normative ideals of gender, prostitution, crime, and victimhood. This approach is not focused on a harm reduction approach or social justice, but it has political-legal support and (the potential for) mainstream popularity. I also want to emphasize, as the author does, that this book is about (a) PSOs and (b) women currently enrolled in an PSO exit program, which is not representative of all street-based sex workers or of prostitution as a universal experience. While this caveat is always the case with qualitative studies, I believe it bears repeating given the contentiousness of academic discussions of prostitution and sex work.

The book raises larger questions that other scholars can undertake or that can be explored in the classroom with other academic and activist writings, including questions about the function of the friends and networks that the women had before the programs or about how and in what ways women who engage in street-based sex work decide to stop selling sex and how they do so without PSO intervention. What about the social norms embedded in exit programs? Can transwomen access these programs? Why are people of other genders less visible in these discussions?

Further, do women who successfully complete the program stop selling sex permanently, or is this part of a larger cycle of structural inequality whereby PSOs are part of a "rescue industry" (Laura María Agustín, *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets and the Rescue Industry* [Zed Books, 2007]) that defends its role in the cycle? What does this cycle look like? What similarities and differences are there between women who sell sex who enter a prostitution exit program versus a drug addiction program? What would a holistic harm-reduction approach look like, and is this feasible within the contemporary U.S. political climate? What is the relationship between moral panics about commercial sex and total institutions like residential PSO exit programs? Oselin's book is a starting point for scholars interested in further examining the policing of sex workers, the political economy of commercial sex, and the role of nonprofit and social service organizations.

Life Interrupted: Trafficking into Forced Labor in the United States. By Denise Brennan. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014. Pp. xii+289. $84.95 (cloth); $23.95 (paper).

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Sensational accounts of young women forced into prostitution commonly define our understanding of human trafficking in the United States. Alternatively, Denise Brennan's book *Life Interrupted* situates human traf-

ficking on a continuum of exploitation and abuse of migrant workers and provides a rich and timely examination of the many ways that forced labor differs from this dominant prostitution narrative in the United States. A key contribution of Brennan's work is the longitudinal perspective she takes, chronicling the lives of trafficking victims long after they leave situations of forced labor. Unlike traditional accounts of trafficking that end when victims are rescued, in *Life Interrupted*, Brennan follows victims through years of struggle as they attempt to rebuild their lives after forced labor. Brennan argues that particularly under the George W. Bush administration, the U.S. government and many of the antitrafficking organizations that arose following the passage of federal antitrafficking law were obsessed with fighting the evils of prostitution. As a result, U.S. public policy ignores the many risks that people face when migrating for work and fails to provide the services and safety nets necessary to truly liberate victims of forced labor.

Organized in two parts, *Life Interrupted* chronicles the experiences of a small number of formerly trafficked persons and supplements these narratives with interviews from legal advocates, service providers, and government officials in eight U.S. communities. Brennan masterfully weaves together the experiences of formerly trafficked people as they are recruited into and endure trafficking, leave situations of exploitation, seek services, and rebuild their lives after trafficking. As an anthropologist and ethnographer, Brennan gives voice to all-too-often ignored groups of foreign-national trafficking victims. For example, in one of the most powerful segments of the book, Brennan highlights the many ways that trafficking victims actually resist their victimization. Though commonly depicted as passively accepting abuse, the victims Brennan interviewed planned and plotted their eventual escape. They saved money, they learned information about the location of their captivity, they attempted to develop contacts outside the trafficking situation, and they watched their traffickers and identified opportunities for escape. These people are resilient. We cannot know if the resiliency of the victims described by Brennan is a function of the author's sampling—being provided access to the most stable of victims who are served by trafficking providers—or is common among victims of forced labor. Regardless, Brennan makes a strong case that trafficking does not define victims of forced labor. Trafficking survivors have a history before trafficking and a life after leaving the trafficking situation. Instead, as the title suggests, trafficking was an experience that disrupted people's lives.

