

available to women for employment outside the home. While Philadelphia offered white working-class women a variety of industrial opportunities, familial values and ethnic networks determined which types of employment families deemed to be appropriate for their daughters and wives. Race also limited employment opportunities for women. Although black women worked in greater numbers than native-born or immigrant women, black women had fewer industrial opportunities. As late as 1920, over 80 percent of Pennsylvania's black women worked as either private or public domestics (43). In addition to racial discrimination and ethnic preferences, the composition of local industries also defined female employment opportunities. In Pittsburgh, where heavy industries such as iron, steel, aluminum, glass, and railroads dominated, white women found employment in light industries that manufactured food, stogies, electrical equipment, and textiles. However, due to Pittsburgh's focus on heavy industry, married working-class women worked in lower percentages than women in other comparable cities.

Pennsylvania's middle-class women had a long history of political and social reform. Reacting to industrialization and urbanization middle-class women mounted efforts to increase political rights, reform urban government, and improve industrial working conditions. From the 1860s, Pennsylvania's female reformers pursued equal rights and the vote for African Americans and women. Through the promotion of suffrage, the formation of female reform associations, and the creation of cross-class alliances, women sought to mitigate the effects of urbanization and industrialization. Roydhouse's analysis, which examines the contributions of organizations such as the Woman Suffrage Association, YWCA, Women's Trade Union League, and Bryn Mawr Summer School, demonstrates how women's political activism influenced public actions.

Roydhouse's concise review of women in Pennsylvania is useful for teaching Pennsylvania history, undergraduate course adoption, and the general reader. In addition, this volume includes a bibliography from which to explore a wealth of historical resources on Pennsylvania's women.

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*Second Suburb: Levittown, Pennsylvania.* Edited by DIANNE HARRIS. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010. 448 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$45.95.)

The word "Levittown" conjures up distinctively strong associations in the minds of scholars and the general public. The image that often emerges first is that of modest, single-family suburban houses clustered together by the thousands on an expanse of flat former farmland, followed by some combination of

different judgments: a successful experiment in making home ownership broadly affordable; a cultural wasteland of conformity and consumption; a child-filled, family-friendly community; a site and symbol of racial exclusion and hostility. One of the important achievements of *Second Suburb* is that such common, partially conflicting assumptions are at once confirmed and complicated. Composed of a relatively brief set of first-person memories of living in Levittown, Pennsylvania, and of seven scholarly essays focusing on such topics as architecture, planning, racial politics, and the environment, this skillfully edited collection is full of creative tension with its exploration of contrasts.

Dianne Harris sets the stage for this thematic focus on contrasts in her useful introduction, where she explains that Levittown “embodied both dream and nightmare,” that it proved “both ordinary and exemplary” (14). The most vivid nightmare on view in *Second Suburb* is the 1957 experience of the Myers family—the first African Americans to move to Levittown, breaking the Levitts’ all-white sales policy. In both Daisy Myers’s recollection of her family’s ordeal, which included a briefly violent riot as well as long-term harassment, and Thomas Sugrue’s historical assessment of Levittown’s race relations, the prevalence of naked bigotry and racial hatred in Levittown is evocatively depicted. But *Second Suburb* does not allow one to reduce Levittown to any simple or single story; also on display in these essays is the outpouring of support for the Myers family in particular and interracial goals in general among other Levittown residents, especially Quaker and Jewish activists living there. Another such contrast is found in Christopher Sellers’s essay on the suburban environment. Sellers examines how the intensive development of lower Bucks County—where Levittown is located—spurred residents in the more affluent central and upper parts of the county to form organizations in the 1950s and early 1960s designed to protect open space and thereby prevent their own communities from resembling Levittown. But then beginning in the late 1960s Levittown residents began responding to their own changing landscapes—air and water pollution from nearby industrial plants, newly plentiful litter—by fashioning a new brand of environmental politics with a broader vision and demographic profile. As Sellers summarizes, “Levittown and similar communities across the nation thereby served as both targets *and* breeding grounds for a new environmentalism” (284).

Other historical essays in *Second Suburb* follow the lead of Sugrue and Sellers in providing a nuanced sense of Levittown’s variation and evolution—a mission on which the recently thriving scholarship on American suburbs has focused. Particularly strong in this regard is Richard Longstreth’s essay on Levittown planning, which carefully traces Levitt & Sons’ pre–World War II and earlier Levittown, New York, projects, showing how the Pennsylvania Levittown represented a culmination of their attempts to adapt other developers’ new practices with their own professional experiences and personal interests (Alfred Levitt was a fan of Frank Lloyd Wright; Abraham Levitt was an avid gardener and stu-

dent of landscape architecture). Similarly, Dianne Harris's chapter on architecture and Curtis Miner's on kitchen design explore how Levittown, Pennsylvania, houses changed over the handful of years they were built during the early and mid-1950s, becoming more conservative and less innovative as consumer tastes and a changing real estate market influenced the Levitts' building plans.

Handsomely produced with an extensive number of photographs, floor plans, cartoons, and advertisements, *Second Suburb* provides a solid, smart contribution to our understanding of postwar suburbs by viewing a single suburban community through multiple historical lenses.

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*Citizen Environmentalists*. By JAMES LONGHURST. (Medford, MA: Tufts University Press, 2010. 272 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

In *Citizen Environmentalists*, James Longhurst demonstrates that historical explanations of the modern environmental movement must take local context and political power into account. The book focuses on the proliferation of small, grassroots environmental advocacy groups in the United States during the late 1960s and early 1970s. It features a case study of one such organization in Pittsburgh: GASP (Group Against Smog and Pollution). By stressing local rather than national events, and by integrating a political-science perspective with urban social history, Longhurst provides new insights into the sources and development of environmental activism.

Founded in 1969, GASP was rooted in the particular social geography of middle-class neighborhoods in Pittsburgh's East End, which were proximate to the heavily polluting steel industry of the Monongahela River Valley. Its members believed that transforming the political process of regulating air pollution at the municipal level was necessary to achieve cleaner air in their communities. Allegheny County, which had jurisdiction over air quality in the Pittsburgh area, had long implemented its air-pollution controls through gradual, consensus-seeking negotiations with major polluters. This approach resulted in numerous exemptions and lax enforcement. GASP promoted a contrasting vision of a more transparent, adversarial, and responsive regulatory system.

Longhurst adeptly uses local archival records to chart how GASP acquired and wielded political power. He highlights innovations in federal and Pennsylvania law that mandated public hearings on proposed environmental regulations and that authorized courts to admit "citizen lawsuits" against perpetrators of environmental damage. GASP leveraged these institutional changes to gain a voice in policy making. Linking the group's activities to the recent historiography of participatory democracy, Longhurst argues that GASP exemplified