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Review of The New Immigration Federalism. Pratheepan Gulasekaram & S. Karthick Pamakrishnan. Reviewed by Elizabeth Kiehne.

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Book Reviews

Pratheepan Gulasekaram & S. Karthick Pamakrishnan, *The New Immigration Federalism*. Cambridge University Press (2015), 276 pages, \$34.99 (paperback).

The New Immigration Federalism is a critical book for anyone interested in immigration issues. The book is the first of its kind to comprehensively integrate a discussion of contemporary federal and subfederal legislation, executive actions, and judicial injunctions and enjoinments related to U.S. immigration policy. The book is surprisingly up-to-date, covering current events in immigration policy through early 2015 when the book went to press. It is timely reading for anyone attempting to understand present-day immigration policy.

This book offers insight into the complicated array of immigration policies, modern day political challenges with federal comprehensive immigration reform (CIR), and how and why immigration policymaking has largely devolved to states and localities, a phenomenon termed the 'new immigration federalism.' Drawing on empirical findings, as well as historical and doctrinal legal analysis, the authors critically examine the flaws of the conventional 'demographic necessity' argument used to justify restrictive state and local immigration legislation and enforcement. This argument, offered by politicians, restrictionist issue entrepreneurs, and the media, points to the increasing size of the undocumented immigrant population in new destination cities and federal inaction on immigration as the twin causes of subnational immigration legislation.

Drawing on their original research, the authors proffer a new model of 'polarized change,' which demonstrates the ways in which issue entrepreneurs leveraged ethnic nationalism and increased political polarization to stymie CIR. This, in turn, justified the involvement of state and local actors, leading to a rash of subfederal restrictionist immigration policy from 2005 to 2011. Thus, the authors flip the dominant narrative of demographic necessity on its head, citing the way in which

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polarized state and local immigration politics provided policy feedback that engendered a lasting congressional stalemate on immigration reform.

In the second half of the book, the authors discuss the traction gained by subfederal integrationist legislation from 2012 onward. They cite the contributing factors of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Arizona v. United States* ruling on the limitations of state authority over immigration, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), and the growing political power inherent in the Latino community evident in the 2012 presidential race. In addition to this synergistic trifecta of forces, immigrant advocacy groups used the organizational capacity and social capital they had gained during their defense against restrictive state and local policies to take a proactive stance in promoting pro-immigrant legislation. Although the authors do not forecast the success or failure of CIR, they contend that the devolution of immigration policy to states and localities is unlikely to fade away in the near future, given the persistence of political polarization.

In this well-written book, Gulasekaram and Ramakrishnan make effective use of nearly every page. They steer clear of legal jargon, making the content accessible to a wide audience including scholars, activists, practitioners, and interested citizens. The authors make clear the dizzying array of recent federal and subfederal immigration policies. Their articulation of the collection of trends in state and local policy is comprehensive and brilliantly set in a broader conceptual framework. Their polarized change model is grounded in empirical data and cogent argument and offers readers a rich understanding of the origins of the momentous shift to the new immigration federalism.

While this book is worthwhile and powerfully written, it has two noteworthy weaknesses. At the end, the authors offered the possibility that the new immigration federalism may be beneficial and suggested that policy uniformity might not be preferable or necessary. However, this position fails to consider that only Congress can legislate a more permanent solution for the 11.3 million people who lack legal status in the U.S., such as pathways to residency and citizenship. It neglects to acknowledge the serious holding pattern unauthorized immigrants face without the opportunity to regularize

their immigration status, costing them access to gainful employment, higher education, and full social and civic benefits. Additionally, the authors argue that ethnic nationalism was an energizing force facilitating the spread of restrictive immigration policy; however, discussion is lacking to further convince readers of its role. Despite these limitations, this book is highly readable and an excellent source on these timely issues.

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Kelly Ray Knight, *addicted. pregnant. poor.* Duke University Press (2015), 328 pages, \$94.95 (hardcover), \$24.95 (paperback).

Employing an ethnographic methodology, Kelly Ray Knight examines the tumultuous lives of unstably housed women as they navigate through addiction and pregnancy. She expands existing literature by describing underlying constructs of addicted pregnancy through the lens of multiple professionals involved in the lives of women who live and work in the San Francisco daily-rent hotels. Through observation and narrative inquiry, Knight explores the larger sociological constructs of how we understand addiction and mental illness in the United States in the 21st century. Following the lives of several addicted and pregnant women in the daily-rent hotels over a four-year period, we learn of these women's experiences navigating ineffective social programs, negotiating coercive structural policies, and surviving unimaginable suffering, thus illuminating the reality faced by drug addicted women.

The book's first two chapters introduce the reader to the concept of consumption and insecurity in the daily-rent hotels, as addicted and pregnant women fight for survival and stability through consumption, as well as the concept of temporality as it pertains to antagonistic paradigms facing addicted, pregnant, and impoverished women. Through descriptions of temporal constraints facing these women, the author explores the demands of multiple conflicting priorities, while expanding the understanding of the intersecting needs facing addicted women over the course of their lives. Persistent residential transience as women navigate temporal constraints results in women often becoming indebted to the private hotels for past due rent, thus being forced to continue to engage in predatory