

*Gigante*, who says that Miami is a vehicle for Latin dreams comparable to the place of New York's Madison Square Garden and Radio City Music Hall for American dreams. The annual Art Basel show draws international buyers on private jets. There is a mass influx of younger people, including transnationals that form a significant market for the gastronomic, arts, and entertainment sectors of the creative economy; but Miami has not drawn much high technology venture capital, as it lacks a research and development complex like Stanford or MIT.

The lack of place attachment in Miami, however, along with the challenges of persisting social inequality work against the development of a coherent civic identity and impede metropolitan aspirations as a global city in charge of its destiny. Wealthy districts like the downtown Bayfront, Brickell Avenue financial district, and tony Coconut Grove and Coral Gables are a sharp contrast with the impoverishment found in Overtown and Liberty City and in gritty suburbs like Hialeah and Opa-Locka. The authors find evidence of socioeconomic bifurcation also in the Cuban enclave. The children of first-wave exiles of the 1960s have been able to advance, while the second-generation descendants of the 1980 Mariel boatlift refugees and others have made less progress.

The authors excoriate Miami as a metropolis of obscene capitalism, a city rife with incidents of tax evasion, flight capital, secret accounts, and money laundering. They chide the hollowness of excessive consumption and uncover a variety of forms of urban crime spanning petty and anomic violence to high-level financial corruption. There have been bursts of passionate neighborliness among the polarized and culturally fragmented racial and ethnic communities, especially in the aftermath of destructive hurricanes. Miami has rebuilt itself from the narrative of "Paradise Lost," as reported by a *Time* magazine article in 1981 during the years of the Mariel exodus, and *Miami Vice*—a parish city, but still on the precipice, with new tensions and struggles.

The earlier book portrayed Miami as a "city on the edge" contending with racial struggle. This time the "global edge" has revealed growing convergences but also

new perils. The divisions between African Americans and Cubans have abated somewhat, with black residents more accepting of the progressive Latinization of Miami. A black middle class is increasingly visible in Miami Gardens. There is also cooperation between Latin and Jewish elites, exhibited in charitable giving for the arts. But the authors find that while racial confrontation has receded, the new social order is still relatively amorphous and is wrecked by splintered interests and a relatively weak collective sense of belonging. They quote an Anglo educator and civic leader who opines: "Miami today is a case of hyper-fragmentation: too many commissioners, too many voices and no one really in control" (p. 13).

Maps by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration illustrate areas of the city that would be submerged by one-foot, five-foot, and seven-foot sea level rises. A 2016 photo from the *Miami Herald* satirically illustrates a five-foot octopus left beached by storm water in a condominium dweller's basement parking spot. How resilient will Miami be, the authors ask, as the city confronts new serious dilemmas such as transportation gridlock, hurricanes, and the threat of climate-change-induced rising seas?

---

*Solidarity in Practice: Moral Protest and the U.S. Security State*, by **Chandra Russo**. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. 210 pp. \$28.99 paper. ISBN: 9781108460996.

BERNADETTE NADYA JAWORSKY  
 Masaryk University  
 jaworsky@fss.muni.cz

---

*Solidarity in Practice: Moral Protest and the U.S. Security State*, by Chandra Russo, is a compelling ethnography that offers a glimpse into the world of activists who contest what the author calls the "U.S. security state," or the "amalgamation of domestic and foreign military, carceral and policing priorities that coincide with the global transition to neoliberalism" (p. 14). In the Trump era, such a study is not only timely but also helps us to better understand alternatives to traditional forms of political protest. In an

atmosphere where nothing seems to touch unjust and harmful policies in the United States, and draconian measures emerge one after another, this book about the practice of solidarity in high-risk activism is especially welcome and even hopeful.

In this book, Russo deftly defines, develops, and elaborates her main conceptual innovation—"solidarity witness"—through ethnographic case studies of three activist communities, or "movement groups" (pp. 11–12). The School of the Americas Watch strives to close the military training facility at Fort Benning, Georgia, from which countless graduates have moved on to commit serious human rights violations across Central and South America. As part of the U.S.-Mexico border justice movement, the annual Migrant Trail Walk enacts a pilgrimage of sorts in solidarity with migrant border crossers facing a treacherous journey through the desert. Witness Against Torture is a grassroots mobilization advocating for closure of the Guantánamo Bay Detention Center. The three cases exhibit similarities as well as differences, offering a ripe field for comparative analysis that "explores what it means to engage in a practice of ethical witness as an expression and instantiation of solidarity across cavernous divides of wealth and power" (p. 2). The two stated research goals, namely to see how activists imagine and enact solidarity across such divides and to understand the political avenues available to them, are amply met through an engaging and persuasive ethnographic account that reads so well I would call it gripping.

Part of what sets this book apart from others that examine social movements in which witnessing is a key aspect is the fact that it is looking at the political activities of relatively privileged groups, predominantly white, faith-inspired practitioners of nonviolence who act in solidarity with the targets of the U.S. security state. They are not directly affected by the forms of injustice they battle, but rather act as movement allies. Russo was inspired to undertake the study through her own participation in the Migrant Trail Walk, for the first time in 2007 and repeatedly since then. She characterizes her positionality as "explicitly quite close" and sees engaged

research like this as itself a form of "witness" (p. 13). The reader is invited to be a witness as well, through some stunning and often stark photographs, which add to the richness of the already vivid descriptions.

