societal choices are clearly central to reconciling work-family demands and yet are seldom examined closely in the literature.

Like many researchers before them, Gornick and Meyers find that although no place is perfect, the Nordic countries have the most comprehensive programs, with strong and generous family and maternity paid leave, far more generous working-time policies than other countries (for example, limits on hours worked, and measures providing for good-quality part-time work), limitations on non-standard work, provision of paid vacation time, public, high-quality childcare, and so on. The English-speaking countries (the United States, Canada, and Great Britain) provide the least comprehensive support. Just knowing about some of the programs that other countries have successfully institutionalized helps inspire confidence that the work-family problems we face are soluble. For example, the success of other countries in supporting early, high-quality, publicly funded child-care programs for the majority of children is enlightening. Gornick and Meyers offer a variety of very practical policy suggestions for learning from our Scandinavian and European counterparts.

Obviously I am just providing a brief and necessarily simplified summary of a wealth of information, some of which suggests less perfect within–country group consistency than this review suggests. Canada, for instance, does far better than the other English-speaking nations in providing paid leave to mothers. Conversely, in the United States, which is notably progressive in supporting gender equality, fathers have their own leave rights to a greater extent than in some of the other countries. In addition to glossing over much of the detail Gornick and Meyer provide, I have not really discussed their consideration of gender, which is an important part of their argument. They do address, for instance, cross-country differences in the relative treatment of men and women, some factors that are linked to work-family conflict, and the potential effects of policy on gender inequality.

Families that Work might strike some readers as overly utopian, but that does not invalidate the wisdom of its arguments and proposals. In their last chapter, the authors take seriously the range of objections that might come from North American pundits, politicians, and policy-makers. I do not find all of the counter-arguments persuasive (or at least I do not think a less sympathetic reader would be persuaded), but they are an important beginning of a necessary dialogue. Still, one wonders what it would take to get a shift in political commitment and will dramatic enough to effect the changes the authors envision.

I have a few minor complaints. The book seems a bit repetitive at times, and the front-end theoretical apparatus, drawn from Gøsta Esping-Anderson's work, is neither sustained nor clearly necessary. Its primary value is in justifying the country groupings. Gornick and Meyers do not pit men and women against one another, and they recognize that men are indeed involved in care-giving—and may want to be even more so, which I view as a strength of their arguments. That said, the authors do not make a compelling case for expecting men to make the sacrifice of power, privilege, and control, both in the workplace and at home, that the creation of dual-earner–dual-carer families and workplaces would require.

These few criticisms notwithstanding, I find little to argue with, and much to admire, in this book. The treatment of the issues is balanced; no one is vilified, not men, not women, not managers, not policy-makers. Gornick and Meyers's reasonable tone should make the book palatable for the wide audience whom I would urge to read it. This audience includes upper-level classes in political economy, policy, and organizations, as well as policy-makers, managers, and anyone else seriously interested in what is likely to be the most contested terrain in twenty-first-century workplace and social policy.

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Economic and Social Security and Substandard Working Conditions

Sweatshop USA: The American Sweatshop in Historical and Global Perspective. Edited by Daniel E. Bender and Richard A. Greenwald. New York: Taylor & Francis (Routledge), 2003. xii, 300 pp. ISBN 0-415-93560-1, $85.00 (cloth); 0-415-93561-X, $24.95 (paper).

This volume presents the multiple perspectives on "sweatshop studies" of diverse scholars and activists. The editors, Daniel Bender and Richard Greenwald, who are both historians, argue that achieving social and economic change

requires knowledge of what has succeeded before and under what conditions. They present the works of scholars in sociology, history, political science, women's studies, and American and ethnic studies organized into three sections: "Producing the Sweatshop," "Sweatshop Migration," and "Sweatshop Resistance." The result is a volume that is of considerable potential value to policy-makers, with good syntheses of relevant facts from the past 100+ years' experience and thought-provoking ideas that could be useful in the development of strategies for upgrading working conditions in today's complex global economy.

Using extensive primary sources, Daniel Bender describes a late-nineteenth- through early twentieth-century campaign that opposed sweatshops, but for the wrong reasons. A prime tactic of this racism- and sexism-tinged movement was to characterize sweatshop workers as dirty and uncivilized and the garments they manufactured as unsanitary.

Kenneth Wolensky examines the historical growth and current state of the garment industry in Pennsylvania. Using oral interviews with former workers along with other data, he shows how these "runaway" shops (businesses that picked up stakes and relocated to avoid unionization) exemplify how easy it is to move capital from one location to another. He also outlines several effective strategies that labor organizers of the past used to respond to this movement.

Richard Greenwald also examines the union approach for addressing runaway shops, but shows how priorities shifted from organizing workers toward exerting stronger influence on government legislation and regulations. Greenwald uses a combination of primary and secondary sources to critically review the activities of several garment unions, with the ultimate aim of identifying what went wrong and right. Ultimately he contends that both business leaders and the union were unprepared for the devastation inflicted by imports on the industry.

Drawing on ten years of primary data collection in Chinese garment shops in Brooklyn, Xiaolan Bao examines the complex environment influencing these garment shops and the broader industry. Bao investigates shop conditions, wages and hours, the division of labor, and the multi-ethnic environment, and compares these shops with the union shops in Chinatown. She concludes that labor organizations need new strategies to work within this complex context.

