

in this manner. He suggests that over time, many cooperatives proved incapable of providing significant benefits to their members, but this seems like more of a description of their failure than an explanation for it.

In addition to prompting responses by workers, the problem of workplace accidents also led to responses by employers. Witt next considers the response by industry to the problem of workplace accidents. Advocates of scientific management argued for seeing workplace accidents as an efficiency problem involving a waste of labor. As a result, the problem was to be dealt with by taking steps to prevent accidents from happening and by establishing funds to cover the costs of those accidents that did occur. In the years immediately preceding the adoption of legislation on workmen's compensation by state governments, several large firms, including International Harvester and U.S. Steel, independently established accident compensation funds in which their employees could voluntarily participate. Witt suggests, however, that competitive pressures ruled this out as an option for all but the largest and most well entrenched firms. The logical alternative was then a compulsory form of workmen's compensation insurance in which all firms would be obliged to participate.

In Chapters 5 and 6, Witt describes the emergence of workmen's compensation insurance as it was adopted by the vast majority of state governments beginning in 1910. He also shows how, given judicial review of statutes, this new legislation was only possible after a shift in legal thinking to accept the idea that even if in a given accident it might be impossible to identify a true cause, legislation assessing responsibility for accidents based on a large number of observed cases was nonetheless constitutional, and that this legislation did not amount to a simple transfer of property from one party to another. This is perhaps the most fascinating section of the book.

Overall, Witt's historical analysis succeeds brilliantly in presenting the emerging response to the problem of industrial accidents. Where his book appears to raise more questions than it answers is with the claim that the system of workmen's compensation that evolved in the United States was somehow contingent or "accidental." While this idea is an intriguing one, ultimately the book provides relatively little evidence to support this assertion. What would be needed here is evidence showing how at critical junctures, temporary factors intervened that steered the United States on a different course with regard to workmen's compensation than would have otherwise been taken. But where Witt does provide explanations for the failure of alternatives based on classical tort law, insurance cooperatives, and independent employer funds, these reasons seem characterized by inevitable problems, rather than by "accidental" outcomes that might have worked out differently.

Even if Witt's argument about the outcome of workmen's compensation legislation being accidental should require more support, his book is nonetheless a compelling inves-

tigation of a case of legal ideas and public institutions being forced to respond to changing economic circumstances. As such, it should be of great interest to a broad range of political science scholars.

Lobbying for Inclusion: Rights Politics and the Making of Immigration Policy. By Carolyn Wong. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006. 225p. \$50.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S1537592707072489

— Jason P. Casellas, *University of Texas at Austin*

In 2006, unprecedented crowds took to the streets to protest proposed legislation in the House of Representatives that would have, among other things, made it a crime to "assist" undocumented immigrants to remain within U.S. borders. HR 4437, also known as the Sensenbrenner Bill, never became law, but it nonetheless sparked a fierce debate about immigration policy, which has divided the Republican Party in particular. Carolyn Wong's book provides a timely account of the making of immigration policy, commencing with the Hart Cellar Act of 1965 and proceeding through the last major piece of immigration in 1996.

Wong explores how economic interests and ethnic groups at times work together and at times are at odds concerning their positions on immigration legislation. She examines the precise mechanisms for these lobbying efforts in her case studies on three major pieces of immigration legislation. In addition, she conducts several regression analyses to ascertain the determinants of congressional votes on a wide array of immigration legislation, including particular amendments. The book for the most part adopts Gary Freeman's (1995) model of client politics, in which costs are distributed and benefits are concentrated. In this respect, employers and ethnic groups benefit from liberal immigration policies, while taxpayers bear the costs in many ways, ranging from the negative economic effects of nonunionized native workers to costs borne by the undocumented in social services. Wong states that Freeman's model is attractive because of its parsimony, although she argues that we must be cognizant of the multiple dimensions in this policy space.