The book is laid out in seven chapters, and each is compelling in its own right. The opening chapter is refreshing; what can often be a slog through context, conceptual terminology, and theoretical background is instead very readable, crisp, and to the point. I am also impressed by Chapter Two, which offers the historical and social context and origin story of the three groups. There is a good balance between too much detail and not enough to situate the reader adequately. The four empirical chapters use generous excerpts from the author's field notes and quotes from activists, which brings the ethnography to life in a vivid and captivating way. The excerpts are followed by astute theoretical observations that call upon an array of relevant sociologists and other authors. The theoretical parts aren't a trudge, but rather a breeze. That is not to say that they are superficial or lack depth. Russo probes analytical connections between theory and data in a comprehensive and convincing way.

Chapter Three is about forms of ritual protest as testimony. A key aspect of solidarity witness is the idea of "witness as a foremost means of enacting solidarity with the state's targets by standing up to state violence" (p. 21). Russo looks at public mourning, participation in the court system, and the visual aspects of ritual protest, including the subversive use of symbols and spaces. In Chapter Four, "The Visceral Logics of Embodied Resistance," the activists' physicality and embodied practices are highlighted. Through such embodiment, they "come to see, feel, and understand state violence in ways they could not otherwise . . . making the state's targets, which the dominant culture disavows, harder to ignore and hold at a moral distance" (p. 101).

Turning to the activists' ascetic political practices, Chapter Five shows convincingly how relinquishing comforts and engaging in fasting, pilgrimage, or jail time resists individualism and helps develop "prefigurative community," in which "movement groups

model the kinds of relationships they wish to see in society writ large" (p. 140). Chapter Six offers a fitting capstone to the analysis, revealing the ways in which the "complications" of solidarity witness manifest. Russo made a conscious decision to relegate the conflictual aspects of these groups' mobilizations to a separate chapter, which works very effectively. Of particular note are the sections addressing issues of racial justice, offering a complex and nuanced discussion of how the activists manage the exclusion and micro-aggressions that inevitably arise within the groups.

The "so what" question is easily answered in a book like this, and the concluding chapter does a great job summarizing the overall findings and placing them in a broader perspective. The movement groups in the study "engage in practices that are frankly illogical if measured by instrumental political goals. Their pursuit of solidarity makes little sense by narrow understandings of self-interest" (p. 25). So what does success mean—have they "won" their struggles? Russo points out that they are looking to affect social structures, with policy goals as secondary. And although they may face a "particularly dark time," we learn from their experiences that contesting the status quo requires tremendous endurance and commitment, that piecemeal policy change at the nation-state level makes less sense than it used to, and that the policies of the U.S. security state depend on "narrow ways of seeing, knowing and living" (p. 183). Through their practices, these activists make visible state violence and abuse of the most vulnerable among us. The book ends on a hopeful note, highlighting the transformational potential of their work.

It is difficult to find flaws in a book as well-written and eloquently articulated as this one. I would have appreciated more of an explicit focus on the cultural processes of meaning-making. The rich data Russo collected lend themselves to a deeper and thicker hermeneutical analysis that would elaborate the structures of meaning underpinning the work of the movement groups. Likewise, although performativity is mentioned, it could be theorized more fully. One glaring question that also comes to mind is how the groups in the study mobilize online

and use social media. While that would warrant a different type of analysis, I think Russo could have at least briefly referred to these processes and their potential relevance to the study. Notwithstanding these critiques, this book provides a great read in troubling times for those interested in social movements, politics, high-risk activism, or social solidarity. It will appeal to students as well as seasoned scholars in these fields.

---

*Unequal and Unrepresented: Political Inequality and the People's Voice in the New Gilded Age*, by **Kay Lehman Schlozman, Henry E. Brady, and Sidney Verba**. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018. 333 pp. \$28.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780691180557.

JOSH PACEWICZ  
Brown University  
pacewicz@brown.edu

---

From the writing team of Kay Lehman Schlozman, Henry E. Brady, and Sidney Verba comes *Unequal and Unrepresented: Political Inequality and the People's Voice in the New Gilded Age*, another fine volume about inequality, political participation, and political influence in the United States. As the third title from these authors on the topic, *Unequal and Unrepresented* differs from preceding works mostly in its focus on extreme Gilded-age inequity and, naturally, its related contemporary source material. The volume offers little in the way of sustained, overarching argument. But it would be a valuable addition to the bookshelf of any sociologist looking for a comprehensive reference guide to the literature on stratification and political participation—or, for that matter, anyone with an amateur interest in American politics.

The core of the volume offers an overview of research on the political effects of income inequity. Chapters detail differences in the policy preferences of individuals in different income quintiles as well as their varying propensities to engage in party politics, engage in politics via the internet and social media, and join social movements. Two more chapters detail the nature and activities of organized lobbying groups. The authors draw