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Promise Unfulfilled: Unions, Immigration, and the Farm Workers

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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the work of the FLA relative to other organizations is left out, and many FLA "facts" presented in the book are out of date: for example, the statements that only one university representative sits on the board of the FLA, that industry has primary control over the FLA's actions,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 prin-

ciples 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.

Neither farm worker unions nor a state-level, agriculture-specific labor relations act have altered the fundamental instability and chronic exploitation that beset the men and women who toil in the fields. Although Philip L. Martin's latest book, *Promise Unfulfilled: Unions, Immigration, and the Farm Workers*, purports to explain how this sorry state of affairs came to be, this promise, too, remains unfulfilled.

Martin, an agriculture and resource economics professor at the University of California, Davis, writes in his acknowledgments that the book "evolved from two decades of teaching...about farm labor." One wonders if he withheld half of his lecture notes. To be sure, Martin does a creditable job detailing farm worker demographics despite the confusing and incomplete array of data with which researchers must contend. He neatly explains the decentralized structure of the farm labor market and the dominant role played by farm labor contractors, who as a group have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. He outlines key provisions of California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA), the path-breaking statute passed in 1975 that granted farm workers the protected right to self-organize and bargain collectively. And he provides a brief historical overview of farm labor unions.

In these efforts, Martin does the reader a service. But what he omits and misrepresents undermines the value of the text for researchers, activists, policy-makers, and students alike. Critical questions (and, more important, answers) that could inform the national debate about immigration, sectarian discussions about union revitalization, and social dialogue about economic uplift for low-wage/low-skill workers remain unexplored. Martin expounds on discrete topics, ranging from unfair labor practices perpetrated by employers and unions to the federal Immigration Reform and Control Act that was passed in 1986, but does not make convincing causal connections or sufficiently integrate his themes.

The book would have benefited from more contextual analysis. Martin notes the setbacks suffered by the United Farm Workers (UFW) in the mid-1970s but neglects to compare the union's overall record to that of other unions operating in industries with an unskilled immigrant work force and high-turnover, low-wage jobs, such as dishwashers and chambermaids, office janitors, and home health aides. He gives short shrift to the vociferous counterattack orchestrated by growers and their corporate, po-

litical, and law enforcement allies as various unions sought to rally California's farm labor force. He seems to attribute the farm workers' enduring misery to union failings and avoids discussion of the role of power in the employer-worker dynamic, of growers' mastery in fomenting ethnic rivalries and stoking workers' job insecurity in the face of an ever-expanding supply of labor, and of the larger union movement's declining fortunes during the late twentieth century. Martin also elaborates on the differences between the California ALRA and the National Labor Relations Act without any reference to the federal law's inapplicability to agriculture or the structural flaws in the ALRA that hinder unions' ability to organize and successfully represent their members.

Key pieces of evidence that would justify Martin's assertions are lacking. For example, Martin claims that farm workers express their dissatisfaction with wages and working conditions by exiting the industry rather than by joining a union. He cites no supporting data, leaving readers to wonder whether this is a choice workers in fact perceive is theirs to act on, whether workers' immigration status affects their decision-making, and how many farm workers leave agriculture in search of better jobs or to repatriate beyond the U.S. border. Likewise, Martin uses a simple hypothetical model to show how immigration affects overall wages but does not calibrate the model using existing data or draw on the published research of labor economists to substantiate his conclusions.

Finally, Martin displays a narrow understanding of American unions. He ascribes to them the one-dimensional task of raising wages and implies that unions can make this happen, as though there is no give-and-take in collective bargaining, no countervailing employer power, and no other *raison d'être* for organized labor. Although business unionism indeed defined the labor movement in the decades following World War II, unions actually serve a broader purpose. At their best, they ensure a modicum of democracy in the workplace, give voice to workers' concerns and interests, mediate the unequal relationship between workers and managers, improve working conditions, take wages out of competition, and advocate for laws and policies that enhance the greater socio-economic good.

In overlooking the complexity of unions' role, Martin fails to give the UFW its due. The farm workers' union certainly has its faults, but

in its early years at least, the UFW was an effective and progressive organization. Indeed, it was a precursor of the type of social movement unionism now being touted by some academics and union reformers. The UFW won adherents by reaching out to California's largely Mexican farm labor population through the workers' shared cultural and religious heritage. It provided members with dignity and respect, offered mutual aid and assistance, promoted protective labor legislation, and forged productive alliances with activist religious, consumer, student, and civil rights groups. Discussion of these achievements, if only to balance coverage of the UFW's missteps, is curiously absent from Martin's text.

Given the ongoing national debate about immigration and increasing income polarization, a more reasoned, critical, and informed treatment of the material is warranted. But even if Martin had written such a book, we would still need more research on the causal connections among farm workers, unions, and immigration. For example, anecdotal evidence suggests an inverse relationship between immigrant flows and union density. Do the data prove that immigration affects union density? If so, under what circumstances, in which industries, for what kinds of workers? Several unions are now trying to organize immigrant workers. Does immigration alter the way unions define themselves, their value as a socio-political institution, their place in the economy? How does the changing composition of the low-wage immigrant labor force (more ethnic diversity, less human capital) influence unions' organizing and representational strategies? Agricultural practices, planting and harvesting schedules, and labor market structure vary by region and product. Have unions been more successful in reaching out to farm workers under one set of circumstances than another? What institutional arrangements are most/least conducive to farm worker organizing? And finally, what can unions offer today's farm workers when immigration, legal and otherwise, keeps swelling the supply of labor, and when the social, political, and economic environment remains decidedly unfriendly toward unions and relatively indifferent to the plight of the underclass?

As we begin sorting out answers to such questions, we may only reaffirm how intractable the farm workers' situation remains—or we may begin to see a route by which they can climb out of this morass. Unfortunately,

Promise Unfulfilled does not get us very far along either path.

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Low-Wage America: How Employers Are Reshaping Opportunity in the Workplace. Edited by Eileen Appelbaum, Annette Bernhardt, and Richard J. Murnane. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003. xii, 535 pp. ISBN 0-87154-025-8, \$45.00 (cloth).

In the past few years several books on low-wage work have achieved popular success. That is surprising, because conventional political wisdom holds that explicit discussions of inequality will fall prey to charges of "class warfare" and are unlikely to receive favorable popular attention. This view to the contrary, there is evidently widespread interest in understanding what has been happening to work in the lower levels of the job market.

Low-Wage America brings a rich scholarly perspective to these concerns. Growing out of a Russell Sage Foundation project, this book reports on studies of a wide range of low-wage industries. The chapters have more thematic and structural unity than is found in most edited collections, in part because most of them follow the same basic design—describing the trajectory of work in the industry at hand, explaining the forces that have pushed firms in the modal direction of that industry, examining the consequences for employee welfare, and then considering whether there are alternative ("high road") paths that can produce better results.

The result of this effort is by far the best portrait available of the lower reaches of the job market (but not the very bottom: casual day labor, sweatshops, and the like are excluded). Taking the chapters together, readers of this book can come to understand the pressures that are pushing firms and industries to adopt a strategy of lowering job quality along numerous dimensions (not just wages), and they can understand the various mechanisms (outsourcing, temporary agencies, work reorganization, wage concessions) through which this strategy is implemented.

The book also is important because it is a