

media attention. We may not know the answers to these questions, but this book makes a strong case that social media and other forms of online activism should grab the attention of social movement scholars.

*Continuing La Causa: Organizing Labor in California's Strawberry Fields.* By Gilbert Felipe Mireles. Boulder, Colo.: FirstForumPress, 2013. Pp. xii+191. \$59.95.

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The only attention mainstream movement scholars have paid to the Chicano movement centers on the César Chávez–led farmworkers' movement of the 1960s and 1970s. That campaign is now nearly a half-century old and like other movements fighting entrenched inequalities, the farmworker struggle did not end with those unionization victories. Today there are about 3.5 million migrant and seasonal farmworkers in the United States, and their fight for resources and better treatment continues. What is intriguing about Gilbert Felipe Mireles's *Continuing La Causa* is that he chronicles one chapter of this ongoing struggle, namely the United Farm Workers (UFW) unionization efforts in the California strawberry industry between 1996 and 2003.

In 1997 the UFW targeted strawberry workers employed by the Coastal Berry Company, an especially large grower with multiple locations in the central coast area of California. What animates the author's interest is that on three occasions the UFW sought to represent the workers but on each occasion it lost to a loosely organized quasi union, El Comité de Trabajadores de Coastal Berry (Comité). Mireles's interest is in understanding how the more sophisticated and professional UFW was defeated by the Comité. Thus the story Mireles tells is about the conflict between these two organizations rather than between the UFW and antiunion growers, as one might expect. To unravel this unexpected conflict and outcome, Mireles used archival and legal documents and conducted 53 in-depth interviews with a variety of people, including UFW supporters, Comité organizers, strawberry pickers, local newspaper reporters, and industry representatives. These interviews took place after the unionization campaign had ended and Mireles was unable to gain access to UFW's top leadership. The interview and observational data are thus not as methodologically rigorous as those collected by Marshall Ganz on the grape boycott ("Resources and Resourcefulness," *American Journal of Sociology* 105 [2000]: 1003–62).

Mireles's thesis is that the UFW's election losses primarily were due to their lack of network ties to field workers and the threat the UFW posed to

power brokers among Coastal Berry employees. Mireles writes that the UFW had largely abandoned field organizing in the 1980s and 1990s. With the influx of Mexican immigrants during this period, this meant that the UFW had become decoupled from the pickers they were trying to organize. The UFW also employed inexperienced organizers who struggled to understand the social relations among Coastal Berry employees. In contrast, the Comité was created by Coastal Berry employees, typically those with better-paid positions like truck drivers and foremen. Unlike the UFW, the Comité had strong preexisting ties to workers, often along kinship or kinlike lines. These interpersonal ties took on added significance to the largely immigrant and undocumented workforce because the anti-immigrant hostility of the 1990s made relying on coethnic networks important for securing the necessities of life. These preexisting bonds of affection, loyalty, and reciprocity explain rank-and-file opposition to the UFW. Additionally, among the power brokers within these networks, such as those who could act as intermediaries to employment opportunities, the UFW was seen as a threat to their position of influence. For instance, their ability to assign worker positions based on favoritism rather than seniority would be undermined if the UFW succeeded.

But the battle between the two organizations did not end with the UFW's election defeats. Primarily through legal maneuverings, the UFW eventually became the sole bargaining agent of the workforce. The UFW did this because it had greater organizational capacity than the Comité. The UFW had considerable knowledge of the workings of the state labor-relations board and courtroom procedures. In an ironic twist, in these arenas they even successfully employed tactics traditionally used by growers. Especially important, they had greater access to political elites, such as the governor and state senators, and these officials exerted pressure on the state labor-relations board to side with the UFW. The UFW also had ties to celebrities, who held concerts or spoke at marches in support of the UFW, and greater access to media to publicize their claims. In contrast, the fledgling Comité struggled to bureaucratize, suffered leadership and staff instability, lacked connections to political elites and the media, and was inexperienced with legal procedures. In sum, the Comité could "outmaneuver the UFW in the fields but not in the office or courtroom" (p. 27). The Comité has since disbanded.

Those attentive to organizations will be pleased that Mireles situates his work in line with organizational theory, namely how the unfolding conflict was influenced by organizational characteristics, institutional practices, and the normative and legal framework found within organizational fields. Mireles also demonstrates nicely how social capital can both aid and impair mobility and collective mobilization among immigrants. For students

of social movements like me, it is surprising that the author does not take greater advantage of movement theory and concepts like political opportunities, target vulnerabilities, collective identity, framing, and tactical interaction, as this would better situate the work in a particularly relevant literature. Nonetheless, movement scholars can use the material he presents to address larger debates in the literature. As an example, Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward (*Poor People's Movements* [Vintage Books, 1977]) warned us some time ago about movement organizations institutionalizing, losing touch with their constituency, and becoming politically impotent. Mireles's work on the strawberry campaign both supports and refutes this. Support is seen, in that Mireles contends that the UFW has evolved into a rigid top-down organization run by an oligarchic leadership with an undemocratic structure and little grassroots participation. These organizational characteristics made mobilizing fieldworkers ineffective. Yet it was precisely their previous legislative victories, such as the creation of the state's labor relations board, as well as their close ties to political elites and legal acumen, that allowed the UFW to prevail in the long run. In short, the UFW's institutionalization made mobilization more difficult but success more likely.

*Trading Democracy for Justice: Criminal Convictions and the Decline of Neighborhood Participation.* By Traci R. Burch. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. Pp. x+253. \$25.00 (paper).

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With over 2.2 million convicted offenders housed in prison or jail and nearly 5 million additional individuals serving a probation or parole sentencing in the community, the United States is the world leader in corrections. The present correctional population reflects over four decades of the incredible growth of the criminal justice system, and an emerging body of research has established incarceration as a power engine of social inequality. In *Trading Democracy for Justice*, Traci R. Burch provides a strong contribution and extension to this line of research by examining the myriad and diverse ways that the criminal justice system affects neighborhood political participation. Much of what we know regarding politics and the criminal justice system is on how felon disenfranchisement (or voting restrictions among those with a criminal record) affects the outcomes of local, state, and national elections. Burch pushes this research agenda forward by documenting how the criminal justice system affects the political participation of entire neighborhoods and communities.