

since 1965. In looking at the cases, one sees that the most prevalent means of abridging American Indian voting rights are vote dilution, specifically via at-large electoral systems in multimember districts, and language barriers. The authors make it easy to track this abridgement by supplying a comprehensive table that chronologically lists and breaks down the legal issues, actors, case citations, and outcomes of all 74 Indian voting rights suits brought to this point in time (pp. 48–67). What becomes clear by this part of the book is the centrality of the courts to Indian voting rights politics. It is for this reason that I recommend the study to U.S. public law scholars, whether or not they have an immediate interest in American Indian or race and ethnicity politics, as they would likely have more disciplinary interest in the research and focus of the book than might those who study, say, social movements, political culture, or political behavior.

Chapters 4–6 are case studies of VRA litigations concerning, respectively, Navajos in Utah, the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre tribes of the Fort Belknap Reservation in Montana, and Lakota Sioux in South Dakota. Each chapter follows the same structure, providing historical background, the contemporary context, the details of the case, and finally the decision itself, which in each instance finds in favor of Indian voting rights. Read together, these cases demonstrate the variety of issues and resolutions that can be pursued through VRA litigation. What is also valuable here, especially for teaching, is that each chapter is a self-contained case, as all references to concepts and criteria mentioned in previous chapters are restated concisely and clearly. If I had one quibble, it is that while I appreciate the authors' aim of exploring the range of successful applications of the VRA, it would have been an interesting contrast to examine a case in which the decision went against Indian voting rights.

Although the book is not a study of the behavior of American Indian voters in U.S. elections, the final chapters argue that advances stemming from VRA litigation have been, in this regard, “profound for American Indians” (p. 173). Chapter 7 notes the rise in American Indian voter registration and turnout, the election of Indian representatives in newly created single-member districts, and the positive impact these representatives have had on public policy and Indian political efficacy. Finally, Chapter 8 traces the increasing bipartisan attention accorded “the Indian vote” in recent U.S. elections, noting that while American Indians tend to vote Democratic, they are not strongly identified with the party.

Taken as a whole, then, the authors' verdict is a positive one: American Indians are becoming more active and influential in U.S. elections, and thus “there are reasons for optimism” as it concerns their socioeconomic and political future (p. 194). The authors have done the research and work to make a case for this optimism and, while I highly recommend this book, I also recommend that teach-

ers and scholars place it into direct conversation with studies that look at the politics of tribal sovereignty. I am sure the authors would agree, as they take note of the fact that some American Indian political actors see a tension between participating in U.S. elections and maintaining their political commitment to tribal sovereignty. I agree with the authors that this is likely a false choice. American Indians have strong claims to both full participation in U.S. politics and the right to tribal sovereignty, and the two can work hand in hand, provided sovereignty remains the political priority for tribes. To this end, McCool, Olson, and Robinson's important study widens our vision of the complicated terrain of American Indian politics, as well as that of U.S. race and ethnicity politics. As such, *Native Vote* is sure to become required reading in these fields, and will be a welcome addition to many syllabi; I know it will be on mine.

**The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia.** By Guian A. McKee. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. 400p. \$39.00. doi:10.1017/S1537592709991290

— John Krinsky, *The City College of New York*

Optimism is the liberal's credo. Guian A. McKee's *The Problem of Jobs* is an exhaustively researched exposition of industrial retention, job training, job creation, and affirmative action efforts in postwar Philadelphia. It argues that, in spite of the enormous obstacles faced by liberals in and outside of city government, Philadelphians managed to come up with programs that mitigated the harmful effects of deindustrialization from the 1950s through the early 1980s. Yet these programs were not as effective as they might have been because liberals tended to treat the problems of economic and job development as distinct from that of racial justice. In showing concretely where these projects were and were not joined together, McKee ultimately comes down on the side of optimism and a defense of moderate liberalism, concluding that joining economic development and racial justice *is* possible within the framework of a globalizing capitalism. McKee—consistent with the current political moment—sees liberalism's hope in addressing persistent urban problems as resting on liberals' being motivated by a more activist left, but also being able to craft pragmatic solutions within the constraints of a conservative political culture.

