

market, cross-border reproductive travel in search of donor eggs, and how vitrification changes the dynamics of reproductive travel. With the ability to cryopreserve eggs, cross-border fertility travel is shifting from moving people across borders to provide oocytes or seek out donor oocyte IVF to moving cryopreserved oocytes across borders instead.

In regard to cross-border fertility travel, Waldby's conversations with her more privileged donor-egg-seeking interlocutors reveal the power differentials between egg purchasers and egg providers. The women who need donor oocytes are "painfully aware" of their comparative wealth with respect to their younger, paid egg donors (p. 89)—some of whom were from impoverished East European countries and were providing oocytes in southern European clinics (p. 100). These internal conflicts and flashes of empathy for the economically precarious oocyte providers, however, were not enough to deter them from pursuing their quest to have the longed-for child. Indeed, while Waldby does include a handful of interviews with unpaid Australian egg donors and has addressed reproductive labor in her other work, by prioritizing the privileged side of the oocyte economy—and not including the voices of paid egg providers—she misses an important opportunity to demonstrate the human consequences of this power differential. My own research, with now over 400 paid and unpaid egg providers, reveals there can be severe emotional and physical consequences for people who exchange eggs for pay—especially for donors who are stimulated to produce high quantities of eggs per cycle.

Ultimately, the book traces the multiple trajectories of female reproductive cells and challenges us to think about oocytes in new ways. By examining how human eggs are transacted, she provides us with insight into how power, class, and privilege operate through the reproductive cells. *The Oocyte Economy* is an important read for anyone interested in third-party reproduction and the Fertility Industrial Complex.

Working Lives and In-House Outsourcing: Chewed Up by Two Masters, by Jacqueline M. Zalewski. New York: Routledge, 2019. 170 pp. \$155.00 cloth. ISBN: 9781138606319.

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While there is an established body of work demonstrating that workers hired under different employment arrangements (e.g., full-time, contract, and temporary workers) often perform different work, have different workplace experiences, and are subject to different career trajectories, there is very little research examining the transition of workers from full-time employment status to another employment status. In *Working Lives and In-House Outsourcing: Chewed Up by Two Masters*, Jacqueline Zalewski expertly fills that gap by exploring the experiences of professional workers whose jobs are outsourced to another firm and who consequently become directly employed by those outsourcing companies.

The book, based on a dissertation, analyzes the experiences of 51 workers, primarily in IT services but also in human resources, across 20 different in-house outsourcing (inO) deals, a phrase the author coins to describe situations where business processes are outsourced to an outside company but most of the equipment, work, and people who perform that work remain at the physical location of the original employer. The author uses a range of sociological theory to illuminate the effect of this dramatic job change on professional workers' experiences; inO promotes social conflict among workers, affects the work professionals do as well as the meaning they derive from that work, and blurs their professional identities and the culture of their workplaces. The book also delves into how and why workers consent to taking, and at times resist, their new outsourced jobs, and the effects inO has on their careers. This book will be useful to anyone interested in the intersection of work, occupations, and organizations, and should inform debates around the use of nonstandard work arrangements in organizations and outsourcing more generally.

InO reflects a fundamental shift in how work is organized and performed. It personifies what Pfeffer and Baron (1988) describe as the externalization of work by externalizing administrative control; having workers perform work for one organization while they are on the payroll, and under the direct managerial control, of another firm. However, as the author adeptly points out, inO is not simply a case of shifting work and workers from one firm to another. Rather, the workers who are outsourced are still expected to directly work on projects with former colleagues from their previous employer in an attempt to provide a seamless transition in the provision of business processes without a decline in the quality of service. However, shifting business process work from inside to outside the boundaries of the client organization, the change from coworker relationships between professionals to client-customer relationships, and the rise of a market logic to govern the work of professionals in outsourced firms create additional, unwanted tasks and pressures for outsourced workers and place a strain on interpersonal relationships. These tasks complicate the work to be performed and undermine the gains managers hope to create through outsourcing. The book provides a cautionary tale of the unintended consequences of outsourcing for workers whose jobs are moved from one employer to another and for the firms engaged in outsourcing deals.

The first chapter of the book introduces the study, explains the author's motivation for undertaking the study, and positions the study amid other work on nonstandard work arrangements and theoretical explanations for the occurrence of outsourcing. Like so many researchers, myself included, the author was originally motivated by learning of the experiences of friends and acquaintances whose careers were affected by inO deals. Having an intense personal interest in the phenomenon likely contributed to the development of rich and powerful stories from the subjects of the study that were the basis for explaining the process and consequences of inO and developing theory to explain it.

