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Book Reviews

Comments from the Book Review Editor

Given the positive response received by the editors to the first collection of book reviews that appeared in the 2007 issue of *COMMONWEALTH*, we decided to continue the practice with this volume and, barring a major backlash from our readers, into the future. The seven books reviewed here are an interesting and diverse collection. Five deal directly with some aspect of Pennsylvania, but all were released by in-state publishers. Readers are encouraged to recommend books for review here. Readers interested in reviewing books for *COMMONWEALTH* should send their names, contact information, areas of scholarly interest, and brief curriculum vitae to Dr. Thomas J. Baldino, *COMMONWEALTH* Book Review Editor, Department of Political Science, Wilkes University, Wilkes-Barre, PA 18766.

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Citizen Lobbyists: Local Efforts to Influence Public Policy. By Brian L. Adams. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2007. 235 pp., $71.50 cloth, ISBN: 978-1-59213-569-2; $25.95 paper, ISBN: 978-1-59213-570-7

As noted by Brian L. Adams, an associate professor of political science at San Diego University, scholars have spent more effort in trying to gauge the power of interest groups than in trying to understand their tactics. He might have added that scholars have also focused disproportionately on lobbying at the federal level, thereby overemphasizing lobbying by large organizations and losing sight of lobbying by community groups. We seemingly have become so distracted by the emergence of the “astroturf” generated by professional lobbyists that the dynamics of genuine grassroots efforts have been relatively neglected. Adams’s straightforward book is a welcome respite from that pattern.

The lure of the influence issue is not unknown to Adams, but he astutely attempts to link it to such factors as who is doing the lobbying, what issues the activists tackle, and—in particular—how they attempt to exert influence. Of course, this is a daunting task and one that is not going to produce a truly satisfactory resolution any time soon, if ever. Ultimately, this book only scratches the surface, as perhaps is to be expected.

Adams identified 85 activists in the community of Santa Ana—an "older" suburb of Los Angeles with a population of 320,000, a large Latino sub-population, and severe problems with overcrowding—and he wrangled interviews with 55 of them, focusing on their tactics. Unfortunately, the concept of tactics is limited primarily to what activities were undertaken (e.g., speaking at a public meeting or publishing a letter to the editor), what activist associations exist (e.g., neighborhood associations or political parties), and what issues were addressed (e.g., gang violence or school curriculum). It would have been interesting to see some other factors addressed, such as the extent to which an activist played "hardball" (admittedly problematic to define) or was motivated by a single transient issue (such as a proposal to widen a street) as opposed to a more longitudinal involvement (e.g., an ongoing concern about taxation).

The most obvious limitation of *Citizen Lobbyists* is that the research—this is an adapation of a doctoral dissertation—is limited to a single community, and the characteristics of this case study subject appear to have much to do with the author's conclusions concerning influence. Adams, who readily concedes that there is no such thing as a "typical" community, concludes that Santa Ana's citizen lobbyists tended to address issues that were "neither complex nor complicated." Accordingly, they did little to provide new information to public officials. (Of course, public participation often says something about public opinion, the problem often being just how to read the tea leaves.) In addition, because they necessarily specialized in particular issues and tended to deemphasize collaboration, the Santa Ana activists did little to improve their local governments' problem-solving capacity.

Had Adams picked a community with more sophisticated and successful citizen lobbying efforts, he presumably would have had a better opportunity to address what makes for a successful community lobbying effort, collaborative or otherwise. The lack of such an effort in Santa Ana leads us to ask, if nothing else, why effective citizen leadership arises in some communities or on some issues more than others. Of course, that is yet another complicated subject in itself and does not render *Citizen Lobbyists* anything less than a decent contribution on an important subject.

