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Trade Battles: Activism and the Politicization of International Trade Policy, by **Tamara Kay** and **R. L. Evans**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. 237 pp. \$29.95 paper. ISBN: 9780190847449.

HO-FUNG HUNG

Johns Hopkins University
hofung@jhu.edu

Global free trade is under attack. President Trump has pulled the United States out of trade deals and has started trade wars with friends and foes alike. Rising insurgents among the Democrats like Bernie Sanders are equally hostile to free trade. Resentment of free trade is becoming mainstream now. To understand how the popular opposition to free trade germinated and got us to where we are now, Tamara Kay and R. L. Evans's *Trade Battles: Activism and the Politicization of International Trade Policy* is a timely read.

Based on documentary research and interviews, Kay and Evans detail how labor and environmental activists forged an alliance against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) when it was being negotiated in the early 1990s. Though the movement failed to stop NAFTA, it planted the seed of popular opposition to free trade.

Following the introductory chapter, the authors stitch together Bourdieu's field theory of the state and social movement theory about political opportunities in Chapter Two, creating the conceptual apparatus for the analysis to come. Employing the Bourdieusian view that state and society are composed of multiple fields intersecting with one another, Kay and Evans see that social movement strategies are about gaining influence in a certain field favorable to them and then striving to transfer such influence to other fields significant in shaping policy outcome. The social and political fields involved in NAFTA formulation include the legislative field (i.e., Congress), trade policy field (United States Trade Representatives, or USTR), the grassroots politics field, and the transnational negotiating field.

Chapter Three outlines trade politics before NAFTA. After the Great Depression, there was a gradual shift of authority over trade issues from the legislative to the trade

policy field; and the USTR, as part of the executive branch, became ever more powerful in initiating and negotiating trade liberalization. After the 1970s, both Congress and labor unions shifted from supporting trade liberalization to increasing opposition to free trade, as free trade turned out to bring deindustrialization and outsourcing of manufacturing jobs. In the meantime, the environmental movement and the labor movement, which at first were at odds with one another, began to converge amid the activism concerning the maquiladoras along the U.S.-Mexico border, where U.S. capital jeopardized labor rights, occupational health, and local environments.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six are the substantive chapters that analyze the details of the battle over NAFTA in three distinct stages from 1990 to 1993. In the first stage, labor and environmental activists used their leverage in the legislative field to lobby Congress to vote against granting fast-track authority to the executive branch over NAFTA. Such authority would allow the USTR to negotiate the trade agreement, and the resulting agreement could only be passed or rejected but not amended or filibustered in Congress. In the end, the movement failed, as Congress did vote to grant fast track authority to the executive branch in 1991.

After failure in the first stage, the labor-environment alliance moved on to the second stage by mobilizing hostility toward NAFTA in the grassroots politics field when the trade negotiation was unfolding in 1991 and 1992. The movement's assumption was that such mobilization of public opinion would create the possibility of Congress vetoing the trade deal, hence generating pressure for U.S. trade negotiators to include labor and environmental activists' demands in the agreement. This mobilization strategy had some success, as it did bring public attention to the labor and environmental downsides of the trade deal and foment falling public support for NAFTA. It also made a substantial number of Congress members worry about its passage.

In the third stage, when the Presidential election of 1992 had entered the dead heat phase, the negotiation of the main agreement of NAFTA had been wrapped up. Bill

Clinton, as a Democratic presidential candidate in 1992 and the President in 1993, was pressured to support a supplemental negotiation that would create a side agreement addressing the labor and environmental concerns stemming from the trade deal. In this stage, the labor-environment alliance concentrated their efforts on shaping the content of the side agreement. In the end, most of their core demands were not included in the side agreement.

Though the anti-NAFTA alliance failed to immediately achieve what they were striving for, they did successfully politicize trade issues and change the terrain of trade debate in the long run, as Kay and Evans discuss in Chapter Seven. After the NAFTA battle, the anti-trade movement continued to grow and culminated in the anti-WTO protest in Seattle in 1999. The push for bilateral and regional trade deals became less ambitious, and many of the resulting deals contained labor and environmental provisions. The Obama administration tried to pursue ambitious regional trade agreement like TPP and TTIP. But to shield the initiatives from anti-trade forces, the Obama administration had to shroud negotiations in secrecy, antagonizing many and causing the demise of both initiatives.

