

from former Portuguese colonies off the coast of Senegal, West Africa, poses some interesting challenges to the theoretical framework. Only two of the three groups chosen are from the Caribbean, but the implications of this point for the title and theme of the book are only lightly addressed.

Wright Austin reviews the literature on African American politics, finding that scholars identified important conflicts and differences between African Americans and newer black ethnic groups. African American politics involved distinctive patterns of political participation in voting: group consciousness and linked fate, and political incorporation. She compares the patterns of behavior and participation of the three different groups of black ethnics with that of the native African American population. While the author finds some variation across the four cities, in general her survey results show that black ethnics have strong group identity. They identify as and with African Americans; they also affirm the concept of linked fate, the idea that their fates are tied to those of African Americans. Black ethnics participate in politics by voting, although rarely does this extend to more intense activities, such as contacting elected officials or attending meetings. In this respect, the results closely match the political behavior of African Americans. Their political incorporation and election to office has not been as successful as that of African Americans, with West Indians, for example, elected infrequently even in cities in which they have settled in relatively large numbers, such as New York City and Boston.

Wright Austin does not address the fact that West Indians come from a number of islands, including Jamaica, Antigua, the Virgin Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and others. Many identify strongly with their particular island, and may choose not to support candidates from a location they might otherwise see as a competitor. In the United States, however, they may accept and support the more general identification of West Indian. While the overall patterns are similar, the author found some of the black ethnics, especially Haitians, considerably less likely to be attentive to American political participation because of their concerns about events at home, as well as the expectation that they would eventually return. Others, such as Cape Verdeans, who were interviewed only in Boston, were somewhat less likely to see themselves as subject to discrimination.

This work is subtle and complex, with an exploration of the importance of church attendance and the involvement of the author's groups in politicized churches. Unlike the findings in the literature on African American churches by Eric McDaniel, Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, and Fredrick Harris, Wright Austin shows that black ethnics do not attend such churches. She also compares the differences in the political attitudes of first- and second-generation black ethnics. While both generations show

strong signs of group identity, linked fate, and political participation, the second generation in each group moves even further in the direction of racial group patterns similar to those of African Americans. In general, Wright Austin's work strongly challenges the prediction of earlier studies of black ethnic groups that their political behavior and philosophical patterns would evolve into political beliefs and patterns of participation quite distinct from those of native African Americans.

Wright Austin selected the four cities comprising the study because of their large number of African Americans and black ethnics in the population, and because of the similarity of urban political contexts. She might also have considered other cities, such as Atlanta and/or Los Angeles. Atlanta, a southern city very different from Miami, has a substantial Caribbean population, but without the urban political machines of northern and industrial cities. Los Angeles is a very diverse city with a large African American population, as well as large proportions of Asians and Latinos from Mexico and Central and South America, although it lacks the black ethnics of more eastern cities.

The Caribbeanization of Black Politics is a project of importance for understanding a new era in African American politics, one which has infused new cohorts into the American population of African descent. Wright Austin's findings challenge earlier comparative studies and also reaffirm the power of group identity. As she argues, previous research found that black ethnics tended to "reject a 'black' racial identification after assimilating into American society. . . . The findings of this research contradict those earlier observations. In Boston, Chicago, Miami, and New York City, most African Americans and first and second-generation identify as black. . . . Many Cape Verdeans, Haitians, and West Indians have acknowledged having a racial identity with African Americans, but point out the distinctions between their own and African American culture" (pp. 157–58). In making such important claims, the book breaks new ground in the study of black politics.

Polarized Families, Polarized Parties: Contesting Values and Economics in American Politics. By Gwendoline M. Alphonso. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. 256p. \$79.95 cloth.
doi:10.1017/S153759271800381X

— Christopher Ojeda, *University of Tennessee*

The family is an integral part of politics, be it the defining unit for social welfare provision or the primary socializing agent of children. It should come as no surprise, then, that the family also shapes party competition in the United States; parties routinely treat families as the canvas onto which they project their political values and policy goals. And yet, family is nowhere to be found in the

scholarly literature on the development of the American party system. Gwendoline M. Alphonso rectifies this problem in *Polarized Families, Polarized Parties* by offering a historical account of the emergence of the family as a key component of party competition in the United States, thus “necessitating a fresh look at the conceptual understanding of party ideology and providing an alternative explanation for the late twentieth-century conservative ascendance” (p. 4).

