

of that perception has a small positive influence on like-minded subjects' evaluations of candidates and a large negative effect on subjects who disagree about the issue. Further, it reports that promises had a negative effect on perceptions of candidates' honesty. Overall, the chapter paints a picture in which campaign pledges have a negative effect on voter evaluations.

The last two empirical chapters provide increasingly nuanced survey experiments. Briefly, Chapter Six considers the effect on candidate evaluation of 1) candidates' agreement or disagreement with their party on gun control; and 2) the number of promises that candidates make on different issues. Chapter Seven addresses the consequences to candidates for failing to follow through on their campaign promises and whether the excuses they give for their actions ameliorates public concern about their actions. Chapter Eight concludes the work with an assessment of its relevance for the 2016 presidential election, a summary of its main findings, and its implications for normative and positive theory.

Overall, *The Importance of Campaign Promises* is a significant contribution to both psychological and rational choice studies of voter behavior with important implications for the study of candidates' campaign strategies. This is true both for the candidate-centered elections familiar in the United States that are the focus of the present work, as well as for campaigns featuring party manifestos common elsewhere in the world. At the same time, the book left me with one lingering question: If campaign pledges have, at best, an ambiguous effect on candidate evaluations, why are they used so often and, at least in well-funded presidential elections with expensive campaign consultants, at an increasing rate?

Gendering the GOP: Intraparty Politics and Republican Women's Representation in Congress. By

Catherine N. Wineinger. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022.

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The number of Republican women elected to the US Congress nearly doubled in 2020, after taking a significant hit in 2018. Many of these gains were in the House, where Republican women proved particularly effective at flipping key seats and narrowing the Democratic majority. In spite of these recent successes, Republican women seem to face more electoral obstacles than their counterparts across the aisle. At present, Democratic women outnumber Republican women 2:1 in the Senate and about 3:1 in the House. This partisan asymmetry suggests that Republican women face distinct electoral challenges and once elected to office must navigate unique strategic contexts

within their own party to govern. To gain insights into the opportunities and obstacles facing Republican women serving in the US House, Catherine Wineinger uses a mixed-method approach featuring content analysis of floor speeches and in-depth case studies of congressional organizations and women in key leadership positions within the Republican House Conference. The resulting analysis offers a fresh perspective on the ways that institutional changes have altered both the way Republican women work together in Congress and the character of the representation they provide. Wineinger also sheds light on the mechanism behind the persistent underrepresentation of women in the GOP's congressional delegation, enabling us to better understand women's future in the Republican Party.

Wineinger's starting point is that Republican congresswomen face the unique challenge of crafting representational claims for women in a party culture that increasingly eschews explicit identity-based messaging. At the same time, Republican women face disadvantageous ideological stereotypes because of their gender, and thus must clear a higher hurdle when it comes to demonstrating party loyalty, particularly in a highly polarized Congress. To thread the needle, Wineinger argues that Republican women articulate a fused gender-partisan identity. In practice, this is accomplished by rejecting the stereotypical set of Democratic Party-aligned "women's issues" and instead framing Republican-owned issues through the lens of their own gendered life experiences. By emphasizing the ways that key Republican policies impact the lives of women broadly, Republican women differentiate themselves from Democratic women leaders and challenge the idea that the Democratic Party is better situated to represent women.

To demonstrate Republican congresswomen's adoption of a distinctly gendered rhetorical style, Wineinger presents a qualitative content analysis of floor speeches from the 103rd–104th congresses (1993–97) and 113th–114th congresses (2013–17). This analysis is supplemented with elite interviews and case studies of speeches in the most common policy areas for women-invoked rhetoric: abortion, health, and foreign policy. Wineinger finds that over time GOP women are consistent in the issues they speak to, but evolve in terms of the gendered frames they employ when speaking about them. She uncovers a shift away from broad representative claims (speaking on behalf of women generally) to more individualized claims based on women's personal experiences as mothers. These individualized appeals emphasize traditional roles for women and family values, aligning with a white, Christian construction of womanhood that fits neatly within the Republican platform. For instance, the case study on foreign affairs speeches highlights the development of messaging aimed at "security moms" as an example of this kind of partisan

woman-invoked rhetoric. In part, Wineinger argues, this rhetorical shift stems from greater ideological uniformity among Republican women in Congress (i.e., a decline in moderate congresswomen), heightened ideological polarization, and the need for the party to counter an increasingly common narrative that the GOP is engaging in a “war on women.”