Kay and Evans's *Trade Battles* is a cogently argued, richly documented, and tightly organized account of not only the battle over NAFTA but also the long-term backlash against free trade in the United States. It is an essential read for our understanding of the widespread hostility toward free trade on both left and right today. This book also merges social movement and field theories to shed new light on how social movements shape policy.

Despite these strengths of the book, there are also aspects of the NAFTA trade battle that the authors ignore. For example, what were the social forces underlying the push for free trade, and how did they come about? It is common to assume that there is always a unified business elite cognizant of their class interest behind any free trade initiative. But there are many signs that the business elite were divided on trade issues in the early 1990s. In the 1992 presidential election, Ross Perot, a business tycoon who ran an

independent presidential campaign on an anti-NAFTA platform, won 19 percent of the popular vote to become the second-most successful third-party candidate in the twentieth century. His “giant sucking sound [from Mexico]” remark on NAFTA’s impact on American jobs captured popular imagination about free trade in the years following. Also, throughout the 1980s, the Reagan administration was in fact quite mercantilist and protectionist, thanks to the pressure of its manufacturer allies. As such, how did the business and political establishment stifle their internal opposition to free trade? Did anti-trade activists attempt to build an alliance with the anti-trade element among the elite to advance their course? If not, why not?

It is too demanding to expect a compact book like this one to deal with all aspects of the issue at hand. The gap in the book’s analysis, as discussed above, is not a deficiency itself. It can become a contribution if it inspires others to look at this aspect of elite division during the NAFTA battle. The bottom line is, this book offer us a sound and rich account of the rise of anti-free trade grassroots politics that every educated reader concerned about the future of trade liberalization should read.

Raising Global Families: Parenting, Immigration, and Class in Taiwan and the U.S., by **Pei-Chia Lan**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018. 237 pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 9781503605909.

ROSLYN FRASER SCHOEN

Texas A&M University-Central Texas
Roslyn.schoen@tamuct.edu

In *Raising Global Families: Parenting, Immigration, and Class in Taiwan and the U.S.*, sociologist Pei-Chia Lan offers her readers several timely interventions into ongoing conversations about social class, immigration, and parenting. First, the book connects the parenting strategies of a diverse sample of ethnic Chinese parents to the opportunity structures that appear against the shifting sands of global neoliberal capitalism. Second, Lan challenges the so-called “tiger mom” phenomenon popularized by Amy Chua’s 2011

book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*. Finally, this book is an important contribution to the body of scholarly work that has emerged since Annette Lareau’s 2003 *Unequal Childhoods: Race, Class, and Family Life*. *Raising Global Families* does all of this and more in a sea of narrative-rich data presented to readers as intimate stories of family life.

Data for this book come from the author’s multi-sited ethnographic study examining class-based variations in parenting strategies in Taiwan and the United States. Specifically, Lan performs a cross-case analysis of four groups of ethnic Chinese parents: middle-class and working-class parents in Taiwan, and middle-class and working-class Chinese immigrant parents in the United States. A major strength of this work is that Lan is careful to maintain within-class diversity and never allows social class categories to become monolithic. Another strength is the impressive amount of narrative-rich data presented throughout the book. The abundance of data produced from a multi-sited study has the potential to be overwhelming for audiences, but this book is organized so well, with each substantive chapter detailing one of the four case categories, that conscientious readers will never feel lost. In the end, what really makes this book a stand-out in the field of family studies is the added analytic layer of migrant status. This is accomplished through the author’s exploration of the distinct parenting strategies among families who remain in their home country and those who migrate abroad to the United States. For each site, Lan compares and contrasts the narrative realities of middle- and working-class families in detail, making this work an important contribution to sociological knowledges about globalization, the family, and class reproduction.

The main thesis of *Raising Global Families* is an exploration of what Lan calls global security strategies. These are the child-rearing strategies parents employ as they deal with the various conditions and constraints that have emerged under neoliberal global capitalism. Lan takes the time to outline the types of security strategies she finds and how they connect to parents’ hopes and anxieties about the global world in which we live. In doing so, she shows readers how