Answers to these questions await more data and additional analysis. Huber and Stephens's book is a terrific launching pad.

Local Protest, Global Movements: Capital, Community, and State in San Francisco. By Karl Beitel. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013. Pp. x+219. $29.95 (paper).

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What are the prospects in the United States of building a broad, anticapitalist left movement capable of challenging the power of capital? How could various urban social movements cohere into a "genuinely counterhegemonic left-progressive urban alliance" that would be a core component of this new working class–based "antisystemic" movement (p. 150)? These are the politically relevant questions that drive activist and author Karl Beitel's study of urban social movements in San Francisco over the last half-century, *Local Protest, Global Movements*.

In contrast to postmaterialist, new social movement theorizing, the author conceptualizes the variety of land use and tenant activism struggles analyzed in the book as rooted in what James O'Connor has termed "the second contradiction" of capitalism ("The Second Contradiction of Capitalism," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 5 [1994]: 105–14). As opposed to the first contradiction located at the workplace, the second contradiction of capitalism addresses what Karl Marx termed "the conditions of production" that are required for capital accumulation but that are not produced as commodities, such as urban space and labor power. The urban social movements dealing with land use and tenant activism, which are the focus of the book, are what he terms a particular "species" of the larger "genus" of movements arising from the second contradiction (p. 52). In a critique of O'Connor, he argues that struggles around the production of urban space must be grasped not from the side of capital, but "from the vantage point of the historically and socially conditioned individual . . . and the meaning and sentiments embedded within an individual's sense of community and neighborhood" (p. 52).

Chapter 2 provides an overview of community struggles in San Francisco from the 1950s through the 1980s, including efforts to block federal highway projects, stop eviction of low-income tenants from the International Hotel, and stage ballot initiatives to win rent control. In contrast to other critical urbanists, Beitel argues that Nixon's "new federalism" in the early 1970s, and other neoliberal trends that devolved responsibilities to cities, strengthened the power of local activists to intervene in development battles. Through militant community mobilizations, nonprofit (also referred to as NGOs) housing groups were able to gain control of federal community development block grants to use for constructing affordable housing. Also, community groups mobilized to pass a number of rent- and

land-use control initiatives despite being massively outspent and vigorously opposed by developers. At the same time, the greater incorporation of nonprofits into the local state administrative apparatuses as service providers and community brokers conservatized these organizations by moving them away from disruptive protests that had garnered these concessions in the first place. In another telling, yet unmentioned, sign of nonprofit accomdationism to neoliberalism is that these groups demanded the state solve the affordable housing deficit through contracting out to the nonprofit sector, rather than through direct government-constructed and government-managed public housing.

Chapter 4 analyzes efforts to preserve affordable housing, particularly in the largely Latino Mission District, in the face gentrification pressures produced by the dot-com bubble of the late 1990s. In the face of rising rents and mass evictions—which were facilitated by Democratic mayor Willie Brown, who vehemently opposed any constraints on office and condominium development—the organizing efforts of an alliance of nonprofits was able to partially hold back the development juggernaut. In this chapter, readers are offered a peek into some of the conflicts within the nonprofit sector, such as one Latino longtime community leader accusing another NGO of "selling out the community" to developers (p. 70). Another NGO was suspect because of their collaboration with a HOPE VI privatization of a public housing development. Nonetheless, there is little coverage of privatization struggles in general, and public housing in particular, and the role of the NGOs, despite these being central terrains of conflict within "second contradiction." Indeed, as Beitel points out, the historically contingent drawing of the line between "conditions of production" produced by either commodified or noncommodified forms is a central class conflict under neoliberal capitalism. Inclusion of public housing struggles—whose drastic reduction has contributed greatly to a significant decline in the city's black population that is only addressed in a footnote (p. 198) —might have also tempered claims of success attributed to nonprofit organizing efforts during this period, further exposed their contradictions, and highlighted the negative impact of federal devolution of responsibilities to localities.

Beitel concludes that "activists in the land-use Left and tenants/housing rights" (p. 115) movements in San Francisco have been successful, through technical expertise and sustained protests over several decades, in forging a regulatory regime and avenues for mass democratic participation that have constrained the power of capital. Part of this strength is due to San Francisco real estate being a highly profitable investment destination, which provides activists added leverage to extract concessions, as well as this "left-coast city" attracting those sympathetic to the city's "libertarian" and anti-capitalist social ethos (p. 152). At the same time the Left, as shown by the splintering of the community-labor alliance effort of the San Francisco People's Organization in the mid-2000s and the ideologically amorphous and organizationally weak 2003 electoral insurgency of Green Party mayoral candidate Matt Gonzalez (chap. 6), has been unable to "unite multiple sec-

tors around a common program" (p. 156), which the author argues requires a well-organized political party.

A central factor in the Left's inability to win and retain power is, he argues, the "absorptive nature" (p. 164) of the local state that is able to incorporate challenges from community organizations "in a manner that engenders fragmentation" (p. 148). Additionally, drawing from Adolph Reed, Beitel points out how the NGOs are predisposed and amenable to the state's incorporation strategy because of the way they legitimate themselves as the voice of some aggrieved group, often defined by race or ethnicity. This claim to speak for the "community" is promoted by the local state and developers, since they are provided reasonable partners to work out community-benefit agreements and other such overhead costs for their profit-making ventures. Furthermore, "there is a material basis underpinning this style of microconstituent, quasi-corporatist politics" due to foundations and the state largely bankrolling the nonprofit sector (p. 167). This argument could have been strengthened by providing some analysis in the substantive chapters of who funded these groups and how the funding impacted their political behavior. In sum, this book, which also provides a critique the effectiveness of both regime theory and the works of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (*Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* [Verso, 1985]) and Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (*Empire* [Harvard University Press, 2000]) for building a counterhegemonic anticapitalist force, should be of interest for a broad audience of academics and activists.

Waiting for José: The Minutemen's Pursuit of America. By Harel Shapira. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2013. Pp. xxvi+176. $27.95.

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When the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps, the voluntary association that patrols the U.S.-Mexico border in order to reduce the immigration flow of undocumented immigrants, surged onto the national scene in 2005, it quickly became a lightning rod for controversy. Its members were framed by political parties, the media, and other social organizations as either protectors of America or right-wing, racist fanatics, while most of the general population knew very little about them (Pew Hispanic Center Immigration Poll, February 2006). From 2005 to 2008, Harel Shapira lived with the Minutemen, patrolled the border with them, attended meetings and protests with them, and spent over 300 hours talking with them in their homes and in the Arizona desert. The Minutemen made only one request of him: that he be fair and honest. In his book, *Waiting for José: The Minutemen's Pursuit of America*, Shapira provides us with a window into the lives and practices of a group of ideologically inconsistent, sometimes confrontational, yet ultimately sympathetic, civic-minded actors.