

economy, thus raising the question of how it can be attributed to the specific dynamics of the automobile value chain. The book thus reads like a parallel discussion of the auto industry and its labor relations rather than a causal account of their connection. And although the book usefully foregrounds the significance of regional social structures, its mesolevel of analysis prevents a thorough picture of regional agrarian, caste, and gender relations of the three states comprising the National Capital Region. While it also describes the auto industry in several other regions of the country, it eschews a formal comparison that might have illuminated why regular and informal workers unite in some instances, such as the MSIL strike, but remain divided in others. While labor scholars will quibble about Barnes's use of "informal" and "precarious," I would have liked to have seen more substitution of sociological concepts for industry jargon (OEMs, tiers, and so on). Several chapters are heavy on medium-grained descriptive overviews that will be of interest mainly to students of the auto industry.

These observations aside, Barnes's book importantly illustrates the specificity of industrialization in the Global South today and its limited prospects for driving broad-based economic development. It is not simply that countries like India have yet to replace their vast informal economies with organized manufacturing; it is also that organized manufacturing looks very different today—not only in its labor relations but in its declining labor intensity—than it did when it powered economic development in Western countries. This raises troubling questions about how capitalist growth will generate decent livelihoods for the hundreds of millions of people being expelled from agriculture across the Global South.

*Suspect Citizens: What 20 Million Traffic Stops Tell Us about Policing and Race.* By Frank R. Baumgartner, Derek Epp, and Kelsey Shoub. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Pp. xv+277. \$99.99 (cloth); \$24.99 (paper).

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Andrew Ferguson's assessment of big data in contemporary police work (*The Rise of Big Data Policing: Surveillance, Race, and the Future of Law Enforcement* [New York University Press, 2017]) speaks about the promise of "blue data" (data about the police) for monitoring and improving police accountability and practices. *Suspect Citizens*, written by a distinguished team of political scientists, delivers on that promise by providing an extraordinary study of racial profiling in North Carolina using the state's mandated traffic stop database. In the era of big data policing, Baumgartner, Epp, and Shoub demonstrate the value of data mining police practices to reveal racial disparities in 20 million recorded traffic stops between 2002 and 2016. As the

authors note, most readers will not be surprised by the core findings: persons of color are overpoliced by every measure used (stop rates, search rates, arrest rates), and the authors' careful analysis supports a systemic—institutional and organizational—rather than a “bad apples” explanation for racial disparities. Rather, these findings are the starting point to address other issues such as how police practices are inefficient and costly and erode community trust and how changes in police practices at the organizational level (e.g., focusing on traffic safety, requiring signed search consent forms) and the exercise of political power by communities of color can reduce profiling behavior.

The book is an important historical and contemporary window into one state's experience with one of the so-called remedies advocated by social scientists, police practitioners, and politicians in the late 1990s to reduce racial profiling by the police. Chapter 2 provides an insightful overview of the originating legislation advocated by key black legislators in North Carolina and how the data were collected but never analyzed (contrary to the law) until 2011 when Baumgartner and colleagues take up the task. Chapters 3–7 rigorously examine who gets stopped, searched, and arrested, demonstrating patterns at the individual officer and agency level statewide. Chapter 7 is notable for its sole focus on the Hispanic experience of disparity, and chapter 8 stands out as an examination of how political power (as measured by presence, voice, and representation) increases a group's influence over policy and changes police behavior: specifically, racial disparities are less severe in communities where there is increased black political leverage. The authors are very careful with their methodological assumptions and analyses in these empirical chapters, taking a conservative approach to strengthen their findings and arguments. For example, one problem that has plagued profiling research is the “baseline” problem, that is, how to estimate the actual driving and/or traffic violators populating the roadways, which are then used to assess police stop behaviors and outcomes. Baumgartner et al.'s solution is to use driving behavior data from the National Household Transportation Survey rather than simply using residence population numbers. Regardless of how persuaded one may be by this baseline in terms of documenting racial disparities in who gets stopped, there is no doubt about the differential treatment minorities receive once a stop has been made, as these data are the universe of all recorded stops for the time period.

Appendix E is a short but very interesting overview of 14 shortcomings with these official data, not the least of which is the authors' assertions that they could discern a “massive failure” of officers to record stops or records lost through computer error. One is reminded of Egon Bittner's caution to criminologists that when it comes to using official data, one must take into account the “good” organizational reasons that produce “bad” records for social science research. To be clear, this does not diminish the present study whatsoever given the clear racial disparities found in *recorded* stop data. The challenge of determining the number of unrecorded stops will require systematic deployment of already existing surveillance technologies monitoring the police and public and will be the sort of political decision-making process

future social scientists will no doubt analyze. They can use Baumgartner and colleagues as a model for this research.

Given the findings of racial disparity over time, why the recording of traffic stops as a means of holding police accountable did not decrease racial disparities is not specifically addressed. But the reader is provided insight into law enforcement resistance to accepting findings of disparity and, in chapter 9, how these data *could* be used to promote change within police departments by focusing on safety stops, reducing investigatory pretext stops, and using these data as opportunities for police training. The Fayetteville, Durham, and Chapel Hill police departments' experiment of requiring written consent forms are important examples of the possibilities for reform and the challenges police executives, politicians, and communities face in dealing with this problem. The authors conclude by providing a hopeful message emphasizing how police organizations can change and that "blue data" can and should be used to assist organizations in this effort. But also, strengthening the democratic process is a critical piece of the reform equation.

*Brokered Subjects: Sex, Trafficking, and the Politics of Freedom.* By Elizabeth Bernstein. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018. Pp. xii+304. \$90.00 (cloth); \$30.00 (paper).

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Vast quantities of ink have been spilled on the topic of "human trafficking" over the past 20 or so years, not just by those claiming it is an urgent problem and advocating for policies to combat it, but also by critics of antitrafficking policies and of the discourse on "trafficking" more generally. So much has been written, in fact, that it is hard to imagine an original intervention on the topic. Elizabeth Bernstein's *Brokered Subjects: Sex, Trafficking, and the Politics of Freedom* nonetheless manages to make such a contribution.

The book's central focus is on the social construction of trafficking as an object of moral and political intervention and activism. In this respect, it draws on and continues the scholarship that critiques trafficking discourse as an interpretative grid that makes (some) members of (some) marginalized groups—including sex workers, irregular migrants, and runaway youth—visible as "victims of trafficking" while rendering invisible the political and structural roots of group marginalization (criminalization and stigmatization of sex workers, immigration regimes, neoliberal economic reform, austerity, and so on). It also continues scholarly interest in the double character of trafficking in dominant discourse as simultaneously a security threat and a humanitarian problem and reads very well alongside Nicola Mai's analysis of "sexual humanitarianism as a strategic vector of neoliberalism" (*Mobile Orientations* [University of Chicago Press, 2018], p. 3).