A major contribution of Brennan's book is the spotlight she shines on what happens after trafficking victims are "rescued." Contrary to popular belief, even after leaving situations of trafficking and receiving public and financial support, the former victims Brennan interviewed faced grave economic insecurity. Brennan suggests that although trafficking victims are

more aware of their rights as workers and more confident in arguing against exploitive labor practices after being victimized through forced labor, without a strong economic foundation, they are often in unstable housing arrangements and find themselves back in low-wage, unstable, and potentially exploitive work. Due to their immigration status, lack of formal education, language barriers, and economic disadvantage, Brennan rightly notes that many "rescued" trafficking survivors continue to face the same vulnerabilities common among migrants and suggests reform of U.S. immigration policy as necessary to protect against trafficking and other abuses.

Brennan additionally takes on an important question about whether a victim's history makes him or her vulnerable to forced labor. She argues that foreign-national trafficking victims' vulnerabilities to forced labor are no different than the vulnerabilities of other migrants who undertake the risks of traveling abroad for work (whether documented or on temporary work visas). In this one area, the experience of migrant victims may differ sharply from that of U.S. citizens. For example, research has long suggested that domestic sex trafficking victims who are minors face specific heightened vulnerabilities to falling victim to sex trafficking by virtue of their histories of sexual abuse, weak social and family support networks, and involvement in child welfare compared to U.S. adolescents generally or even adolescent girls in high-risk communities. Conversely, the foreign-national victims Brennan interviewed did not share a common history beyond the general vulnerabilities created when people take risks migrating abroad to support their families.

As Brennan notes in the introduction, trafficking victims are often categorized as a monolithic group even though they have quite different experiences depending on their country of origin, the way in which they were recruited into trafficking, and the type of work they perform. Despite this warning, the sample from which Brennan drew information was small and rather homogenous. Her work mainly focuses on the experiences of victims served by agencies with a history of providing services to migrant communities in the United States. All of the victims Brennan interviews are foreign nationals. A majority of the interviewees are women, and they disproportionately were victimized in domestic-service situations. The victims Brennan interviewed received T-visas and had undergone years of service provision and follow-up. As a result, Brennan's sample is biased toward a particular subset of forced labor victims. Missing from Brennan's accounts are the experiences of men, U.S. citizens, and importantly, those less resilient and less supported clients who disappeared from the reach of service providers, often moving away and taking jobs that may place them back into dangerous situations. While Brennan provides a rich account of the lives of former trafficking victims, her narrative may not be a representative picture of the experiences of all labor trafficking victims.

Life Interrupted is an important book. Intensely researched and accessibly written, this ethnographically rich work is recommended for anyone concerned about human trafficking. Brennan masterfully connects the plight of victims of forced labor to larger questions about U.S. labor practices and immigration policies. Fighting human trafficking requires commitment beyond public service announcements, documentaries, and feel-good benefits. Preventing forced labor requires us to fundamentally rethink U.S. immigration policies and the many ways the abuse of vulnerable people is excused in the name of profit.

The Moral Background: An Inquiry into the History of Business Ethics. By Gabriel Abend. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014. Pp. x+399. $39.50.

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With *The Moral Background: An Inquiry into the History of Business Ethics*, Gabriel Abend has written an important book for scholars of morality and, more broadly, for economic sociologists. The book follows two threads—one philosophically oriented and the other more empirically grounded. Abend carefully weaves the two threads together, making sure that the reader moves along with the argument of the book. Given the complexity of the argument and the numerous digressions throughout the book, holding the reader by the hand is probably the only way this book could have come together as a whole.

The empirical aspect of the book is relatively straightforward: "This is a book about business ethicists, their practical work, and the cultural and institutional contexts in which they carry it out. More precisely, it is a book about the history of this work" (p. 9). In order to write such a history, Abend develops the conceptual tool of the moral background. While large parts of the introduction and chapter 1 are dedicated to the philosophical underpinning of the moral background, a brief description of it suffices to support the empirical analysis. The moral background is the set of theories and tools that people and organizations employ to ascertain goodness in the realm of morality. As such, the moral background is a second-order element that facilitates or enables first-order morality. First-order morality is composed of two levels, Abend explains: behavior and practices (level 1) and moral judgments and beliefs (level 2). The moral background motivates moral claims, norms, actions, practices, and institutions.

In simpler terms, studying the moral background means asking what makes things moral and why. These are the fundamental questions that