While the evidence of the rhetorical shift among GOP women over time offers strong support for Wineinger’s argument, particularly when coupled with a demonstration of the changing relationship between congresswomen’s ideology and gendered frame use over time, I would have liked to see a direct comparison between Democratic and Republican congresswomen’s speeches. Wineinger acknowledges this limitation, of course, though inclusion of elite interviews from congresswomen in both parties speaking to the role of motherhood in their own political thinking and behavior in Congress serves to pique the reader’s interest in further comparisons across party lines.

Following her analysis of House floor speeches, Wineinger considers how the unique strategic context facing Republican women manifests in terms of intraparty politics in Congress. She provides case studies of Republican women’s efforts to organize within congress on behalf of women’s issues through the Congressional Caucus for Women’s Issues (CCWI) and the Republican Women’s Policy Committee (RWPC). Wineinger then builds on this work with case studies of Susan Molinari (R-NY), Jennifer Dunn (R-WA), and Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-WA)—three women who represent “critical actors” given their leadership positions in the House Conference. Collectively, these cases highlight a few key points about congresswomen’s role in the party. Foremost is women’s advancement in terms of party messaging. Republican congresswomen are valued as an electoral asset, particularly in an era of robust gender gaps among voters, and women have gained new opportunities for leadership in key party messaging roles. However, leadership opportunities in other areas have yet to materialize. Wineinger concludes that support for the RWPC and for women’s leadership in the conference “has largely stemmed from a desire to prevent an anti-woman image of the GOP, rather than any substantive belief in women’s distinct interests and perspectives as policymakers” (p. 119). The role of party gatekeepers, particularly the office of the speaker, in advancing or stymieing women’s efforts also features prominently in these case studies. What emerges from Wineinger’s analysis is the sense that the glass ceiling within the Republican Party remains firmly intact.

Gendering the GOP enhances our understanding of the connections between gender, representation, and party

polarization. Polarization has shaped the ideological character of women elected to Congress, but it has also changed the ways they work together and the ways they work with party leadership. Wineinger’s work highlights how Republican women strategically leverage their gender identity in party messaging. It also points to the limits of such efforts beyond messaging roles. In these respects, Wineinger is successful in drawing out the distinctive context that Republican women face when serving in the US House. This book is also a useful tool for analyzing the career trajectories of current female Republican leaders—for example, Elise Stefanik, the current chair of the House Conference committee—as well as the future of women’s incorporation into leadership positions in the party more broadly.

Neighborhood Watch: Policing White Spaces in

America. By Shawn E. Fields. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022. 202p. \$99.99 cloth, \$29.99 paper.

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Neighborhood Watch: Policing White Spaces in America, “explores the private weaponization of racial fear” (p. 5) that shapes modern policing practices in the United States, particularly as it pertains to how white citizens use police to re-assert and enforce racial hierarchy. The book offers a framework to understand the push-and-pull between institutional oppression of Black Americans, their subsequent resistance, and the casting of that resistance as evidence for the need to assert new modes of oppression. Shawn Fields refers to this as *cycles of fear*, and evaluates contemporary policing practices and the legal logics that support them through this lens. Ultimately, though, the book’s primary purpose is to reorient our approach to reform around decreasing interactions with the police writ large, rather than improving them. As such, the book is an entry in an abolitionist tradition, where the vision of abolition guides the identification of reforms worth pursuing.

Fields builds on the cycles of fear framework through turning to the interplay between White citizens and agents of the law, where citizens wield criminal legal infrastructure to assert White space, police respond, and case law protects them both. In chapter 2, Fields deftly problematized the 911 dispatch system, which provides White citizens a mechanism to make demands of police (and they are required to respond). This chapter is perhaps the highlight of the text, where the 911 call dispatch system and its capacity to deliver demands for racialized policing to law enforcement’s doorstep is often overlooked in inventories of institutional bias. Fields notes that law