

independent presidential campaign on an anti-NAFTA platform, won 19 percent of the popular vote to become the second-most successful third-party candidate in the twentieth century. His “giant sucking sound [from Mexico]” remark on NAFTA’s impact on American jobs captured popular imagination about free trade in the years following. Also, throughout the 1980s, the Reagan administration was in fact quite mercantilist and protectionist, thanks to the pressure of its manufacturer allies. As such, how did the business and political establishment stifle their internal opposition to free trade? Did anti-trade activists attempt to build an alliance with the anti-trade element among the elite to advance their course? If not, why not?

It is too demanding to expect a compact book like this one to deal with all aspects of the issue at hand. The gap in the book’s analysis, as discussed above, is not a deficiency itself. It can become a contribution if it inspires others to look at this aspect of elite division during the NAFTA battle. The bottom line is, this book offer us a sound and rich account of the rise of anti-free trade grassroots politics that every educated reader concerned about the future of trade liberalization should read.

Raising Global Families: Parenting, Immigration, and Class in Taiwan and the U.S., by **Pei-Chia Lan**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018. 237 pp. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 9781503605909.

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In *Raising Global Families: Parenting, Immigration, and Class in Taiwan and the U.S.*, sociologist Pei-Chia Lan offers her readers several timely interventions into ongoing conversations about social class, immigration, and parenting. First, the book connects the parenting strategies of a diverse sample of ethnic Chinese parents to the opportunity structures that appear against the shifting sands of global neoliberal capitalism. Second, Lan challenges the so-called “tiger mom” phenomenon popularized by Amy Chua’s 2011

book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*. Finally, this book is an important contribution to the body of scholarly work that has emerged since Annette Lareau’s 2003 *Unequal Childhoods: Race, Class, and Family Life*. *Raising Global Families* does all of this and more in a sea of narrative-rich data presented to readers as intimate stories of family life.

Data for this book come from the author’s multi-sited ethnographic study examining class-based variations in parenting strategies in Taiwan and the United States. Specifically, Lan performs a cross-case analysis of four groups of ethnic Chinese parents: middle-class and working-class parents in Taiwan, and middle-class and working-class Chinese immigrant parents in the United States. A major strength of this work is that Lan is careful to maintain within-class diversity and never allows social class categories to become monolithic. Another strength is the impressive amount of narrative-rich data presented throughout the book. The abundance of data produced from a multi-sited study has the potential to be overwhelming for audiences, but this book is organized so well, with each substantive chapter detailing one of the four case categories, that conscientious readers will never feel lost. In the end, what really makes this book a stand-out in the field of family studies is the added analytic layer of migrant status. This is accomplished through the author’s exploration of the distinct parenting strategies among families who remain in their home country and those who migrate abroad to the United States. For each site, Lan compares and contrasts the narrative realities of middle- and working-class families in detail, making this work an important contribution to sociological knowledges about globalization, the family, and class reproduction.

The main thesis of *Raising Global Families* is an exploration of what Lan calls global security strategies. These are the child-rearing strategies parents employ as they deal with the various conditions and constraints that have emerged under neoliberal global capitalism. Lan takes the time to outline the types of security strategies she finds and how they connect to parents’ hopes and anxieties about the global world in which we live. In doing so, she shows readers how

security strategies are inherently dependent on class-based resources and migrant status. The stories presented in the book are ultimately stories about how parents struggle against or benefit from the structured inequalities of race and class. Whether it is the stagnant class mobility of the Taiwanese working class or the blocked mobility of the immigrant middle class facing the “bamboo ceiling” in America, it is clear that class and mobility shape parenting for ethnic Chinese families on both sides of the Pacific Ocean.

Some of the most brilliant insights of this book illustrate how tightly political economics and family strategies are linked. For example, Lan describes how Southeast Asian women who marry working-class men in Taiwan (“marriage migrants”) are experiencing a shift in their value as mothers. New political hopes of an independent Taiwan play out in economic policies that focus on strengthening market and diplomatic relations with Southeast Asian countries. Previously viewed as inadequate and illegitimate parents, mothers from Southeast Asia are being redefined as a national asset who can deliver multicultural capital to their children. Of course, the increased value of particular women in any society is never a straightforward achievement when that value is tied to neoliberal and geopolitical motivations. Lan explains that, through political slogans and popular discourses, the ethnic cultures of immigrant mothers are reduced to a packaged good that the state is leveraging toward political-economic ends. Another negative consequence of this value shift is the national pressure placed on multi-ethnic Taiwanese children who now embody the state’s Southbound Policy. Lan foresees issues with the ghettoization of opportunities for multi-ethnic children and broader influences that will channel them into narrow career paths.

