the importance of Ball's subtle political skills as he tests the winds, realigns his points of access to power after leaving the Social Security Administration, and keeps on fighting for an expansive array of benefits tethered to a conservative fiscal base.

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