is an important finding in view of the success of APA candidates at the local level. The final chapter highlights the role of ethnic organizations in helping APA candidates to develop civic skills and experience, which comports with Janelle Wong's (2006) account in *Democracy's Promise: Immigrants and American Civic Institutions.* In analyses of the partisan affiliations of contemporary APA elected officials, Lien and Filler find that nearly 70% identify as Democrats (with higher numbers among women than men), though a large proportion of local officials are nonaffiliated (pp. 125–27). This is an example of the nuanced descriptive information this book provides as a resource to scholars and practitioners alike.

Another major contribution includes analysis of whether APA elected officials are substantive representatives of minority group interests. In chapter 5, Lien and Filler analyze original data about the policy priorities of APA elected officials serving in 2020, finding variation in the extent to which they prioritize social justice issues. While only one in five APA elected officials prioritize these issues, these numbers are higher among women, which points to the role that "womanist leadership praxis" plays in social justice advocacy among APA elected officials (pp. 157–59). This chapter also considers whether APA elected officials are substantive representatives of the APA community. These analyses draw on rich historical case studies focused on issues affecting Asian Americans, including redress for Chinese exclusion and the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II, as well as a contemporary analysis of responses to racialized dynamics of the COVID-19 crisis among APA members of the 116th Congress. Taken together, these analyses highlight the variation, complexity, and, at times, contradictions of APA substantive representation.

Finally, the book centers the personal stories of pioneering APA elected officials from many places, subgroups, and periods in history. This effort contributes to the documentation of Asian American history and will serve as a valuable teaching resource. Lien and Filler chronicle the political trajectories of well-known historical figures like Patsy Mink, the first woman of color elected to Congress, and a new generation of APA elected officials, including Mee Moua and Swati Dandekar—respectively, the first Hmong and Indian American women elected to state legislatures (pp. 39, 44, 199). A common theme across these stories is that many APA elected officials, especially women and immigrants, struggled to obtain mainstream partisan traction and gained civic experience through community work.

Contesting the Last Frontier is essential reading on Asian American political representation as the community moves toward a sustainable model of long-term representation in political office and the policy-making process. While the book offers many valuable insights, there are several important topics that are beyond the scope of the

research. For example, the book does not offer a comprehensive explanation for changes in APA representation across time and place or of the role of APA elected officials in the policy-making process beyond a narrow set of issues. To that end, the book stimulates further inquiry, raising several theoretical questions for future research. For example, how do constituency characteristics shape Asian American representation at different levels of political office? Are these dynamics static or do they change over time? Turning to substantive representation, to what extent do Asian American (and non-Asian) elected officials represent the policy interests expressed by Asian American constituents? Lien and Filler's research provides a solid theoretical and empirical foundation for future work on these and many other topics.

Blue-State Republican: How Larry Hogan Won Where Republicans Lose and Lessons for a Future GOP. By Mileah K. Kromer. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2022. 208p. $74.50 cloth, $27.95 paper.

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In this well-researched and objective account, Mileah K. Kromer provides an in-depth analysis of how Republican Larry Hogan was able to be elected and reelected while maintaining a high level of popularity throughout his time as governor of Maryland—a state known for its diversity, Democratic dominance, and liberalism. In 2016, two years into Hogan's first term, Maryland voters gave Hillary Clinton a clear majority with 60% of the vote; the state's legislature is currently 72% Democrats and it has been held by Democrats with a strong majority since before the New Deal. Hogan was only the second Republican to ever be reelected as governor of Maryland and the first since the late 1950s. Both of Hogan's races were against bona fide progressive Democrats with impressive resumes. And yet Hogan was able to win twice, a feat that required gaining the votes of one-third of the state's Democratic voters, a majority of women, and, importantly, almost one-third of the votes of Black Marylanders.

How is it that Hogan was able to pull this off? Did his governorship and reelection hold some lessons for the future of the political parties? In *Blue-State Republican,* Kromer traces Hogan's political career from his decision to run for office to just after he won reelection. Through a deep dive into the major political, policy, and personal challenges Hogan faced, the book communicates two primary lessons for scholars of American politics and professional party strategists. First, it provides valuable insight and a fascinating story of how politics operates in a racially and politically diverse state. In this way, Kromer adds to existing research on the subject, including James

G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknech's 2009 *Patchwork Nation* and Katherine J. Cramer's 2016 *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker.* The book outlines how even in a time of remarkable national party polarization and the nationalization of party politics, states and locales often present distinctive political processes and pressures. Consequently, politicians must tailor their campaigns to the uniqueness of the state in which they operate. As a result, this extremely accessible book would make a nice addition to any undergraduate syllabus about political parties or political management.