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Independent Scholar

Restructuring the Philadelphia Region: Metropolitan Divisions and Inequality. By Carolyn Adams, David Bartelt, David Elesh, and Ira Goldstein, with Joshua Freely and Michelle Schmitt. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008. 256 pp., $74.50 cloth, ISBN: 1-59213-896-9; $25.95 paper, ISBN: 1-59213-897-7

Restructuring the Philadelphia Region should be required reading for every resident of the nine counties (and the 353 municipalities within them) that the book covers. But that would require a coordinated metropolitan policy, which, as Carolyn Adams and her coauthors point out, is highly unlikely in a “region that is decentering and has balkanized into hundreds of small, separate jurisdictions that offer their residents widely differing opportunities to work, live, and educate their children” (193). As this quote suggests, the authors offer a sobering vision of the metropolitan area that is bolstered by a mountain of data (too rich and voluminous to summarize adequately in a review), much of it collected through the Metropolitan Philadelphia Indicators Project (www.temple.edu/mpip/) upon which this book fruitfully builds.

Relative to other urban areas in the United States, the Philadelphia region is marked by a highly unequal distribution of wealth manifested in the form of spatially concentrated pockets of poverty that are isolated from economic opportunity through “job sprawl.” The jobs that are most widely dispersed across the region, and thus the farthest from public transit routes, are also the lowest paying. The poorest residents of the region accordingly have the longest commutes to work, yet they are also the least able to afford cars. The geographic concentration of poverty is reinforced by a housing market that provides a limited range of residential options to residents making below the median metropolitan income of $51,980 (mostly in the cities of Camden, Chester, and Philadelphia, along with several inner-ring suburbs). Not surprisingly, the available evidence shows that these communities have the highest percentages of homes purchased through subprime mortgages and the highest foreclosure rates.

Also not surprising is that the vast majority of the best public schools in the region are concentrated in communities with “highly-educated, high-earning populations” (115). Interestingly, Adams et al. found through regression analyses that the average educational level of the overall community was a much stronger predictor of public school student achievement (measured by SAT score) than was average income. Still, it is far more expensive to move into a community with high-performing schools, as indicated by the strong, persistent, and positive relationship between school achievement and housing prices.

Residents of the region’s poorest communities face the greatest obstacles to finding work, endure the longest commutes, suffer the fewest housing and schooling options, and shoulder the largest state and local tax burdens. Using a hypothetical household earning the median metropolitan income and living in a house priced at the median metropolitan market value ($174,044), Adams et al. conclude that “in the majority of suburbs, our hypothetical household would have been paying under $6,500 in combined state and local taxes, compared with the same household paying over $6,500 if they lived in Philadelphia and over $8,000 if they lived in the distressed city of Chester” (149–150).

With regard to unequal taxation, the authors conclude that “the result of the region’s intense fragmentation into hundreds of small jurisdictions is that by exercising choices among communities, people can opt out of paying the full cost of their location choices” (150). Indeed, the strongest theme in the book is the negative consequences of government fragmentation. For instance, the authors attribute job sprawl in part to the fact that both Pennsylvania and New Jersey historically have left land use planning to separate municipalities and in some instances have actively discouraged intermunicipal coordination (45). Disparities in education are also partly attributable to the fragmentation of school districts, which, in turn, is exacerbated by state policies, especially in Pennsylvania, that use local school district property taxes to fund public schools (134–138 and 158). The authors note as well that municipal fragmentation allows companies to pit municipalities against one another, as in the case of Towers Perrin, a consulting firm that “benefited from over $14 million in promised state and local government incentives to move 1,100 employees one mile from Voorhees, New Jersey, to Cherry Hill, New Jersey” (159).

If Adams et al. are clearly in favor of regional cooperation, they depart from scholars such as Myron Orfield and Neal Pierce who urge cooperative action among elected local officials. Instead, the authors foresee a “regionalism by default” (196) led by nongovernmental institutions—regional authorities, business improvement districts, neighborhood development organizations, community development financial institutions, and foundations—that have formed “an increasingly thick network across the region, mobilizing money and political support that would not be available to traditional institutions of government” (195). That is slim solace, to say the least.

