

## Reviews / Comptes Rendus

Volume 36, 1995

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/llt36rv01>

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### Publisher(s)

Canadian Committee on Labour History

### ISSN

0700-3862 (print)

1911-4842 (digital)

[Explore this journal](#)

### Cite this review

(1995). Review of [Reviews / Comptes Rendus]. *Labour/Le Travailleur*, 36, 341–416.

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# REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

Chad Gaffield, André Cellard, Gérald Pelletier, Odette Vincent-Domey, Caroline Andrew, André Beaucage, Normand Fortier, Jean Harvey, and Jean-Marc Soucy, *Histoire de l'Outaouais* (Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1994).

THE CONCEPT OF REGION has been important to the writing of Canadian history for some time. It is a useful but slippery one: useful because regions exist and have helped shape historical experience, but slippery because the scale at which historians define a "region" can vary so greatly. Many scholars in English Canada, for example, conduct their regional analyses on a continental scale. The West Coast, the North, the Prairies, Central Canada, the Maritimes: these are spatial concepts which are embedded in our thinking about Canada and its past. In Québec, regions tend to be defined differently. The Laurentians, the Gaspé, the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean, the Eastern Townships, metropolitan Montréal: such relatively compact, manageable geographic units have provided structure and context to much recent historical writing in and about Québec.

Within this second tradition, the *Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture* (IQRC) has sponsored research and writing on Québec's regions since the late 1970s. *Histoire de l'Outaouais* is the sixth in its ambitious series of regional histories, the first of which appeared in 1981. The series' mandate is to present, for a general audience, "*une vue d'ensem-*

*ble de chacune des régions du Québec, depuis ses origines amérindiennes jusqu'à nos jours.*" Each of these monumental volumes — they vary in length from 650 to 900 pages — takes a comprehensive approach to the history of one of Québec's 21 administrative districts, covering physical geography, settlement patterns, economic and institutional development, religious and cultural life, and attempting to deal, ultimately, with the thorny question of regional identity.

Chad Gaffield and his colleagues have done a remarkable job in taking up this considerable challenge for the *Outaouais* region. Defined on its southern boundary by the Ottawa River, the *Outaouais* extends some 300 kilometres north of Hull into the Laurentian Shield. The task was all the more daunting for a district of Québec in which proximity to Ontario complicates definitions of regional identity. Indeed, there are some obvious difficulties about using the Ottawa River as a regional boundary in this area. Throughout history this river has been as much a communications artery within a single economic and cultural region as a political and administrative frontier. But to their immense credit, the authors are well aware of this tension and one might even suggest that their recognition of this central ambiguity is one of the book's main strengths. As they propose at the outset, the *Outaouais* is, and has long been, "*une région entre deux mondes ... une région de frontières.*" (11)

The authors tell the story of the *Outaouais* in four parts. The first four chapters deal with the physical environment, the long history of First Nations in the

area, and early European contact in the years prior to 1791. A second section, consisting of three chapters, chronicles the development of an agro-forest economy and a multi-ethnic settler society in the years between 1791 and 1886. The next four chapters deal with the years between 1886 and 1940, a period of significant industrial and urban development and in which pulp and paper production replaced sawn lumber as the key industry within the still dominant forest sector. Finally, the authors devote eight chapters to the years between 1940 and 1994, during which time a service-oriented economy focused on the federal civil service emerged in the region, accompanied by a great deal of social and institutional development.

Readers of *Labour/Le Travail* will be pleased with the careful attention the authors of *Histoire de l'Ontario* devote to the history of labour and the working class. Throughout the book, they make good on a promise made in the introduction: to pay as much attention to the working classes as to elites. (14) The native artisans who fashioned hooks and arrowheads from Lake Superior copper five thousand years ago; the Algonquin women who fired ceramic pots in the summer villages that dotted the Ottawa River; the Irish, Scottish, and French-Canadian settlers who combined hard labour on rocky farms with seasonal work in the timber shanties and sawmills; the young women who inhaled the sulphur fumes and endured the risk of fire in E.B. Eddy's match factory: all of these working people, as the authors realize, are as much a part of the story of the *Ontario* as are Philemon Wright or Joseph Papineau.

Nor are working-class culture and organized labour left out of the story. Gaffield, for example, offers an insightful analysis of the competitive and frequently violent male culture that pervaded 19th-century timber shanties. This analysis, not incidentally, provides the basis for a revisionist interpretation of the Shiners' War. Vincent-Domey chronicles the be-

ginnings of the trade union movement in Hull at the turn of the 20th century, providing a clear example of the respective influences of the Knights of Labor, international unions affiliated with the AFL, and the embryonic Catholic union movement. Beaucage and Lequin contribute a full chapter on the development of a pluralist labour movement in the years after 1940.

This then is a regional history with much to recommend it. Interested readers will find information on everything from regional geology to the economics of the farm household to amateur music and theatre. It manages to incorporate recent scholarly research without confounding general readers with unnecessary erudition. Furthermore, the authors tell the story of the region's First Nations in considerable detail, not only for the early period, but also — and this is most refreshing — for the two centuries since the establishment of a sustained non-aboriginal presence. Finally, though it deals with a region in which the economy was characterized in turn by fur and timber production, the book goes well beyond a staples interpretation of economic development. In an especially important section, Gaffield rightly insists on the complexity of a 19th-century economy which was indeed dominated by forestry, but in which occupational pluralism, the development of internal markets, and the existence of a wide range of products belie the reductionist staples approach, obsessed as it is with external markets, squared timber, and sawn lumber.

Most of the weaknesses that one might mention are minor points of coherence and consistency, largely associated with multiple authorship and with the (generally excellent) translation into French of some chapters originally written in English. The repetition of certain points of information, for example, might have been avoided. One reads in three different places that Hull was Québec's third largest city at the turn of the 20th century and that the E.B. Eddy match

factory pulled up stakes in 1928 and moved to Pembroke. Terminology is also a problem on occasion. In one translated chapter, farmers and agricultural labourers are referred to as *fermiers* and *ouvriers agricoles* respectively (205); surely the more appropriate terms for 19th-century Québec would have been *cultivateurs* and *journalliers*.

There are also some noticeable interpretive tensions between the authors. In their discussions of pre-industrial and rural women's work, for example, Gaffield and Fortier seem to be reaching beyond the separate spheres paradigm to demonstrate women's involvement in "masculine" economic activities. (136, 314) Yet Vincent-Domey's view of the division of labour in the working-class family economy is that "... *les frontières entre le masculin et le féminin sont strictement délimitées.*" (298) Is this simply a difference of opinion or evidence of the impact of capitalism and urban life on gender roles?

Overall, however, this is a fine, collaborative contribution to the important series of regional histories sponsored by the IQRC. Above all, it demonstrates the importance of the region, defined on this smaller scale, as a unit of historical analysis. *Histoire de l'Outaouais* was conceived and written in a way which allows for a fruitful meeting of the general and the particular. On the one hand, it highlights the *Outaouais* as an excellent platform from which to understand wider developments. What better illustration of the impact of European settler societies on First Nations could there be, for example, than the stupefied reaction of Algonquin leaders to Philemon Wright's clear cutting of forest they considered their own? (127) And how better to begin to understand the alphabet soup of Québec and Canadian labour history than through the textured local example of Hull's industrial workers and their efforts to organize? On the other hand, for general readers seeking to learn more about the history of the *Outaouais*, perhaps because

they happen to live there, this book demonstrates the richness of the region's past and its value as an object of inquiry in and of itself.

Peter Gossage  
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Chad Gaffield and Pam Gaffield, eds.,  
*Consuming Canada: Readings in Environmental History* (Toronto: Copp Clark 1995).

ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY is the study of human interaction with nature over time. This relatively new field of historical inquiry seeks to explain how the environment has shaped human cultures and to comprehend the effects of human action upon the natural world. The sub-discipline originated in the United States, and was fuelled by the late-1960s, early-1970s American environmental movement and the French *Annales* school. Over the past 25 years the field has produced essentially three types of studies. The first is "ecological" history which examines the relationship of humans to material change in natural ecosystems; this category is distinguished from studies which fall under the more general rubric of "environmental" history. Explorations into human ideas and perceptions of nature form the second category. Finally, the third type of study examines conservation and environmental politics.

In this volume Gaffield and Gaffield present twenty-five essays (all but one of which has been reprinted). The contributions fall into six sections which address theory and method, and themes of culture and imperialism, industrialization, wildlife, conceptions of property, and environmental assessment. The volume is highlighted with essays by American scholars Donald Worster, Carolyn Merchant, and Alfred W. Crosby.

The essays are intended to lay a foundation for understanding this sub-disci-

pline in a Canadian context. The editors' goals are "to offer history students new perspectives on the past; to illustrate for students in other programs the value of historical perspectives on current environmental concerns; and to provide an overview for general readers." (1) These nebulous objectives are generally realized, although mainly through the contributors' articles rather than editorial guidance. Neither Gaffield is an environmental historian and this becomes evident from reading their seven-page introduction. To their credit, they avoid linking environmental history too closely with the staples theory. Environmental history is, after all, concerned with more than viewing the natural world as commodities for export. It is instead an exploration into human-nature relations, both reciprocal and non-reciprocal. Beyond that, however, the reader never receives crucial information from the editors. There is no serious effort on their part to define the term "environmental history" and they never attempt to make clear the important distinction between the terms "environment" and "ecology." Instead, they wrongly use these terms interchangeably. Both of these terms need elucidation in such a basic introduction. Moreover, the editors fail to raise and answer an important question: why has environmental history taken so long to develop in Canada? I have always felt that it was due to the long and vibrant tradition of historical geography in Canada, a discipline that often engaged subjects which environmental historians might (although approaching them with a different research agenda).

Curiously, some of the studies included here fall under the umbrella of Canadian environmental history by accident, rather than by design. In fact, as the editors note, "Most of the authors did not think of themselves as environmental historians when they were undertaking their research ..." (5-6) This is probably true because several contributors are *not* environmental historians. Two selections, one

from H.V. Nelles, derived from his *The Politics of Development* (1974), and that of K.S. Coates and W.R. Morrison, from their *The Alaska Highway in WW II* (1992), are good examples. The former addresses the state's role in providing a cordial atmosphere for resource extraction, and is useful only in providing a context in which to better understand, or to write, environmental history. In its original form, the latter is more properly a native and/or northern history that only tangentially engages environmental history. Several other contributors are writing in the omnibus field of environmental "studies" and only partially explain their topics from a historical perspective.

More germane to readers of this journal, environmental history has vast opportunities to link environmental themes to the labour process and worker control. Recent studies by John Van West and Richard Rajala have inquired along such lines. Their articles were available to the editors, but unfortunately they failed to include them not only in the volume, but also in their eleven-page selected bibliography.

Readers interested in pursuing environmental history (Canadian or otherwise) are cautioned to not rely too heavily upon the "Further Reading" section. The editors are evidently unaware of the two premier journals in this field — *The Environmental History Review* and *Forest and Conservation History* — which have over the past decade or so published several articles on Canadian topics. Equally strange is their narrow survey of the *Journal of Canadian Studies*, which also has published articles in Canadian environmental history proper, and on related themes. Had Gaffield and Gaffield better acquainted themselves with the past and current literature in this field the volume would no doubt have been more successful in helping them to attain their stated goals.

The authors end their introduction with a call for a "new research agenda for historians in Canada ...". (6) I second

their call. Yet, I also wonder why they chose to include articles that only vaguely fall under the heading of environmental history, while simultaneously ignoring the work of past scholars and that of those currently writing in the field. Although the volume cannot be recommended, it does at least highlight this sub-discipline and, as a result, perhaps more attention will be paid to environmental history in Canada.

Neil S. Forkey  
Queen's University

R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1994).

R.D. GIDNEY AND W.P.J. MILLAR have written a long (505 pages of text, notes, and index), complex (eighteen chapters, plus preface, transition, and appendix), and interesting study of the professions in 19th-century Ontario. In it they explore the meaning of profession in the 19th century as historically contingent, often contradictory, and ambiguous. They consciously eschew "ahistorical theorizing" in favour of pursuing "what Upper Canadians themselves meant by the term." (xii) This meaning they conceive both as an ideological construction by which deference and preference were attached to certain occupations and as the experiences lived by those enjoying professional status.

The authors cannot offer, even in a book of this length, a complete survey of professional work and so endeavour through comparisons derived from the law, medicine, and the clergy of certain Protestant denominations to illustrate larger themes. In so far as they develop or qualify those themes, additional occupations, notably dentistry, teaching, and surveying are given lesser attention, while others, such as pharmacy and nursing, receive passing mention. The histo-

ries of the three major professions are supplemented with discussions of other contending occupations and para-professions, the ideology of professions, the political environment, professional education, and the fortunes of those in the professions.

This book is the study of the Georgian concept of the professional gentleman, its articulation and pursuit through the mid-19th century, and its reconstruction in the late 19th century. As in Britain, membership in one of the learned professions in early 19th-century Upper Canada connoted more than the mastery of a specialized body of useful knowledge. Rather, the breadth of their education qualified professionals "to apply the liberal sciences to the most critical concerns of society — to make manifest the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of the past in the arts of government and the cure of bodies and souls." (15) A liberal education confirmed what a man's social antecedents made possible — his status as a gentleman and his qualification for leadership.

