

Paretsky to Mike Royko. The chapter concludes by noting both the themes and images presented in these diverse sources and the ways in which these reports and books fail to capture fully the reality of contemporary patterns within the city.

This second chapter embodies both the strengths and weaknesses of the book. On the positive side, Bennett displays a mastery of a vast body of work; the footnotes to this chapter could form the backbone of at least three graduate seminars in urban studies. It is not an easy task to develop common themes from so many different approaches to urban life spanning nearly a century, but the author succeeds in his central task in this chapter, which is to trace the evolution of images and models of urban life through the works of these authors, while identifying how their legacies obscure a clear understanding of contemporary life, both in Chicago and in other modern American cities.

On the negative side, both this chapter and the larger book do not coalesce into a well-integrated single story with a clear take-away point. At times, such as in Chapter 3, "The Mayor among His Peers," the book is a fairly straightforward historical account of how Mayor Richard M. Daley, whom Bennett identifies as the chief architect of the Third City, promoted policies to develop the current economic base, particularly in his investments in parks and neighborhood redevelopment. This account is, for me, one of the best parts of the book. It is clearly written, it connects Daley's actions to his big-city contemporaries, like Rudolph Giuliani and Richard Riordan, and it tells a story about life in contemporary Chicago that is not widely known outside of the city. Bennett also follows the path of many of the scholars he has cited by drawing important conclusions about how this Chicago story has relevance for understanding developments in cities throughout the country.

This, however, is followed by Chapter 4, "The City of Neighborhoods," which is partly an account of changes in the structure of neighborhoods over time, but is primarily an essay about the concept of neighborhoods in urban theory and whether these neighborhoods ever really existed in Chicago, even as they appeared regularly in fictional and popular portrayals of the city. Chapter 5, "Wresting the New from the Once Modern," discusses the transformation (and often elimination) of Chicago Housing Authority public housing projects, both in a historical sense and from the perspective of understanding these projects as functioning communities. These two chapters address thoroughly valid subjects, but, as presented, bear little relationship to either the historical account of Daley's mayoral policies or to the extensive discussion of images of Chicago in Chapter 2. These four central chapters are bookended by beginning and ending chapters that delve deeply into the models of urban life of Lewis Mumford and Jane Jacobs (especially

the latter), a motif which reappears occasionally throughout most of the book.

In the Acknowledgments, Bennett credits discussions with a wide array of colleagues, loosely organized into several reading and discussion groups, as contributing to the ideas developed in the book. It is easy to imagine that these discussions took many directions: Chicago in popular literature, the validity of Jacobs' ideas, Daley's legacy, gentrification, and the New Urbanism, among others. A bit too much of this has found its way into the book, making it a challenge for the reader to understand if this is a history of contemporary Chicago, an attempt to develop a new model of urban life, a literary analysis, or something else. The answer is probably "all of the above," which is why the book's strength is also its weakness.

A flawed effort does not mean a failure, however. *The Third City* brings together a lifetime of observation, reading, and discussion about Chicago, theories of urban life, and the relationship between the two. The readers are better-off for having encountered them here, even if they are left to sort out what it all means. I know that I will refer back to this book often when studying any of these topics. While somewhat challenging for a typical undergraduate course, the book would be a good choice for an honors seminar or graduate course. While my own preference is for the parts describing the evolution of contemporary Chicago, others will be drawn to the discussions of urban theory that are less Chicago based. Every reader will find something of value, although many will also be challenged by the lack of a single focus. On the whole, however, Bennett should be applauded for advancing our understanding of this great city and for challenging us to move urban theory from the past to the future.

Mexico and Its Diaspora in the United States: Policies of Emigration since 1848. By Alexandra Délano. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 304p. \$90.00. doi:10.1017/S1537592713000418

— Immanuel Ness, *Brooklyn College, City University of New York*

The contentious debate in the U.S. Congress over enacting comprehensive immigration reform is viewed as among the most crucial policy debates in government since the late 1990s and its importance has intensified with the rise of antiforeigner sentiment following 9/11 and the global financial crisis (GFS) in 2008 that has increased unemployment and poverty. Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama have both viewed immigration reform as a key to their legacies, yet to date, such policies have failed to be enacted due to contentiousness in Congress and civil society. The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which passed with the support of President Ronald Reagan in 1986, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which passed with the support of President

Bill Clinton in 1993, are both viewed by political and economic analysts as contributing to the expansion of the reserve army of labor, lower wages, and higher unemployment and to a range of policy proposals to solve America's immigration "problem."

