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.

Two of the primary questions that Shapira answers in his book are Why did these people become Minutemen and Why did they decide to voluntarily patrol the border, especially since they usually live far from it? Although prior research tends to focus on the motivating force of ideology, Shapira argues that ideology is unlikely the primary reason. The Minutemen have strong opinions regarding immigration, many of which may be legitimately considered to be anti-immigrant, ethnocentric, and even racist, yet their ideology is multifaceted, making it hard to categorize. We learn in chapter 1 that they often express admiration for illegal immigrants' work ethic and ambition and feel sympathy for their poverty and struggles. Moreover, at times, the Minutemen voice disagreements with conservatives and in many ways promote the civic engagement ideals of liberals. Shapira therefore says that "while ideology may have helped bring the Minutemen down to the border, it does not explain what they do when they get there and why they find what they do meaningful" (p. 3). Instead, he follows the ethnographic tradition of recording social practices and discovering constructed meaning to understand the Minutemen.

His main argument is that the rank-and-file members of the Minutemen, the majority of whom have a history in the armed forces, travel to the border because it is a space where they can employ their military habitus of social hierarchy, symbols, and masculinity, more freely assert their personal identity, and once again experience feelings of self-worth by protecting the nation from foreign dangers. José—the designated name for illegal immigrants—plays more of an imaginary role than an actual one in their social practices, since the Minutemen have few encounters with border crossers. The Minutemen seem to be attracted to the border because of the meetings, the social networks, the preparation for patrols, the graveyard shifts in lawn chairs with guns and night vision goggles, and the discussions of prior military experiences.

Throughout the book, Shapira complements Robert Putnam's idea of civic engagement by showing that people's biographical history in combination with a particular voluntary association in a specific location offers understanding of who remains in a group versus who leaves a group. Shapira also adds to the social movement literature by bridging resource mobilization theory with new social movement theories by developing the theoretical framework that personal identities interact with structurally defined and meaning-charged social practices. Shapira therefore focuses primarily on the behavior that group members enact during their participation in the organization rather than the factors that encouraged them to join or leave the movement.

At the same time, Shapira's emphasis on the Minutemen's need for self-fulfillment as a key to understanding their volunteerism leaves little room for a discussion of group position. All of the Minutemen's social practices could easily fall under Herbert Blumer's four tenets of developing a sense of group position: feeling superior over the minority group; feeling the minority group is alien; feeling proprietary claim over resources; and fearing the minority group is seeking those resources ("Race Prejudice as a Sense

of Group Position," *Pacific Sociological Review* 1 [1958]: 3–7). Rather than the Minutemen performing particular social practices to invigorate their individual notions of self-worth and to relieve personal feelings of nostalgia, they may be participating in a collective process whereby their group defines itself against another group in the attempt to reach the top of the intergroup hierarchy. They may not be nostalgic for their own glory days as much as they yearn for the past when their group enjoyed a more advantageous and powerful position in society. Group position processes would explain why the vast majority of the Minutemen are white males, which is a demographic composition that would not be expected if the reason behind the behavior were primarily individualistic.

Nonetheless, Shapira's research on the Minutemen also succeeds in providing a window into contemporary America because he identifies consequential and common social psychological longings, anxieties, and passions, and he shows that Americans may not be disengaging from community life as much as they are choosing their communities more carefully and creating new ways to engage civically. Finally, his work reminds us that all social groups deserve a fair and honest examination because no collection of people is simplistic and without noteworthy attributes. In the words of one of the featured Minutemen: use the scope "to get a good sense of what's there. That way later on you can pick up anything that's different" (p. 5).

*The Scramble for Citizens: Dual Nationality and State Competition for Immigrants*. By David Cook-Martín. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2012. Pp. x+205. $45.00.

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After years of studying the anti-immigrant shift in U.S. state-level laws, it was refreshing to read David Cook-Martín's *The Scramble for Citizens*, a book about immigration that considers a different dilemma: How can nations attract immigrants, forge new national identities, and become citizens? Given the debate about U.S. immigration reform, which is often punitive, xenophobic, and myopic, facts like these constantly amazed me: "By 1910, three-quarters of adults in Buenos Aires were European-born. The population of Buenos Aires multiplied twenty-six-fold in the 80-year period between 1855 and 1936" (p. 33).

But rather than panicking, expelling people, and fortifying borders, Argentina did the opposite. In 1853 the government "extended citizenship to foreigners after two years of residence and exempted them from military service for ten years after naturalization" to encourage émigrés to settle there (p. 43). In turn, migrant-sending countries such as Italy and Spain tried to retain ties to migrants and preserve their home country allegiances.

In *The Scramble for Citizens*, Cook-Martín artfully explores how and why certain states compete for immigrants. This multimethod study exam-