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Social Capital in the City: Community and Civic Life in Philadelphia. Edited by Richardson Dilworth. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006. 240 pp., $88.50 cloth, ISBN: 1-59213-344-4; $28.95 paper, ISBN: 1-59213-345-2

The publication in 2000 of Robert Putnam’s *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* renewed scholarly interest in the apparent decline of social capital in the United States and its ramifications for particular communities. In this edited volume, researchers closely examine social capital in the city of Philadelphia in historical context, in urban education, and in neighborhood and other locally based institutions. The result is a compelling book that makes a rich contribution to the literature on both social capital and the city of Philadelphia.

The first three chapters are devoted to Philadelphia’s social capital in historical context. These chapters paint a convincing portrait of Philadelphia as a vibrant center for social capital in different historical eras. In Chapter 1, for example, Jerome Hodos extols the city’s 1876 Centennial Exposition as a monumental event that required sustained participation within groups, otherwise known as *bonding* capital, as well as the more outward looking, *bridging* capital, which requires the creation of bonds between and across groups. Likewise, in Chapter 2 Mark Brewin encourages the reader to rethink the relationship between voting and social capital. While most contemporary literature on electoral participation suggests that voting is a result of social capital, Brewin postulates that in Philadelphia in the late nineteenth century, Election Day's voting rituals actually "create[d] and promote[d] social capital" (41). Voting's inability to create social capital in modern America may be one possible reason for the decline in electoral participation. Concluding the first section, David Contosta and Carol Franklin discuss how social capital was at work in the "preserv[ation] and enhance[ment]" of Wissahickon Park in the twentieth-century (56). Maintaining "one of the largest urban park networks in the world"—one that includes many different communities and constituencies—requires sustained bonding efforts within and between groups (57). In large part, the park's success can be traced to the social bonds that it created.

Comprised of two chapters, Part II examines social capital in urban education. In her chapter titled "Leveraging Social Capital: The University as Educator and Broker," Barbara Ferman makes a compelling case for how universities can build social capital in their cities. She cites Philadelphia's Temple University as an example. Ferman encourages universities not to neglect their natural role in "seeding the kinds of values and fostering the types of activities that we associate with democratic life and practice" (88). Whereas Ferman summarizes the various social capital initiatives developed by Temple's University Community Collaborative of Philadelphia (UCCP), Melina Patterson in Chapter 6 reviews the West Philadelphia Improvement Corps (WEPIC), a partnership in West Philadelphia among the University of Pennsylvania, public schools, and other neighborhood organizations. The goals of WEPIC were to establish broad partnerships, build social networks, and improve the lives of those in the community. Lives of West Philadelphia residents frequently were improved, but Patterson cautions that these efforts at community improvement often are exceedingly difficult in locales faced with broad structural inequalities that have persisted for far too long.

In the third and final section of the book, the authors consider "the role of local institutions in social capital production" (12) such as credit unions (Chapter 6), African American-owned businesses (Chapter 7), economic development projects (Chapter 8), closely-knit neighborhoods (Chapter 9), and churches (Chapter 10). Though each chapter offers something unique and rewarding, Patricia Stern Smallacombe's chapter on the Kensington section of Philadelphia presents an interesting perspective on the limitations of bonding social capital. Predominantly populated by poor working-class whites, Kensington has been largely left behind in the "postindustrial economy" and "institutional efforts to address racism around the city." Therefore, its residents "increasingly see themselves as disenfranchised majority citizens" (178). The result of the monumental societal shifts, Stern Smallacombe argues, is that residents looked inward and achieved social identity strictly within the neighborhood, which generated negative attitudes concerning work, education, pregnancy, and families. In the end, Kensington's high *bonding* social capital has been to the detriment of *bridging* social capital and connecting to outside institutions.

In the concluding chapter, Matthew A. Crenson and Benjamin Ginsberg place social capital into its appropriate context and draw connections among the chapters. They argue that the decline of popular politics, reflected in political parties and protest movements, and the subsequent growth of "personal" modern politics that make the process open to anyone, have precipitated the decline in social capital. Herein is the crux of the problem. While it is easy for scholars and pundits alike to blame citizens for the decline of social capital, this book causes the reader to ponder the larger, structural reasons for its decline. It is a valuable contribution to the literature on social capital and the city of Philadelphia.

