lack of knowledge, and collective and individual strategies for avoiding work and camouflaging misconduct. These processes of daily deception are justified through grounded discourses of necessity and competition linked to organizational and individual image preservation, as well as potentially contradictory strategies of denial and distancing.

Seeking to build on sociological classics, particularly Erving Goffman's work on symbolic interactionism and dramaturgical perspective, Shulman also suggests that deception should be an integral part of studying work and organizations, and that theories need to be revisited in order to account for and explore the breadth of deceptive strategies and frameworks reproduced by workers and workplace structures. His most useful contribution is the idea of a dramaturgical infrastructure, defined concisely as a "strategic partnership between structural demands for particular appearances and the deceptive management that a worker orchestrates to produce credible performances in response to those demands" (14). Shulman refers explicitly to Bourdieu's (1977) concept of cultural capital in his chapter on deception as workplace social currency, but clearly is also drawing, whether intentionally or not, on the notion of habitus in positing dramaturgical infrastructure as a constitutive and constituting dynamic between labor and structured practice.

The methodological section is located in an appendix, and not interwoven with the text. Although the appendix does contain a brief listing of questions related to the challenges of probing deception through interviews in which participants could deceive, these remain but questions, not seriously grappled with as methodological challenges.

Thirty organizations in sectors including finance, advertising, real estate, health care, and the media constitute the workplaces that form the second case study. Shulman had from one to three respondents in each of the 30 organizations. For-profit and nonprofit organizations are lumped together throughout the book. There are differences in organizational purpose when profit is at stake, and the failure to provide a serious assessment of what impact the profit motive has on workplace deception and social relations is a noteworthy omission.

Moreover, the research site is not elucidated. The reader has to deduce that the research took place somewhere in the United States from references to U.S. federal agencies in a chart. The absence of locality avoids grounding the workers in space, and engaging with or even identifying the local, regional, and national culture, politics, geography, economics, and history, and how these shape the conceptual and literal social terrains of work. Similarly, although he refers to neo-Marxist challenges to scholarly understandings of the strategies used by workers in capitalist labor structures, Shulman does not clearly contextualize his study within capitalism, contemporary neoliberal restructuring, or post-Fordism. The ahistoricism of the work neglects crucial political economic history, and reproduces epiphenomenal thinking about social actors' material and ideological conditions. This work, and particularly the idea of dramaturgical infrastructure, would be strengthened by the inclusion of even a brief analysis of hegemony and the production and reproduction of "common

sense." Are there larger implicit or explicit lies that create an even bigger shadow under which daily lies are normalized?

Although in the second case study Shulman describes the experiences of workers at different positions in their labor hierarchies and includes some references to sex discrimination and perceptions of women, there is no explicit discussion about how the politics of gender, class, and race intersect, reinforce, or disrupt workplace deception and workers' perceptions of their own power and agency. The idea of workers "passing" is considered briefly; some reference to the political history of this term and its application by marginalized social groups seeking to fit into dominant and mainstream cultures would situate the author's discussion in a broader historical context.

The book provides a good review of sociological literature on organizations and certain forms of interdisciplinary labor studies, particularly research on emotional labor. Although anthropologists will recognize some commonality with Scott's (1985) everyday forms of resistance in certain of the workers' maneuverings, there are no explicit links made to anthropological contributions to the study of labor and the active, strategic manipulation of information and behavior by social actors. All told, the book's usefulness for anthropological studies and teaching of work is limited.

References

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scott, James C. 1985. Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Notes from Toyota-land: An American Engineer in Japan. **Darius Mehri. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 2005.**

Elizabeth Nanas, Wayne State University

During the 1960s, Toyota established a worldwide presence in the automotive industry. A decade later, as the manufacture of fuel-efficient, high-quality automobiles was fast gaining acceptance within the U.S. market, the attention of industry leaders was drawn to the Toyota Production System (TPS) as a viable model with which to rethink both Henry Ford's "Just-in-Time" concepts and Frederick Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management* (1911). In brief, TPS blends the ideas of Just-in-Time inventory methods with the work of American professor and statistician E. Edwards Deming into a system for managing interactions between manufacturers, workers, suppliers, and customers. TPS, then, can be thought of as a sociotechnical tool used to eliminate waste and manage complexity in the work-place. By the early 1990s, TPS had been re-contextualized in the United States as Lean manufacturing (Lean), with much of the same emphasis on waste elimination and improvement of work-flow.

Today, the application of TPS/Lean is widespread, not just in the automotive industry, but also in other manufacturing, production, and organizational systems. Darius Mehri's memoir, *Notes from Toyota-land*, documents one engineer's experiences with the theories and practice of TPS/Lean in the United States and Japan, offering an intimate glimpse at the complex interplay between theory, practice, and the lived experience of production and manufacturing work.