Such a social role demanded that the lawyer, doctor, or clergyman remain independent from the laity for his income in order that his disinterested judgement not be compromised by concerns for the market. Professional income, rather than payment for services, was thus like the return received from the land. The security of the professions, upon which rested the security of social leadership, justified a restricted access to property rights in a body of knowledge that was pursued through professional self-government, monopoly privileges, and sinecures. Despite a threatening radical assault in the 1840s and early 1850s which promoted legal reform, thwarted physicians' efforts to suppress alternate therapies, and secularized the Clergy Reserves, the three professions achieved a substantial degree of closure and independence from the laity by the early 1870s.

Thereafter, in the latter part of the 19th century, demographic change, occu-



pational specialization, and the valorization of scientific knowledge challenged the priority enjoyed by the older professions. The numbers of doctors, lawyers, and clergymen grew beyond the limits of the larger community to support them. No wonder they became ever more vigilant in patrolling against quacks and unlicensed competitors. At the same time, other occupations, claiming comparable educational achievement or the mastery of some science or the need to protect the public from unqualified practitioners, began winning the right to close corporations and restricted titles. The dentists accomplished this in 1868, followed by the druggists in 1871, veterinary surgeons in 1871, land surveyors in 1887, accountants in 1883, architects in 1890, stenographic reporters in 1891, and stationary engineers in 1891. The more that the old and newer professions sought state protection, however, the greater their insecurity as the public increasingly interpreted the meaning of "profession" as a monopolistic form of market restriction denied to other businesses and working people.

Nonetheless, the authors argue for essential continuity. The political language and social assumptions of the Georgian concept of the professional gentleman were not "eclipsed by the forces of a materialist society based on capitalist production," but were perpetuated in a modified form "within the ideology of modern professionalism." (383) At the heart of this new ideology was the assertion that professionals were "nature's gentlemen." (381) Rather than ascription, merit demonstrated in educational achievement earned them their social privilege. At university they acquired not merely the practical knowledge of their profession, but also the proper qualities of mind, manners, and sensibilities which one had always expected from men granted their status. (206-7)

As well, the state preserved this continuity. Challenged though they were from various outbursts of anti-monopolist opinion, the legal structures which pro-

tected the older professions, and which served as the model for the pretensions of newer professions, were solidly entrenched by the late 1860s and early 1870s. Gidney and Miller explain this not as the new foundation for modern professionalism, but as the ultimate realization of the Georgian ideal. Between 1868 and 1872, they see a "window of opportunity," opened by the unformed potential of the new Dominion, during which men like Sandfield Macdonald, products of the Georgian world, were finally able to complete the institutional infrastructure which the political encumbrances of the last three decades had frustrated. (388)

In this last observation on the role of the state, as in their discussions of the use of knowledge to justify privilege and of the reconstruction of old ideologies in new contexts, Gidney and Millar do raise important theoretical questions, despite their disavowal of this intention. One wishes that they had chosen to pursue them, if only to sharpen the focus of their book. By not generalizing about their findings until the transition between the first and second halves of the book and the "retrospective" conclusion, the authors compromise the development of an argument. Rich in detail from primary sources and conversant with the relevant scholarly debates, their expositions of the development of particular professions achieve an uneasy organizational tension between the specific and the general and at times present more of an inventory of continuity and change than an interpretation. Nevertheless, Gidney and Millar have given much to stimulate thought.

David G. Burley  
University of Winnipeg

Mary Kinnear, *In Subordination: Professional Women, 1870-1970* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1995).

THIS SLIM VOLUME is an innovative study of women in Manitoba who worked in five professional occupations — university teaching, medicine, law, nursing, and schoolteaching — during the century after the province joined Confederation. In addition to the more traditional sorts of historical records, Kinnear has made extensive use of questionnaires and interviews with over 200 professional women and this is one of the book's great strengths, for she thereby taps into a rich lode of reminiscences and reflections about the lot of professional women from the 1920s on. It is no surprise to learn that women faced both obstacles to entry and inequities in the working world of the professions, but it is refreshing to hear the voices of those women themselves, in all their multitudinous and sometimes conflicting variety. They lend great appeal and authenticity to this history.

But the book does more than survey the field. As the title rather cleverly suggests, it offers a sustained argument that two themes have informed the history of women in the professions. "A woman professional, by definition, was a person in conflict" with the gendered assumptions of professional occupations, who worked "in subordination" to men. (160) In the struggle for equality, or simply to cope with the conditions of work, the commonest reaction, at least among these Manitoba women, was to employ strategies of "insubordination." But these strategies ranged from indifference to, and acquiescence in, the status quo (like some university teachers, for example), through simple resentment, to resistance (for a few, like the schoolteachers who eventually won equal pay through lobbying in their own separate union) to the systemic discrimination embedded in the gendered ideology of professional work.

Kinnear identifies three major ways in which women professionals experienced discrimination compared to their male colleagues: in income, in their power and authority within their occupations, and in the demands on their time — juggling career and family life. Again, it is a great strength of the book that she gives a carefully nuanced and balanced account of how these common elements were expressed in different ways in each occupation, strengthened or mitigated, as the case might be, by the particular factors at work. It is not possible in this brief review to do justice to the subtleties of her argument but the following examples may serve by way of illustration. Kinnear's examination of women university teachers concludes that most were prevented from advancing in academe by assumptions that relegated them to low-status faculties like education or home economics with a focus on teaching practical skills, as well as by heavier teaching loads (and their own commitment to teaching), that ate into the time for research and publication. Women doctors experienced similar difficulties in entering a male-dominated occupation, but were generally more satisfied with their lot as a consequence of achieving higher income, and more control over workload and hours to suit family responsibilities. In the legal profession, women earned less money than men, had greater trouble than in other occupations in finding work, and were supremely disqualified by motherhood from practising; yet they were the least likely to rebel (though it must be admitted, in these generalizations, that the number of women lawyers is small). In sharp contrast to each of these occupations, however, women schoolteachers and nurses dominated their workplaces numerically. Yet their hopes for equality were equally dashed by their subordination to male authority, and their careers compromised by the widely held assumption that married women should retire from waged work.

As the author notes, there is not much written about those generations of professional women who came after the pioneering entrants; this is a welcome addition to the literature. Even more valuable are the insights gained by constantly comparing the histories of women in different professions. Nevertheless, it is unfortunate that Kinnear does not struggle harder with such questions as the meaning of profession, or make a greater effort to situate professional women within women's work generally. These topics are more problematic than her short introduction discloses. Why, for example, choose the particular criteria she does to define a profession? or choose these occupations and not others? In 1870, it was hardly conventional wisdom that nursing, or even schoolteaching, was a profession, and to rely on census categorization is questionable. Or to take another example: in what ways did male reactions to women's entry into the professions significantly shape the development of these occupations? These are all questions that deserve fuller treatment than they receive here.

Despite the title, this book is specifically a history of professional women in one province. Kinnear is careful to disavow any claim to presenting a representative portrait, though she makes a good argument for the usefulness of Manitoba as a case study. Like the meaning of profession itself, however, the aspirations and difficulties of these women can only be recovered within a particular historical context. This book is a fine contribution to our understanding of the subject. The challenge now is to integrate the history of both women and men professionals, and to discover how their different strategies interacted to produce a particular culture of middle-class work in the late 20th century.

W.P.J. Millar  
London, ON

Angela E. Davis, *Art and Work: A Social History of Labour in the Canadian Graphic Arts Industry to the 1940s* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1995).

THE LATE ANGELA DAVIS focuses on the development of the graphic arts industry in Canada from the mid-18th century to the 1940s. She is critical of the writings by Canadian art historians which posit a dichotomy between "fine art" and its association with "high culture" and "commercial art" linked to the emergence of "popular culture." Rather, the history of graphic arts, Davis argues convincingly, must be interpreted in the context of broader industrial-capitalist social transformations.

Chapter two is a discussion of the English origins of commercial illustration, including labour processes and styles, which were subsequently transported to Canada by immigrant "artist-workmen." Davis is at her best in those parts of the chapter where she leads the reader through the theories of John Ruskin, who was among the first to recognize a growing division between fine art and commercial art. As Davis writes, "He argued that if the fine arts became separated too far from the arts of 'utility' and the general public, art would be practised and appreciated only by a small group of connoisseurs." (32-3) According to Ruskin, there should be no division between those who create designs and those who put designs into practice. Nevertheless, the decline of the "artist-craftsman," and the gradual industrialization of graphic arts in Britain during the course of the 19th century, was not halted.

Davis skilfully connects the British heritage to the growth of the graphic arts industry in Canada. Frederick Bridgen, the deaf son of a Sussex saddler, who later emerged at the forefront of the establishment of graphic arts in Toronto during the latter part of the 19th century, attended Ruskin's lectures at the Working Men's College. Bridgen apprenticed in

the London shop of William Linton. In addition to being a follower of Ruskin and Thomas Bewick, the pioneer of the white line technique of wood engraving, Linton was a political radical and member of the Chartist movement. Linton's labour movement activities were, however, given only a passing reference by Davis, and might have been developed in the narrative to enhance her overall project of understanding the relationship between art and work.

In subsequent chapters, Davis turns to the emergence of graphic arts in Canada. The history of Canadian popular illustration was divided into two periods. Previous to the development of commercial illustration in Canada during the 1870s, artists, etchers, and engravers created images for travel books and albums, maps, charts, and landscapes. Some of these early illustrators were visitors, but a handful, such as James Millie of Québec, were immigrant engravers and lithographers who tried to make their living as independent artist-craftsmen. Beginning in the late 1870s, individual illustrators, engravers, and lithographers established workshops and graphic arts houses in major Canadian cities. Most of Davis' analysis focuses on the emergence of graphic arts in Toronto and Winnipeg. The selection of the two cities for detailed study was justified both by the availability of a collection of letters, diaries, and business correspondence from the Bridgen family in Toronto and Winnipeg, which is unique in its size given the dearth of extant sources for the 19th century printing trades, and also by the structural transformations in the industry. The emergence of Toronto as a nation leader in the commercialization of illustration in the 1870s coincided with the expansion of the retail trade. This process, as Davis explains, was duplicated in Winnipeg after the turn of the century.

Chapter four is devoted to the development of the commercial arts industry in Toronto, and consists of an in-depth analysis of the changing division of la-

bour and the separation of artists from engravers with an emphasis on the Bridgen family enterprise. Frederick Bridgen and his family immigrated to Toronto in October 1872 with savings of £100. He went to work for Henry and Charles Beale, who had also apprenticed with Linton. Like many 19th-century craftsmen proprietors, the Beale Brothers lacked the business acumen necessary to run a successful business. The first experienced financial difficulties and Frederick Bridgen invested his savings in the business and became manager. In 1876 the business was renamed the Toronto Engraving Company. Davis documents the expansion of the business as a family enterprise, and later in Chapter six its growth in Winnipeg on the heels of Eaton's mail order catalogue business.

Specialization encouraged some "artist-workmen" to become involved in the burgeoning field of advertising. Leading illustrators, including Bridgen, the Beales, and William Stone, competed in this expanding commercial sector. The invention of photo-engraving, Davis states, was the first major change in the reproduction of illustrated material since the use of Bewick's white-line engraving. The new processes were labour-intensive and precipitated a division of labour. Davis's discussion of labour's response to transformations in the labour process is weak, however. She dates, albeit incorrectly, the organization of the first photo-engravers' union in the city as taking place in 1902. An earlier, short-lived union, Photo-Engravers' Union, No. 20, was chartered in the city under the auspices of the International Typographical Union in October 1899. The bulk of her information, furthermore, is derived from secondary sources, particularly writings by Harold Logan and Sally Zerker.

The changing perceptions of art, artists, and commercial illustrations is discussed in Chapter five. With the development of more formal art institutions, such as the Ontario Society of Artists, photography was defined as a "mechanical" pur-

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suit, while painting was still regarded as a "handmade" process and the work of the "artist." The division, Davis explains, was never clear cut, and the attitude of art institutions was confused. At the turn of the century commercial employment provided the necessary subsistence income for most would-be artists, including several of the members of the Group of Seven. Davis argues that during the early part of the 20th century, the art establishment was concerned with promoting fine art, although any distinction between fine artists and commercial artists was false since many artists also worked in the commercial field in order to make a living.

Although the discussions of the workers' trade union activities are not fully developed, the emphasis in the book on changing perceptions of art, and the status of the craftsman in the growth of the commercial arts industry, provides important insights for any labour historian interested in the changing status of the skilled craftsman with industrial capitalist incursions.

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J.M. Bumsted, *The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919: An Illustrated History* (Winnipeg: Watson Dwyer Limited 1994).

THIS "75TH anniversary" history of the Winnipeg General Strike provides a very readable account, made all the moreso by the device of hiving much of the detail into a "Glossary of Terms" that comprises about one-third of the entire text. Would that more scholastic exercises enjoyed similar luxuries! The glossary alone, however, is worth the small price of admission and, for various reasons, it is to be hoped that the publication of this popular history will improve the quality of term papers on this well-worn subject.

J.M. Bumsted, a non-specialist in labour history who has no theoretical axe to

grind, and no vested interest in such staple debates as the "western exceptionalist" approach, was probably the right person to do this job. Among many other things his sharp eye for "tactics" in making historical materials accessible is revealed in such slightly idiosyncratic commentary as the claim that the One Big Union football pools signalled the birth of the modern lottery, or the alleged parallel between the trials of the Winnipeg seditionists in 1919-20 and those of the Chicago 8 in 1969-70. A rather more exact point of all-round comparison would surely be the trial of the Chicago anarchists in 1886 (a much more tragic event), but memory apparently has its limits within this type of format.