At the heart of Alphonso’s argument are the “Hearth” and “Soul” frameworks that define parties’ approaches to family. The Hearth framework is liberal and emphasizes the “economics essential to family well-being,” while the Soul framework is conservative and emphasizes the “values essential to family well-being” (p. 9). It is through these two frameworks that family becomes the discursive mechanism that binds together elite and mass polarization: Hearth and Soul “frame how legislators imagine and conceive of family and generate parties’ policy agendas . . . serving as opportunities and constraints on successive political actors looking to formulate new approaches to changing realities” (p. 18).

Alphonso traces the rise of these frameworks in the United States from 1900 to 2012 using data on party platforms, congressional bill sponsorship and cosponsorship, and congressional committee hearings. These data lend themselves to both statistical analyses—for instance, showing how often the family is mentioned by parties or legislators—and more careful qualitative treatment—such as illustrating how the two frameworks graft onto the nature of the times. Alphonso supplements and illustrates these data with anecdotes from convention speeches, press conferences, speeches from the floor of Congress, and presidential debates, as well as statistical analyses of U.S. Census data and a myriad of surveys, all of which enriches the account she tells. All told, the data collection and analysis are quite extensive and impressive and should serve as a model for anyone writing about American political development.

From these data, Alphonso identifies three key periods of development. In the Progressive era, the family begins to make its way onto regional agendas through issues such as women’s suffrage and racial intermarriage. Discussions during this time are primarily ascriptive in that they focus on the biological underpinnings of family-related issues. The post–World War II era saw some movement of the family to the national agenda as debates over the family came to shape the origins of the current social welfare regime in the United States. Still, family was not wholly polarizing at this time as there was substantial regional overlap between parties on the Hearth and Soul frameworks. It is only in the contemporary period (i.e., late 1970s onward) that families become a central feature of party politics, exemplified by Bill Clinton’s “Families First” campaign or George W. Bush’s appeal to conservative

family values. Alphonso shows how the rhetoric of family ties together economic and social values and thus revises our understanding of what was previously seen as competing dimensions of political ideology.

Alphonso makes several important theoretical and empirical contributions in this book. First, she identifies the family as a third component of (spatial) models of party competition. But rather than offering family as just another dimension in addition to the economic and the social, Alphonso argues that family has become the *lingua franca* that allows parties and politicians to justify, and the public to make sense of, the conjoining of (sometimes opposing) economic and social values. Second, she highlights a formative but previously unidentified component of American political history. A focus on family helps us understand family demographic transformations, the politics of race and gender, and economic policy winners and losers. This contribution lays the groundwork for future scholarship to further explore the material and policy consequences of family rhetoric. Third, this history offers lessons for our current politics. Appeals to family values or the middle class infuse policy debates and campaign rhetoric at every turn. From health care to gay marriage to immigration, the family frame is now widely applied and has the potential to shape political outcomes. Alphonso thus offers a framework through which we can make sense of current events.

Still, the author sometimes has trouble seeing the forest through the trees. The analysis of the Progressive era, for instance, focuses exclusively on how the Hearth and Soul frameworks shape the parties’ position on gender relations, family structure, and the role of government vis-à-vis the family, but overlooks the fact that family comprises a minuscule portion (< 5%) of the parties’ platforms during this period. This left me wondering what the family came to replace once it eventually held a more prominent position on the parties’ platforms. The question for this era is less about what parties are saying about families and more about why parties are not saying much about families in the first place. If families define party competition today, why did they not define party competition during the Progressive era? Alphonso is silent on these questions.

The book also sometimes omits important parts of the relevant literatures. For instance, Gary Miller and Norman Schofield’s important work on partisan alignment (“Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States,” *American Political Science Review*, 97[2], 2003) highlights the pivotal role of activists in shifting the ideological positioning of parties (see also Geoffrey C. Layman et al., “Activists and Conflict Extension in American Party Politics,” *American Political Science Review*, 104[2], 2010), but activists are only cursorily acknowledged in Alphonso’s telling.