Alexandra Délano asserts that most US discussions of immigration policy fail to take into consideration the Mexican government and its policies toward its diaspora in the United States who comprise the vast majority of migrants there since the passage of IRCA. From 1848 to the mid-1990s, Délano argues, the Mexican government had been largely indifferent to migrants living in the United States. As the Mexican migrant population living there has expanded rapidly and become integral to foreign and domestic policy, she maintains that the government has had to rapidly adopt new strategies and practices that reflect the new realities.

The central contribution of *Mexico and Its Diaspora in the United States* is its theory of the changing bilateral relationship between the Mexican government and this diaspora. Of equal importance, Délano interrogates the prevailing perspective that the Mexican government is subordinate to the United States and lacks the capacity to regulate their common boundary. This fresh and innovative study challenges the established literature on migration to the United States that concentrates on the economic hegemon by shifting the research focus from receiving country to sending country. In so doing, Délano's work provides a rich historical framework for analysis that compels political scientists who study migration to the United States exclusively through the prism of American government bilateral policies to also take into account the changing interests of the Mexican government. The Mexican state has actively engaged in developing and enacting policies toward its diaspora over the last 160 years and, in particular, since the late 1980s, when migration expanded dramatically.

A second analytic goal of the work is rooted in an effort to reframe the historic concept of diaspora. Délano's reconceptualization of the term *diaspora* extends beyond the traditional meaning related to migration caused by forcible dislocation as a result of rampant religious discrimination and ethnic cleansing of those fleeing their countries of origin, as in the case of Armenian and Jewish diasporas. The author expands the term to encompass the characteristics of the Mexican historical experience and the formation of transnational identities and relationships of about 30 million Mexicans escaping abject poverty in order to work in the United States and send money in the form of economic remittances to support their families back home (pp. 1–26). As such, this political history provides bountiful theoretical tools for understanding the policies and actions of the Mexican state, which contributes and is shaped by those who move north of the border to sustain themselves and families.

Formulating policies has become increasingly difficult in an environment of discrimination against migrants and exploitation by business in the United States. While bilateral relations are significant for understanding state actions, the failure of the US government to enact comprehensive immigration policy reform compels the Mexican state actors to try to defend nationals who are sought by US employers who benefit from their status as "illegal." Mexicans who live and work in the US are subjected to flagrant exploitation in the labor market through underpayment of wages and the failure of the state to enforce labor regulations. The growth of a police and criminal justice apparatus further marginalizes Mexicans, who are discriminated against by persistent nativist xenophobia and the dramatic rise in government deportations (pp. 93–95, 240). Thus, the Mexican state formulates policies in a political system that relegates migrants to illegal status yet is dependent on low-wage labor. Especially since the GFS, the Mexican state has had to cope with a rising tide of discrimination and xenophobia in the United States that compels its government to strategize and formulate policies in a distorted environment when it must respond to violations of human rights, labor rights, and mass deportations, even as the United States has used its security forces to militarize border controls (pp. 243, 250).

Consequently, while Délano asserts that political calculations by the Mexican government are integral to an understanding of the bilateral relationship, efforts to develop rational and coherent policies are hindered by the failure of the US state to manage migration in a consistent and predictable manner. Government consular officials must therefore engage in activism to support claims of its nationals who face harsh and unreasonable challenges, including discrimination, underpayment of wages, racial profiling, arrest, and deportation. Considering the vast number of Mexican migrants living and working in the United States who are subjected to these abuses, Mexican government policies are operating in an incoherent policy environment.

Historicizing the political economy of US–Mexican relations is crucial in understanding why the contemporary era is a point in a trajectory of bilateral state relations. While Délano does reveal the specific changes in state, societal, and economic relations in the period since the mid-1990s, the book does not engage in grand theorizing on the new form of constantly changing state–capital relationships that are situated within a precise form of global capitalism defined by most analysts as neoliberalism. Still, she rigorously describes the dynamics of US–Mexican bilateral relations in this period, stressing "the process of economic liberalization that paved the way toward NAFTA and the learning process implied, which led the Mexican government to a more complex and multifaceted understanding of the US system and to redefine its foreign policy discourse and strategies" (p. 231). In this context, the author applies a multivariate analysis that examines how

the Mexican state actively pursues its interests that, contrary to prevailing notions, are not always subservient to its northern neighbor. These policies include a more direct engagement with its diaspora by actively responding to U.S. policies and legislation that are often inimical to its diaspora, engaging and defending emigrants in the United States, lobbying to improve their conditions, and appealing to the international community over human rights violations (pp. 231–32).

