**Chris Zepeda-Millán.** *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017. 295 pp. ($29.99 paper).

In 2006, thousands of immigrants took to the streets across the United States to protest H.R. 4437, known as the Sensenbrenner bill, named after the Republican congressman from Wisconsin. This bill would have made it a federal crime for citizens to assist undocumented immigrants. While the bill did not pass, it ignited a social movement that has without question shaped U.S. politics. Chris Zepeda-Millán's book is the definitive account of how these protests emerged and their impact on local, state, and U.S. politics. Richly informed, theoretically rich, and meticulous, this book is a must-read for anyone interested in social movements, Latino politics, and immigration policy.

Before discussing the substance of Zepeda-Millán's book, a brief note about the research methodology is in order. The book is based on 131 semi-structured interviews in four cities between 2006 and 2009 combined with statistical and survey evidence from reputable sources. His research design is well explained in the appendix, which painstakingly details the careful design and methodologically informed approach of the book. As an activist himself, Zepeda-Millán relies on his own personal contacts from Los Angeles in his interviews and reflects in an important way the role of "biases" in social science research. This appendix is essential reading for graduate students and other researchers who are interested in conducting high quality and methodologically rigorous qualitative research.

Because the immigrant rights movement did not begin in 2006, the book begins with a contextual analysis of immigration policy since the Hart Cellar Act of 1965. In particular, Zepeda-Millán takes us through the 1970s and 1980s and how immigration policy has not always had a restrictive bent. Indeed, President Ronald Reagan signed IRCA in 1986 granting amnesty to thousands of immigrants in the United States. Because of the growth of immigrants between 1990 and 2000, we have seen a backlash culminating in a patchwork of restrictive policies most recently exemplified by the crackdown on sanctuary cities as well as state restrictions such as Arizona's SB 1070.

Zepeda-Millán focuses on three cities in his analysis of the 2006 marches. He examines Los Angeles, one of the most high-profile cities in the immigrant rights movement. In addition, New York City and Fort Myers, Florida provide regional and ethnic diversity since the population of these two cities is more diverse, with Dominicans and other non-Mexican groups involved in the marches.

Zepeda-Millán argues that HR 4437 triggered a widespread individual and collective threat culminating in collective action. Immigrant group membership was fostered by a hostile external threat, which in turn led to a heightened sense of group consciousness. This sense of linked fate is observed in all three locations, and pre-existing social networks such as churches, soccer leagues, and other community-based organizations harnessed their efforts for political action.

Zepeda-Millán's book also examines the important role of Spanish language media in this social movement. Especially in Los Angeles, with DJ's such as Piolín, Spanish language media played an indispensable role in giving voice to organizers who leveraged these considerable audiences to take action. This section of the book is quite impressive because it demonstrates an in depth knowledge of the role of the mass media in the success of the mobilization in Los Angeles during this time period.

While the title of the book implies an analysis of Latino mass mobilization, Zepeda-Millán also examines the role of different coalitions in the immigrant rights movement. In particular, Asian American groups including Chinese and Korean organizations were also active in New York but so many diverse groups yielded an underwhelming protest movement in that city. Mexican-origin immigrants clearly felt more threatened by the Sensenbrenner bill and responded in a more tangible way in New York City.

After 2006, in the absence of any federal immigration legislation, states and localities began to implement measures aimed at dealing with the perceived rising numbers of immigrants. Backlash against the rising influence of Latinos took many forms. The Department of Homeland Security began the so-called 287 (g) program which collaborated with local law enforcement agencies to identify undocumented immigrants, detain them, and begin deportation proceedings. States also passed laws enacted new enforcement measures, most notably Arizona's "show me your papers" law. The city of Farmers Branch, Texas passed an ordinance enacting penalties for renting apartments and homes to undocumented immigrants.

In the aftermath of the marches of 2006, immigration reform failed during the waning years of the George W. Bush presidency. President Obama promised immigration reform when he ran for president, but instead focused on passing the Affordable Care Act during his first term with a Democratic majority in Congress. Despite his appeals to the Latino community, President Obama continued enforcing immigration policies by deporting more non-citizens than any previous president. One area that the book could have been more explicit about is the role of party politics in shaping immigration policy. In particular, an examination of how the Republican party has in a short time period transitioned from a pro-business free market approach to a restrictionist and nativist viewpoint while the Democratic party has embraced what Tichenor calls the "cosmopolitan" view of expanded rights and admissions. Both political parties, it seems, have incentives to appeal to their bases with fiery nativist rhetoric in the case of Republicans and promises to protect immigrants in the case of Democrats.

Zepeda-Millán makes the case in his conclusion that the rise of Donald Trump and his emphasis on immigration enforcement represents the most blatant and transparent backlash against Latino immigrants in the United States. As the issue of immigration shows no sign of going away, this book is as timely as ever. While the conclusion only hints at the potential reaction to the policies of the Trump Administration, the next question becomes: at what point will marches and mobilization occur in support of DACA and in opposition to the border wall? It seems that many of the policies at the state level and the federal level would have inspired

responses exceeding that of the 2006 marches.  As with most policies, gridlock and stalemate continue to dominate Washington, with all sides doubling down on their positions.

Immigration policy will continue to drive American politics for the foreseeable future, and this book is must reading for anyone interested in American politics. With Latinos comprising 18 percent of the U.S. population and significantly higher in states such as California and Texas, the future of American politics simply cannot be understood without understanding the role of race and ethnicity.  Zepeda-Millán's book is a perfect place to begin to understand the role of race, ethnicity, and immigration in modern day American politics.

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