Kyle L. Kreider
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The Realignment of Pennsylvania Politics Since 1960: Two-Party Competition in a Battleground State. By René M. Lamis. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009. 398 pp., $65.00 cloth, ISBN: 978-0-271-03419-5

Scholars of politics often do not give enough attention to state-level and local-level analysis of major political trends. This is certainly true in the work on electoral realignment. René M. Lamis's *The Realignment of Pennsylvania Politics Since 1960* adds much to the realignment discussion by focusing in great detail on electoral changes in one state over the last 50 years. She believes such state-level analysis can help develop a more comprehensive understanding of what has happened to the American electorate since the 1960s. In the case of Pennsylvania, she argues, "recent Democratic gains are aftershocks of the culture-wars realignment playing out after the main event of the realignment has occurred" (36). She relates these changes to the aftershocks that followed the New Deal realignment. The book tries to explain why Democratic presidential candidates fared so well in Pennsylvania since the 1960s when Republican senatorial and gubernatorial candidates remained highly competitive. It provides thorough statistical analysis of state voting and demographic trends while telling the story of each election from 1960 to 2004. It makes an excellent addition to electoral realignment theory as well as Pennsylvania political history.

This well-structured book sifts through 50 years of election data. After first reviewing the current state of realignment theory, it examines presidential electoral change both nationally and within Pennsylvania. Lamis begins with the New Deal realignment to show how the South began moving away from the Democrats with the election of Truman and how Kennedy was the last non-Southern Democrat to win the Presidency until Obama did in 2008. The book notes how culturally liberal states moved toward the Democrats, while culturally conservative ones moved toward the Republicans. This is termed the “culture war realignment,” and its aftershocks led to a relatively stable party system at the turn of the century as “voters in the fifty American states sorted themselves out” (53).

Drawing upon Pennsylvania voter and demographic data, the rest of the book provides a wonderful journey through all the gubernatorial and senatorial elections in Pennsylvania from 1960 to 2004, along with analysis of the 2006 and 2008 elections. While Lamis sometimes presents an avalanche of statistical data, charts, and figures, her analysis is thorough and she provides strong evidence for her thesis. The story that unfolds explains how Pennsylvania has become a moderately Democratic state over the last 50 years. Culturally liberal and culturally conservative counties sorted themselves out during a period of culture war realignment. The clearest examples are the counties surrounding Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, which respectively have become more Democratic and Republican. The qualitative background information about candidates illuminates why certain moderate Republicans such as Tom Ridge, Dick Thornburgh, John Heinz, and Arlen Specter have been so successful, while Republican presidential candidates have not fared as well. The success of these moderate Republicans explains the rampant ticket-splitting observed in Pennsylvania. Senator Rick Santorum appears as the major outlier, and the portrait of Pennsylvania’s electorate painted by the author makes it easy to see why Bob Casey Jr. beat him so handily in 2006.

This work provides an excellent foundation for future analyses of Pennsylvania elections. The postscript on the 2008 election reinforces the argument that Pennsylvania is moving in a Democratic direction. An interesting image is drawn of the state being divided demographically and politically by the Appalachian Mountains. To the east, the population is becoming younger and more educated as young people leave the western counties. What were once some of the strongest Republican counties east of the Appalachians have seen Democratic gains over the last two presidential elections.

Having grown up in a Democratic household in Lancaster County, I can personally attest to this trend. Over the past few election cycles, "closet" Democrats have been finding their voices in Lancaster and much of the eastern half of the state at the same time that more educated, urban, and cosmopolitan individuals have moved to this region from the Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York areas. This change has affected county voting trends and it may predict additional Democratic advances in the East. The most astonishing picture of this trend appears in a map showing how only six counties in Pennsylvania have seen gains in Republican Party registration from 2004 to 2008. The rest have seen varying degrees of Democratic gain. When combined with the 2008 registration data showing that 67.3% of voters aged 18 to 24 are Democrats, opportunities for future Republican electoral success appear bleak. The book properly notes, however, that these trends are not set in stone.