*The Problem of Jobs* takes up six case studies in which liberals tried to develop jobs and to open up existing jobs to African Americans, from the victory of liberal Democratic reformers in 1951 through the 1980s: (1) the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC), which, beginning in the 1950s, used federally tax-exempt municipal bonds to subsidize the redevelopment of factories in an effort to retain industry; (2) the civil rights leader Rev. Leon Sullivan's use of selective boycotts to force

Philadelphia's companies to hire more African-American workers; (3) the Opportunities Industrial Centers (OIC), Sullivan's training program for inner-city African Americans that sought to combat the problem of skills mismatch in a community dealing with increasingly chronic unemployment; (4) the OIC-Progress Movement, Sullivan's effort at creating community-controlled capitalist enterprises, which depended on technology transfer and subcontracts from better-established companies and on military contracts; (5) the Philadelphia Plans—affirmative action programs mainly targeting the construction trades and their unions—that, while opening up a few jobs to African Americans, also exacerbated tensions in the liberal coalition; and (6) the Johnson-era Model Cities program, which, when coupled in the early 1970s with PIDC, provided the kinds of federally funded, locally driven programming that, if generalized and implemented earlier, could have put the problem of jobs at the forefront of urban policy.

Federalism and its sometimes-ironic effects on the problem of jobs is a leitmotif of the book. McKee highlights the importance of federal funding in urban economic development, whether in the form of tax subsidies or programmatic grants. He argues that federal funding, rather than federal mandates, was most effective in aiding local liberals. For example, he indicates that the Great Society's funding was crucial to the successes of OIC, but that its emphasis on community participation actually undercut the potential of comprehensive planning that had begun to show promise for tying together Philadelphia's problems of deindustrialization and economic segregation by prompting local struggles for control.

McKee skillfully probes the fragility of postwar liberalism and its coalition, indicating differences and contradictions between commercial and social Keynesian strategies and between a labor- and racial-justice liberalisms. Both sets of tensions were real, and clashes between these visions extended—as did all the issues in this book—far beyond Philadelphia. He also probes the relationship between radicalism and militancy on one hand, and moderate liberalism on the other. McKee approvingly cites Leon Sullivan's brand of “build, Baby, build” black power, which sought pragmatic solutions and business partners rather than transformations in social and political power. Nevertheless, in spite of his reliance on Sullivan's autobiography in several key chapters of the book, McKee is forthright in his assessment of Sullivan's failures and those of the other efforts he studies. Though McKee clearly prefers moderate styles, militants still supply moderates with a radical flank effect that they needed to remain moderate and, often, to win the day.

*The Problem of Jobs* can be difficult going. The level of detail is impressive, but the prose might have been enlivened with more summary statements or a stronger authorial voice. The organization of the book as a series of

temporally overlapping case studies can get confusing, as the reader is forced to circle back several times and piece together what is happening in Philadelphia and when. Further, McKee often tries to cast an optimistic light on policies that only forestalled the worst effects of deindustrialization. Though this trains our focus on the *real potential* immanent in some liberal policy interventions, it also tends to magnify the larger contradictions of urban liberalism under a rapidly globalizing postwar capitalism, and thus begs the question of whether liberals' failure to embrace more radical positions interfered with more transformative politics. McKee does not think so. But in his concluding assessment that a “political culture that is fundamentally conservative” is the main obstacle to liberal solutions to poverty and urban problems (pp. 288–89), he risks mistaking the lessons of his own research. Liberalism was beset by its own contradictory stances toward capitalism, its own factions, its own indecision about federalism, and its own hesitancy about race. These weakened its *political* power in the face of conservative opposition, whether this came from chambers of commerce in the early 1960s or from federal disinvestment in the 1980s. McKee never defines conservative political culture, and so cannot clinch the case.

But these are mainly arguments I have with the book, rather than criticisms of its quality, and even these also indicate the book's strengths. McKee's careful case studies and historical reconstructions put *The Problem of Jobs* in the company of some of the finest recent work in urban and policy history, adding each genre's strengths to the other. *The Problem of Jobs* will be important in any assessment of liberal policy successes and failures, and of liberalism's future prospects. It should be featured prominently in any graduate course on economic development, urban policy, and race and public policy. The book's combination of historical rigor with sober political argument should provoke further research on other cities' experiences, and further dispute about what lessons we should draw from them.

#### **The Making of Pro-Life Activists: How Social Movement Mobilization Works.**

By Ziad W. Munson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 248p. \$60.00 cloth, \$22.50 paper. doi:10.1017/S1537592709991307

— Ted G. Jelen, *University of Nevada at Las Vegas*

A number of books have been written describing the tactics and motivations of pro-life activists. The work of Faye Ginsberg, Kristin Luker, Carol Maxwell, and others have provided important insights into the beliefs and actions of those who actively seek to limit or eliminate legal abortion in the United States. Ziad Munson's *The Making of Pro-Life Activists* is a welcome addition to this literature.