

## Talk the Talk, but Walk the Walk: A Comment on Joan Williams's *Reshaping the Work-Family Debate*

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Every morning, newspapers bring reports of fresh disasters suffered by America's workers. Intractable unemployment,<sup>1</sup> outsourcing,<sup>2</sup> temporary work,<sup>3</sup> corporate bonuses and profit-taking,<sup>4</sup> a business-oriented Supreme Court<sup>5</sup>—all have taken a toll on workers of every class.

Joan Williams commendably wishes to change America's shabby treatment of parents in the workplace.<sup>6</sup> She believes that a new approach is in order, namely, that men of all classes, and middle- and working-class people in general, should join forces with professional-managerial-class women to change workplace leave policies.<sup>7</sup> In her recent book, *Reshaping the Work-Family Debate: Why Men and Class Matter*, Wil-

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1. See, e.g., Motoko Rich, *Few New Jobs as Jobless Rate Rises to 9.8%*, N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 4, 2010, at A1 (describing stalled job market).

2. See, e.g., Heather Timmons, *Outsourcing to India Draws Western Lawyers*, N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 5, 2010, at B1 (describing companies in India that provide legal services for U.S. corporations).

3. See, e.g., Motoko Rich, *Weighing Costs, Companies Favor Temporary Help*, N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 20, 2010, at A1 (describing recent groundswell of workers added to temporary-employment rolls).

4. See, e.g., Louise Story, *Wall Street Pay*, N.Y. TIMES, Jan. 2, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/info/wall-street-pay/> (describing large end-of-year bonuses); Eric Dash, *Vikram Pandit Praises Citibank's 'Rebirth,'* N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 28, 2010, <http://dealbook.nytimes.com/2010/12/28/pandit-sees-rebirth-of-citigroup/> (describing memo to colleagues regarding profits).

5. See Adam Liptak, *Justices Offer Receptive Ear to Business Interests*, N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 19, 2010, at A1 (describing increasing tendency of the Roberts Court to rule in favor of business interests).

6. See JOAN C. WILLIAMS, *RESHAPING THE WORK-FAMILY DEBATE: WHY MEN AND CLASS MATTER* 1 (2010) ("Writ small, this book is about reframing debates about work and family.").

7. *Id.* at 5 ("I seek to reframe the ways we think about gender, beginning with an examination of the role of masculine norms . . . that make men reluctant or unable to play an equal role in family life."); *id.* at 11 ("Bridging these gaps will require opening up difficult conversations about masculinity and class . . . in which our identities—as men and women and as progressives—seem at stake."). Authors in this Colloquy take up these "difficult conversations about masculinity and class." See, e.g., Ann C. McGinley, *Work, Caregiving, and Masculinities*, 34 SEATTLE U. L. REV. 703 (2011); Katharine B. Silbaugh, *Deliverable Male*, 34 SEATTLE U. L. REV. 733 (2011).

liams explains obstacles that lie in the way of such reform and offers many suggestions to address family-workplace stress.

In this Essay, I focus on some of the forces that exert a squeeze on the possibility for reform. From one direction, American capitalism's quest for higher profits creates hostile workplace structures for workers.<sup>8</sup> From another, the devaluation of children manifests itself as lack of sympathy for childbearing and child rearing.<sup>9</sup> And from yet another locus, the different hopes, dreams, and aspirations of professional and other classes dims the prospects for a lasting coalition between them.<sup>10</sup> These formidable obstacles, in turn, are a product of materialist economic factors at least as much as of cultural conflict and how people get along with or treat each other.<sup>11</sup>

My viewpoint combines my long-time interest in how money influences political thinking and the possibilities for reform<sup>12</sup> with my upbringing as a grandchild of immigrants and child of an immigrant father. Part I briefly outlines the intensification of U.S. corporate culture that has dominated the last four decades. Part II describes the United States as a child-unfriendly nation. Part III reflects on class differences. Part IV offers two suggestions—one broad, one narrow—for engaging in workplace reform. One could write a book, but this is not my book to write.<sup>13</sup>

## I. INTENSIFICATION OF THE CORPORATE STATE

What began as a laissez-faire market economy in the United States in the eighteenth century has become what some now name hypercapitalism.<sup>14</sup> Though the Declaration of Independence substituted

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8. *See infra* Part I.

