

opinion data to a survey experiment to sustained field research that includes scores of interviews and focus groups. Ahuja deftly distills lessons from his extensive fieldwork, which helps make this a volume of serious scholarship that is unusually readable and accessible. If there is a downside to this distillation, it is that Ahuja may leave some readers eager to hear more from his interview respondents and focus group participants. When we hear their voices directly, they provide particularly evocative evidence in support of the book's claims.

In developing an innovative theoretical argument backed by careful case studies of four large states (whose combined population totals nearly a half-billion people), some aspects of the book receive less attention. In particular, a more extended treatment of alternative explanations would, at times, have been helpful. For example, chapter 4 focuses on the consequences of Dalit social mobilization, emphasizing how in "movement states" (those with early Dalit social movements), caste boundaries are policed less stringently, untouchability is practiced less often, and Dalit assertion is more widespread than in "non-movement states" (that historically lacked such social movements). These outcomes very plausibly result from the presence or absence of earlier Dalit social movements. However, the movement states are also wealthier, better educated, and more urban, meaning that we might expect to see meaningful differences between these states on these various dimensions even without taking social movements into account. A more explicit testing of possible alternatives would potentially allay a skeptic's concerns that differences in Dalit life across these states may be principally a function of urbanization or economic development.

In a similar vein, one may wonder how Ahuja's noteworthy contribution relates to Kanchan Chandra's influential 2004 book, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*, which similarly focuses on Dalit ethnic parties. Interestingly, the books share a key insight: ethnic parties cannot claim a natural monopoly on co-ethnic votes. They monopolize co-ethnic votes only when other parties fail to incorporate members of the ethnic group. Chandra's notion of inclusion emphasizes relatively high-profile leaders, such as legislative candidates, whereas Ahuja's understanding of inclusion focuses on local party workers and symbolic politics. The two accounts also diverge in their diagnosis of what leads non-Dalit parties to take Dalits seriously—Dalit social movements for Ahuja and intraparty democracy for Chandra (albeit with an added twist in the case of India's Congress Party). Ahuja addresses Chandra's argument about intraparty democracy (p. 151) by pointing out that few Indian parties are internally democratic, but throughout the book, it is not always clear where the two authors' claims represent distinct but ultimately complementary accounts and where they are fundamentally at odds. Many readers would likely have benefited from a

more extended discussion of whether or how to reconcile the arguments in these two important works.

All told, *Mobilizing the Marginalized* constitutes a fascinating, well-argued, and richly detailed account of how social mobilization shapes ethnic party success. It fine-tunes our understanding of the link between social movements and political parties, the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation, and the politics surrounding one of the world's largest and most important marginalized groups.

**Crossroads: Comparative Immigration Regimes in a World of Demographic Change.** By Anna K. Boucher and Justin Gest. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. 258p. \$99.99 cloth, \$32.99 paper.  
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According to the UN's estimates, more than 258 million individuals are currently living as international migrants. These migrants will invariably experience different pathways to and experiences within their new countries of residence. Consequently, states respond to these immigrant flows with considerable variation. *Crossroads* begins at this intersection of demography and policy, undertaking the ambitious and timely task of categorizing and comparing immigration policy regimes—as well as their respective immigration populations—globally. In doing so, Anna Boucher and Justin Gest enter into conversation with scholars of comparative immigration, integration, and citizenship to answer both *how* and *why* states vary in immigration outcomes, both in policy and practice.

The first section of the book carefully builds on existing answers to these questions, and the second argues for a characterization of immigration regimes "based on behavioral outcomes rather than legal outputs" (p. 102). In the second part, Boucher and Gest rely on three demographic indicators: the relative distribution of visas, the proportion of migrants with temporary labor status, and the overall naturalization rate of a state's immigrant population. Each of these categories is defined with conceptual and methodological clarity, culminating in a global dataset covering immigration and naturalization outcomes for 50 countries across the globe. The final section of the book brings this demographic dataset to bear on the immigration policies of 30 countries in 2011. This analysis reveals an overall "market model" across seven distinct regime-types in which regimes are concurrently open to immigration for its market value and closed to transforming these immigrants into permanent, national members. Subsequently, *Crossroads* provides two substantial contributions to global scholars of migration and citizenship: an empirical innovation of a new policy index, unique in comparative

measures of demographic outcomes in a global perspective, and the theoretical advancement of a new lens for viewing immigration regimes globally.