A similar problem is seen with respect to political polarization, where Alphonso eschews rather than

embraces roll-call votes as a marker of this phenomenon. But, surely, if family matters to polarization, as Alphonso convinces me it does, then her analysis of party platforms, congressional hearings, and bill sponsorship should have parallels in roll-call votes. In other words, if the rhetoric of family is at all consequential to policy (and not simply an electoral strategy), then we should see it affecting the legislative decisions of politicians (Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal, *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*, 1997).

The audiences for this book are political scientists, historians, and sociologists studying American political development, political parties, partisan polarization, or political sociology. But even for scholars outside of these areas or those who may shy away from historical accounts, I would recommend portions of *Polarized Families, Polarized Parties* that speak to the politics of today. Chapter 1 lays out the Hearth and Soul frameworks, while Chapter 5 documents the deployment of these frameworks in contemporary politics. Arguably, the primary contributions of the book are found in these chapters, and so I recommend them to any scholar of American politics.

Building a Business of Politics: The Rise of Political Consulting and the Transformation of American Democracy. By Adam Sheingate. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. 296p. \$31.95 cloth, \$21.95 paper.

doi:10.1017/S1537592718003882

— Gregory J. Martin, *Stanford University*

Paul Manafort's recently concluded trial on charges of tax fraud and bank fraud brought to light some details of the erstwhile Trump campaign chairman's lavish lifestyle: \$1.26 million in designer suits, properties in New York City and the Hamptons, and a string of luxury cars paid for in cash from offshore accounts. While the Manafort example is far from typical, it does vividly illustrate the fact that in the United States today, it is possible to make not just a living but a very good living from electoral work. The most successful political consultants today are compensated similarly to partners at law firms. The industry has its own professional organization (the American Association of Political Consultants) and its own awards show (the Pollies), and exports its product around the globe (including to the former Soviet republics that were the source of much of Mr. Manafort's income).

Adam Sheingate's *Building a Business of Politics* lays out a richly detailed history of the way we got to this point. Drawing from a combination of primary sources, contemporary accounts, and political science research, the author traces the development of the political consulting industry from its origins as an obscure offshoot of the nascent fields of public relations and public opinion in

the early twentieth century to its present-day position of near-complete dominance over American campaign activity.

Sheingate identifies two key institutional changes that gave the industry its initial formative spark and then, several decades later, piled kindling onto the flames. The first was the weakening of the agenda-setting power of party organizations brought about by Progressive-era electoral reforms. The institutions of the ballot referendum, the recall, and the primary election for candidate nominations were intended to allow the will of the people to express itself more directly, without the intermediation and gatekeeping of corrupt party bosses.

The second part of that objective—breaking the grip of the party machines—was a smashing success, but the first part was hampered by the fact that different forms of agenda control can lead the same will of the same people to very different outcomes. Referenda in particular gave an opening to practitioners of the then-emerging field of public relations, who found it much easier to mold public opinion on specific issues about which the typical member of the public had little information and weak prior attachments than to move more deeply rooted partisan loyalties. Combined with the ability to shape the agenda directly by placing alternatives on the ballot, this proved a hugely valuable tool for interests with the funds needed to pay for the requisite signature gathering and publicity campaigns.

Sheingate's view of consultants as supplanting or substituting for party organizations is not entirely novel; Larry Sabato argued in his 1981 *The Rise of the Political Consultants* that consultants weakened parties by providing a locus of campaign expertise that was independent of party structures. Sheingate's contribution is to tie this growth of consultants at the expense of party bosses back to its underlying institutional source. It is no accident, the author argues, that the industry first emerged in something like its modern form in California, where Progressive electoral reforms had gone farther in weakening party organizations' grips over the alternatives presented to voters than in other states.

The second institutional change on which Sheingate focuses attention is the campaign finance reforms that emerged in the aftermath of the Watergate scandal. Particularly consequential, he argues, were the new rules that required itemized disclosures of campaign expenditures and threatened penalties for improper use of campaign funds. In defining what, exactly, constituted proper and improper campaign expenses, the newly created Federal Election Commission (FEC) delineated several categories of campaign services—among them polling, media buying, and direct mail—that were accepted as *prima facie* legitimate and required no further justification. Outsourcing these tasks to specialized third-party firms greatly simplified