9. *See infra* Part II.

10. *See infra* Part III.

11. For the view that material forces frequently underlie changes in consciousness, including class orientations, see, for example, Derrick A. Bell, Jr., *Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest Convergence Dilemma*, 93 HARV. L. REV. 518 (1980) (noting that significant events in civil rights history often arrive in response to material needs and conditions).

12. JEAN STEFANCIC & RICHARD DELGADO, *NO MERCY: HOW CONSERVATIVE THINK TANKS AND FOUNDATIONS CHANGED AMERICA'S SOCIAL AGENDA* (1996) (describing the role of wealthy foundations and backers of corporate causes in underwriting a number of successful campaigns including welfare reform, tort reform, Official English, and immigration restriction).

13. For the reader unfamiliar with my previous scholarship, most of it lies in the area of race and the social construction of whiteness. *See, e.g.*, RICHARD DELGADO & JEAN STEFANCIC, *CRITICAL RACE THEORY: AN INTRODUCTION* (2001); *CRITICAL WHITE STUDIES: LOOKING BEHIND THE MIRROR* (Richard Delgado & Jean Stefancic eds., 1997). Although I consider myself a student and exemplar of class and class consciousness, I am not an expert in it by any means.

14. *See, e.g.*, RUTH COLKER, *AMERICAN LAW IN THE AGE OF HYPERCAPITALISM: THE WORKER, THE FAMILY, AND THE STATE*, at xi (1998) (describing hypercapitalism as an economic

the phrase “the pursuit of happiness” for “the pursuit of property,”<sup>15</sup> it has turned out that happiness for many rests on the pursuit of property no matter what the human cost.<sup>16</sup> The U.S. Constitution, unlike Canada’s Charter, provides no balancing statement of values on which to ground a humane society.<sup>17</sup>

During the period bookended by Lewis Powell’s admonition to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in 1971 that “American business[es] . . . apply their great talents vigorously to the preservation of the system itself”<sup>18</sup> and the U.S. Supreme Court’s holding in *Citizens United*,<sup>19</sup> lifting restrictions on corporations and unions to shower money on candidates in elections, the pursuit of wealth and profits has reigned supreme.<sup>20</sup> A recent study shows that during the brief five-year term of the Roberts Court, business interests won 61% of their cases, a much higher percentage than in previous Court terms.<sup>21</sup> The law and economics movement in law schools legitimated the treatment of efficiency as a central norm in American law; today, almost every law school teaches a course in law and economics, undoubtedly a larger number than those that teach poverty law. Those who hold this view have cared more about efficiency, utility, and wealth maximization of markets than the hardships that afflict workers who create the profit.<sup>22</sup>

Profit-making outsources jobs.<sup>23</sup> Temporary work replaces full-time employment.<sup>24</sup> The loss of a job at age fifty-five turns into early forced

system “that is overly enamored with laissez-faire economics and insufficiently concerned with our health and well-being”).

15. See Anthony E. Cook, *The Death of God in American Pragmatism and Realism*, 82 GEO. L.J. 1431, 1456 (1994) (describing the drafting process that led to this substitution).

16. No segment of society or line of work seems immune to this relentless pursuit—not even lawyers! See generally NANCY LEVIT & DOUGLAS O. LINDER, *THE HAPPY LAWYER: MAKING A GOOD LIFE IN THE LAW* 40–42, 71, 101, 189 (2010) (describing “the hedonic treadmill” in which individuals pursue happiness through a constantly retreating set of objectives such as acquisition of expensive cars, vacation homes, and other status symbols).

17. See, e.g., *Regina v. Keegstra*, [1990] 3 S.C.R. 697 (Can.) (discussing this difference between the two constitutional systems and noting that the Canadian Charter expressly requires that all its provisions be interpreted in light of that country’s commitment to a multicultural, diverse society).

18. See STEFANCIC & DELGADO, *supra* note 12, at 137 (citing a confidential memorandum to a U.S. Chamber of Commerce chair in 1971).