In the early 1990s, after graduating from the University of Rochester, Mehri lived in Japan for a year, and it was during this time that he developed his admiration for "Japanese industriousness and ingenuity" (4). Following his stay in Japan, Mehri returned to the United States to complete a Master's degree in engineering at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. There he was introduced to TPS, which was touted as a superior way to produce goods by removing waste and optimizing the flow of complex systems. Yet upon his graduation and after securing a white-collar engineering position with a Japanese company, he soon observed that Western enthusiasm for TPS failed to distinguish *honne* within the *tatemae* – to distinguish real intentions within formal explanations. This point about the difference between what people say and what people do is illustrated throughout Mehri's memoir and is used to challenge standard views of TPS/Lean as taught in U.S. educational settings and applied in automotive companies.

Although Mehri was not trained as a social scientist, his memoir's foreword, preface, and introduction provide some details regarding his research methods and his relationship with sociologists Robert Perrucci and Laurie Graham. Mehri's "covert participant observation" began when he secured a 3-year contract to work as a research and design engineer for Japan's "Nizumi" corporation (April 1996 to June 1999). Noting that Japanese companies rarely hire foreigners to work with key engineers designing proprietary technology, and because he believed that there would be much to learn about superior team-work practices, Mehri began keeping a journal of his experiences and observations. As this informal project progressed, Mehri began to identify inaccuracies in what he had learned in graduate school about celebrated TPS/Lean practices within Japanese companies. From here, Mehri supplemented his journal observations with more than 75 formal and informal interviews with foreign and Japanese white-collar and blue-collar Nizumi employees, as well as members of the community, labor scholars, and politicians.

Mehri divides *Notes from Toyota-land* into three sections that correspond to the three years he lived and worked in Japan. "First Year" details his enthusiasm, disorientation, rule breaking, and initial sense-making of working at Nizumi. Mehri provides detailed descriptions of workday practices and the difficulty he had in meeting expectations that did not always make sense to him. He recounts his fascination with company literature and department meetings, and ponders his Japanese colleagues' lack of interest in these mediations. As the first year progresses, Mehri becomes increasingly frustrated with "team work" that operates in opposition to his expectations of harmonious cooperation. Because sharing information is considered risky, as it may allow another colleague to secure promotion within the organization, Mehri must learn new ways to engage his colleagues and to navigate a system where colleagues and supervisors keep information to themselves.

By his second and third years in Japan, Mehri has become more adept at understanding the subtleties of *honne* within the *tatemae*. With increasing understanding of the closed nature of the organization, he begins to seek out more opportunities to socialize with his white-collar colleagues, blue-collar workers, and members of the community. He becomes more focused on the ways that post-work socializing can both strengthen employee bonds *and* create social and financial hardship, explaining that in addition to the economic strain that this socializing incurs, workers are compelled to participate in these social events often as much by adherence to custom as to coercion and bullying by senior employees. These interpersonal obligations have important implications for the ways that company rules and service overtime can affect the status and advancement of individuals and departments. As his attention turns toward local politics, worker unrest, and labor-management relations, Mehri argues:

> To an outsider, the labor-management relationship in Japan seems based on consensus and harmony; policy is decided in a system in which each group negotiates until an equilibrium is achieved that satisfies the whole. Management always maintains a façade of cooperation, and the union always maintains a façade of independence. But in truth, the union is just a management arm. (194)

Mehri becomes increasingly interested in health and safety issues that impact both white-collar and blue-collar Nizumi workers. He is specifically concerned that union leaders are working to please company managers and executives who will reward their efforts with promotions. As he develops relationships with other foreign blue-collar workers, Mehri begins to cultivate a more nuanced analysis of the ways that economic recession, work conditions, citizenship, local politics, and corporate protocol interconnect with problems of TPS/Lean in practice, as in practices that optimize work space and labor at the expense of blue- and white-collar worker health and safety.

The memoir's three chapters generally correspond to Mehri's expressed experiences as an alien, native, and critic of the cultural system he was embedded within (xv). This outline parallels the oversimplified way that anthropology has often engaged its subjects and sites: first invoking the exotic other and then negating it (Metcalf 2002). Despite this theoretical and methodological limitation, *Notes from Toyota-land* provides a worthy account of one American engineer's experience within a Japanese automotive company. Mehri's memoir exemplifies how anthropological concepts and methods can be used outside of the discipline to document and analyze lived experience in a foreign place. This book may be useful in stimulating discussion about the meaning and practice of ethnography, opportunities, and challenges of cross-disciplinary partnerships, and global implications of TPS/Lean as theoretical and applied processes that penetrate international ideals of industry standards and work.

