

emerge in the US *national* context. Second, Matsusaka does not attempt to engage in a critical exchange with other nonelectoral proposals for improving on the democratic disconnect. Examples of proposals one would expect to see considered are modest ones like integrating citizens assemblies into the policy-making process, or more radical ones for fully or partially rotating legislatures selected by lottery. A single chapter engaging with such well-developed ideas, explaining the strengths of direct democracy relative to these, would have made for an even richer and potentially more persuasive book.

The Great Migration and the Democratic Party: Black Voters and the Realignment of American Politics in the 20th Century. By Keneshia N. Grant. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2020. 214p. \$74.50 cloth, \$27.95 paper.
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African Americans began leaving the South in large numbers during Reconstruction. During and after this time period, millions migrated to other regions of the country in search of civil rights and an improved quality of life. Keneshia N. Grant's new book examines the "Great Migration" of African Americans from 1915 to 1965, when more than six million Black Americans migrated northward in search of economic, political, and social opportunities. She explains that a political analysis of the Great Migration is warranted because "where we live matters... For Black Americans, the implications of one's location have always been far more serious than an accent or food preferences. Location has meant the difference between slavery and freedom, discrimination and equality, or poverty and economic opportunity" (p. 3). Noting that the Great Migration "was larger than the preceding California gold rush and dust bowl migrations combined" (p. 37), Grant points out the political significance of this resettlement from mostly rural Southern communities to Northern cities, with a focus on Detroit, Chicago, and New York City. These cities were selected because of the varied political outcomes and different challenges faced by Black residents in each. African Americans have achieved strong levels of political power in Detroit and Chicago but not in New York City, for various reasons.

After chapters on "Party Change and the Great Migration" and "Black Migration in American History," Grant turns to a discussion of Detroit, New York, and Chicago: African Americans moved to these three cities, among others, because of "push or pull factors.... Push factors were native occurrences that drove migrants out of the South" (p. 51). Pull factors, such as "expanded opportunities for employment and the potential for higher wages created by war-era growth in the economy" (p. 52), also

motivated their migration out of the South. Although they continued to encounter discrimination in the North, they nevertheless gained certain political rights that they were vehemently denied in the South (like voting and the right to serve as appointed and elected officeholders), as well as slightly superior educational and job opportunities. In addition, white politicians and the major political parties solicited Black voter support as their numbers increased in these cities. While reading this well-written, comprehensive account, I thought of my own parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles who left small towns in Mississippi in search of better jobs, housing, and political opportunities in Memphis, St. Louis, and Chicago.

This book has several strengths that make it a useful and informative resource for a widely diverse audience. Above all, it reads like a novel and is a very enjoyable read. It provides an interdisciplinary and qualitative analysis of Black migration that focuses on this question: How did the Great Migration influence American politics in northern cities? *The Great Migration and the Democratic Party* significantly contributes to the fields of political science and African American Studies. Its emphasis on politics enables it to fill a major void, because much of the research on the Great Migration is of a historical and sociological nature. This book is written in the tradition of books like *Going North, Migration of Blacks and Whites from the South, 1900–1950* by Neil Fligstein (1981), *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South* by Alferdeen Harrison (1991), *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America* by Nicholas Lemann (1991), and *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* by Isabel Wilkerson (2010).

In chapter 1, Grant points out that "research on migrants' politics is located in works about individual cities or writing about labor and civil rights issues of cities. One of my aims in this book is to create a separate space for consideration of politics during the Great Migration" (p. 13). Grant argues that politicians solicited support from Black voters because they wanted to benefit from the "Black balance of power (BOP)" resulting from the significant Black population growth and voting bloc. Mayoral candidates knew that Black voters would determine election *outcomes* both in the present day and in the future. Grant uses the results from every mayoral election in each of the three cities in her study from 1915 to 1965, thereby determining the strength of Blacks' electoral power. This analysis makes an important contribution, because scholars have experienced difficulties in finding this data. Moreover, each of these cities elected its first African American mayor either during the 1970s (Coleman Young of Detroit) or 1980s (Harold Washington of Chicago and David Dinkins of New York City). This book also explains the grassroots mobilization efforts that occurred in the years preceding these elections, examining the challenges

faced by Black candidates during a time period when it was almost impossible for them to win citywide elections.