19. *Citizens United v. Fed. Election Comm’n*, 130 S. Ct. 876 (2010).

20. Equating unions to corporations as though they stand on the same footing is, of course, problematic. See Michael Whitney, *Is Citizens United Decision Bad for Unions?*, WORK IN PROGRESS (Jan. 25, 2010), <http://workinprogress.firedoglake.com/2010/01/25/is-citizens-united-decision-bad-for-unions/> (quoting Rose Ann DeMorre, executive director of the National Nurses United (NNU) union, comparing the two groups to a toy boat and an aircraft carrier).

21. See Liptak, *supra* note 5.

22. See RICHARD POSNER, *ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF LAW* (7th ed. 2007) (describing how economic factors underpin much of the legal system).

23. See Timmons, *supra* note 2; Story, *supra* note 4.

retirement.<sup>25</sup> The government spends billions of dollars on wars the public does not support,<sup>26</sup> while public education continues to wait at the end of the line.<sup>27</sup> In the universities, tenure is on the wane and low-paid adjuncts take up the slack.<sup>28</sup> In such times of economic downturn, workers, whether professional, middle, or working class, are less likely to rock the boat.<sup>29</sup> These are, thus, not the best of times to campaign for workplace changes for full-time workers.<sup>30</sup>

## II. ANTIPATHY TOWARD CHILDREN

In recent years, parenthood is increasingly looked at as a private lifestyle choice.<sup>31</sup> Williams points out that a number of childless women in the workforce resent what they see as special consideration for women who are parents.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, many young couples, for a variety of reasons, do not plan to have children.<sup>33</sup>

The United States is not a child-friendly nation, nor has it been one historically. Children have become a devalued commodity because of the expense of raising them.<sup>34</sup> For their part, corporations look upon children as another category of consumer.<sup>35</sup> In the nineteenth century, slave own-

24. See Rich, *supra* note 3.

25. See Bob Herbert, *The Data and the Reality*, N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 28, 2010, at A23 (noting the difficulty of finding work after a layoff for a fifty-year-old worker).

26. See Nicholas D. Kristof, *The Big (Military) Taboo*, N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 26, 2010, at WK16.

27. See JONATHAN KOZOL, *THE SHAME OF THE NATION* (2005) (lamenting inadequate spending on schools and calling for a new structure of school financing).

28. See David Evans, *What's Happening to Tenure*, THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUC. (Oct. 15, 2010), <http://chronicle.com.proxy.seattleu.edu/blogs/onhiring/whats-happening-to-tenure/27564> (describing the decline in tenure-track faculty lines).

29. Because jobs are scarce and a pool of workers is always ready to step in, most employees will naturally hesitate to incur management's disfavor. See *Fear Factor in the Workplace*, N.Y. TIMES ROOM FOR DEBATE BLOG (Jan. 9, 2009, 8:49 AM), <http://roomfordebate.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/01/09/fear-factor-in-the-workplace/?scp=1&sq=rock%20the%20boat%20jobs&st=Search> (describing widespread insecurity among American workers).

30. A few workplaces are notable exceptions. These include Hewlett Packard, Baxter International, Marriott Hotels, and Google. See *JUGGLING WORK AND FAMILY* (PBS 2001).

31. Note, for example, how the U.S. birthrate has been declining and now is barely above replacement level. For a discussion of how many couples are more interested in personal development than raising progeny, see Barbara Dafoe Whitehead & David Popenoe, *The Social Retreat From Children and How It Is Changing America*, LIFE WITHOUT CHILDREN 36 (2008), available at <http://www.virginia.edu/marriageproject/pdfs/2008LifeWithoutChildren.pdf>.

32. WILLIAMS, *supra* note 6, at 101–03, 115–18.

33. Whitehead & Popenoe, *supra* note 31, at 7–11. For a discussion of the work-family debate and its effect on “family nonconformity,” see Gowri Ramachandran, *Confronting Difference and Finding Common Ground*, 34 SEATTLE U. L. REV. 725, 730 (2011).