Chapters Two through Five deal with different aspects of what workers experience from inO. For instance, Chapter Two explores

the process by which inO is instituted in organizations and shows how professional workers experience the decision to outsource that forces a job change. The author equates the reactions to the process of one's job being outsourced with experiencing stages of grief. Workers move from initially denying that outsourcing will occur to becoming angry, feeling betrayed by their employer, and perceiving a violation of trust in their employment relationship before eventually accepting jobs with the outsource partner. The process is a reminder of how workers can perceive the outsourcing of their jobs as a violation of the relational psychological contract that develops between employers and employees, which had seemingly assured lifetime jobs and secure employment contracts. Workers whose jobs are outsourced often have little choice but to accept jobs that offer relatively lower compensation and benefits and lower professional status in lieu of losing their jobs altogether.

Chapter Three documents the ways outsourcing of jobs produces social conflict between previous coworkers because the work that is performed across firm boundaries is governed by contracts, which puts a strain on previous social relationships. Outsourcing deals are often framed as strategic partnerships between two firms, but in actuality they are more adversarial and confrontational. Outsourcing arrangements between firms are governed by contracts and formal procedures that must be worked out and enforced at the front lines by workers. This puts workers whose jobs are outsourced in new and difficult roles, such as changing the expectations of clients and developing new ways of interacting that are more transactional than relational. The author reminds us that this is a hidden cost of being an outsourced professional, this invisible political and emotional work that is required of front-line workers. To anyone who studies organizational structure or contractors, the difference between how work is performed in a hierarchy versus in markets is not surprising. What the book highlights, however, is that the transition between delivering services to fellow employees and delivering service as a member of an outside organization according to a contract is a stark reality for

outsourced professionals. Outsourced professionals face pressures to vacate the social capital they had developed with their former coworkers and treat them as strangers, which is what puts strain on these social relationships.

In Chapter Four the author explains how dramatically inO affects the work of outsourced professionals. When being sold on the idea of having their jobs outsourced, professionals are frequently told of the benefits of becoming a technical specialist and the opportunities that arise from working with the newest technological tools. But Zalewski shows that the work of outsourced professionals actually becomes more commodified and rationalized over time as outsourcing firms face pressures to hit their targets and reduce costs. The book explains how the change in the work professionals do has subsequent effects on work culture and how they identify with their profession. It is interesting to speculate whether the negative experiences outsourced professionals face is strictly the result of transitioning from one work status to another, if they may also be the result of being employed by a smaller firm, or if they occur because there are strong competitive pressures in the industry. And because the book focuses solely on professionals who have their jobs outsourced, it cannot speak to how the experiences of newly outsourced professionals compare to the experiences of professionals who begin their careers in outsourcing firms. What it can speak to is the fact that outsourced professionals have experiences that are different from what was advertised to them.

Chapter Five explores the tactics that firms use to gain the consent of outsourced professional workers and the ways these workers resist their new work demands. What struck me most about this chapter were the author's explanations for how tactics used by outsourcing firms changed over time and with the duration of contracts, and how they varied with the kind of work professionals performed. Some professionals do thrive in their outsourced jobs; but at least among the subjects in this sample, successful cases were relatively rare and were due not only to the expertise of workers but also to their individual characteristics that fit the demands of the job and the firm.

The book provides an interesting and thought-provoking perspective on how professional workers experience the upheaval of organizational and industrial change due to outsourcing. But the book is not without flaws. The author, admittedly, takes a critical perspective to explain the negative experiences of outsourced professionals. As such the book feels unbalanced, without much attention paid to uncovering or reporting on success stories. Even the section of the book that analyzes how some outsourced professionals thrived in their new roles ("Only Better for Some") gives the majority of attention to the negative aspects of being an outsourced worker. It is also the case that the majority of subjects interviewed for the book were in a single profession (information technology), which is generally considered a peripheral activity in most companies, and ripe for commoditization. Whether the experiences of outsourced professionals would be different in professions that potentially hold more strategic value to firms (e.g., engineering design) is a point worth considering.

Despite these limitations, the book is carefully done and provides important practical and theoretical insights about a phenomenon that is relatively pervasive but vastly understudied.

Reference

- Pfeffer, Jeffrey, and James N. Baron. 1988. "Taking the Workers Back Out: Recent Trends in the Structuring of Employment." *Research in Organizational Behavior* 10:257-303.