From an interpretive standpoint, Bumsted is interested in one key issue, the original strike versus revolution debate, and the untangling of the circumstances that made this relevant in Winnipeg in 1919-20. He does an extremely good job in reconstructing the legal consequences of the strike involving, he suggests in an understated way, a failed attempt to reduce the constitutional rights of labour and the left in the aftermath of the "emergency" measures of 1914-18. While the verdict of the courts was more ambiguous, the net effect was to ironically validate what Bumsted calls the strikers' own history of events: that is, the notion that Winnipeg 1919 was simply a milestone in the forward march of "legitimate" trade unionism. As Bumsted correctly notes, this highly evasive theory has clouded all subsequent writing on the subject, although more recognition could have been given to those historians — Gerald Friesen for example — who have attempted to move beyond the paradigm of "legitimacy." At all events, Bumsted's account likewise edges us towards the conclusion that Winnipeg 1919 was an arrested revolutionary process. And it follows that there is no single "strikers own history." The mainstream labour men, the left-wing labour men, the returned men, women (to

some extent), and ethnic minorities all made different histories at that time.

The major disappointment of the book relates to the promised "illustrated history" — this is delivered, but problematically. No effort whatsoever is made to instruct the popular audience in the myriad interpretive, technical, and archival issues pertaining to relevant visual records. Only the craftworker who was, it appears, mainly responsible for the construction of a truly unique series of strike photographs, Lewis B. Foote, is acknowledged in the credits. Foote's images of mass meetings, close-shots of speakers, or "riot" photos that are almost like a moving picture — newsreel footage of the strike has regrettably been lost — are indeed a key source. Their continued use as naive "illustration" of real or imagined textual points, however, does no justice to the point.

Relatedly, period-type photos, mainly documentary of the splendours and the foibles of bourgeois Winnipeg, are arguably overdone "for effect." At the same time, another period genre, the "Social Gospel" photos of shoeless children, suffering home makers in the tenements and so forth are noteworthy for their absence. The impression gleaned (literally speaking) is that the labour movement was a protest against inequality or even luxury, as such, rather than against the real miseries of contemporary capitalism — including the question of war. A more methodologically-minded approach to illustration would have only underlined Bumsted's major thesis: reform or revolution was in all respects the question of the hour in Winnipeg 75-odd years ago.

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Janice Newton, *The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left 1900-1918* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1995).

THIS BOOK REPRESENTS the culmination of a generation of writing about the Canadian left and the "woman question." Author Janice Newton champions one logical endpoint of socialist feminist writing and claims that the Canadian left — in effect the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) — was directly responsible for anti-feminism in the years 1900-18. In Newton's world the right is nowhere to be seen, socialist men — and some women — are the problem, and all that is capitalism melts into air. *Feminist Challenge* is, therefore, a book that is right for the times, but also a book that gets many things wrong. To begin with what the author gets right.

Newton demonstrates quite conclusively that the socialist culture of the years 1900-18 was a male culture. While not an original insight, Newton nevertheless adds substance and depth to our appreciation of the gendered nature of socialist politics in early 20th-century Canada. The author demonstrates that male socialists in this period, especially members of the Socialist Party of Canada, were often as sexist as other male members of their society, and seemingly incapable of getting beyond the Victorian middle-class values and attitudes toward women on which they had been raised. They failed, with rare exception, to acknowledge their privileged positions within their own families, and resolutely refused to take seriously the sexism and violence against women committed by working-class men.

Newton is informative and thought provoking when discussing the private sphere and the domestic labour of women. She is right, I think, to shift our attention from the role that the ideology of the family wage played in discrediting the concerns of socialist feminists to the disdain many male socialists demonstrated

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for the importance of the domestic realm in socialist politics. Newton's critique of the Socialist Party is valid and well documented on this point. Most SPCers did believe that socialism would restore women to their rightful place — the home. Newton also links this contempt for issues related to domestic labour to the belief in scientific socialism. SPCers in particular attributed all future benefits to the ending of capitalism, which would automatically make women happy and free them from exploitation, and at the same time absolve socialist men from responsibility for ending the oppression of women. The author points out, however, and I think correctly, that of more importance to socialists in this period was countering the argument that socialism would destroy the home by insisting that it was really capitalism that destroyed the home.

Ironically, Newton is often at her most insightful when making observations that do not conform to her political agenda. In spite of the fact that she adopts the inevitable 'Social Democratic Party good, Socialist Party bad' paradigm — is anyone other than me getting tired of this? — Newton observes that while the hostility of many SPCers to Christianity hurt the party's attempts to attract members, that same hostility proved attractive to many non-Christians, most notably Jewish and Finnish socialists. This is an important insight, given that the percentage of women tended to be higher in the 'ethnic' locals than in the predominantly Anglo-Saxon ones, suggesting that the 'impossibilism' of the SPC could be a source of strength as well as weakness, even in garnering the support of socialist women. Also insightful and important is Newton's observation that the involvement of feminists in socialist politics was often made possible by the efforts of husbands and children at home. She thereby reminds us that the activism of socialists in the period under study cannot always be explained on the basis of gender. Newton also observes that middle-class women in the suffrage movement had no more use

for socialism and socialists than the male impossibilists had for bourgeois women reformers.

The problem is that Newton fails to address, or only briefly addresses, the theoretical issues that arise from even her most important findings. *Feminist Challenge*, like so many works by Canadian feminist and labour historians, is under-theorized. Its bibliography contains a long list of books and articles, but the ideas in them make only rare appearances in the text. Having noted that socialist culture in this period was, for all intents and purposes, male culture, Newton fails to draw on relevant secondary sources in order to explain that culture and why it existed. For example, she does not draw on Mark Pittenger's recent work on the American Socialist Party. Pittenger links attitudes to women and people of colour on the left to the scientific socialist espousal of the evolutionism and organicism of Darwin and Spencer. Pittenger's work could have been consulted to advantage, given that Darwin and Spencer also influenced the thinking of Canadian SPCers and SDPers, at times quite markedly. As for the sexism of the Socialist Party of Canada, we are led to the conclusion that SPCers were anti-feminist because they were members of the SPC. *Feminist Challenge* has important things to say but for the most part fails to say them.

Perhaps most striking about the book is its lack of generosity. In her introduction Newton asserts: "this book introduces a small but significant contingent of feminists who were active within the ranks of the socialist movement, proving that socialist feminism has a heritage that dates from the turn of the century in Canada." (6) Newton is not introducing these women, because they have already been introduced, most notably by Linda Kealey. Nor can she claim to be proving that socialist feminism dates from the turn of the century in Canada, because the proving has already been done. Rather than learning from, and building on, the work of other feminists, Newton chooses

to write as if she is charting unexplored territory. Her lack of generosity extends to the women she is writing about. Mary Alexander appears very briefly as M.H.T. Alexander, with no acknowledgement that she was, albeit briefly, a member of the Dominion Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Canada, and at times chairperson of the executive. Why are we told so little about the activities and contributions of Sarah Johnson Knight and Helen Armstrong, who are mentioned only in passing as 'Mrs. Sarah Knight' and 'Mrs. Armstrong'?

One of the reasons is Newton's disdain for the Socialist Party of Canada. The author is so intent on attacking the SPC that she appears to forget that the subject of her book is neglected socialist feminists, not sexist male members of the Socialist Party. Can it be simple coincidence that Knight, Armstrong, and Alexander were all members of the SPC? Are these women included in *Feminist Challenge's* sweeping and problematic condemnation of "the left's astonishing ignorance about the actual nature of women's waged labour in Canada?" (85) Are we to conclude that these women, who certainly did know about women's waged labour, were not on the left? Newton is absolutely right to condemn the way in which male socialists marginalized and demeaned women in the socialist movement. Most male labour historians who have written on this period, including this author, are equally worthy of that condemnation.

These women are also conspicuous by their absence because *Feminist Challenge* ends in 1918. On the surface the decision seems a strange one, because Newton claims that socialist feminism went into even greater decline in the 1920s. Surely a very valuable contribution to both feminist and labour history could have been made by assessing what happened to socialist feminism during the labour revolt of 1919. If the "shift in support of industrial unionism that is reputed to have occurred in the SPC during the war years" never really happened, why does

Newton fail to address the role socialist feminists played — or were excluded from playing — in the industrial union movement and the formation of the One Big Union? (153) We are not told that Helen Armstrong was a key member of the Winnipeg SPC and a leading organizer of women workers in that city, or that during the war Sarah Johnson Knight was secretary of the Alberta Provincial Executive of the Socialist Party. Some socialist feminists became more, not less, influential during World War I. In her final chapter, entitled "The War Years and the Decline of Feminism," Newton also does not address the challenge posed to the labour movement by the increasing calls, both within and without the Trades and Labour Congress, for greater efforts to be made in organizing women workers. Indeed, with very few exceptions, the author's discussion of the politics of the left pays very little attention to organized labour.

In spite of the valuable information in *Feminist Challenge*, and the less frequent insightful analysis, the book is more important for the challenge it issues to Canadian labour historians and feminists than the challenge it poses to dead male socialists. Newton is arguing that the left caused anti-feminism in the years 1900-18. She argues that the Socialist Party of Canada, because it became more anti-feminist in the 1920s, moved to the left in that decade, when by any standard other than Newton's the party most definitely moved to the right. The further 'left' a party is, the more anti-feminist it is. In effect, Newton is arguing that left and right in the study of Canadian history should be defined solely in terms of attitudes toward women and/or feminists. She also argues for a double standard based on gender. The support leading members of the SPC gave to industrial unionism during World War I should be dismissed, if it in fact existed, because it was a thoroughly male biased commitment. Yet the fact that key socialist feminists such as Mary Cotton Wisdom, who was a racist and opposed non-Anglo-



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Saxon immigration, "never confronted the racism that pervaded this era of nation building," is worthy of little comment and less condemnation. (10) But then, why not take this stance? Marxists have been making similar argument about class for a long time. I disagree with Newton, but it is nice to see somebody finally put her cards on the table. So there you have the challenge in *Feminist Challenge*, aimed directly at Canada's socialist feminist and labour historians. Which side are you on boys and girls?

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Gilles Bourque, Jules Duchastel, Jacques Beauchemin, *La société libérale duplessiste* (Montréal: les Presses de l'Université de Montréal 1994).

THIS BOOK PRESENTS a revisionist understanding of the later Duplessis years (1944-60) and Québec history since 1848. Its authors, all sociologists at the Université du Québec à Montréal, insist upon the modernity of *duplessisme* (the "dominant political discourse" of the Duplessis years) and the Québec-francophone tradition. The principal target of their revision is the «grand récit» de la Révolution tranquille, which portrays modernity in Québec francophone society as a sudden eruption during the 1960s and earlier years as "une longue préhistoire qu'il faudra bien confondre ... avec le Moyen Age ou L'Ancien Régime."

In the "received view" which the book attacks, Premier Maurice Duplessis was *la grand noirceur*, the *chef* of reactionary forces that blocked a static "traditional" society from passing into the "modernity" of the welfare state. A reactionary ultramontanist Church assisted in the work. With Québec's accelerated economic development and socio-structural changes, however, the reactionary program became increasingly untenable and collapsed.

The received view has drawn fire in recent years. First, it is value-laden, neo-whiggery — a teleological celebration of the welfare state. It is "winning-team" history that legitimates the creation of state-funded jobs for new-middle-class "experts." Second, it is poor description. During the Duplessis years, clerics did not unanimously oppose economic development, and some of them welcomed it. Pro-capitalist liberal ideology has a long history in Québec francophone society; it is not a recent development. Third, the received view lacks comparative context. If corruption, patronage, repression, and obscurantism marked the Duplessis years, these also were features of politics in many "modernized" western societies. The United States, after all, is home to McCarthyism, the notorious anti-labour Taft-Hartley law of 1947, and widespread boss politics and electoral corruption. Despite its problems, as the authors demonstrate, the received view has been remarkably durable. Their book aims to bury it.

In the authors' definition, "modernity" entails a dynamic, rational, secular understanding of social production, as opposed to a static, non-rational, providential understanding of "tradition." Modernity-as-process passes through three historical phases. The initial *liberal* phase involves a sharp distinction between public and private spheres, a reliance upon self-regulating market forces for economic development, and uses private-sector agencies for social regulation. By contrast, the second *welfare-state* phase features extensive state management of the economy and social relations. A third *neo-liberal* phase is underway in the 1990s and entails a partial dismantling of the welfare-state. To summarize, the welfare state is one phase of modernity, not its essence, as the received view assumes.

In the above context, liberal modernity characterized Québec francophone society from the introduction of responsible government in 1848 until the 1960s. Material progress, not providential design, was government's central organiz-

ing principle. Progress, however, was conditional on social order and stability. Thus *duplessisme* sought to balance the emancipatory values in liberalism (rights, liberty, equality) with the defensive values of discipline, deference, and order. At the same time, it fended off its antithesis in modernism, the welfare state which threatened to enter Québec through the vehicle of a centralizing federalism. Here Duplessis' defense of Québec's provincial autonomy arose primarily from his liberal modernism, not nationalist tradition.

Duplessis' Québec was notable for church management of its social services, and Roman Catholic church leaders were traditionalists. Even within the church, however, ultramontanist was a failed ideology, not a defining feature. As bishops' pastorals acknowledged, the submission of the church to the liberal state was a condition of its social influence. In this fashion, the church, a traditional institution, provisionally contributed to liberal modernity. It provided much of the private-sector management of social relations and inculcated stabilizing values which liberals held to be conditions of progress.

