The immigrant rights movement: The battle over national citizenship, by Walter J. Nicholls

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likelihood of the neighborhood transitioning from one set of characteristics to another. They find that gentrification does not always occur and that impoverished areas tend to stay that way (despite the existence of a TOD), which seems counterintuitive to me. Devon McAslan examines why Seattle residents use rail to commute; however, many still use cars for other trips. They do so because of greater time for transit trips, the number of transfers, and the fact that non-commuting trips are not feasible by public transit.

TOD Methods focuses on the multiple methods used by various professionals to plan or analyze those developments. Through a literature review followed by a discussion of the potential of microsimulation methods to augment traditional methods, Tara Tanoz-Sargeant, concludes that both practitioners and academics need a new comprehensive tool bringing together multi-criteria analysis and CAD favored by academics on the one hand, and the combination of site visits and the micro-simulation analysis of pedestrian and traffic flows favored by consultants and urban designers. For example, although government officials may be most interested in seeing whether they receive targeted private investment from the public sector's infrastructure investment, they should look at multiple outcomes to see if they achieve a truly economically and socially sustainable result. Enrica Papa discusses the challenges of designing context sensitive TODs around London rail stations to improve transit equity and to reduce gentrification and to reduce the adverse effects of the of the investments, all to achieve long-term economic and social viability. Daniel Mabazza, offers interesting Philippine examples of the role of informal paratransit systems in TOD or in feeding transit systems. Although the Philippine government has tried to suppress informal modes such as jitneys and motorized rickshaws because those modes are unregulated and untaxed and create chaotic traffic patterns, these modes remain popular and affordable.

Academics and practitioners should find *Transit Oriented Development and Sustainable Cities* to be an excellent reference either for those who want to gain a quick understanding of current thinking on TOD or those who want to delve deeper into any of multiple subtopics covered in the book. Knowles and Ferbrache take the needed time to define TOD and to show that TODs can promote economically and socially sustainable urban environments, whether in new developments or in regeneration projects. They conclude that TODs will only promote sustainability if the planning, design, execution and the follow-up analysis are done in a way to that examines both the opportunities and the consequences comprehensively. When planners and policymakers ignore this advice, they will exacerbate racial and economic segregation and promote familiar dysfunctional patterns of urban sprawl. Knowles and Ferbrache call for more mixed-use development with greater economic and social diversity including greater access to all modes of transportation through viable pedestrian networks executed through well-thought-out government investment, oversight, and guidance. Whether their wise counsel will be listened to remains to be seen.

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The immigrant rights movement: The battle over national citizenship, by Walter J. Nicholls, Palo Alto, CA, Stanford University Press, 2019

Urban scholars too often uncritically embrace the local scale (in terms of both place and community) as the privileged site of social change. For at least the past two decades, Marxian geographers have cautioned against these tendencies, emphasizing how local politics are profoundly shaped by political-economic relations at larger scales (DeFilippis et al., 2006; Purcell, 2006), and between geographically distant but interconnected places (Uitermark et al., 2012). However, old habits die hard: urban scholars of the immigrant rights movement frequently offer single or comparative case

studies of localized immigrant rights movements, but inadequately consider how local politics relate to the political dynamics of the national movement. Furthermore, as Jaworsky's (2016) recent book on online pro-immigrant and anti-immigrant rhetoric argues, social movement scholars in general have not adequately considered the role of culture and discourse in the making of social movements. In his excellent monograph, *The Immigrant Rights Movement: The Battle Over National Citizenship*, Walter Nicholls offers a deeply thoughtful corrective to both of these issues.