In addition, *The Great Migration and the Democratic Party* includes several themes that can be a starting point for further scholarship. Future research can examine the migration of Black immigrants to these cities and their impact on Black officeholding after passage of the 1965 Hart-Celler Immigration Act that eliminated quotas restricting Black immigration. Grant briefly mentions West Indian immigrants in the chapter on New York City, but in later years African and Caribbean individuals conducted independent political efforts and attempted to distinguish themselves from African Americans. I also would have welcomed more information about the role of Black women as organizers. Moreover, future research should examine the Black political successes that occurred since the 1960s. Despite the appointments and elections of numerous Black male and female Democrats in the contemporary era, many African Americans believe that the Democratic Party takes the Black vote for granted. Finally, perhaps an analysis of Republican Party participation and activism is necessary because African Americans did not join the Democratic Party until the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration. Before that time, most were Republicans because it was the party of Lincoln. Were there changes in the Republican Party because of the Great Migration?

Readers of *The Great Migration and the Democratic Party* will gain new insights about the evolution of the Democratic Party and thereby a greater understanding of why the party operates as it does today. Members of both major political parties who read this book will understand why and how political parties recruit, retain, and support African American voters. Finally, this groundbreaking book will spark debates about several important minority, urban, and partisan political issues.

Crisis! When Political Parties Lose the Consent to Rule.

By Cedric de Leon. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019. 232p. \$28.00 cloth.

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Cedric de Leon's *Crisis!* contextualizes contemporary American party politics by drawing parallels between the breakup of the antebellum party system and the present-day splintering of the Republican and Democratic Parties that produced the Trump presidency. He argues that in each case the election of an unexpected president—James K. Polk and Barack Obama, respectively—initiated a “crisis of hegemony” (p. 3) that led political elites to lose control of the party apparatus. In antebellum America this initiated the collapse of the Whig Party and its

replacement by the Republicans. In the modern era, this produced the Tea Party on the Right and the Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matter movements on the Left. The splintering of the Democrats resulted in the 2016 unenthusiastic nomination of Hillary Clinton and opened a space on the Right for the nomination of Donald Trump.

The book proposes a “crisis sequence” (p. 5) to explain the emergence and timing of party system breakdown. It consists of four phases: “(1) unexpected challenge, (2) defection, (3) failed re-absorption, and (4) crisis” (p. 6). To illustrate (and greatly simplify), the Great Recession of 2007–9 initiated the current sequence. It produced the presidential election of the previously unknown Barack Obama. President Obama won nomination by appealing to New Deal ideals. This contrasted with Hillary Clinton's more conservative economic philosophy and prompted the defection of numerous Democratic primary voters to Obama. In the general election, Obama highlighted John McCain's ties to Wall Street, which provided the necessary margin of victory. Once in office, however, President Obama pursued a neoliberal economic agenda and studiously avoided contentious discussions of race. This alienated supporters of Black Lives Matter, Occupy Wall Street, and moveon.org and precluded their reabsorption into the ranks of mainstream Democrats. In doing so, it strengthened more peripheral Democrats such as Bernie Sanders. President Obama's election also splintered the Republican Party by providing a platform for more extreme groups such as “birthers,” which mainstream Republican leaders were unable to control or manage. This came to a head in 2016 when Hilary Clinton won a hard-fought nomination against Sanders, and the Republicans were unable to coalesce around an alternative to Donald Trump. The abandonment of Clinton by moveon.org and similar groups provided the edge that produced the Trump presidency and further fractured American parties.

De Leon is a sociologist and brings a sociologist's eye to party politics. This presents both advantages and challenges for a political science audience. The advantages are considerable. For example, de Leon describes the contours of racial politics in shaping the American party systems in a manner that is nuanced and perceptive and is likely to enrich our understanding of how race beyond nineteenth-century slavery and twentieth- and twenty-first-century civil rights influenced party politics. Likewise, de Leon's discussion of New Deal labor politics and the labor movement sheds useful light on how parties seek to co-opt and absorb potential elements of their coalitions. More generally, de Leon is interested in the relationship between social movements and party politics, a subject sometimes neglected to ill effect by party scholars.

Crisis! however, presents noticeable gaps for political scientists. Most importantly, the thesis is not placed in the context of realignment scholarship. Neither V. O. Key