Similarly, Duplessis' well-known attentiveness to farmers expressed liberalism, not tradition in the form of messianic agriculturalism. To Duplessis, farmers were the wellspring of social stability on which prosperity depended. Accordingly, he sought to preserve a strong rural presence in the face of the province's industrial development and urbanization. His method was to strengthen farming by modernizing it, through mechanization, rural electrification, and integration with the market economy. For their part, farmers backed the *Union Nationale* because they were liberal modernists who sought progress.

The empirical support for the book's arguments comes from the "dominant political discourse" of the *Union Nationale* party and key institutions during the 1944-60 period. The authors tabulate

counts of key words and clusters of associated words. They unpack the historical meanings of words and word-clusters and how historical actors used them. The presentation suits both general and specialized readers. The text includes sufficient evidence for illustration, and appendices report the quantitative and methodological detail. Frequent reiterations of the argument guide the reader through the book's content, at some price in verbosity and excessive repetition.

The authors draw upon the literature to describe briefly the social bloc that supported Duplessis: professionals, small merchants, well-off farmers, and clerics. Previous administrations, they note, included members of the great wealthy families in francophone society. Those men were part-time politicians who commonly sat on corporate boards that benefited from government policies. By contrast, the *Union Nationale* members were local notables and full-time politicians who had political authority but not economic and social power. Although not drawing from the great families, the party remained tied to them through a shared liberal ideology.

To summarize, the book substitutes a *grand récit* for the 1990s for a dated «*grand récit*» de la *Révolution tranquille*. Québec francophones have been modern since the 1840s, not the 1960s. Their encounter with modernity represents a variation on a general theme. The liberal state, not the Church, was the dominant force in Québec. Many farmers and workers supported the *Union Nationale* because they had agency and wanted progress, not because they were socially controlled, traditionalist automatons.

Like all historical knowledge, the rival *grand récits* are about politics (differential access to scarce resources) and the interplay between the past as written and the writer's present. During the 1960s, the thesis of Church-led economic retardation helped to legitimate a transfer of power from clerics and local notables to a new middle class of university-trained

"experts." By contrast, that thesis speaks negatively to the nationalist politics of the 1990s, which are concerned with the economic viability of an independent Québec. A more useful notion is that Québécois have been modern for a long time.

The politics of knowledge arises from the selection and weighting of its subject matter, as well as from interpretations. Thus the politics of this book depend substantially on the politics and political awareness of those who use it. In some hands, a debate over a society's modernity can obscure its sexual politics or class struggle. In other hands, it can enrich knowledge in such areas. Here the book is useful in two ways. First, it revises one's understanding of the context for historical problems. Second, its methodology — the analysis of discourse — has general application. In this book, for example, a discourse coming entirely from men doubtless holds rich insights on male gender construction within the context of social class.

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Jeremy Webber, *Reimagining Canada: Language, Culture, Community and the Canadian Constitution* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1994).

'TO IMPART ANYTHING like liveliness to a discussion of the British North America Act one must have the touch of Voltaire,' warned Goldwin Smith a century ago. Jeremy Webber has added to the acres of print towards a definition of Canada. Unlike Smith, he believes that the 'four separate projections of the cultivable and habitable part of the Continent into Arctic waste' can be kept together, despite the 'ethnological barrier of the strongest kind' which divides its most populated chunk. To achieve this, Webber argues that Canadians must abandon the term

'nation' and think instead of multiple and overlapping levels of political community. 'Nation' he finds objectionable because it implies exclusiveness, all-or-nothing loyalty. Community can exist wherever there is dialogue and discussion. By definition, everybody inhabits a range of communities, and each may choose where to assign primary allegiance.

There are two parts to *Reimagining Canada*. The first surveys Canada's constitutional debates from Duplessis to Charlottetown, filtered through Webber's prism of nation versus community. It is also enlivened by his own involvement in a citizens' group, Friends of Meech Lake. Webber is scathing but persuasive in his condemnation of the leadership offered by the Mulroney and Bourassa governments. The downside of his own engagement is that, after 300 pages, Webber baldly opts for the distinct society clause, shorn of any allusions to the civil code, tuques, or revenging cradles. In Part 2, Webber explores the implications of seeing Canada as a tapestry of dialogues (do we hear an echo of Joe Clark?), and seeks to relate conversation and community to a constitution based on powers and provinces.

A reviewer who is not a Canadian should take care not to butt in to this 'national conversation.' In the late Meech Age, I ventured to suggest to a participant in the process that a British observer was puzzled by the extent to which Canadians used the term 'constitution' exclusively to refer to a document. He adopted his best kindergarten teacher manner and explained to me, emphasising each syllable, that Ca-na-da had had a writ-ten con-stitu-tion sine 1-8-6-7. I smiled sweetly and felt privileged to have received such an unintended insight into the problem. As the United States learnt as early as 1790 with the rejection of 'strict construction,' every system of government has to be informed by conventions and understandings. John A. Macdonald grasped this essential point. 'See Our Union Act,' he told the Québec conference in 1864.

'There is nothing in it about Responsible Government. It is a system which we have adopted.'

One of Canada's key problems in recent years has been the erosion of convention and — as Webber regrets — the rise of demands to write everybody and everything into the constitution. It is welcome to find a commentator who favours 'sub-constitutional' solutions to individual challenges. Webber points out that constitutional changes require not just provincial ratification but the support of the House of Commons, in which Québec has around one quarter of the seats. Why should not Parliament enact as statute law that no amendment can be valid without the assent of a voting majority of representatives of all francophone ridings across Canada? In dire emergency, parliament might repeal its own restriction, but circumstances alter, and only public opinion can judge at the time.

Webber sometimes gives the impression that Canadian history began with Duplessis. John A. Macdonald appears once in this book and not at all in the index. Is the wretched CF18 maintenance contract really six times more mentionable than the country's principal founder? A longer historical perspective might offer other lessons. Duplessis was not unique in his strategy, which was to transform a minority viewpoint into a party of government by adopting a *nationaliste* stance. Mercier did it for liberalism in the 1880s, Lévesque for leftist welfarism in the 1970s. Both Mercier and Duplessis operated within a powerful Ontario-Québec axis against Ottawa. Canada needs a constitutional focus which takes account of Ontario. It was Upper Canada which led the thrust for Confederation, and at the national level, it has been Ontario which has bankrolled the country. The real threat to Canada's survival is not that Québec might leave, devastating though that would be, but that Ontario might one day decide that the effort to keep it going was no longer worthwhile.

This in turn points to other ambiguities of province and nation. Seeing Canada as a web of tolerant dialogues does not in itself determine the location of power. Within each communal debate, different participants will feel varying levels of engagement. Thus Webber's analysis is just as capable of buttressing the Trudeau view that the basic Canadian unit is the citizen and the common Canadian focus should be Ottawa.

In 1864, the Upper Canadian Fathers of Confederation thought of the local government of their section as an extended municipality of a 'Metro-' type. 'Ontario' emerged almost by default and at the last minute, in August 1866. The scene was set for the Ontario identity to manifest itself in Manichean apposition, sometimes expressed through Mowat and Hepburn, sometimes by Robarts and Peterson.

It is remarkable how determinedly the constitutional debate protects itself from Canada's own history and from the experience of others. The very idea of entrenching vocal shibboleths in a constitution is an absurdity. Nobody in the Republic of Ireland can get a divorce, because sixty years ago dominant opinion insisted that marriage was indissoluble. What right have we to burden posterity with the undemocratic weight of our own correctness?

Senate reformers seem especially blinkered. Canada was forced to accept equal elected representation in 1841. It failed and Webber is simply wrong in his belief that a 'double majority' convention solved most problems. The Upper Canada Separate Schools Act of 1863 is a fine example of an asymmetrical imbroglio. The triple-E Senate in Canberra generally works in harmony with the lower house because, by and large, most Australians vote consistently within a two-party system, which is hardly the case in Canada. None the less, in 1975 Australia was shaken to its governmental foundations when the 'effective' Senate decided to monster the equal and elected House of

Representatives. The exception is tiny Tasmania, where the electorate is small enough for the occasional independent to slip in through proportional representation. Canada has six provinces with a million people or fewer, all of them on the disaffected margins of the country. Do Canadians seriously want a Senate dominated by a Reform-COR alliance?

Webber dismisses the idea that a constitution can define exclusive national values, pointing out that most 'Canadian' values are shared across the Western world. But it is possible to define two specific challenges, and use these as a starting point for the re-design of Canadian institutions. One is that Canada is a collection of communities in North America seeking a separate existence from the United States. The other is that Canada contains two language communities, the weaker of which is centred in Québec.

Perhaps instead of thinking of Canada as a cacophonous internet, we might go back to an older notion of the ship of state. All federal societies resemble the *Titanic*, relying on their watertight compartments to survive the impact. Webber starts from the *Marie Celeste*, in full sail but with nobody at the helm, but leans towards a Canada of boat people, fleeing in small groups they know not where. I prefer to think of Canada as a giant raft. There is room in the image for Native canoes and Inuit Kayaks to paddle alongside and it is redolent of *voyageurs* steering dexterously through the rapids. All that is necessary is that the logs should be so lashed that the raft will not disintegrate while the component parts can float with the swell as each requires. Surely such a craft could navigate the waters of Meech Lake?

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Fournier, Louis, *Histoire de la FTQ, 1965-1992: La plus grande centrale syndicale au Québec* (Montréal: Québec/Amérique 1994)

LOUIS FOURNIER N'EST pas le premier venu en histoire du syndicalisme: il a révisé la deuxième édition de l'*Histoire du mouvement ouvrier au Québec, 150 ans de luttes* et il est l'auteur d'un historique du Fonds de solidarité et d'une biographie de Louis Laberge. La rédaction du dernier ouvrage le préparait éminemment bien à rédiger cette histoire de la FTQ, un deuxième tome en quelque sorte au volume de Léo Roback et Émile Boudreau qui n'avaient pu compléter leur historique de la centrale syndicale au delà de 1965.

Un compte rendu paru dans *Le Devoir* peu après le lancement présentait l'ouvrage plus comme un album de famille que comme une oeuvre historique. C'est avoir bien mal jaugé le volume qui représente bien davantage que les traditionnels historiques de syndicats effectués par des militants à la retraite à l'occasion d'un anniversaire quelconque. Même si l'ouvrage a été complété avec quelques délais relativement courts, il s'agit d'une synthèse solide appuyée sur une bonne connaissance des travaux historiques de la période. L'auteur a complété ses informations par le dépouillement de l'organe de la centrale, *Le Monde ouvrier*, et, pour la première fois, par la consultation des procès-verbaux du bureau exécutif. Cette dernière source jointe à la connaissance de nombreux militants lui ont permis de lever le voile sur des aspects significatifs et méconnus de l'histoire de la centrale. Ainsi, on apprend que Louis Laberge est demeuré longtemps fédéraliste même si la centrale donnait son appui à l'élection du Parti québécois et se rangait du côté du «oui» lors du référendum de 1980. L'adoption d'une résolution exigeant le retrait de la loi des mesures de guerre en 1970 ne s'est pas faite sans tiraillements: près du quart des délégués au Conseil général ont voté con-

tre et la dissension a touché près de 20 pour cent du membership de la centrale. Enfin, la volonté d'autonomie de la FTQ a suscité des grincements de dents non seulement au Congrès du travail du Canada à Ottawa mais aussi à la direction de certaines unions internationales à Washington. Louis Laberge et Fernand Daoust ont dû se rendre au siège social de l'AFL-CIO en 1977 pour s'expliquer devant les directeurs internationaux des unions. Une «entente de principe» y a été conclue, dont l'auteur ne rend malheureusement pas compte du contenu. (142)

Quoique l'ouvrage soit patronné par la FTQ, il ne s'agit pas d'une synthèse officielle complaisante qui présenterait uniquement les aspects les plus glorieux de son histoire. La synthèse demeure évidemment sympathique envers les orientations de la centrale et les actions de ses dirigeants, mais l'auteur met en évidence aussi des aspects moins reluisants de son passé. Il critique le laxisme de Louis Laberge pour avoir attendu les révélations de la Commission Cliche avant de dénoncer le chantage et la violence exercés par certains syndicats de la construction. (111) Il relève aussi les pratiques antidémocratiques de certains syndicats affiliés. (125) En revanche, on sent son approbation enthousiaste pour le virage indépendantiste de la centrale et sa faveur pour l'orientation adoptée dans les années 1980 vers la concertation et la collaboration patronale-syndicale. L'institution du Fonds de solidarité en 1983 lui apparaît comme «une des plus grandes réalisations de la FTQ et une petite révolution culturelle dans le monde du travail.» (187) Il n'est pas facile d'interpréter et de traiter avec détachement de sujets aussi contemporains. Contrairement à l'histoire de périodes plus lointaines, l'histoire immédiate ne permet pas d'évaluer le passé à partir de ses conséquences sur l'avenir. Ce n'est pas une raison cependant pour les historiens de devenir amnésiques sur le passé récent; ce champ leur appartient tout autant qu'aux

praticiens d'autres disciplines de sciences sociales.

La formation de Louis Fournier en science politique et son expérience de journaliste l'ont habitué à rendre compte de l'actualité. D'autre part, son contact avec les travaux historiques lui a permis aussi de pouvoir situer les événements dans un contexte plus large. Ainsi, il est en mesure de bien saisir les transformations considérables subies par la FTQ depuis le milieu des années 1960. Création juridique du CTC dont elle prolonge l'action au Québec, la FTQ n'avait que de piètres moyens et une influence bien restreinte sur ses syndicats affiliés et la société québécoise jusqu'aux années 1960. En effet, lorsque Louis Laberge prend la barre en 1965, ni lui ni le secrétaire général n'y travaillent à temps complet et l'organisme ne compte alors qu'une dizaine d'employés directs. Fournier nous montre comment cette modeste organisation dont le rôle devait se limiter à faire des représentations auprès du gouvernement provincial est devenue pratiquement une centrale syndicale.