The 2008 election also reinforces the argument that new realignments do not completely erase old ones but build upon them instead. Although the author makes a strong case for the culture war realignment, the 2008 election demonstrates that economic issues from the New Deal realignment are still alive and well.

Lamis essentially predicts Senator Arlen Specter's switch to the Democratic Party in 2009. Her review of the state's electoral history identifies Congressman Pat Toomey's near-upset of Specter in 2004 as an example of how the state's Republican Party has become more conservative and thus less able to endorse someone like Specter. As she persuasively notes, "My best guess is that moderate-to-liberal Republicans like Senator Specter are likely to have a tougher time winning GOP nominations in the future. . . . The irony is that it is exactly this type of moderate-to-liberal candidate who has the best chance of getting elected statewide" (278). After reading this book, one senses that

Specter read the writing on the wall and realized that he could no longer win a Republican primary even though he has the qualities necessary to win a general election.

This final point about Specter reinforces how important this book is not only for academics studying realignment but also for practitioners seeking state or federal office. The book is well written and rich with data and statistical analysis. It will appeal to professional political scientists, journalists covering the state, and students in classes on Pennsylvania politics.

Daniel Mallinson
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Pivotal Pennsylvania: Presidential Politics from FDR to the Twenty-First Century. By G. Terry Madonna. Mansfield, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2008. 126 pp., $14.95 paper, ISBN: 1-932304-40-1

The May 2008 Democratic primary election brought much national attention to Pennsylvania as the two candidates, Senators Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, battled to secure enough votes to win their party's nomination. The national media descended on the State, which occupied center stage for more than a month. Although Clinton's victory in Pennsylvania did not deliver her the Democratic nomination, the election marked the first time since 1976 that Pennsylvania's voters played an important role in the *nominating* process of either party.

But as G. Terry Madonna documents in his book, *Pivotal Pennsylvania: Presidential Politics from FDR to the Twenty-First Century*, the Keystone State has earned its reputation as a battleground in *general* elections for the presidency. In eight chapters, each averaging less than 20 pages, Madonna reviews the last seven decades of the twentieth century and the first decade of the current century. The chapters are organized in essentially the same manner: first an examination of each presidential election in terms of the major issues that animated the Democratic and Republican Party primaries both nationally and in Pennsylvania, then an account of the parties' conventions and nominees, and finally an analysis of the general election campaign in Pennsylvania incorporating voter turnout data and, where appropriate, analysis of how the various regions of the state cast their votes.

Those unfamiliar with Pennsylvania's voting history may be shocked to learn that for over 40 years the state was solidly Republican, consistently supporting the GOP's presidential candidates while also electing them to statewide office and even the mayor's office in the state's largest cities. The Democrats' fortunes began to improve with the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. Even though Herbert Hoover carried the state for the GOP that year, the popularity of Roosevelt and his New Deal brought the incumbent president victory in Pennsylvania in 1936, the first time since 1912 that any Democrat had carried the state. Pennsylvanians vacillated between the parties in subsequent presidential elections, thereby earning the state its reputation as a battleground. In the conclusion, Madonna treats the 2008 primary campaign but not the general election. He does note, however, that the Democrats had won four consecutive presidential races in the state as of 2004. Still, it would have been helpful had he speculated about the implications of either an Obama or McCain victory for the state's role as a battleground in the 2012 election cycle.

Pivotal Pennsylvania is an excellent overview of a large northeastern state's historical place in modern presidential electoral politics. Considering the book's brevity, the author could have devoted more pages to any one of the elections he covers, and the conclusion ought to have provided a more comprehensive synthesis of the material. But these are the complaints of an academic. General readers and students will find much to enjoy and learn from Madonna's work, while historians and political scientists will have a handy reference on Pennsylvania's place in presidential campaigns.

