source the authors used—namely, certification officer reports—Unite's membership fell from 1.9 million in 2007, when the union was created, to 1.6 million (2008) and then to 1.5 million (2009), and just under 1.5 million (2010 and 2011). The only figure bearing resemblance to 1.2 million is the number of members contributing to the political fund (in 2010), which is mainly used to support the Labor Party. Not only does this cast doubt on other membership figures cited, but membership figures themselves are a critical benchmark by which to judge one of the key outcomes of U.O.

So to return to the question posed earlier of what usefully emerges for the predominant readership of the *AJS*, there is the confirmation of a well-known and rather disappointing outcome for U.O. in Britain—which, of course, is not dissimilar to that which has occurred in the United States. Beyond the scope of *Union Voices*, it would be worthwhile to speculate about whether the chances of U.O. would be any greater if implemented in coordinated market economies or in different periods of history. That different direction would make a useful subject for a different book and maybe highlight that it is not just the means and methods of union organizing that are problematic but also the contexts and conjunctures in which it is practiced.

Paid to Party: Working Time and Emotion in Direct Home Sales. By Jamie L. Mullaney and Janet Hinson Shope. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2011. Pp. xii+193. $72.00 (cloth); $24.95 (paper).

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Paid to Party analyzes how gendered, cultural understandings of "flexibility" and "work-family balance" are deployed, embraced, and manipulated in the direct home sales (DHS) industry. Jamie L. Mullaney and Janet Hinson Shope focus on the side of the industry that is female-dominated and organized around a multilevel compensation plan, in which "up-line" saleswomen get a cut of the commissions of other saleswomen whom they have recruited to the company. Saleswomen host parties in homes, for which they invite friends and acquaintances and push products (e.g., Tupperware, lipstick, or sex toys, depending on the company) in a carefully managed "fun" atmosphere. The book argues that DHS is useful as a case that highlights the dynamics of feminized emotional labor in a service industry promising flexibility, freedom, and fulfillment.

The authors spent two years in participant observation, attended dozens of parties where products were demonstrated and sold, and joined industry gatherings designed to galvanize the faithful and recruit new consultants into the hierarchical compensation structure. They also inter-

viewed 32 saleswomen and said they conducted a survey of some larger sample.

The book is strongest analytically when the authors focus on their participant observation data of industry recruiting events. These meetings and conventions are marked by the religious effervescence familiar from Émile Durkheim (*Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* [Free Press, 1965]) and the manipulation of workers' emotions to bring in a profit analyzed by Arlie Russell Hochschild (*The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* [University of California Press, 1983]). Drawing on this participant observation data and official corporate communications, the authors show vividly how the industry exploits women's anxieties over financial insecurity and work-family conflict by promising that a commission-based DHS job offers total flexibility, financial freedom, fun, and fulfillment. The authors argue that the industry manipulates the meanings around time to generate emotion, and they report that often the promised rewards fail to materialize.

However, the authors miss an opportunity to fully analyze and then triangulate their interview data. Further, a survey they say they conducted is virtually absent from the analysis and completely missing from the methodological appendix. The methodological appendix does provide some limited demographic data on the 32 interviewees, who are mostly white, middle-aged, married mothers. I was surprised that 22 women (69%) worked 10 or fewer hours a week. This low level of work time did not fit the participant observation data's picture of an enveloping industry promising great riches.

Not until three-quarters into the book do the authors explain that median industry earnings are low and that their respondents did not earn enough to support themselves. I would have liked to learn more about how their social class position and their husbands' employment in a distressed economy affected these women's decisions about whether and how much to work. Given the interviewees' few hours of work and low incomes, their work appears to be less central to their lives than the industry recruitment machine would suggest. In short, the book works when analyzing the DHS recruitment machine but is less successful when aiming to analyze the saleswomen pushing consumable products at parties. The findings coming out of each data source do not always mesh, and the authors miss the opportunity to reconcile them and thereby give more teeth to the analysis.

No one work can do everything. Yet I wish that this one had balanced its close look at one industry with a broader comparison of key features in related industries and occupations. For example, the book emphasizes DHS's entrepreneurial ideology and critique of corporations as eroding financial self-determination yet neglects to mention that this ideology resonates with centuries-old understandings of work and masculinity (see

Michael Kimmel's *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* [Free Press, 1996]) that live on today in many organizations. The industry's elicitation of workers' emotional engagement is a long-standing control strategy of corporations (see Gideon Kunda's *Engineering Culture: Control and Commitment in a High-Tech Corporation* [Temple University Press, 1992]). The authors emphasize how DHS women use feminized cultural competence to leverage personal network ties and reciprocal obligation norms while ignoring the give-and-take of many male workers embedded in personal and professional networks of trust and reciprocity. I would have liked to hear more about how the focus on DHS helps scholars of work and occupations better understand all these points more broadly.

At the same time, I wish the particularity of this industry had been more fully discussed. This limitation loomed when the authors explained their motivation to study this case. They reported that they were both so bombarded by invitations to DHS parties and inundated with DHS acquaintances that they finally decided to study the industry. The authors and the interviewees are women, mostly white, mostly married, mostly mothers, mostly middle-aged. I happen to share these demographics and share an occupation with the two authors. But in contrast to the authors' experience of inundation, I have never been invited to a DHS party, nor am I aware that of any colleague or acquaintance who is involved in the industry. I cannot even imagine knowing anyone who would choose to spend personal time at a DHS event. I report this in order to point out that contact with the DHS industry is bounded within particular network and regional ties. Perhaps (although this is unclear in the book) the industry is overwhelmingly suburban rather than urban, and perhaps it is mostly inhabited by women from a particular type of middle-class fraction and habitus. In sum, this study is an interesting exploration of one industry that brings out the themes of emotional work and labor, middle-class femininity, and the industry's broken promises of work-life balance and entrepreneurial freedom in an uncertain economy.

Buoyancy on the Bayou: Shrimpers Face the Rising Tide of Globalization. By Jill Ann Harrison. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2013. Pp. xii+185. $69.95 (cloth); $19.95 (paper).

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Jill Ann Harrison's book is a highly readable and insightful account of the hardships faced by Louisiana shrimpers over the last decade. Based on "ethnographic interviewing," the empirical focus of *Buoyancy on the Bayou* is the social strategies of shrimpers dealing with the twofold threat