34. Whitehead & Popenoe, *supra* note 31, at 29–30.

35. *Id.* at 38.

ers sold black children separately from their parents.<sup>36</sup> The government set up boarding schools for Indian children that separated them not only from their parents, but also from their tribes, language, and culture.<sup>37</sup> Exclusion laws prevented Chinese women from emigrating to the United States to become wives of Chinese men who had already emigrated, thus creating a Chinese bachelor society, unable to reproduce, that lasted well into the twentieth century.<sup>38</sup> Mexican children in the Southwest who became field workers received little education.<sup>39</sup> When they did, schools discouraged bilingualism and punished those who spoke Spanish.<sup>40</sup> In recent years, undocumented Latino children who aspired to citizenship have been denied an opportunity to attend college or to join the military to achieve that goal.<sup>41</sup> Until Congress passed child-labor laws<sup>42</sup> and many states began mandating school attendance, many poor white children worked in the mills, factories, and mines of the Northeast and South.

Today, children of the poor are more likely to grow up in single-family households, with fathers often in prison.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, a recurring theme among certain radical ecologists is that wealthy nations like the United States tolerate too high a birth rate, thus depleting the earth's resources.<sup>44</sup> Anti-immigration forces have echoed this theme, noting with

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36. Pamela D. Bridgewater, *Un/Re/Discovering Slave Breeding in Thirteenth Amendment Jurisprudence*, 7 WASH. & LEE RACE & ETHNIC ANC. L.J. 11 (2001) (describing Southern slave owners' practices of breeding female slaves for their economic potential).

37. JUAN F. PEREA ET AL., RACE AND RACES: CASES AND RESOURCES FOR A DIVERSE AMERICA 741–45, 928, 1020 (2007).

38. *See* Page Act, 18 Stat. 477 (1875) (erecting barriers against the immigration of Chinese women to the United States, in effect producing a bachelor society with a preponderance of males and few children).

39. Migrant and bilingual education only became important issues for the civil rights and education communities in the late 1950s. *See generally* RICHARD R. VALENCIA, CHICANO STUDENTS AND THE COURTS: THE MEXICAN AMERICAN LEGAL STRUGGLE FOR EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY (2010) (detailing the history of lawsuits seeking educational equality for Mexican-American students).

40. *Id.*

41. Recall, for example, the turbulent history of the Dream Act, which at the time of writing, has still not passed. *See* Dream Act News, *With Bill Stalled in Senate, What Happens Next?*, CHRISTIAN SCI. MONITOR (Dec. 9, 2010), <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2010/1209/DREAM-Act-news-With-bill-stalled-in-Senate-what-happens-next>.

42. *See Child Labor in America 1908–1912*, THE HISTORY PLACE, <http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/childlabor/> (displaying photographs by Lewis W. Hine of children at work in such places); Keating–Owen Child Labor Law Act, 39 Stat. 675 (1916), *declared unconstitutional by* *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U.S. 251 (1918).

43. MICHELLE ALEXANDER, THE NEW JIM CROW (2010) (describing devastating consequences of excessive incarceration on black families and the black community). For the view that prison building and prison administration are prime factors fueling the recent wave of incarceration, see Richard Delgado, *Rodrigo's Portent: California and the Coming Neocolonial Order*, 87 WASH. U. L. REV. 1293, 1296 n.7 (2010).

44. *See, e.g.*, PAUL R. EHRLICH, THE POPULATION BOMB (1968). Subsequently Ehrlich founded Zero Population Growth and published PAUL R. EHRLICH, ANNE H. EHRLICH & GRETCHEN

disapproval how many Latina mothers produce too many children.<sup>45</sup> Some of these groups receive funding from the same right-wing foundations.<sup>46</sup>

Meanwhile, most children of the elite and upper-middle class receive the benefit of higher education, intact families, and adequate food and shelter, but are often emotionally neglected.<sup>47</sup>

In short, antipathy toward children begets little sympathy for child-care workplace reform.