References

Metcalf, Peter. 2002. They Lie, We Lie: Getting on with Anthropology. New York: Routledge.

Taylor, Frederick. 1911. Principles of Scientific Management. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Busier Than Ever! Why American Families Can't Slow Down. **Charles N. Darrah, James M. Freeman, and J.A. English-Lueck. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.**

Justin Niehoff, IBM Corporation

Busier Than Ever is an ethnography of 14 middle- or upper middle-class American families living and working in Silicon Valley, California between 1999 and 2001. The book's focus is on their ''busyness.'' The ethnography offers answers to two key questions. First, *how* are these people busy? In other words, what does it mean when Americans say that a worker or a family member is ''busy''? Second, *why* are these people busy: what accounts for the rushed activities and jam-packedness of their lives? The ethnography looks at work in the context of how it contributes to the busyness exemplified by these 14 American families, but it is not a study of work or working in the sociological tradition.

All families in the sample were headed by a married dual career/dual income couple. The selection of families for this ethnography was ethnically diverse. The ethnographers followed these family members for approximately one year per household. The emphasis was on the parents, as workers, but the researchers also followed the children in their school and after-school activities as well as other individuals connected to the household, such as former spouses and fictive relatives. The anthropologists kept a detailed record of all activities performed by each household member: what they did, when they did it, how hard they worked at it, and why they did it. They spent time investigating leisure and voluntary activities as well as work activities.

I would recommend this book to any *AWR* reader based on the authors' answers to the question of *how* we are busy. We see through the eyes of these anthropologists all the many and varied activities these family members do. We see them planning to work, working, worrying about work, reflecting on work, shopping, handling childcare arrangements, becoming actively involved in their children's welfare, and having fun. Work comes first, and penetrates every other type of activity. Adult workers span the continuum from corporate employees to self-directed entrepreneurs. Several adults in the sample have more than one job at the same time, and must juggle the demands of those jobs. The book also describes the strategies used by family members for managing the busyness of their families. We see how they plan, how they cope, how they juggle business and personal errands, and how they compensate for the fact that they really have very limited time outside work. Many nonwork activities are described as well, including excellent vignettes of compulsive shopper-savers and families who are deeply involved in their faith or in volunteerism for good causes. Mundane activities like cooking, cleaning, helping children with homework, and doing home improvements are all described with anthropological insight as well.

The answer to the second question, *why* we are busy, is not so fulfilling. We come to understand that busyness is not directly a function of work responsibilities. Work is hard and stressful, and many of the adult workers are ''on call'' so much that they have no firm separation between work and home lives. We see that major contributors to this busyness are the standards and expectations we set for how we raise our children. Adults rush to get children to day-care, school, play dates, and sports activities, as well as stores to buy things for them. One component of busyness is a function of having to get to so many different locations. I did not feel, however, that the authors were as willing to risk providing a summary of answers to the *why* question as they did for the *how* question. I would like to have seen a list of causal factors which made families in this sociocultural context feel and act busy. That would have enabled other researchers to build on this work in other studies.

Anthropologists of work can learn a lot through a careful reading of the articulation of work and nonwork activities. First, we see how individuals take time from one domain to conduct activities in another. For example, we see a fire captain who does personal errands during time he is supposed to be working. Individuals also take time from family-time to do work, whether at home or on vacation. Second, this study gives a nice example of how to frame a study of work from a household perspective rather than from the perspective of a firm or individual. Third, this ethnography contributes to the concept of a regional culture, that of Silicon Valley during the time of the dot-com boom.

The ethnography is not without shortcomings, however. First, this study does not seem to operate from any specific anthropological or sociological theoretical perspective, if the reader is looking for that. Second, the sampling of Silicon Valley families appears to be quite unrepresentative of Americans as a whole: a study of families in Kansas would likely yield very different results. This study was performed at the height of a housing bubble, during which one of the only ways to get relief from the high housing costs of Silicon Valley was to have two incomes; a second was to move, and commute from, farther away. It would have been interesting to see some quantitative measurements of the busyness costs of distance. For example, I would like to know the average daily commuting distances for husbands versus wives in miles, or the average number of miles driven per car per year, compared with the average for all American drivers. Finally, some larger sociocultural contexts of busyness would help address the question of why we are busy. One of those contexts might be historical, addressing what has changed in the last one to two generations. Some perspective from Kanter's *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977), for instance, would be helpful in depicting the relationship between husbands, wives, and work in the early 1970s. Cross-cultural perspectives would be useful and appreciated by an anthropological audience as well, such as Saso's (1990) study of how the wives of middle-class