Jennifer Guglielmo examines Italian women's involvement in labor reform in New York City from 1890 to 1919. Her well-referenced chapter reveals how these women's cultural practices and family ties influenced their approach to protesting and resisting.

Those with only sketchy knowledge of the apparel industry's structure will benefit from Nancy L. Green's contribution tracing the pervasive influence that both high variability in demand and an industry structure focused on flexible response have had throughout the history of the ready-to-wear industry. She contends that demand and industry structure prevent complete eradication of sweatshops.

Immanuel Ness provides critical information about the rapid decline of the New York City garment industry after September 11, 2001. The logistical situation around the World Trade Center site and the Chinatown area where extensive garment production was located added to the problems of an industry already so pressured by powerful retailers that even union shops had been forced to reduce wages to sweatshop levels. Ness argues that seeking traditional and nationally based answers to global problems is inadequate.

Ethel Brooks examines the influence of gender, class, race, and nation on both the production and organizing venues. Although "the transnational campaigns have been held up as models for global, women-, and worker-centered activism," she writes, "they actually have reinforced the categories of nation, race, class, and gender, often reproducing the new international division of labor within the movement themselves" (p. 282).

Several authors make a case for the importance of public opinion and consumer involvement in efforts to eliminate apparel sweatshops. Ellen Boris traces the involvement and tactics of female consumers and activists through three eras during the past century (the Progressive Era, the New Deal, and recent years). Andrew Ross and Liza Featherstone cover the anti-sweatshop activist movement of the late 1990s. Ross rightly claims that the "accomplishments of the second anti-sweatshop movement, in only seven years, have been immense" (p. 244). Yet, perhaps the most important lesson from this set of essays is how hard it is to sustain grassroots support. Several historical examples described by Ellen Boris underscore that difficulty, and Liza Featherstone cites some observers' fear that the members of United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS), by expanding their range of activities, are today spreading themselves too thin to have a sustained impact on apparel sweatshops.

Although the editors generally succeed in including multiple disciplinary perspectives on the topic, the contributions are uneven in academic objectivity and rigor. The writers' feelings (sometimes passionate) are often apparent, and their use of citations and other corroborative evidence is sometimes limited. Readers who find *New York Times* editorial writer Thomas Friedman described as "hostile" (Ellen Boris, p. 217) and a "rabid free-trade evangelist" (Liza Featherstone, p. 251), and who encounter sweeping, jargon-laden generalizations—for example, Andrew Ross's assertion that "The apparel industries are a showcase of horrors for the global economy," and his reference to "globalization's race toward the bottom of the wage floor" (pp. 227, 230)—may be discouraged from making the effort to identify the contributors' solid insights and arguments.

A more specific shortcoming of this interdisciplinary book is its inadequate recognition of the efforts that multinational manufacturers and retailers, and various associations working with them, such as the Fair Labor Association (FLA), are making regarding sweatshop production. Edna Bonacich and Richard Appelbaum et al., in their "Offshore Production," might have provided an industry perspective; however, the interviews they incorporate are probably too old to accurately reflect the state of the industry today as it faces the trade regime outlined by the WTO.

Ellen Boris, Liza Featherstone, and Andrew Ross each provide some coverage of the FLA, and to her credit, Boris makes the effort to include recent information, particularly on the improvements the FLA has made in its monitoring procedures. However, information contextualizing the work of the FLA relative to other organizations is left out, and many FLA "facts" presented in the book are out of date: for example, the statements that only one university representative sits on the board of the FLA, that industry has primary control over the FLA's actions, and that the organization has never delivered on its promise to publish findings from its monitoring. Similarly, the Worker Rights Consortium (WRC) is portrayed as the desired alternative of numerous, high-profile universities that either left or avoided joining the FLA. Yet in fact, the FLA charter (available at www.fairlabor.org) currently requires that the FLA board be comprised of three university representatives, six representatives from industry, six from labor/NGOs, and a chair. Many decisions, such as amendments of the workplace code of conduct and monitoring principles or amendments of accreditation criteria for independent external monitors, require approval of at least two-thirds of the industry board members *and* at least two-thirds of the labor/NGO board members. Other decisions, such as whether or not to certify a participating company's compliance with the FLA standards, require the approval of a simple majority of all board members (see the FLA Charter). These rules make it impossible for important decisions to be solely in the hands of industry. In June 2003, albeit after this book was in print, the FLA published a first annual report and the findings of factory monitoring (available at www.fairlabor.org). Finally, among the 121 university members of the WRC and the 183 university members of the FLA are 71 members that belong to both organizations, including Penn and Duke, which are both highlighted in this book for the control their student activists exerted over their administration.

Those interested in sweatshops should add *Sweatshop USA* to their reading lists. The editors have put together an excellent collection of essays that can be helpful in assessing strategies for improving labor standards and working conditions. However, by not seeking out authors who are willing to examine the activities of particular corporations and the organizations with which they voluntarily associate, with an eye toward identifying what these stakeholders have to offer the anti-sweatshop movement, they have left out an essential perspective in "sweatshop studies." This perspective must be included, as reform simply will not happen, and the potential benefits for foreign workers will not be realized, without the participation of these powerful businesses.

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Promise Unfulfilled: Unions, Immigration, and the Farm Workers. By Philip L Martin. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003. 240 pp. ISBN 0-8014-4186-2, $49.95 (cloth); ISBN 0-8014-8875-3, $21.95 (paper).

Low wages, short-term jobs, labor surplus, and foreign-born workers are the enduring characteristics of California's farm labor market.