These efforts occur on well-trodden territory. Dozens of categorizations of citizenship, immigration, and integration policy regimes continue to evolve and shape our understanding of the relationship between a state and its immigrant population. The first part of the book therefore presents a rather bold claim: immigration regimes require yet another new categorization. Boucher and Gest lay out a strong case for this claim, arguing that earlier typologies have a narrow focus on “Western” democracies or offer imprecise indicators of de jure policy outcomes. The authors claim that earlier measures consider citizenship policy versus practice (or outcome) in isolation, thereby failing to “combine the two dimensions of the migratory process” (p. 28). Hence in combining studies of policy design and demographic outcomes, *Crossroads* moves beyond measures that previously captured policy as degrees of self-defined or perceived difficulty to provide a novel measure of policy in practice globally.

The core of *Crossroads*' demographic focus similarly provides an innovative departure from traditional expectations that such categorization occurs by ethnicity. Although the term “demographic outcomes” may be better labeled at times in policy outcome language, this second task of the book offers a potentially monumental contribution to current and future scholarship on citizenship and migration. Time is dedicated to explaining the complexities of data validity, inclusion, and conceptual development specific to citizenship and immigration. *Crossroads* further acknowledges where concepts critical to identifying or categorizing immigration regimes (e.g., undocumented immigration flow) are necessarily excluded to avoid inaccurate or inappropriate inferences caused by questions of cross-national data validity. This attention to detail additionally reveals instances of policy-outcome incongruence, often requiring Boucher and Gest to move beyond publicly available data. As a result, the book is at its strongest when providing this descriptive service to the discipline: modeling best practices in policy measurement, collection, and aggregation.

The resulting typology derived from Boucher and Gest's analysis of this dataset (i.e., the market model) complicates earlier “settler-state” and “liberal” citizenship models. Where others view a marked liberalization in citizenship and immigration in Europe (e.g., see Christian Joppke, *Citizenship and Immigration*, 2010), Boucher and Gest present a market convergence globally, whereby states put “new premiums on short-term, flexible hiring in an economy of greater expedience and less concern with the rights and stability of people's lives” (p. 156). This market model is, however, in agreement with recent global research wherein admission and migrant rights appear at

odds with one another (e.g., see Martin Ruhs, *The Price of Rights*, 2013). These current findings, therefore, serve as an impetus to continue expanding our focus at the intersection of immigration and membership beyond the Global North.

Yet the key contribution of this book—compelling scholars to engage with immigration regimes as a factor of who they admit and retain—also presents the greatest challenge: teasing apart whether the demographic makeup of the immigrant population is in fact due to the destination policies or to some combination of the factors of their origin. Although the authors address these concerns in the methodological appendix using economic and democratic origin indicators (see, for example, p. 198), the policy and population characteristics known to affect not only immigration but also residency and citizenship remain relatively absent.

Similarly, although *Crossroads* addresses many limitations of prior immigration regime typologies, it cannot speak to the dual intentionality of both individuals and states required of naturalization and immigration. Given the direction in which many democracies across the Global North and South are moving—from granting permanent status (i.e., citizenship) to granting permanent residence—a logical extension of *Crossroads* might consider whether the relationship between policy and demography would vary if permanent residence acquisitions—or citizenship acquisition refusals—were used in lieu of naturalization rates. This question is especially relevant, because the authors calculate the naturalization rate using a subset of the population who already acquired residency (p. 121). Thus, it is this third dimension of demographic immigration—naturalization—that may offer the most in terms of continuing the conversation, which should also address policies regulating dual citizenship, second- (and in some cases third-) generation citizenship, and permanent residence.

Finally, such ambitious cross-national work presents its own challenges. In the case of *Crossroads*, country-specific anomalies may problematize the authors' concepts of immigration and citizenship globally. For one, the definition of immigration regimes as representing “the admission and settlement of foreign-born people over time” (pp. 3–4) necessarily cannot reflect every subset of a given population that is deemed “foreign”—especially when citizenship is rooted in policies of ethnicity or restrictive definitions of formal membership. These policies and definitions further vary across states and across localities within states. Although the authors rightfully pick up on these complications with respect to naturalization (i.e., on p. 119), this concern similarly creeps into temporary employment and asylee flows.