Kromer develops a theory of how the Republican party could build a bigger tent coalition that could win in less-Republican states while simultaneously exploring the headwinds that may work against this approach. In so doing, the book also contains lessons for the Democratic party about how to avoid losing to Republicans in traditionally Democratic states, as well as possibly how to win in Republican states. In this way, the book compliments Seth Masket's recent work (*Learning from Loss: The Democrats, 2016–2020)*, and the literature about how parties evolve over time. For example, as a Republican, Hogan could have steered clear of majority-Black and super-majority Democratic places like Baltimore or Prince George's County, hoping to rely on a large turnout of base Republican voters and disaffected (or more conservative) Democrats and Independents. Instead, as the book documents, he made efforts to show he was interested in working across the aisle by actively campaigning in areas generally dismissed by Republicans. This, in itself, is a major lesson for political operatives of both parties.

Each chapter of the book presents a different lesson for students of political management and, put together, they present a meaningful contribution to the study of party politics and federalism. In the introduction, Kromer places Governor Hogan's initial 2014 campaign in the context of both Maryland and the larger 2013 Republican National Committee's "autopsy report" calling for a center-right approach that would attract voters from a wider array of demographic groups. In terms of national party dynamics, the author suggests that while Trump effectively stopped the national party's attempt to build a big tent, Hogan's campaigns were so successful in large part because he followed the centrist suggestions of the "autopsy."

The first half of the book focuses on the factors that were likely the reason for Hogan's victories, presenting larger lessons for Democrats and Republicans nationwide facing uphill battles: 1) American voters care a lot about taxes but they also care about social issues, so do not pick fights you cannot win if you have a platform that will appeal across the political divide; and 2) it makes sense for the parties to invest in their candidates even if they are running in seemingly unwinnable races. Hogan won by focusing on issues the Republican Party "owns" and avoiding the ones they do not. And Democrats assumed they could not lose, while the Republican party invested in Hogan's campaign even when it seemed he could not win. In sum, well-financed campaigns and high-quality candidates can make the difference even in places long dismissed as unwinnable.

The second half of the book focuses on key issues facing Republican and Democratic candidates, with implications for politics at both the state and national levels. The first of these is the dominance of Trump and Trump-like candidates in the Republican Party. In order to win in a Democratic stronghold, Hogan walked a tight rope, criticizing Trump sparingly but otherwise avoiding national politics. While this may be untenable for a national candidate who must get through the primaries; for those in Democratic states, steering too far to the right just ensures a loss. The book thus raises questions about the costs and benefits of political moderation in a polarized era. Under what conditions can state and local politicians succeed while distancing themselves from their national party brand? Can Republicans reach out to minority and women voters, even if the effect is to merely reduce the margin of their losses among these groups of voters? Can Democrats advance economically progressive policies while avoiding the politically toxic label that they are socialists? In a federalist system, campaigns appealing to the median voter at the state level might prove more fruitful for ambitious politicians of the minority party seeking statewide office, even when a base mobilization strategy makes sense in other electoral contexts.

Kromer lays out a blueprint for future Republican candidates in Democratic strongholds: "stick to pocket-book issues that make a tangible difference in people's lives and ignore the culture wars; be an independent voice willing to buck your party and embrace opportunities to work with the opposition; have core principles but be flexible on policy solutions; be guided by the signal of the average voter rather than the noise of the fringe; be willing to take your message to all voters and do the work to persuade them; and surround yourself with professionals who can execute on all of the above with skill and fierce loyalty" (p. 150). The book also holds a few other lessons that Republican strategists might want to take away, including the need for engaging with Black and Brown leaders instead of stoking white resentment; cultivating positive relationships with the press; picking one's battles wisely; and avoiding politically motivated witch-hunts in the bureaucracy.