Thomas J. Baldino
Wilkes University

Welfare Reform in Persistent Rural Poverty: Dreams, Disenchantments, and Diversity. By Kathleen Pickering, Mark H. Harvey, Gene E. Summers, and David Mushinski. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006. 256 pp., $66.00 cloth, ISBN: 978-0-271-02877-4

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) instituted a transition from traditional welfare embodied in Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). The goal was to move families off welfare by imposing time limits and requiring either work or community service in order to receive benefits.

Welfare Reform in Persistent Rural Poverty compares the experiences with welfare reform in four regions known for persistent rural poverty: Appalachian Kentucky, the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations in South Dakota, the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, and the Mississippi Delta. By selecting two representative counties in each of these regions, the authors explore policy implementation both within and between regions. These regions mirror the national trends in that welfare caseloads declined dramatically in the period of study from 1996 to 2003. Why they declined and what happened to former welfare families is the subject of this study.

The strength of this work is the mix of quantitative and qualitative analyses. The authors—sociologists, an economist, and an anthropologist—bring a diversity of methodological perspectives that provide different insights into the experiences of TANF recipients. A statistical section places each region in state context while also allowing for comparison between regions. Case studies of each region, based on interviews with government case workers, private sector agency representatives, and current and former TANF participants, provide insights into unique conditions that shape policy implementation.

The story of welfare reform in each of these regions is complex, involving the interplay of social and economic structures within the dynamics of local politics and agency interaction. The outcomes of devolution of program implementation are mixed. In Mississippi the privatization of social services limited accountability, while in South Dakota the state and tribal governments clashed over program administration. The Texas Local Workforce Development Boards created a hostile atmosphere for program recipients, in some cases using sanctions to drop families from the rolls and in others creating bureaucratic disincentives to joining in the first place. Kentucky counties, on the other hand, developed a "community approach" to welfare reform involving considerable coordination between government agencies and community organizations.

Access to good jobs depends, in part, on having the requisite education and technical skills. States varied widely in their approaches to education for TANF participants. In Kentucky, PRWORA was implemented in the wake of a major education reform program, giving communities both educational infrastructure and valuable experience in providing services. TANF participants in Kentucky were able to count time spent obtaining a GED or even taking courses at community college in lieu of work requirements. Participants in Texas and Mississippi, on the other hand, could not. Texas recipients complained that their required work hours limited time available to obtain an education, and some even noted that they had more time to pursue an education under the old AFDC programs.

No matter how effectively a policy is implemented, a "welfare to work" program is effective only when there are permanent, well-paying jobs with benefits to be had. In each of these regions, efforts of TANF participants to transition off government support were often derailed by the structure of the local economy. Unemployment is high in chronically poor regions, but underemployment is even more of a problem. Participants did leave the programs after finding jobs, but those jobs were often seasonal in nature and paid minimum wage. Limited access to child care and public transportation presented further barriers to continued employment upon leaving TANF. In Mississippi, TANF participants found themselves competing for jobs with workers laid off when manufacturing moved offshore. Only in the Rio Grande Valley did the booming border economy provide some hope for job seekers.

In the end, poor families survive as they always have—with a combination of government assistance, work in the formal and informal economies, and family support that the authors call "the everyday economy." Informants in Texas and Mississippi noted that TANF pays so little for the bureaucratic costs and work involved that the program "is not worth it," and they quit the program to make it on their own. The most vulnerable were single mothers whose precarious support systems occasionally failed. Respondents reported that they sometimes went hungry when *all* support failed.

Welfare Reform in Persistent Rural Poverty confirms, in nuanced detail, what many suspected about the impact of PRWORA, that the decline in caseloads had less to do with the improving economy than with the specific dynamics of program implementation. In the end, PRWORA may not have helped recipients as much as did the recipients' own resilience and reliance on traditional means of economic survival.