First, by tracing the historical formation and reconfigurations of the immigrant rights movement over the past two decades, Nicholls demonstrates how organizations at the local, regional, and national levels constitute a sophisticated, coordinated, and hierarchical interscalar social movement infrastructure. In the context of the broader movement, local organizations offer grassroots legitimacy, national organizations offer abundant financial resources and unprecedented access to policymakers, while regional organizations resolve coordination problems between the two. Political, economic, and cultural capital are overwhelmingly concentrated among professionalized, D.C.-based national organizations, allowing them to monopolize the priorities, rhetorical framings, and distribution of resources within the movement. While the national movement elites prioritize comprehensive immigration reform, local organizations—whose membership and/or service recipients often comprise day laborers and working-class undocumented immigrants—prioritize anti-deportation policies. During the Obama administration, a political window opened for achieving comprehensive immigration reform; the D.C.-based national organizations made this their policy priority, and local and regional organizations largely fell in line and supported this policy agenda. However, as it became clear that the political window for achieving comprehensive immigration reform was closing, the interscalar movement infrastructure began to unravel.

Second, through a consideration of how the national movement rhetoric became systematically entrenched in notions of citizenship predicated on liberal nationalism—an ideology that asserts how "a well-bordered nation with a strong national identity remains a precondition of a solidary, egalitarian, and democratic political community"—Nicholls argues that the immigrant rights movement was effectively doomed to incremental forms of inclusion of "deserving" immigrants, at the expense of the "undeserving" (p. 23).

The book's two opening chapters clarify the political import and theoretical framing of Nicholls's ambitious project. Nicholls starts by recounting the triumph of Trump's ethnonationalism over liberal cosmopolitanism, proposing that this is the result of a longer-term ideological dispute over the boundaries of citizenship. Such ideological disputes, he argues, begin with *local* political conflict between immigrants and their native-born counterparts, wherein disparate, common-sense understandings of citizenship are constructed and mobilized to emphasize the interests of one group or another. When these local disputes are scaled up to the national level, these messy constructions of citizenship are then consolidated into the cohesive and relatively homogenous discourses of liberal nationalism. In this theory-heavy portion of the book, Nicholls offers helpful clarifications regarding the notion of "citizenship," while grounding his broad argument in resource mobilization and field theory.

The rest of the book is divided into two parts. The first part—comprising chapters 2 to 4—focuses largely on the relationship between the local and regional scales within the immigrant rights movement. Nicholls starts with the political struggles surrounding the racialized, criminalized figures of day laborers in American suburbs in the 1990s, whose needs and struggles prompted the mobilization of an impressive diversity of local actors (e.g., working-class immigrant residents, legal-advocacy organizations, religious institutions, local welfare organizations traditionally unassociated with pro-immigrant advocacy). Regional organizations (the paradigmatic example for Nicholls being the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights in Los Angeles) helped coordinate across these local advocacy efforts and became increasingly involved in national immigration politics.

The second part—comprising chapters 5 through 9—then focuses on how these local and regional organizations became embedded in a set of professionalized, well-connected, well-resourced D.C.-based national organizations. Nicholls begins by outlining the contours of the national political field between 1990 and 2014—wherein the federal government drastically expanded its legal and symbolic power over

immigration policy and politics, and liberal-nationalist notions of citizenship (which respects the supposed sacredness of borders—resulting in divisions between deserving immigrants aligned with national values and worthy of national resources, and undeserving immigrants who are deemed unworthy) became an integral part of pro-immigrant political discourse. Then, he demonstrates how an unprecedented amount of financial resources, political access, and media attention became concentrated in the D.C.-based national organizations. This accumulation of power at the movement's upper echelons, he argues, made possible the perpetuation of liberal-nationalist discourse at the national level, and helped ensure a degree of control over the under-resourced local organizations and financially dependent regional organizations over time.

Throughout the book, local and national organizations are depicted as the central politically productive movement actors: while their political activities are shaped by each other, they have some degree of autonomy and identifiably distinct roles in shaping the politics within the immigrant rights movement. Regional organizations such as CHIRLA or CASA Maryland, however, seem less central to understanding the multiscalar social movement dynamics. They largely fall in line with the priorities of national organizations, because they benefit from the latter's political clout and financial resources. Elsewhere, they merely connect local and national organizations—such that local organizations can gain political access and national organizations grassroots credibility. Of course, Nicholls does suggest that this seeming political unproductivity is a result of being torn between their accountability to local organizations and their acquired privileges from national organizations—and that their relative political unimportance thus belied "a state of perpetual turmoil" (p. 193).