Using a multivariate analysis, Délano documents the evolution of the Mexican state between the 1980s and 2010, “[f]rom a defensive and reactive attitude . . . and a foreign policy discourse strongly based on principles of nonintervention and defense of sovereignty” (p. 232) to the passage of NAFTA and the establishment of bilateral relations with the United States on a more level playing field.

The study of migration as a major area of inquiry within political science has emerged in the past two decades as realist and state-centric approaches that dominated international research during the Cold War era are unable to explain external agencies in the current era of neoliberal capitalism. In view of the declining capacities of states to determine policies, political scientist James Hollifield stresses the importance of taking into account migration as central to the discipline. Délano’s detailed examination of the role of bilateral state relations and the growing importance of the diaspora is an important contribution to both theory and comparative-historical research. The work also has important implications for research on other countries with large recent diasporas in the United States.

Délano presciently accomplishes two important tasks: 1) theorizing on the actions of a subordinate state that expanded its influence vis-à-vis the United States, and 2) providing a study of changing Mexican multilevel policies that provide an innovative corrective to those interpretations that document only the dominant power or fail to recognize weak states in relations with the United States. In the case of Mexico, the author reveals why it asserts itself to defend its diaspora through bilateral relations and domestic policies of decisive importance to emigrants in the United States.

Engines of Change: Party Factions in American Politics, 1868–2010. By Daniel DiSalvo. New York: Oxford

University Press, 2012. 264p. \$39.95.
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— Kathleen Bawn, *UCLA*

As the title of his new book implies, Daniel DiSalvo sees party factions as “engines of change,” the prime movers in American politics. If we want to understand nominations, key policy decisions, and the growth of the state, DiSalvo argues, our focus should not be on conflict between the parties or among significant individuals but somewhere in between.

A difficulty in studying factions is the absence of a clear roster. Factions do not show up in election returns or official legislative documents. The first contribution of DiSalvo’s study is thus his careful compilation of a list of US party factions since the Civil War. The author identifies factions on the basis of four criteria: ideological consistency, organizational capacity, temporal durability, and the ability to attempt to shift the party along the right–left spectrum. Compared to other ways that the term “faction” has been used in political science, these criteria may seem somewhat restrictive. Factions in Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party, for example, are famously nonideological, as were the factions identified by V. O. Key in *Southern Politics* (1984). But requiring ideological consistency keeps the focus on the most significant factions and still produces a set of factions large and diverse enough to characterize the various ways they have impacted national-level politics over a century and a half. Moreover, by focusing on groups with an identifiable ideology linked to the party’s right position, DiSalvo distinguishes factions from the more numerous groups associated with narrow policy demands.

The author combed newspapers, party documents, and historical scholarship in order to identify 12 factions that meet his criteria, five in the Democratic Party (Populists, Southern Democrats, Liberal-Labor, New Politics Democrats, New Democrats) and seven among the Republican (Stalwarts, Mugwumps, Half-Breeds, Old Guard, Progressives, Liberal Republicans, New Right). This systematically compiled list is a resource that other scholars will find useful. These factions are diverse along many dimensions: size, longevity, and goals. Just over half are classified as change seekers, a quarter as preservationists, two as a mix.

Studying how these factions have behaved in various domains, DiSalvo paints a vivid picture that shows how they have shaped American politics. He writes (p. 30) that

the issue is who decides important matters of American party politics. This book argues that it is usually not simply elected officials and office seekers pursuing votes. Nor is it organizational officials ensconced in the party headquarters. Neither is it the constantly fluctuating coalitions of interest groups. Rather it is factions, which are more durable and consistent promoters of ideological visions of American public life.

For example, factions have been “conveyor belts of ideas,” reconfiguring party ideology and policy agendas. In some cases, this has been relatively straightforward, by way of illustration, as the ideology of the New Right became the dominant ideology of the Republican Party as a whole. The Progressive ideology, on the other hand, followed a more convoluted path, DiSalvo shows, as it moved from a strong and vibrant Republican faction to a splinter party, finally seeing its greatest impact under Democratic President Woodrow Wilson.

Factions are often active in presidential nominations. The book’s analysis spans 33 presidential elections, thus 66 major party nominations. Twenty-three of these