The first substantive chapter outlines the goals of various interest groups during immigration legislative debates in the past 40 years. Much in the same way that Daniel Tichenor (2002) outlines the four different categories of groups regarding alien admissions and rights (i.e., classic exclusionists, free market expansionists, nationalist egalitarians, and cosmopolitans), Wong discusses in turn how employers, workers, civil rights advocates, religious groups, civil libertarians, and restrictionist environmentalists have shaped the immigration debate in Congress. She then shows how each of these groups has lobbied Congress on legal admissions, temporary workers, and enforcement policies. This is a particularly useful chapter because it frames the parameters of the immigration debate, though as Wong

shows later, these interest groups do not hold static preferences. For example, organized labor has traditionally opposed liberal immigration policies because of perceived economic threats to native-born workers. In recent debates, however, organized labor has had more of a negligible impact on immigration policy, due largely to its overall waning influence in American politics.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide historical overviews of the Hart Cellar Act and Post-Bracero immigration policy. Passed in 1965, the Hart Cellar Act eliminated the national origins quota system from the 1920s, and it had the important effect of expanding legal immigration from Asia and stimulating the movement of undocumented immigrants across the U.S.-Mexican border. Although rich in detail and useful for those interested in learning more about the vicissitudes of immigration policy, these two chapters do not compose the more significant contribution of the book.

Chapter 5 turns to more recent legislation, including the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 and the Immigration Act of 1990. This chapter provides an array of statistical analyses of House votes on a variety of immigration bills. Wong only chooses House votes, even though Senate votes are arguably just as important, despite the claim that Senate votes consist of little variation (p. 111). Indeed, many of the immigration compromises have occurred in the Senate (e.g., the Kennedy-McCain bill in 2007). Nevertheless, the logistic analyses follow the same format throughout and include a wide variety of independent variables and controls. It would have been useful to have seen a more sustained theoretical discussion of the independent variables. Moreover, as Wong acknowledges, one particular problem with the foreign-born and agricultural-employment variables is that they are aggregate measures, while the rest of the variables deal with district-level observations. This produces bias in the estimates, requiring caution in interpretation. Despite this, the various statistical analyses reveal mostly unsurprising results, though there are some exceptions. For example, as concentrations of Mexican-American constituents in a dis-

trict increase, policy votes move in a liberal direction. This finding is not consistent with previous research, and more discussion would have been desirable (p. 131).

In Chapter 6, Wong describes the determinants of the votes of House members on the Immigration Act of 1996. The statistical model is adapted to address the issue of a multidimensional policy space, due to this bill's amendments relating to both legal and illegal immigration. As E. E. Schattschneider (1960) and later William Riker (1986) attest, as the scope of conflict expands, coalitions tend to realign and more groups are thrust into the debate, thus changing the nature of any given conflict. As in 1990, Wong finds that unions are no longer a potent restrictionist force in the making of immigration policy. She also finds that the conservative-liberal dimension is inadequate when trying to explain some key votes, such as enforcement and privacy. Some conservatives, such as Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-CO), oppose the expansion of alien admissions and rights, while others, such as President George W. Bush, support a more comprehensive immigration reform plan, meaning the implementation of a "guest worker" program, along with a path to citizenship.

Overall, this book is an important contribution, which should be read by scholars interested in interest groups, legislative politics, and immigration policy. It is a nice complement to two recent books on immigration: Tichenor's *Dividing Lines* (2003) and S. Karthick Ramakrishnan's *Democracy in Immigrant America* (2005). Tichenor employs a historical institutionalist perspective, Ramakrishnan a political behavior perspective, and Wong an institutionalist perspective. The first half of Wong's book would be quite accessible to undergraduates in a class on immigration policy. Given the recent debates in Congress and on the airwaves about this important topic, *Lobbying for Inclusion* contextualizes the many competing voices in the immigration debate, providing policymakers and political scientists alike with the tools they need to be informed about the nuances of immigration policy.

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Ethnicity and Electoral Politics. By Jóhanna Kristín Birnir. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 279p. \$85.00.

Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment. By Erin K. Jenne. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006. 272p. \$45.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S1537592707072490

— Brian Shoup, *Indiana University*

The literature on ethnic mobilization has benefited considerably in recent years from a wave of innovative schol-

arship examining such ostensibly disparate issues as ethnic party formation, the psychological and emotional underpinnings of group violence, the utility (and disutility) of ethnic appeals by power-seeking elites, and the limits and benefits of civic associations as a means of ameliorating intergroup conflict. A common feature shared by this work is its focus on problem-oriented research questions, creative research design, a rigorous application of diverse methodological approaches, and, perhaps most importantly, the willingness to develop and empirically test potentially contentious theories. Jóhanna Kristín Birnir's *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics* and Erin K. Jenne's *Ethnic Bargaining* are reflective of these qualities and make strong contributions