### III. CLASS

During Reconstruction and the New Deal, large numbers of Americans made material progress.<sup>48</sup> These advances were not merely a few individuals achieving Horatio Alger-type success, but genuine group-based improvements for the living situation of many millions of people. Today, however, the prospects for such a leap forward for workers—white, black, Latino, or any other group—are dim. The gap between the wealthy and the poor stands at the greatest level ever.<sup>49</sup> The media are almost entirely in the hands of a few well-heeled moguls or wealthy cor-

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C. DAILY, *THE STORK AND THE PLOW: THE EQUITY ANSWER TO THE HUMAN DILEMMA* (1995) (the stork is the enemy of capitalism).

45. See, e.g., FAIR: FEDERATION FOR AMERICAN IMMIGRATION REFORM, <http://www.fairus.org/site/PageServer> (last visited Feb. 8, 2011). On the conservative hue and cry over so-called “anchor babies,” see Editorial, *Immigration Hardball*, N.Y. TIMES, Nov. 18, 2010, at A28.

46. See STEFANCIC & DELGADO, *supra* note 12, at 10–11.

47. See Richard Delgado, *Transcendence: Conservative Money and Intergenerational Succession*, in *TRANSCENDING BOUNDARIES AND SPACES IN LAW TEACHING* (forthcoming 2011) (noting that very wealthy parents often have children who reject their values, do not want to follow in their footsteps, consider that their childhoods were barren, and author tell-all books accusing their famous parents of neglecting them). For a discussion of child-unfriendly regulation affecting rural families, particularly welfare reform, see Lisa R. Pruitt, *The Geography of the Class Culture Wars*, 34 SEATTLE U. L. REV. 767, 807–08 (2011).

48. See DERRICK A. BELL, *RACE, RACISM, AND AMERICAN LAW* 48–52 (6th ed. 2008) (describing the gains and setbacks of this period); ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., *THE COMING OF THE NEW DEAL* (1958) (describing economic gains associated with that period).

49. See Richard Delgado, *The Myth of Upward Mobility*, 68 U. PITT. L. REV. 879 (2007) (book review) (describing the gulf between the nation’s wealthy and those who are struggling); see also Laura T. Kessler, *Feminism for Everyone*, 34 SEATTLE U. L. REV. 679, 698–700 (2011) (describing macroeconomic issues contributing to work and family conflict).

porations,<sup>50</sup> and the country's leadership has shredded the social safety net.<sup>51</sup> Fear, suspicion, and wariness abound.

Confusion attends even the definition of the term "working class" in the United States.<sup>52</sup> One can define class in terms of income, education, aspiration, job status, exempt or non-exempt work, or past privilege and its replicating benefits. Joan Williams makes a valiant attempt to explain the characteristics of the "Missing Middle" class to her professional-managerial peers.<sup>53</sup> In Chapter 5 on the class culture gap, Williams discusses differences in child rearing, food, family dynamics, discipline, vacations, friendships, religion and morality, and conversational styles—all quite fascinating.<sup>54</sup> She concludes that her peers should get to know the other classes better in order to mend the broken relationship between them in the hope of enlisting the working class in workplace-reform campaigns.<sup>55</sup> She counsels her group not to indulge in insults and slurs against lower classes.<sup>56</sup>

Though understanding cultural difference can be sociologically important, one need not know about the intimate details of class life to form alliances with others. Simple courtesy, respect, and openness to other points of view seem to be in short supply, so it is good that Williams reminds her class peers to be sensitive. It seems to me, though, that the most important difference between classes lies in the material aspect of life and how it affects aspiration and what people value.<sup>57</sup> For the working and much of the middle class, money buys independence. A successful climb up the ladder of work brings more income, more autonomy in the workplace, increased choices of education for children, and the hope of a secure retirement.<sup>58</sup> For the professional-managerial class, the paral-

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50. For example, Rupert Murdoch owns a media empire that includes Fox News Corporation and much of the satellite television business. On the mogul's life and many acquisitions, see NEIL CHENOWETH, *RUPERT MURDOCH: THE UNTOLD STORY OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST MEDIA WIZARD* (2001). The power of the media as a narrative tool is explored in other contributions to this Colloquy. See generally Beth A. Burkstrand-Reid, "Trophy Husbands" & "Opt-Out" Moms, 34 SEATTLE U. L. REV. 663 (2011); Nancy Levit, *Reshaping the Narrative Debate*, 34 SEATTLE U. L. REV. 751 (2011).