In Chapter Four, *Raising Global Families* challenges the “tiger mom” stereotype by contextualizing it against the dual challenges of globalization and American racism. According to the author, highly educated middle-class immigrant parents face blocked mobility in their own careers, and many respond through strategies they hope will prevent the same from happening to their children. Lan found that many Chinese

immigrant parents prepare their children for both the racialized American labor market and global competition (especially the economic rise of China) by emphasizing high levels of academic achievement and through Chinese language-learning and other programs that can turn their ethnic heritage into cultural capital. Because these strategies emerge as a pattern, they are frequently misread as an essential cultural trait among Asian mothers. If one were to completely discount the effects of American racism, which requires nonwhites to work twice as hard as whites for the same rewards, and globalization, which shifts the sites of economic promise as capital moves across continents, then the “tiger mom” phenomenon makes sense as a cultural rather than structural pattern. Lan presents her readers with layers of evidence to support the latter: that what appears to be a cultural difference is more accurately understood as a cultural response to macro-level structural constraints.

As a point of contrast, Lan demonstrates how the parenting strategies of working-class immigrants are not idealized in model minority tropes. While both middle-class and working-class immigrants send their children on return trips to China or Taiwan to be with family and strengthen cultural ties to home, working-class immigrants are frequently criticized for the practice. This criticism has gone as far as media exposés of so-called Chinese “satellite children,” which resemble a form of moral panic over immigrant parenting styles. Again, Lan demonstrates in detail how family practices are best understood as a cultural response to structural constraints. For example, the unaffordability of childcare and legal restrictions on corporal punishment in the United States motivate working-class immigrant parents to utilize what the author calls transnational childcare and transnational discipline. The first is a cross-border form of the long-standing cultural norm of multi-generational childcare; the second occurs when immigrant parents feel delegitimized and frustrated with their children’s misbehavior combined with nostalgia for parenting styles back home. Parents will send their children to live with grandparents for a time with the hope of instilling values in children who misbehave.

Both the tiger mom and satellite children stereotypes highlight our social tendency in the United States to individualize social problems like class inequality rather than view them for the structural issues they are. This is a poignant argument in the contemporary moment when our failure to see social structure has led us deeper into a politics of scapegoating and blame, rather than toward the building of much-needed class solidarity. In her conclusion, Lan briefly but wisely connects our problem of individualization to things like Brexit and the ascendance of Donald Trump to the U. S. presidency.

Raising Global Families has many strengths, and its weaknesses do not appear until the very end. Throughout the book the author expands on several concepts, yet in the end there is a dearth of significant theory work. The transnational shift in perspective offered up in *Raising Global Families* seems significant enough to have produced more macro-level theoretical insights, especially as Lan is working in a more intersectional and transnational framework than many of the scholars who developed the concepts she uses (e.g., Pugh, Lareau). But the book never quite goes there. At times it feels as though the Lareau findings intrude on the experiences of Lan's respondents. Through the rear-view mirror of family studies, Lareau's categories of *concerted cultivation* and *accomplishment of natural growth* look flat and simplistic against the depth and complexity of *Raising Global Families* and other recent studies of gender, migration, and the family. We can understand why Lan pins her analysis to Lareau's seminal framework, but I can't help thinking she should have given herself more credit and taken things further. Why not do more than problematize concepts by going for the critical takedown of Lareau's original thesis, especially as it pertains to race and ethnicity?

References

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From Taverns to Gastropubs: Food, Drink, and Sociality in England, by **Christel Lane**. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018. 229 pp. \$41.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780198826187.

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Is there a more iconic social gathering place than the English pub? A cozier one? Luke-warm bitter ales, hearths, wood-burning stoves, mismatched wooden furniture (lots of wood everywhere, really), and low ceilings provide the setting and props for locals to hold conversations that have no beginning or end. Short for "public house," the pub has been a focal point for English community life and socializing for centuries. And as a business concept and model it has been exported all over the world. But on English soil the pub is under threat. According to CAMRA (Campaign for Real Ale), a consumer organization, traditional pubs are either closing or changing their methods of operation at a rate of thirty per week. What is happening to a social institution that has lasted since the twelfth century? How do the social forces influencing it today mirror or deviate from those from prior eras? And if pubs are interwoven with English social life, what do the changes that are happening to them say about English national identity?

In her new book, *From Taverns to Gastropubs: Food, Drink, and Sociality in England*, Christel Lane uses archival research and interviews to tackle these questions of the pub's historical trajectory and current position in English social life. She spends a great deal of time teasing out the distinctions between three main venues for social gathering in English history (we don't get to what's happening today until page 125): inns, taverns, and pubs. Established for the traveling and local gentry, inns provided drink, food, and lodgings, and generally gave off an air of gentility. Taverns mainly emerged with the twin processes of urbanization and mercantile (and later industrial) capitalism, which expanded cities and the number of wealthy inhabitants, who needed a place to socialize. They offered good food and