Ultimately, *Crossroads* succeeds in its task of entering into conversation with comparative and international scholars of immigration and citizenship policy. The book

offers a critical reevaluation of how we categorize immigration policies while simultaneously introducing new questions of regime stability, measurement, and political incentives. In doing so, Boucher and Gest not only provide a public good through new and rich data but also deepen our understanding of the relationship between policy and practice, by which paper citizens or permanent immigrants may become visible (e.g., see Noora Lori, *Offshore Citizens*, 2019). *Crossroads* therefore succeeds in the authors' stated goal: beginning a conversation on the relationships between immigration and demographic trends. Where *Crossroads* leaves off, other scholars are invited to pick up—engaging deeply and globally at this nexus of membership and entry.

**From Here and There: Diaspora Policies, Integration, and Social Rights Beyond Borders.** By Alexandra

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As the number of international migrants has surged over the past 80 years, migrants have found new and transformative ways in which to maintain family, cultural, business, and political ties to their communities and countries of origin. This transnational engagement is not a new phenomenon by any means, but the growth in the overall volume of international migration, new technologies that ease the costs of communication and travel, and growing interest by immigrant-sending countries in sustaining their connections to the émigrés for longer periods of time have facilitated the establishment of new forms of transnational engagement by migrants and, in some cases, their children born in the countries of migration. In *From Here and There: Diaspora Policies, Integration, and Social Rights Beyond Borders*, Alexandra Délano Alonso analyzes efforts by Mexico and other Latin American countries to empower their émigrés, particularly émigrés in the United States, by improving their access to education, health care, labor rights, language rights, and civic participation and—as a consequence of these capacity-building efforts—to sustain their connections to their émigré community so that émigrés can also contribute to the national development of the country of origin.

There has been extensive scholarly analysis of the ways in which immigrants build transnationalism from below. Délano Alonso instead tells a story of institutional change, making important contributions to the study of transnationalism from above. *From Here and There* examines two shifts in traditional consular services. The first step was to design programs to allow émigrés to access political and

economic rights in their country of origin. The second was to ensure that émigrés had access to institutions and programs related to education, health, banking, labor rights, language acquisition, and civic participation in the country of destination, in this case the United States. The second expansion in consular programs was designed to overcome the laissez-faire approach of the United States toward immigrant integration and was often conducted in alliances with state and local governments and nonprofit community-based organizations in areas with high concentrations of immigrants. Délano Alonso offers the most detailed analysis of two Mexican government capacity-building initiatives: *Ventanilla de Salud*, to provide access to health care, and *Plazas Comunitarias* Windows for Educational Opportunities, which initially focused on adult education but later expanded to provide some services for migrants who arrived in the United States as children (the 1.5 generation).

From *Here and There* treads a fine line in describing the roles of immigrant-sending Latin American countries. The primary focus throughout the book is on Mexican government-led efforts and initiatives. Considering the volume of Mexican migration to the United States and the durability of that migration over the past 130 years, this focus makes sense. As Délano Alonso demonstrates, Mexico also moved into this top-down immigrant capacity-building transnationalism in the 1990s before other immigrant-sending countries did; it has also continually expanded its efforts in the years since. Consequently, Mexico has served as a model for other Latin American immigrant-sending country efforts to connect to their émigrés. *From Here and There* discusses, in a more scattershot manner, efforts by other countries that model the Mexican efforts. It is not possible, for example, to say when other countries did not follow the Mexican example or experimented with other strategies. I would have liked to have gotten more of a sense of the frequency of countries not following the Mexican model, so I could better understand how well the programs that are the book's main focus worked on the ground. Délano Alonso does offer some measurement of the effectiveness of these programs, but the metric for this program evaluation is the assessment of participants, often with very small samples. The book does not offer an assessment of how widely these programs are known in the émigré community and how likely émigrés are to participate in them. There is also no sense of whether émigrés want services from the Mexican government that it is not providing.

Délano Alonso does offer some useful comparative analysis of the context of this new form of capacity-building transnationalism. It is not necessarily universal in immigrant-receiving societies. Using Canada as comparison, Délano Alonso demonstrates that the absence of national immigrant integration policies in the United