There are several other major takeaways for academics. For one, there is real value in qualitative research and in getting deep into the political mix. Graduate students looking for dissertation topics could use this book to see how getting knee-deep in local politics can prove a great

way to generate valuable social science. For those who study polarization, this book offers evidence from the states that elites can lead in a way that could decrease toxic negative partisanship at the national level.

My only minor quibble is that despite Kromer's unbridled access to a large amount of public opinion data on Hogan, only crosstabs are presented in the book. While this makes it more accessible to undergraduates, there is definitely more that could have been surmised by using even simple OLS to examine his public support in more detail. Ultimately, Kromer has written an excellent book that provides a glimmer of hope in a time of extreme polarization, and a playbook for future Republican and Democratic party strategists in the states. It is a must-read for students of state politics and political management.

The State You See: How Government Visibility Created Political Distrust and Racial Inequality. By Aaron J. Rosenthal. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2023. 278p. $80.00 cloth, $34.95 paper.
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Even in our hyper-polarized society, it seems as though nearly all Americans agree that the government should not be trusted. Yet the *reasons* for that distrust differ wildly. *The State You See,* by Aaron J. Rosenthal, delves into this phenomenon and considers both the causes and consequences of this divide using in-depth interview data, policy histories, and analyses of national survey data.

The core argument that Rosenthal advances in this book is that people see "government" differently depending on their social position—most prominently, their racial identity. Due to public policy changes and elite rhetoric, white people in the United States most strongly associate government with taxes and welfare, which they do not see as benefiting them or their group. Black people, on the other hand, associate the government with the intrusive and violent criminal legal system that targets their communities. In both cases, this negative view of government results in distrust, which Rosenthal shows has been growing in recent years. He contends that this split in government visibility is consequential when it comes to political participation. While both forms of visibility garner distrust, white Americans' distrust pushes them to participate in politics while Black Americans' distrust does not—which, Rosenthal argues, further entrenches racial inequality.

Rosenthal identifies five policy changes that have contributed to this "dual visibility dynamic." The first three— submerging benefits (to white Americans) in the tax code, the changing racial valence of welfare, and the growing visibility of taxation—come together to make white people see government as something that takes "their" tax dollars and gives them to people of color (Chapter 2). Importantly, his policy history details the way that a *racial*, not just class, split has been ingrained in American social policy. The last two policy changes—the decline of civil rights legislation and the rise in the criminal legal system (CLS)—come together to produce distrust among people of color, and most directly, Black Americans (Chapter 3). This rise in "law and order" policies contribute to the increased visibility of government among Black Americans as a punitive force that fosters distrust.

All of these policy changes produce increased distrust of government. Chapter 4 shows that people connect their political distrust to the part of government that is visible to them – for white Americans, taxation and welfare, and for Black Americans, the criminal legal system. Rosenthal is careful to note that government visibility is one reason for political distrust, but that it is not the only reason. Instead, it is an important and previously overlooked explanatory variable for why Americans come to distrust the government.

Rosenthal does note that whites' vision of government as something that takes from them without providing is *fiction* while Blacks' vision of government as a punitive agent is *fact*. But the consequences of this dichotomy could have been further elaborated. Black Americans have an accurate perception of a hostile government while white Americans' vision is based on false premises. While Rosenthal demonstrates that it is one's *vision* of government that matters the most attitudinally, it seems like there are practical and normative consequences to the fact that whites' view of government is based on false stereotypes while Black Americans' is based on true experiences. Practically, it seems much easier to change the way that the government is made visible when that visibility is rooted in elite rhetoric and policy narratives (as it is for whites) than when that visibility comes out of direct personal and collective experiences with an arm of government, the police, and the criminal justice system (as it is for Blacks). Normatively, distrust arising from an unwillingness to contribute to collective good seems vastly different than distrust that comes from structural subjugation and oppression.

Importantly, Rosenthal focuses on the participatory consequences of this political distrust, and in doing so, clarifies previously disjointed findings in the political science literature about how trust and participation relate. He demonstrates that the effect of distrust on participation varies significantly by race. For white people, distrust can mobilize them to action (take Donald Trump's presidential campaign as an example) but for Black people, distrust demobilizes. Through interview data, he demonstrates that this divide grows out of the root of the distrust. Whites' distrust comes from a sense of investment and