Alors qu'elle devait faire des pieds et des mains pour convaincre les syndicats internationaux de s'y affilier dans les années 1950, voilà qu'elle peut se permettre dans les années 1970 de vérifier si ses syndicats affiliés respectent des normes de moralité et d'efficacité et de les expulser au besoin. C'est que la grande majorité des syndicats nationaux et internationaux en sont venus à voir dans leur affiliation un atout précieux et à accepter de consacrer davantage de ressources financières à son support. Quant aux syndiqués, nombreux sont ceux aussi qui s'identifient davantage à la FTQ qu'à la fédération ou à l'union dont ils font partie. Ce cheminement est sans doute unique dans les structures syndicales nord-américaines. Il résulte moins de la présence d'une centrale concurrente au Québec, la CSN, que de la montée du nationalisme québécois et de l'interventionnisme grandissant du gouvernement

québécois. Et à ce chapitre plus qu'à tout autre, l'histoire mouvementée de la FTQ, pour reprendre la formule de l'auteur, se confond avec celle du Québec. Un livre donc indispensable pour qui s'intéresse un tant soit peu à l'histoire des travailleurs et travailleuses.

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Denyse Baillargeon, *Ménagères au temps de la Crise* (Montréal: Éditions du remue-ménage 1991).

ON POURRA dorénavant citer le livre de Denyse Baillargeon comme un exemple de succès, eu égard à la diffusion des oeuvres produites dans les cercles académiques en dehors de ce milieu restreint. Réédité en format poche en 1993, l'ouvrage restera un outil de référence non seulement sur «l'ordinaire» de la Crise mais également sur la vie quotidienne en milieu ouvrier. Et sur la vision du monde partagée par des ménages en butte aux problèmes de survie économique bien avant que la Crise ne sévise. Dans un style abordable, exempt d'euphémismes aseptisés, l'auteure nous amène droit au coeur de l'expérience des ménages ouvriers par le moyen de l'histoire orale.

Trente témoignages de femmes ayant vécu la Crise forment l'échantillon principal construit à partir d'une réflexion méthodologique expliquée par l'auteure en introduction et dans les annexes A (guide d'entrevue) et B (biographies sommaires des interviewées). Tout à fait consciente des pièges, et de la mémoire et de la relation interviewée/intervieweuse, Denyse Baillargeon s'assure de la représentativité qualitative de son échantillon en limitant le nombre d'entrevues à trente et en respectant une certaine homogénéité: femmes canadiennes-françaises catholiques, mariées avant la Crise et ayant habité un quartier de Montréal. Elle souligne judicieusement que

les «sources orales ne peuvent se substituer à l'écrit.» (34) Conséquemment, le recours aux sources historiques plus traditionnelles (i.e., études et monographies) permet une remise en contexte qui affine l'analyse en y apportant des nuances éclairantes. «Si la mémoire n'a pas de sexe à proprement parler» (33), la reconstitution du vécu individuel se moule sur les sphères délimitées par l'espace habité. Les femmes interrogées se souviennent peu des événements de la scène publique (34), sauf exceptionnellement, mais n'ont pas oublié le prix des denrées alimentaires ou du combustible. Même en période de chômage et d'inactivité, un homme remplace rarement sa femme dans la sphère domestique. (177) Centrée sur cette réalité, l'auteure adopte la perspective développée par les historiennes féministes autour des théories du travail domestique en tant que contribution indispensable à l'économie familiale (et à l'économie capitaliste). Le contexte de la Crise, en modifiant les contours fluctuants du travail salarié, jette un éclairage cru sur ces stratégies féminines et familiales visant à combattre la misère.

«L'ordinaire» de la Crise, c'est l'ensemble des moyens utilisés par les familles pour survivre et pallier aux ratés de l'économie capitaliste en crise. Les femmes, presque toujours administratrices des budgets familiaux, en sont les principales artisanes. (131-53) Gérer la pénurie n'est pas un phénomène nouveau pour ces femmes de familles ouvrières, leur parcours au sein des familles d'origine en témoigne. (41-75) Cette idée de présenter l'itinéraire des répondantes avant leur mariage permet de relativiser l'impact de la Crise en soulignant la continuité des valeurs transmises au sein des familles. Ceci permet à l'auteure d'éviter le misérabilisme en rappelant pertinemment que, dans ce milieu, on savait se débrouiller, le travail ne faisait pas peur, tout le monde était sans argent et les réseaux familiaux vous suivaient souvent en ville. Sont ici énumérées les stratégies utilisées par les familles et étudiées au fil

des chapitres suivants: recours intermittent au travail salarié et aux «jobines» légales ou illégales, aux réseaux d'entraide familiaux et du voisinage, au double emploi du mari et en tout dernier lieu, à l'aide de l'État et au recours au secours direct, avec tout le poids de la honte qui l'accompagne.

Les titres des chapitres renvoient aux étapes du cycle de vie des femmes: naissance et enfance, fréquentations et mariage, maternité, travail rémunéré et budget, travail ménager ... Les hommes ne sont toutefois pas totalement absents de l'ouvrage. Leur participation, racontée par leurs épouses, se limite plus souvent qu'autrement à leur rôle de pourvoyeur, mais il s'agit d'un rôle que les femmes ne remettent pas en question ... et qu'elles ne leur envient pas lorsque vient le temps de réclamer du secours direct. (202) C'est toujours en tout dernier ressort que les femmes recourront au travail salarié (47, 144) ... en dehors du foyer. Mais la liste des activités productives effectuées à domicile, elle, s'allonge: prendre des pensionnaires, faire des pâtisseries, laver du linge pour d'autres, fabriquer des chapeaux ou coudre. Sans compter les ingénieuses façons de «faire du neuf dans du vieux,» d'allonger les repas, bref de joindre les deux bouts. Dans ce sens, le travail ménager et, par extension, les activités domestiques rémunérées étaient une contrepartie essentielle au salaire du pourvoyeur. (195) En complément à ces techniques de survie s'ajoutent l'ensemble des services rendus par la parenté, la famille de la femme surtout (213), et par les voisins (222), qu'on ne fréquente pas de façon intime toutefois.

Ce dernier chapitre sur les stratégies de survie (6) et celui portant sur la maternité (4) fournissent plusieurs éléments nouveaux sur les familles ouvrières, difficilement accessibles par le biais des sources écrites directes. Pour cette raison, le recours aux sources orales est totalement justifié, surtout lorsque l'on est aussi consciente que l'auteure ne l'est des limites du récit de vie. Comment peut-on

saisir autrement le degré de soumission aux diktats catholiques concernant la sexualité et la contraception si ce n'est par l'entrevue orale? Si les statistiques démographiques se bornent à tracer la courbe générale du phénomène, seule une intrusion dans l'intimité des ménages peut permettre d'éclairer les motivations individuelles et l'impact réel du discours dominant sur les comportements. De même, les taux de fécondité et de natalité sont loin d'exprimer toute la réalité des fonctions maternelles. (128) En ce sens, l'ouvrage permet une analyse démographique revue et corrigée par l'entrevue orale. Et ce, malgré le fait bien connu qu'on ne puisse s'attendre à reconstituer des cohortes complètes de sujets pour cette époque révolue. A cet égard, le livre de Denyse Baillargeon devrait jouer dans l'historiographie québécoise un rôle semblable à celui d'Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place*, dans l'historiographie britannique.

Il existe également toute une autre dimension à l'ouvrage que l'on peut reconstruire à partir des citations des informatrices notées en exergue au début des chapitres ou tout au long du texte. Elles sont, en quelque sorte, des bribes de «sagesse populaire» mais surtout, des reflets de valeurs véhiculées dans des milieux, dont les conditions de vie et de reproduction s'éloignent assez souvent des idéaux décrits par les élites cléricales et bourgeoises. Dans les commentaires mêmes des informatrices se retrouve aussi leur vision du monde. La citation directe permet au lecteur d'en juger, au-delà de l'interprétation de l'auteure, par ailleurs très nuancée. Denyse Baillargeon profite de ces moments pour confronter les sources écrites et orales. C'est là un point fort de sa méthodologie. Des exemples: le passage traitant des avantages et des inconvénients d'habiter un quartier ouvrier (162) ou encore celui concernant les bienfaits de l'Assistance maternelle ou de la Goutte de lait ... vus par les mères. (120)



Si l'auteure réussit à respecter un équilibre certain dans l'élaboration de son échantillon, on peut quand même noter que l'absence des témoignages masculins directs contribue à nourrir une vision unanime du rôle féminin. Par exemple, les épouses dont les maris ne remplissent pas leurs responsabilités adéquatement racontent comment elles doivent compenser. Ces situations existaient à n'en pas douter. Cependant, l'échantillon ne permet pas d'observer son contraire: le cas où des femmes auraient pu flancher et désertier ou tomber malades. Peut-être était-ce plus rare mais, l'auraient-elles dit? Certaines avouent s'être parfois découragées mais jusqu'à quel point? De même, lorsque l'auteure suggère que les hommes qui remettent leur salaire entier à leurs épouses se soustraient ainsi au défi de gérer un salaire insuffisant (147), elle atteint une réalité difficile à vérifier. Tout comme l'affirmation concernant le fait que les ouvrières ne se plaignent pas des cadences rapides de travail (59) mais sont plutôt fières de s'y être adaptées, aurait mérité une explication davantage contextualisée: chez les travailleuses des alumettes, au début du XXe siècle à Hull, ce n'est pas par le témoignage des alumettières mais par celui des contre-maîtres qu'on apprend comment elles «résistent.» Est-ce que les travailleuses interviewées étaient toutes dans le même secteur d'emploi? Il aurait peut-être fallu préciser davantage.

En milieu académique, on a parfois remis en question l'utilisation du terme «stratégies» dans le sens utilisé par l'auteure, soit l'ensemble des moyens utilisés par les familles pour contrer la pénurie et la misère. L'objection principale à un tel usage étant que l'on devrait réserver le terme «stratégie» aux entreprises ou à l'État dont la planification s'étend au long terme et implique des opérations complexes de prévision et de réalisation sub-séquentes. Or, il nous semble qu'à la lecture des témoignages et en tenant compte de la complexité toute relative des décisions, la gestion quotidienne des ménages

entraînait des choix tout aussi conscients, dont les implications à long terme n'étaient pas totalement ignorées des familles. Dans leur logique et dans leur contexte, il s'agissait bien de mesures adoptées dans le but bien précis de survivre à la Crise par la mise en commun des ressources et le recours aux salaires d'appoint.

En conclusion, on saura gré à l'auteure d'avoir tenu compte de l'ensemble des témoignages, même ceux qui ne corroboraient pas entièrement son hypothèse de départ. L'impact de la Crise sur leur travail domestique, mesuré à partir des expériences antérieures des femmes, s'avère plus mince que prévu et les conditions de vie de l'ensemble des familles étudiées marquent peu d'écart entre elles. Dans le premier cas, l'auteure souligne comment la Crise ne fait qu'accentuer une situation de pénurie préexistante. Dans le second, elle remarque que l'attitude des familles, habituées de se contenter du strict minimum, est responsable de cet état de fait. Des nuances dans l'analyse que l'on retrouve tout au long de l'ouvrage, et qui en font un complément indispensable aux travaux déjà existants sur cette période troublée de la Crise.

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Madeleine Rebérioux (sous la direction de). *Fourmies et les premier mai* (Paris, Les Éditions de l'Atelier/Éditions ouvrières, 1994).

LE 1ER MAI 1891. Fourmies, cité industrielle dans le Nord de la France. Voisine de la mine, la fabrication lainière est familière du «pays noir.» Le décor à la *Germinal* de Zola (paru en 1885) fait de la région une sinistre caricature des débuts de l'industrialisation. La troupe, employant le fusil Lebel introduit dans l'armée française en 1886 par le général Boulanger, tire sur les manifestants et en tue neuf âgés de 11 à 30 ans — 35 sont

blessés. La III<sup>e</sup> République compte ses premières victimes ouvrières tombées sous les balles des forces de l'ordre. La France en est à sa deuxième participation au phénomène international qu'est devenu l'arrêt général du travail du 1<sup>er</sup> mai.

Proclamée en 1889 par la Deuxième Internationale pour soutenir la demande de la journée de huit heures et commémorer le massacre du Haymarket de Chicago (1886), la «fête des travailleurs» commence à être célébrée en 1890. En France, elle n'est institutionnalisée qu'en 1946 comme fête légale et jour férié, chômé et payé. Consacré à la sociabilité et la revendication, démonstration de force et affirmation de la conscience de classe, le 1<sup>er</sup> mai est le rendez-vous annuel du monde du travail et de ses organisations. Cortèges, défilés, banderoles, affiches, mots d'ordre, slogans, chants et discours captent l'ambiance de l'époque. Le nombre de participants, le degré d'enthousiasme et, le cas échéant, les incidents ou affrontements permettent de tâter le pouls de la classe ouvrière et de la société qui est la sienne. Il n'est pas étonnant que l'état des «relations industrielles» se reflète dans le déroulement des 1<sup>er</sup> mai, indicateur grandeur nature. En 1891, la distribution est conforme à l'image d'Epinal: patronat à la fois intransigeant et apeuré, pouvoirs publics prompts à recourir à la violence pour sauvegarder «la propriété» et «l'ordre», ouvriers à peine sortis du statut de «classe dangereuse» et plus ou moins encadrés par de jeunes syndicats et partis politiques soumis à une étroite surveillance policière et une dure répression par les autorités.