While Nicholls's account of regional organizations is characteristically sensible and thoughtful, it does not sufficiently describe the turmoil experienced by regional organizations between local accountability and national privileges. Left unanswered, for instance, is whether there have been any exceptions to this iron law of oligarchy (wherein social movements, over time, become bureaucratized, more complex in terms of division of labor—resulting in a few movement elites monopolizing decision-making power over movement priorities, and in the adoption of conservative movement tactics associated more with organizational survival than progressive political change), and the specific scope conditions under which this iron law does or does not hold. This theoretical gap perhaps reflects gaps in Nicholls's (already-sizable) source material. In the Appendix's outline of Nicholls's methodology, it is a little unclear how many regional organizational leaders were interviewed and consulted in background conversations. Further, Nicholls's review of newspaper databases seems to only consider "local" and "federal" organizations (which might suggest a lack of *public* political engagement on the part of regional organizations, rather than a lack of political engagement altogether), and his review of organizational archives is limited to national organizations. Future research could easily build on Nicholls's brilliant work, by illuminating why and when regional organizations are politically unproductive, as well as by perhaps detailing the challenges associated with studying the political role of such organizations in a movement where local and national organizations take the fore.

Rigorously corroborated, theoretically inspiring, and yet impressively readable, this book has much to offer students and scholars at all levels. For undergraduate and graduate students of social movements, immigration and/or urban politics, this book offers an accessible account of one of the most powerful national social movements in American history. For urban scholars, this book makes a compelling case for the importance of space, scale and discourse in analyses of social movements and contentious politics more generally.

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Making sense of incentives: Taming business incentives to promote prosperity, by
Timothy J. Bartik, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 2019

Amazon's recent demand to know, King Lear-like, which city loves me the most in order to decide where to locate a second headquarters, its decision to land in New York given the offer of billions of dollars, and the subsequent successful local political effort to drive the company away, brought prominent media attention to the uses of incentives to attract big businesses to urban areas. Providing important context for stories like this, Timothy Bartik carefully shows how to evaluate such development offers and concludes that most of them probably never pay off for the communities. For example, most new jobs created will go to the outsiders who come to town, rather than to the original residents. Likewise, support for businesses that mainly rely on a local market often take patronage away from other local businesses, not increasing the benefit to the area. "At least 75 percent of the time, incentives are all costs with no job creation benefits" (p. 26). Indeed, money spent on education, skill development, and infrastructure is likely to have bigger payoffs. The author asserts that, unfortunately, funds for business incentives often compete, at least partially, with funding for those activities that are most effective for improving employment-based incomes.

And the impact of business incentives is not only local, but regional and national in scope. Bartik addresses a common question about the impact of competition for business incentives among and between states and regions, as well as on the net total for the nation. In almost all cases, the answer is that there is no net gain—and, in some cases, the competition results in a net loss.

Although *Making Sense of Incentives* makes the strongest case for understanding the limits of using business incentives for economic development, the author does note some cases where they can work—for example, attracting businesses to low-income, high-unemployment areas through such programs as enterprise empowerment or opportunity zones where new job opportunities could help mop up unemployment. Another example is encouraging the development of high-tech clusters where there are significant agglomeration effects, although less likely to benefit low-income residents. Overall, however, because the emphasis is on the limitations and negative impact of uses of incentives, Bartik's analysis would have been strengthened with more detailed discussion of the social and political consequences, along with the economic impact, of these development deals.

The Amazon story noted above, for example, perfectly fits Bartik's analysis, but it includes important kinds of details that he does not elaborate on in his book. In opening a second headquarters in Long Island City, Queens, for example, Amazon's CEOs and stockholders, already among the wealthier Americans, stood to benefit most from the government gift of tax dollars; new employees would likely be lured to the area by new job opportunities; developers and realtors would make money as property values increased. But local residents, most of whom are moderate- and low-income individuals and families, would bear the brunt of these increases in their property values and housing costs. Existing properties would likely be taken off the tax rolls to make ways for the (untaxed) new construction. The population of homeless people would potentially increase. New investments in education would be urgently needed. And, in terms of infrastructure challenges,