51. Shelley Waters Boots & Karin Martinson, *A Modern Safety Net*, AM. PROSPECT (Sept. 17, 2009), [http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=a\\_modern\\_safety\\_net](http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=a_modern_safety_net) (describing the downturn in economic well-being of American workers).

52. *All Things Considered: The Difficulty of Defining What "Middle Class" Is* (NPR radio broadcast Oct. 6, 2010) (featuring an interview by Robert Siegel with Sherry Linkon, Co-Director of the Center for Working-Class Studies at Youngstown State University); Ross Douthat, *The Changing Culture War*, N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 6, 2010, at A27.

53. WILLIAMS, *supra* note 6, at 155–57, 160–64.

54. *Id.* at 164–86 (Chapter 5, "The Class Culture Gap").

55. *Id.* at 152–54, 203–14.

56. *Id.* at 9–10, 154, 184, 189–94.

57. See Bell, Jr., *supra* note 11.

58. *All Things Considered*, *supra* note 52.

lel climb also brings prestige, power, a career, and the opportunity for self-fulfillment through more work.<sup>59</sup> Though the working class admires prestige and power, their quest is for leisure and financial security, rather than self-actualization through work, which is why the rich are the objects of such great attraction and admiration.<sup>60</sup>

In short, working and professional classes have different aspirations and needs that make coalitions shaky and temporary and make members of each group mistrustful of the other. Thus, alliances on a grand scale are likely to fail.

#### IV. MODEST PROPOSALS

At a conference many years ago, Ralph Nader chastised an audience of critical legal studies adherents for missing the opportunity to turn their considerable talents to helping the working class.<sup>61</sup> A few of them had been allied with labor; some still are.<sup>62</sup>

When faced with a choice of where to allocate time and resources, my heart lies with the working class. There, life itself is at stake, not wealth, status, or career. For those who feel likewise and wish to learn more, I recommend taking a look at the rich websites of Youngstown State University's Center for Working-Class Studies,<sup>63</sup> Stony Brook University's Center for Study of Working Class Life,<sup>64</sup> Class Matters,<sup>65</sup> and the Working Class Studies Association.<sup>66</sup> Then read Dorothy Sue

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59. WILLIAMS, *supra* note 6, at 163, 175, 181, 186, 191.

60. See, for example, any installment of programs such as *Who Wants to be a Millionaire*, which cater to impossible dreams of quick wealth. See also WILLIAMS, *supra* note 6, at 191 (commenting on the same desire).

61. See Schedule of Events, THE POLITICS OF CLASS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY: A CRIT NETWORK CONFERENCE 4 (Mar. 10–12, 1995).

62. Letter from Karl Klare, Professor of Law at Northeastern University on behalf of the Ad Hoc Committee of Law Professors to Support the Hilton Boycott (Dec. 16, 2010) (on file with author) (urging that law professors planning to attend the AALS annual meeting in San Francisco in January 2011 boycott the Hilton hotel to demonstrate support for hotel workers engaged in a labor dispute).

63. *New Working-Class Studies*, CENTER FOR WORKING-CLASS STUDIES AT YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY, <http://cwcs.yzu.edu/studies/> (last visited Feb. 8, 2011) (describing the program for working-class studies at that university, which is located in southeastern Ohio in a former steel-mill town).

64. Stony Brook University, CENTER FOR STUDY OF WORKING CLASS LIFE, <http://www.stonybrook.edu/workingclass/about> (last visited Feb. 8, 2011) (describing the center's activities).

65. CLASS MATTERS, <http://www.classmatters.org/> (last visited Feb. 26, 2011) (describing activities of the center for class and community organizing); see also BETSY LEONARD-WRIGHT, CLASS MATTERS: CROSS-CLASS ALLIANCE BUILDING FOR MIDDLE-CLASS ACTIVISTS (2005) (interviewing forty activists about challenges of building coalitions between classes).