Tragédie historique, la fusillade de Fourmies a son *dramatis personae*: l'ouvrière Maria Blondeau, 18 ans, le rameau d'aubépine offert par son fiancé toujours en main; et les ouvriers Kléber Giloteaux, 19 ans, mortellement atteints dès la première salve; Hippolyte Culine, militant du Parti ouvrier de Jules Guesde, qui, loin d'avoir été le lâche agitateur professionnel dénoncé par le ministre de l'Intérieur,

a prêché le calme et la modération; Paul Lafargue, représentant du même parti et gendre de Karl Marx — élu député à Lille fin 1891 — qui est défendu lors de son procès par nul autre qu'Alexandre Millerand, futur «renégat» au socialisme et président de la République (1920-1924).

Les événements de Fourmies ont fait l'objet de tentatives de récupération par les milieux les plus inattendus: la droite cléricale ne manque pas de rendre un solennel hommage à l'abbé Margerin, le «curé de Fourmies», qui prend dans ses bras le corps de Blondeau, geste d'où est facile à tirer le symbole de l'Eglise assurant le salut et faisant ses premiers pas dans la voie du catholicisme social; Edouard Drumont exploite le fait que le sous-préfet Isaac est de confession juive — Drumont déforme de surcroît le nom du préfet Vel-Durand à Veil-Durand — pour sonner le tocsin contre le complot «sémitique» visant la nation française. Les adversaires de la République opportuniste ont dans la fusillade de Fourmies de quoi alimenter leurs campagnes. Pour sa part, Georges Clemenceau, radical à l'époque, y va d'une de ses phrases lapidaires qui reviendront le hanter lorsque, devenu le «premier flic de France», il aura changé de camp.

A l'origine du présent ouvrage est le colloque *Fourmies 1891/1991*, tenu à l'Ecomusée de la Région Fourmies-Trélon en mai 1991. Il ne manque pas d'ambition. Outre l'étude des heurts à Fourmies, il s'agit d'appréhender la signification du 1<sup>er</sup> mai, en France et à l'échelle internationale. On comprendra qu'avec un tel programme le livre contient pas moins de 28 articles, rédigés par 30 auteurs. L'approche est écuménique: l'histoire sociale est abordée «par le haut» et «par le bas»; elle est tantôt quantitative, tantôt fondée sur une information colligée dans une multitude de sources descriptives; conditions socio-économiques, mentalités et pratiques culturelles occupent les places qu'elles méritent; l'iconographie, la poésie et la chanson sont mises à contri-

bution, tandis que l'événement n'est pas méprisé. C'est-à-dire que les objets d'étude sont soumis à des éclairages divers, chaque sujet secrétant en quelque sorte la méthodologie propre à mener à son intelligibilité.

Les deux premières parties (15 chapitres) portent sur la fusillade de Fourmies. Jean-Louis Chappat fait le portrait d'un gros bourg qui, suite à une croissance rapide, compte une population de 15 700 habitants en 1891. Les ouvriers travaillent 12, parfois 15, heures par jour dans des conditions pénibles. Tout ralentissement des affaires entraîne la baisse du salaire horaire. Au cours de la décennie antérieure à la fusillade, les salaires sont réduits de moitié. «Fourmies en 1891, c'est la conjonction d'une immense aspiration d'un mouvement ouvrier juvénile et d'une immense peur patronale, c'est l'interférence entre un extraordinaire vacarme revendicatif et un dramatique silence politique.» (37-8) Les modes de vie et de travail à Fourmies sont décrits avec force détails puisés dans les Archives départementales du Nord par Mohamed Kasdi, Ludovic Klawinski et Bruno Lassieux. L'univers du patronat n'est pas négligé: Odette Hardy réserve à un entrepreneur fourmisien du textile, François Boussus, et son entreprise une étude documentée et instructive sur l'accumulation et la déperdition d'une fortune. Jean-Louis Robert compare les premier mai de 1890 et 1891 en France, et conclut que le mouvement gréviste est plus important en 1890 qu'en 1891, alors que les pouvoirs publics s'avèrent moins tolérants en 1891 qu'en 1890.

Suivent des chapitres sur la grève générale dans les bassins miniers wallons en 1891 (Jacques Liebin), l'historiographie — les «lectures» — de Fourmies (André Pierrard), le débat parlementaire sur la tragédie (Monique Kieffer), le procès de Culine et Lafargue (Jacques Girault), la presse politique et l'élection de Lafargue à Lille en 1891 (Félix Codaccioni), l'intervention de l'abbé Margerin à Fourmies (Jérôme Grondeux), l'ou-

vrage de Drumont publié en 1892 sous le titre *Le secret de Fourmies* (Madeleine Rebérioux), le sous-préfet Isaac (Pierre Birnbaum — il s'agit d'un chapitre de son ouvrage *Les fous de la République*, paru en 1992), Jean Jaurès et Fourmies (Frédéric Moret), et l'iconographie de la fusillade (Pierre Favre), illustrations à l'appui. Le chapitre que Jean-Marc Berlière reprend les principales conclusions de sa thèse sur le préfet Louis Lépine. Le maintien de l'ordre à Paris est, fait unique en France à l'époque, du ressort de la police. Ailleurs la gendarmerie et la troupe s'en chargent. La police municipale de Paris a une détestable réputation de brutalité. Lépine s'emploie à réduire la violence gratuite et à rendre aussi scientifique que faire se peut la dispersion des manifestations de masse. Il laisse des souvenirs où, non sans quelque exagération de l'importance de son rôle, se déploie un étonnant franc-parler.

La troisième partie s'éloigne légèrement de Fourmies pour s'intéresser à la Belgique et aux bassins miniers du Nord de la France. Les luttes sociales s'y conjuguent avec les campagnes politiques pour la reconnaissance du suffrage universel masculin. Les émeutes de mars 1886 et leurs conséquences font l'objet de deux études (Jean-Louis Delaet et Pascal Delwit) auxquelles vient s'ajouter un chapitre sur l'histoire du Parti socialiste républicain de 1887 à 1889 (Serge Deruette). Yves Le Maner conduit avec méthode et finesse un examen détaillé des grandes grèves minières du Pas-de-Calais de 1889 à 1914. S'appuyant sur une solide documentation, l'auteur dresse une typologie de la grève minière, phénomène aux traits particuliers dans le monde ouvrier. Les divers aspects sont isolés afin de dégager les similitudes d'une grève à la suivante: conjoncture saisonnière du déclenchement, durée, revendications, extension, lutte contre les «jaunes», réunions, violence, conclusion de la grève, rôles du syndicat, du patronat et de l'Etat. Il en ressort un tableau éclairant dans lequel l'esprit de synthèse et l'effort de

généralisation sont rehaussés par le souci du fait concret.

La quatrième partie traite des premiers mai tragiques: analyse des origines et des conséquences du drame du Haymarket (Hubert Perrier); le 1er mai 1905 à Varsovie (Claude Weill); le 1er mai 1919 à Paris (Miguel Rodriguez).

Dans la cinquième et dernière partie, intitulée «les devenirs,» la dimension internationale reprend ses droits dans quatre chapitres sur les 1er mai en Allemagne (Friedhelm Böll), en Suisse (Bernard Degen), en Italie (Maurizio Antonioli) et au Brésil (Claudio Batalha). Danielle Tarkowsky livre une réflexion circonstanciée sur les enjeux politiques du 1er mai en France depuis 1889, et Bénédicte Zimmermann clôt l'ouvrage avec une étude du processus d'intégration et reinterprétation auquel se livre la CFTC/CFDT pour concilier les traditions chrétienne et syndicale de célébrer le travail.

Savante, variée et suggestive, la présente publication témoigne de la bonne santé de l'histoire du travail et des travailleurs en France.

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Tom Copeland, *The Centralia Tragedy of 1919: Elmer Smith and the Wobblies* (Seattle: University of Washington Press 1993).

WITH THE RECENT proliferation of work on industrial legality, it is not surprising that biographies of labour lawyers have begun to find their way into print: Tom Copeland has produced one such study of Elmer Smith, a lawyer who became an ardent defender of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) as a result of the Centralia massacre. On 11 November 1919, Armistice Day, the Elks Club and American Legion sponsored a parade, the culmination of which was the storming of the local IWW hall, which had been planned for several days by town leaders.

Having been advised by Smith that they had a right to defend themselves, some Wobblies fired into the crowd, resulting in the deaths of four Legionnaires. Within hours, twenty-two men were arrested, including Wesley Everest, who was later taken out of jail under cover of darkness, hung twice and shot repeatedly. His body was returned to the jail the next day, where it remained overnight as a reminder of the fate awaiting imprisoned labour radicals.

Copeland provides a thorough narrative of the hostility towards Wobblies in Centralia leading up to the 1919 killings and years afterwards. He also devotes almost half the book to covering the numerous trials involving the IWW and Elmer Smith, first as a defendant (he was tried and acquitted of being the 'brains' behind the purported 'revolution' on Armistice Day) and later as counsel for Wobblies tried under the Criminal Syndicalism Act in Washington, Oregon, and California. While Smith was rarely successful, Copeland suggests that the verdicts did not always reflect uniform hostility towards the IWW. For example, Smith lost several cases because jurors who believed individual Wobs to be innocent voted to convict them of a lesser charge for fear that a mistrial would result in a conviction and sterner sentence at a second trial. Copeland is at his best when describing the minutiae of various court cases involving Smith, most of which were hopeless from the start. Copeland also differs from other historians by rejecting the story, firmly enshrined in labour lore, that Wesley Everest was castrated. He presents a persuasive case for doing so, observing that there was no mention of Everest's 'emasculatation' in the aftermath of the arrests or the lengthy trial. Rather, the castration story was first published by 'Solidarity Forever' author Ralph Chaplin, suggesting that the rumour was a politically-motivated representation of bourgeois justice.

On the whole, however, this book is short on analysis. Copeland does not en-

gage with numerous debates at the heart of this historiographic genre such as the relationship between the law and class power or whether state involvement in industrial disputes was beneficial or harmful to workers. Instead, the repression of the Wobblies, the extent of which is quite amazing, is depicted as the result of biased judges and prosecutors. For example, the judge in the Centralia case rejected attempts to disqualify jurors who hated the IWW on the basis that their opinions were acceptable providing they did not dislike the specific Wobs on trial. This approach neglects the systemic aspects of the law, and is bound to frustrate some practitioners of this burgeoning field. As well, Copeland is ambiguous about Smith's relationship with the Wobblies. While prevented from joining because he was not a wage labourer, Smith professed his beliefs to be those of the IWW. However, Smith also rejected the revolutionary aspects of Wobbly doctrine, and at times seemed to feel little more than liberal sympathy for the plight of the 'common working man.' Further exploration of the transformation of Smith's political beliefs would have cleared this up.

Also problematic is Copeland's lack of focus on the gender dynamics at Centralia and beyond. For example, from Copeland's account, it appears that both Wobblies and bosses appealed to gender politics as a way of attracting support and disparaging each other. In a flyer put out by the IWW upon hearing of plans to attack their hall, they proclaimed that "our manhood revolts at mob violence coming from the hands of the lumber barons." (48) In contrast, opponents of the Farmer-Labor Party, which gained strong support from workers in Centralia, produced a fake election flyer for the Party extolling the virtues of 'free love' and male collective ownership of women. Given that perhaps the most widely known 'fact' about Centralia is the story of Everest's castration at the hands of respectable civic leaders, this history demands attention to gender conflict.

Unlike many biographies of working men, this book does devote space to Smith's life at home. Copeland states that Elmer was a "poor provider" who had "little regard for the consequences of his actions for himself or his family." (6) This theme is carried throughout the book, making frequent appearances rather than just an occasional reference. Unfortunately, Copeland does not provide a sustained analysis of Smith's gendered sense of self. For example, the importance of masculinity to Smith's devotion to the Wobblies is unconsciously highlighted by Copeland, who begins the book with Smith's favourite poem, Josiah Gilbert Holland's "God, Give Us Men!":

God, give us men! A time like this demands ...  
Men who possess opinions and a will ...  
Tall men, sun crowned, who live above the fog  
In public duty, and in private thinking. (3)

This idealization of male heroism and sacrifice contributed to problems between Elmer and his wife, Laura, who left him briefly because Elmer continually offered his home as a shelter for itinerant Wobs. Indeed, given that Laura considered Wobblies to be "bums" and later wrote that they were a "direct cause of Elmer's death, and with the exception of a few who were very fine men, were not worthy of his sacrifice" (185-186), attention to the relationship between class politics and family conflicts would have greatly improved Copeland's study.

These criticisms aside, Copeland has written a detailed book covering one man's fight against the 'Red Scare' in Washington State. While at times frustrating, it is informative and worth reading if for no other reason than its widespread portrayal of the immense impact of anti-labour activities upon the IWW. With books like this, Woody Guthrie's infamous "Union Burying Ground" seems a little more real every time I hear it.

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Jane Marie Pederson, *Between Memory and Reality: Family and Community in Rural Wisconsin, 1870-1970* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1992).