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Bethlehem Steel: Builder and Arsenal of America. By Kenneth Warren. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008. 352 pp., $45.00 cloth, ISBN: 978-0822943235

This is the fifth book in Kenneth Warren's examination of the growth and decline of the American steel industry during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His first was a business biography of industrialist Henry Clay Frick [*Triumphant Capitalism: Henry Clay Frick and the Industrial Transformation of America* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000)]. He then examined the coke industry in the Pittsburgh region in *Wealth, Waste, and Alienation: Growth and Decline in the Connellsville Coke Industry* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001). Returning to the makers of the American steel industry, Warren wrote a biography of Charles Schwab, an executive who played key roles at both United States Steel and Bethlehem Steel in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries [*Industrial Genius: The Working Life of Charles Michael Schwab* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007)]. Warren then turned his attention to America's largest steel producer for most of the twentieth century—U.S. Steel—and examined in close detail its rise and more recent struggle for survival [*Big Steel: The First Century of the United States Steel Corporation, 1901-2001* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008)]. In the book under review, Warren shifts from the company that Schwab helped create—U.S. Steel—to the organization that Schwab turned into U.S Steel's arch rival and America's second largest steel manufacturer for most of the twentieth century: Bethlehem Steel. For scholars interested in the industrialization of Pennsylvania in the late nineteenth century and those interested in the deindustrialization of the state in the late twentieth century, these five books combine to tell an important story from the corporate viewpoint.

Bethlehem Steel was a major employer in Pennsylvania from World War I through the 1970s. It originated as part of the iron industry that existed in Pennsylvania throughout the nineteenth century. Unlike the steel industry, iron manufacturing tended to be small and decentralized. Although many iron makers attempted the switch to steel in the late nineteenth century, few succeeded. Warren develops this context quite well, and he nicely places the early history of Bethlehem Steel in this regional story in addition to linking changes in the industry with broader international trends. He then chronicles how Bethlehem Steel profited from the carnage (and America's late entry) into the two world wars.

Bethlehem Steel owes its rise in the industry largely to sales to Europe while the United States remained "neutral" for the first few years of World War I. As with his book on U.S. Steel, Warren does an excellent job tracing the decisions—both good and bad—made by Bethlehem's executives in the twentieth century. Like many companies in decline, by the time Bethlehem management realized the company was in trouble in the late twentieth century, it was largely too late to stop the slide. Warren criticizes Bethlehem's inbred management for making decisions that in many cases were not bold enough to deal effectively with domestic and foreign competition. The story of Bethlehem's decline is fascinating because by just changing names and dates it could be applied to almost any major American manufacturer over the past 40 years. Bethlehem and U.S. Steel charged foreign steel makers with "dumping" when the American companies were simply being outproduced and undersold. Warren also makes clear that Bethlehem's difficulty in dealing with its unions while it was in decline was a legacy of the company's aggressive anti-union activities during its period of growth.

All in all, Warren has done a superb job of telling the saga of the rise and decline of one of Pennsylvania's major twentieth century corporations. Although he discusses Bethlehem's anti-union labor practices (and what was even for the industry unduly high executive pay), this volume is a corporate history within an international context. Other works will need to be consulted for a full picture of life for workers at Bethlehem Steel. Warren's text on the nineteenth century is full of competitors' names that scholars not well versed in Pennsylvania industrial history may not know, but overall he develops the context well.

For me, the biggest question about this work is its relationship with Warren's four other books from the same press. All five volumes tell interrelated tales and overlap in both story and context (this is particularly true of the three most recent works). Although each book tells an important part of the long story of the state's industrialization (and deindustrialization), a scholar needs to read all five to fully understand the story from the corporate side. This volume on Bethlehem Steel should be read by people interested in the Lehigh Valley and the steel industry, but whether it will appeal to a broader spectrum is doubtful. While the story of Bethlehem seems to me to be more interesting that that of its larger competitor (because of its earlier history and its odder twists and turns), I would be hard pressed to tell someone who was going to read only one book on the steel industry to choose this one over Warren’s work on U.S. Steel. Ironically, the author has produced an outstanding book on an interesting topic that may appeal only to a very limited market simply because he has produced so many other works on similar topics.

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