66. WORKING CLASS STUDIES ASSOCIATION, <http://www.wcstudies.org/> (last visited Feb. 8, 2011) (describing the association's goals).

Cobble's *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America*.<sup>67</sup> Cobble also calls for a reexamination of New Deal feminism.<sup>68</sup>

By studying women's labor history, one will find that race cannot be separated from class analysis.<sup>69</sup> Consider Emma Tenayuca,<sup>70</sup> Dolores Huerta,<sup>71</sup> Maida Springer,<sup>72</sup> and Julie Su, the Harvard-trained, MacArthur Award-winning lawyer who championed the cause of Thai and Latina sweatshop workers and won.<sup>73</sup> The working class is more diverse than the professional-managerial class; ignoring racial dynamics diminishes the whole picture.<sup>74</sup>

Not all of us are born to be social reformers on the grand scale. Many issues, however, lie close at hand if one only opens one's eyes.<sup>75</sup> How many feminists supported the strike that led to the formation of the Harvard Clerical and Technical Workers Union in 1988 after an eighteen-year struggle?<sup>76</sup> How many would do that today? How many academic feminists know how their support staffs manage work-life balance? And how many complain when one of those workers unexpectedly has to be absent for medical reasons? How many professional women

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67. DOROTHY SUE COBBLE, *THE OTHER WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: WORKPLACE JUSTICE AND SOCIAL RIGHTS IN MODERN AMERICA* (2005).

68. Dorothy Sue Cobble, *It's Time for New Deal Feminism*, WASH. POST, Dec. 13, 2009, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/12/11/AR2009121102583.html>.

69. See Robert S. Chang, *Joan Williams, Coalitions, and Getting Beyond the Wages of Whiteness and the Wages of Maleness*, 34 SEATTLE U. L. REV. 825 (2011); Richard Delgado, *Race, Sex, and the Division of Labor: Comment on Joan Williams's Reshaping the Work-Family Debate*, 34 SEATTLE U. L. REV. 835 (2011).

70. See Zaragosa Vargas, *Tejana Radical: Emma Tenayuca and the San Antonio Labor Movement During the Great Depression*, 66 PAC. HIST. REV. 553 (describing the Mexican-American labor organizer's work with striking women agricultural workers).

71. See *A DOLORES HUERTA READER* (Mario T. Garcia ed., 2008) (readings about the Mexican-American labor leader who, with Cesar Chavez, organized farm workers and spearheaded grape and lettuce boycotts).

72. See YEVETTE RICHARDS, *MAIDA SPRINGER: PAN-AFRICANIST AND INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEADER* (2004) (describing Springer's life as an ILGWU labor leader in the United States and, later, in Africa as an AFL-CIO representative).

73. See *Senior Fellow, Julie Su*, THE JAMESTOWN PROJECT, [http://www.jamestownproject.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=blogcategory&id=53&Itemid=62](http://www.jamestownproject.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=53&Itemid=62) (last visited Feb. 26, 2011) (describing her accomplishments).

74. On one aspect of this truism, see JOHN MUIR, *MY FIRST SUMMER IN THE SIERRA* 110 (Yolla Bolly Press 1988) (1911) ("When we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the Universe.").

75. Frequently attributed to Duncan Kennedy, "politics is personal," that is, it begins with daily life.

76. See JOHN HOERR, *WE CAN'T EAT PRESTIGE: THE WOMEN WHO ORGANIZED HARVARD* (1997) (describing the campaign by support staff at Harvard University, including secretaries, laboratory workers, library assistants, accountants, and custodians, among others, against the Harvard Corporation for better wages and working conditions).

with flexible schedules park children in their offices after the preschool day ends? How many clerical workers can do that?

The reader inspired by Professor Williams's fine book, but eager for suggestions on how to proceed, would do well to consider some of these sources and examples. Professor Williams cogently and in rich detail discusses the difficulty of securing cooperation from men and establishing coalitions between professional- and middle- and working-class people. These groups do need to communicate more effectively and without rancor, but in many respects, professional-class women have at least as much to learn from their working-class counterparts of all races as the latter do from them. Considering the difficulties posed by corporate power and society's antipathy toward children, we would do well to work together—soon.