HISTORICAL CRITICISM is often laden with unfair or inaccurate stereotypes and assumptions. Broad or narrow, such stereotypes and assumptions are habitually invented from an artificially chosen historical lowest common denominator. In making history conform to a proposed model or explanation, historians too often simplify an otherwise complicated event or period so much that the life experiences and circumstances of those involved are lost. While the historian's task is to explain a complicated past in coherent terms, oversimplifications and generalizations often disfigure our perception of the past. Further complicating the issue is that historians are charged with explaining the past in terms that not only make sense to others within the profession, but in terms that can be understood by those outside the profession as well. At the very least, historians serve two masters. While professional historians write for others in their field, they must also explain the past in terms understandable to those outside the profession. All too often people outside the profession look up at our publicly funded institutions and question what exactly it is we do. Our society has, after all, a right to question the legitimacy of the work we create, especially if it is so jargon laden that sterile logic and assumption have deconstructed and reassembled the historical experience in terms of events that never happened or people who never lived. If historians can not relate and explain historical experiences in intelligible terms, a disservice has been done to those who support the institutions within which we operate. We do, after all, perform an invaluable public service. Nowhere is this service more evident than in *Between Memory and Reality*.

Jane Pederson has given us a wonderful example of how historical inquiry and

scholarship can explain in coherent and exciting terms the experiences and lives of people and places otherwise overlooked or assumed by theory and jargon. It is refreshing to see scholarly inquiry combined with such a pleasurable writing style. This work is both an expertly crafted piece of academic writing as well as a readable and interesting study in local history. Its style and construction will serve as a model for other scholars interested in the history of family and community development.

As Pederson points out, Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis on the American frontier and the roots of American democracy, though now understood in terms of its exposed fallacious reasoning and methodology, created a powerful image of settlement in the United States. While Turner's specific thesis has been refuted, the image and myth he and others created have long remained. Historians have too often left untouched the image of the sleepy little town. Generalizations find the people in these towns gradually becoming politicized, old orders either struggling to remain static or melting into a new status quo they created. Most historical works concerning the development of 19th and early 20th century American society describe social changes in terms of this false dichotomy. The terms of change appear clear-cut and continuous. We all know, however, that historic society and culture are much more complicated than our contemporary view of them suggests.

It is enlightening to see a work that more deeply examines the otherwise commonly accepted myths and images. This work signals, more than anything, the new efforts in explaining the various and diverse aspects of our society that make up the distinct and understandable qualities of culture. Pederson's work takes into account qualities that until now were merely assumed. While the agrarian myth with which she introduces the book is indeed powerful and pervasive, her study relates the subtle nuances of family and

community development on an American frontier. The people and specific communities they created, rather than an inanimate and nebulous frontier, are reestablished as the shapers of society, its institutions, and culture. The period of study spans not only the turn of the century, but the radical social, cultural, and spatial changes which occurred through several eras in American, and to some extent, world history. The dynamism of the people and period remain evident in this work. People shaped the frontier to a much greater extent than they were shaped by it. They shaped their own individual, family, and community frontiers.

The most stunning aspect of this work is the skill and creative style with which the author recounts the vibrant development of community in the region studied. These are not merely the sleepy little towns whose names dot historical and contemporary maps. Neither are they the lone seat of a Turnerian style frontier. The forces acting on family and community, like the forces working on individuals, were never so conveniently organized. Pedersen has clearly succeeded in documenting the complexity of rural life and all it includes. This work is nothing short of a methodological masterpiece. Historians in all fields may learn how to sharpen their own methods of inquiry from reading this book. This work would make good reading for any course in local history, as well as every history methods class.

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Susan Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993).

THE TREVELYAN MODEL of social history as "history with the politics left out" has always appealed more to denigrators of social history than to its practitioners.

The recent popularity of "state studies" not only testifies to the specious and overly-facile nature of the charge, but also to the validity of the social historians' position: there is little — if anything — in history that cannot appropriately come under the rubric of the social. The relational focus of much social history since its earnest beginnings some thirty years ago begs, even demands, understanding of the political, not merely in the ways that it "frames" the social. More important, it requires attention to the ways that their necessary, unavoidable enmeshing affects people: "targets" of policy and policy-makers both. As students of the state are demonstrating, the boundaries between social and political are more artificial than real.

Rather than leaving "politics" out, social historians, until recently, tended to de-emphasize (as opposed to ignoring) the political in order to shine the light away from the holders of power. But even the powerful obviously emerged, formulated their world-view, politicized it, and attempted to legislate in its interests, within a specific social/historical context. It is not that the state was ever truly left out, or even that new historical projects are looking to "bring the state back in," so much as they are focusing anew on the political that previously loomed, significant, ominous, ever-present, somewhere in the background of social activity.

This book is an excellent example of such integrative historical analysis. Pedersen has tackled a complicated, complex, mess of relations — social, cultural, ideological, political — in such a way that any boundaries between them are seen to be largely imposed for the purposes of analysis by those of us looking backward. And this, I would argue, is a good thing, even if it does offend the fastidious who would prefer their history neatly compartmentalized, packaged, and delivered. History cannot help but be messy, since it deals with human beings, their relationships, and the outcome of all this.

Despite the entanglements that Pedersen is examining, her analysis is remarkably lucid, richly documented, and altogether impressive in the sheer amount of research and analysis that she has managed to put together so skillfully. Not only does this study look at the construction, in every sense, of the welfare state, it provides detailed analyses of its social/ideological underpinnings in interwoven conceptualizations of family, class, gender, religion, culture, and political aspirations as they developed in two different, but not entirely dissimilar, neighbouring nations. Paying close attention to the ways in which industrial development proceeded in Britain and France, Pedersen reveals the differential impact of structural change on ideas about class and gender relations, about family and state relations, and about their mutually-supportive as well as mutually-destructive propensities. She shows, for example, how the male breadwinner ideal and its concomitant goal of the "family wage" dominated public discourse in both nations throughout this period. In Britain, the result was a split between feminists, who sought economic independence for women through family welfare policy, and trade unionists/labourists, who saw the economic security of men as the key to social security. What made this struggle particularly contentious in Britain was the enfranchisement of women with the Great War, granting some women a political voice that they lacked in France, where women received the vote only in 1944. Yet this was not simply a gender split. Working-class women, despite their particular economic vulnerability, gradually sided with their unionist brothers in a coalition that made class the foremost component of social security. In France, by contrast, a weaker feminist movement and a stronger, conservative, Catholic, paternalistic ethos that concentrated on pronatalism as the source of national economic and military prowess, sought the "endowment" of families as a collective responsibility on the level of social (class

and gender) relations rather than as a state responsibility.

Obviously this summary of the historical issues and events that unfolded in these nations during this period does scant justice to the author's carefully-constructed argument. In brief, Pedersen contends that the dissimilar outcomes of welfare reform campaigns, and of the policies that ensued from them, cannot be explained by reference to those campaigns alone. There were both similarities and differences in the ways that British and French campaigners depicted class relations, defined gender relations, and argued for and against state intervention to regulate relations between family, economy, and state. She argues that "an examination of the articulation and reception of claims on behalf of dependent children or based on normative ideals of family life within the realms both of public debate and of political and economic negotiations can help us understand the final shape of policies." (420-1) In Britain, the more powerful voices of women for gender equality, and those of Liberal and Labour supporters of class equality, made redistribution across class and gender lines an integral part of the family policy debates from the outset. In France, family policy was dominated by a conservative coalition of nationalists, pronatalists, and social Catholics who emphasized the family as an isolated social unit and envisioned social equality in terms of the injustices suffered by patriotic couples producing children for the nation and raising them in hardship. Yet in both nations, policymakers were attached to the "idea of the *mere au foyer*," thus foiling the chances, in Britain, of concern for women's rights as a cornerstone of a more egalitarian system.

In the end, the "relative ease" of French family policy development by comparison to that of Britain cannot be explained solely out of "rhetoric and representation." What counted in France, above all, was "the affinity between the framework offered by those who shaped



public debate and the interests of those with the capacity to introduce comprehensive measures." (422) The unevenness, even contradictoriness, of British developments was due to "the real incompatibility" between the campaigners and the interests of more powerful, often less vocal, groups that could block them at the state level.

Pedersen presents her case, with all its complexities within nations and differences between them, in a straightforward, tightly-argued manner that nonetheless leaves space for the multiple contributory factors that her evidence uncovers. She allows for dissenting voices within and between reform campaigns, though the French situation comes across as perhaps more coherent, more uniformly conservative, and more uniform within its conservatism than it may have been, especially relative to the fractious socialist/feminist movements in Britain. The solid right/divided left portrayal seems too familiar, almost stereotypical, challenging redress. Pedersen also situates her evidence, and her arguments, within the current historiographical debate on the role and relations of state and society. I admire her brave and forthright tone in "taking on" some of the participants in this debate, a useful and thought-provoking exercise that can only further historical understanding. At times this leads her to a somewhat contrived polarization of views (her own *versus* the predecessors) that obscures "other" discussions of policy-making by boiling them down to their essence without much regard for their more subtle, qualifying aspects. This detracts little from Pedersen's work, however. This book stands, both on its own and within the literature, as an exemplary contribution. It will serve particularly well for students of the Canadian scene as context, comparative framework, and model for our own studies of state and policy evolution.

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Marie-Victoire Louis *Le droit de cuissage. France, 1860-1930* (Paris: Les éditions de l'atelier 1994).

VOICI UN OUVRAGE qui affiche son ambition dans le titre et qui vise à documenter l'asservissement sexuel des femmes aux hommes durant la période de modernisation de la France. A l'instar de Colette Guillaumin, l'auteur tente de comprendre la persistance au XIXe et XXe siècles du terme «droit de cuissage,» malgré son abolition par la Révolution française, et plus généralement la forme de l'appropriation, physique et verbale, des femmes. Il s'agit pour elle «d'évoquer toute la gamme de comportements, qui vont des viols aux insinuations mettant en doute les bonnes mœurs des femmes salariées, en passant par toutes les formes de pouvoir sexuel exercées par les hommes sur des femmes sur les lieux de travail.» (21) Essentiellement bâti sur des sources juridiques et sur le dépouillement de la presse, cet ouvrage comble une lacune importante de l'histoire du travail, comprise d'abord comme l'illustration des rapports de pouvoir entre les sexes.

L'auteur établit d'emblée ce qui lui apparaît comme les travaux de femmes et le pouvoir des hommes. Entrées dans le salariat sans avoir préalablement conquis l'égalité des droits, les ouvrières françaises se trouvent sous une double tutelle masculine (celle de leurs hommes, maris, pères, frères) et étatique. Le Code civil de 1804 les considère comme des mineures, obligeant les épouses à l'obéissance, au devoir sexuel conjugal, et les dépossédant de leurs biens au profit de leurs maris. Aux dispositions discriminatoires du Code civil à l'endroit des femmes s'ajoute leur subordination économique.

Ce rappel des conditions misérables de vie des ouvrières au XIXème siècle fournit les éléments de contexte du repérage de la pratique du droit de cuissage. L'auteur recense dans les rapports et écrits intimes les manifestations nombreuses de ces pratiques, présentes aussi

bien dans le trio épouse, mari et bonne que dans le monde ouvrier et chez les employées, vendeuses, institutrices, infirmières. Le vocabulaire change selon les métiers, (on butine, on fait des fredaines, des prouesses, on obtient des faveurs ...) mais très vite on s'indigne de porter atteinte, outrage et déshonneur aux femmes, qui deviennent alors des dévergondées, des séductrices, des femmes légères. La dénonciation surtout masculine de ces comportements se lit dans l'évolution du vocabulaire consacré aux rapports entre les hommes et les femmes, et des logiques sociales qui le sous-tendent. Ce qui est en jeu, souligne Louis, c'est bien la séparation dans les corps du privé et du public, de ce que l'on vend pour un salaire.

Elle note plusieurs étapes dans la dépossession des femmes de leur corps: la dépersonnalisation qu'instaure le travail à l'usine, si souvent constatée, a un effet de mise à nu des corps, de dévoilement propice à la promiscuité et au contrôle sanitaire des ouvrières qui conduisent à la subordination des êtres. Devenues des bêtes de somme, ces couturières, chapeлиères, pousseuses des mines de charbon, sucrières etc. ... sont accablées par des tâches exténuantes, et leur travail est assimilé souvent à l'esclavage par les témoins du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Ainsi reléguées à l'infra-humain, il n'est pas difficile de justifier qu'on les maintienne dans des emplois qui perpétuent les formes de travail domestique à un salaire inférieur aux hommes, puisque établi sur des critères d'ordre moral ou familial.

«Dépossédées collectivement de leur individualité pour être mieux réappropriées singulièrement dans leur sexualité, les travailleuses ont été efficacement maintenues dans des rapports de domination.» (92) C'est leur corps que les femmes vendent (être jeune et jolie, compréhensive et gentille) parce que le travail des femmes n'est pas encore un droit mais le résultat d'un service, d'une faveur qu'on veut bien leur rendre. En échange, elles doivent dédommager le donneur de service, lui rendre la faveur ... Ainsi le

chantage sexuel devient vite évident à l'embauche et s'y refuser peut entraîner le renvoi. La promotion des femmes passe par le corps, le seul moyen pour elles de se distinguer. La séduction devient alors l'arme privilégiée pour atteindre cet objectif, créant une rivalité réelle entre les femmes légères et les autres, et brouillant les lignes hiérarchiques traditionnelles.

Cette analyse entraîne l'auteur à vouloir effacer la séparation, normative et fausse selon elle, entre salariat féminin et prostitution. Ses exemples, redoublés par la présentation du travail des danseuses, vendeuses, chanteuses, mannequins lui fait dire que leur travail est proche de la prostitution. Ses cas, dirons-nous, sont choisis en fonction de sa démonstration, on aurait aimé qu'elle généralise moins à partir de ces seuls exemples.

Qu'en est-il du droit de cuissage proprement dit? Ce n'est qu'au chapitre six (146) que le sujet est enfin abordé, l'auteur nous ayant jusque là convaincus que les travailleuses n'avaient ni autonomie, ni droit au travail, ni contrôle de leur corps, et que le salaire féminin payait d'abord et avant tout le don de son corps. Et ce serait une des raisons qui expliquerait le silence entourant la pratique du droit de cuissage que s'arrogent les chefs, contremaîtres et autres hommes en position de pouvoir dans l'entreprise. Sujet tabou, il est néanmoins reconnu: l'entreprise doit désormais veiller au maintien des bonnes moeurs (article 15 de la loi du 19 mai 1874). Mais, les patrons font tout pour taire l'infâmie, tandis que les ouvriers (syndicats compris) s'abstiennent d'intervenir ou de dénoncer ces pratiques par peur de souiller l'honneur familial et aussi par souci de maintenir les avantages matériels qui y sont liés. Ce n'est qu'après la guerre qu'émerge un semblant de solidarité ouvrière, soulignant les difficultés d'une solidarité féminine.

La loi toutefois devra faire une place à ces abus sexuels, devenus plus fréquents et plus apparents avec les progrès de l'industrialisation. Les débats juridiques aut-

our de cette question attestent de la tendance à blâmer la victime, puisque c'est la séduction qui sera sanctionnée; et ce n'est qu'en 1991, que le code pénal prévoiera des sanctions au harcèlement sexuel, soit près d'un siècle plus tard (article 335). En fait, il y a bien eu, dans le silence assourdissant qui entourait cette pratique, des cris, des révoltes et même des grèves (Limoges, 1905) pour défendre la dignité bafouée des travailleuses. Mais, souligne l'auteur en conclusion, il s'agit de réviser nos conceptions sur la séparation entre structures familiales, travail professionnel et prostitution pour enfin faire émerger les droits de la personne humaine.

En fait, le réquisitoire que nous présente l'auteur permet effectivement de reconstruire des liens artificiellement abolis par une théorie du travail aveugle aux rapports hommes-femmes; mais je me demande si un tel ouvrage, qui fait la part belle à l'accumulation de cas divers, et forcément choisis en fonction de la thèse à défendre, démontre véritablement le propos. L'auteur dresse un tableau semblable à celui des misères ouvrières de Chevallier, en omettant de dire que les ouvriers aussi vendaient leur corps; c'était même leur force de travail essentielle. Et dans la mesure où l'on n'est guère convaincu que travail féminin égale prostitution, on ne voit pas en quoi cette thèse change radicalement les observations déjà faites sur la différence entre travail féminin et masculin.

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Joanna Bourke, *Working-Class Cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, Class, Ethnicity* (London: Routledge 1994).

IN OUR NEVER-ending search for teaching materials, gems such as Joanna Bourke's *Working-Class Cultures* are a cause for celebration. In an innovative, yet solidly grounded study, she melds em-

pirical detail to historiographical debates around the definition and changing character of class in Britain. The result is a teaching tool that is actually pleasant to read.

This book arose from materials Bourke used in her "History of the Working Classes" course; however, it could easily be used for classes in family history, British social history, gender history, or cultural studies. If students were to read it for a labour history course, it would have to be one that favoured the private, rather than the public or institutional lives of working-class people. In her history of the working classes, she leaves out the "politics": what remains are "the body, the home, the marketplace, the locality, and the imagined nation." (1)

*Working-Class Cultures* is organized according to Bourke's conception of "what's left." It moves outward, from the body (a chapter that focuses on sexuality and love), to the concept of Britishness, a topic that verges on an analysis of working-class political consciousness. Each chapter is crammed with empirical evidence, including statistics and chronologies of legislation on matters ranging from alcohol consumption, to the percentage of working-class couples reporting pre-marital sexual experience. A great deal of her evidence is drawn from 250 working-class biographies, a source base that makes Canadian historians salivate with envy. British historians will have encountered many of these individuals before, in collections such as Jane Lewis' *Labour and Love*, or in published autobiographies such as Hannah Mitchell's *The Hard Way Up*. Bourke also uses anonymous survey responses to put flesh on the bones of census data. Thus, along with hundreds of named persons, we meet a 21 year-old typist who confessed in 1948 that cinemas made her so receptive to love-making that "sometimes I feel like kissing a stranger ...." Men's innermost thoughts come to life as well. When a housepainter found himself out of a job in 1934, he mourned that his children were

"less apt to consider me worthy of their love, or a fitting person to ask if they require advice or direction." (35, 95)

Bourke is drawn to the interior "life-world" of the working classes. By focusing on class "awareness," rather than consciousness, she highlights individual subjectivity, thereby circumventing the problem of categorizing people according to their ethnicity, class, or gender, she argues. This concept of fractured or fluid subjectivity runs through the book. In her discussion of anti-Semitism, for instance, she includes the reminiscences of aspiring boxer Sam Clarke, who imagined fighting in trunks marked with the Union Jack and the Star of David. (201) Not even 'Britons' had a unitary concept of self. Working-class awareness was a jumble of multiple and conflicting identities rooted in gender, neighbourhood and religion, and expressed through everything from sexual practice and dress styles, to gardens.

Bourke hopes that her emphasis on divisions (that render the term "working classes" apposite) will correct socialists' and Left historians' romantic notions of class unity and a golden, pre-Thatcherite past. Her argument is most forceful in the chapter on working-class community, a concept, she claims, that flourishes as rhetorical device but eludes serious attempts at definition. To Bourke, what passes for community in the history of the working-classes is more likely the 'culture of poverty.' Neighbours helped each other in trying times, not because they felt warm, emotional bonds to their fellows, but simply because reciprocity was a means of survival. To meet Bourke's definition of community, working-class people would have to have had "shared moral values." This, she argues, they did not: fights in neighbourhood pubs, gang violence, anti-'Black' riots, and religious feuds convince Bourke that the harmonious street culture of socialist lore is a fiction.

Ironically, when she comes to analyze the domestic sphere of working-class life,

she takes on a tone that is alien to cynical feminist critiques of the sexual division of labour and the dual exploitation of women under patriarchy and capitalism. Socialist-feminists have imposed their politics on women of the working classes, Bourke argues: "Working-class housewives are criticized for failing to join the socialist or feminist fight when things were bad, or for uniting with their 'idle' middle-class sisters when things were good." (63) Housewives were certainly exploited through their unpaid labour in caring for household members and reproducing men's and children's labour, but they did not necessarily perceive their lot as exploitation. Again, by foregrounding subjectivity, she is able to show women's pride in managing the family budget, keeping their homes spic and span, and turning out good children. The home was a site of drudgery, but it was also housewives' power base; not surprisingly, nor out of false consciousness, they clung to it.

Bourke's argument about women's impression of their apparent exploitation is less credible in her analysis of domestic violence. Noting that "men's fists" were the "most serious threat[s] to women's power," she goes on to say that the "bullied housewife may not *feel* ill-treated or oppressed." (71, 75) Here she relies on the Thompsonian argument that people without objective power can sometimes win contests for "symbolic power." In the case of housewives, such tactics as denying sexual access or "the silent treatment" were strategies of resistance that were "no less radical" or political than "mass movements of resistance." It is one thing to suggest that small acts of resistance to brutal violence were the preferred responses to brutal husbands; it is quite another to claim that these strategies were in any respect radical.

My principal arguments with this book revolve around the notion of difference and division, themes which Bourke herself emphasizes yet often ignores. In the chapter on the body, for instance, heterosexuality is not problematized but sim-

ply assumed. To have probed the construction of working-class sexualities would have added texture to her picture of individual self-awareness. Did working-class men recognize that they were potential objects of middle- and upper-class men's desires? Did neighbourhood gang culture foster homoerotic bonds? Could working-class women who had to "double-up" to stretch their wages disguise their lesbian unions? I do not suggest that the answers to these questions are easy; rather, I submit that they must be posed if we are truly to explore working-class subjectivity.

The other fundamental shortcoming concerns ethnicity, the last words in the book's title and an almost literal afterthought in the text. It is not until the second half of the final chapter on Britishness that ethnic and racial differences are treated analytically. Although autobiographical accounts of Irishmen and Jews are culled earlier on, ethnocentrism and the racist neighbourhood politics of exclusion are discussed only in the context of working-class nationalism. Readers are thus left with the impression that ethnicity was defined through Alien immigration laws and manifested in working-class scapegoating. But if 'Britons' caricatured Jews as sexual predators and declared the Irish dirty drunks, surely such evidence would have been appropriate in the earlier chapters on the body and the home. Can we assume that Russian Jews, Polish Catholics, and Protestant West Indians shared the same attitudes toward birth control, domestic violence, or women's paid labour? I doubt that Bourke believes in cross-cultural homogeneity in working-class awareness, yet a literal reading of the book would leave the impression that ethnicity mattered only when it was explicitly politicized.

The book's shortcomings should not be read as a lack of endorsement. As a teaching tool, particularly for seminar classes, it will undoubtedly inspire debate. Bourke is not afraid to be provocative or to encourage her readers to ques-

tion her conclusions, as I have done with considerable engagement.

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Lynn Abrams, *Workers' Culture in Imperial Germany: Leisure and Recreation in the Rhineland and Westphalia* (London and New York: Routledge 1992).

FOR SOME YEARS scholars of German working-class history have been putting to rest the idea that the values and activities of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) before World War I were synonymous with or constitutive of those of the working classes as a whole. Lynn Abrams has now pounded another nail into the coffin. But her contribution is different because it focuses not only on the everyday culture of workers outside the Social Democratic movement, but on commercial entertainment such as music halls, circuses, pamphlet literature, and above all cinema. It is not that Abrams ignores some of the more standard institutions of working-class culture explored by previous authors. Rather, her main interest lies in the origins and development of modern commercial leisure, and she explores this theme in the context of other, more well-researched areas, as well as in the context of the formation of the Social Democratic party and the wide appearance of urban society.

This is promising. Not only does it widen our view of the culture of workers, it also directs attention to cultural activities often ignored or overlooked in a scholarship still strongly shaped, if no longer dominated, by the sense that what counted historically was the Social Democratic party, and that what counted culturally was anything that promoted the politics of that party. Abrams remarks that "this book is not just another rejoinder to the workers' culture debate but a point of departure in the history of leisure and society in Germany." (9) Specifi-

cally, Abrams sees her study providing a "missing link" between the history of popular culture in the pre-industrial era and the history of a mass commercialized leisure that appeared in Imperial Germany and flowered in the Weimar Republic.

In attacking this ambitious theme, Abrams discusses many interesting cultural activities along the way, including traditional festivals and parish fairs, alcohol and the social role of the tavern, popular dance and music-hall entertainment, organized leisure activities within and outside the socialist movement (including those of Polish workers and Protestant working-class supporters of the National Liberal party), bourgeois attempts to reform workers' leisure by building city parks and libraries, and the rise of film. She insists that no linear progression from pre-modern to more organized, homogeneous, and modern forms of leisure should be seen in her narrative, but rather an unpredictable development shaped by a confluence of economic, political, and social pressures. She makes the very useful conclusion that one can detect the powerful appearance of a working-class "culture of poverty" independent of Social Democratic ideologues, bourgeois do-gooders, and state elites. This culture of poverty, a product of workers' assertiveness rather than passivity, was more individualistic and uniform than pre-industrial popular culture was, but it by no means eradicated all inherited ethnic, religious, and regional differences within the working class, nor did it avoid new intra-class differences.

The argument resonates, in my opinion, but its potential is weakened by serious methodological and conceptual flaws. In terms of method, the author is much more interested in the context of culture than in culture itself, a point of view consistent with her focus on culture as an outcome of the "structures and functions of industrial society" but very inadequate in a book arguing what this one does. (189) Only rarely does the reader

get a more in-depth discussion of specific images, ideas, slogans, and themes associated with festivals, parades, music-hall songs, and the like. Abrams argues that the circus was "an escapist form of entertainment" (98), that "music-hall songs only reflected and parodied workers' experiences" (100), that Nick Carter pamphlets had a "diversionary effect" (147), and that ultimately it was "the films themselves that drew people to cinema." (175) How are we to judge these statements without more detailed commentary on the cultural forms themselves? This is not to advocate Geertzian "thick description" or a "poststructuralist" reading of "texts," although both have their place when done properly. It is rather to argue for a more fine-grained analysis of cultural forms that the author considers too superficially, too much from the outside.

The costs of Abrams' flawed methodology are clear when one turns to certain key moments of her analysis. She stresses that state elites tried unsuccessfully to superimpose a national culture on a diverse German society by promoting nationalist activities such as the Sedan Day festivals commemorating the German military victory over France in 1870. However, by focusing more on the *content* not only of such patriotic festivals but of activities such as building national monuments or protecting national "heritage" (for example, the *Heimat* movement), the author might have demonstrated that this superimposition still carried strong regionalist components. The goal was not always to eradicate local divisions, as Abrams seems to claim, but to mobilize them for nationalist energies. More significantly for Abrams' analysis, we are told that the above-mentioned culture of poverty was a "radical response to the failure of society and the SPD to recognize and meet workers' recreational needs." (191) But in that same paragraph we read that culture "aided workers' adaptation to industrial life," and, two pages later, that workers finally "succumbed to the power of economic interests disguised

as mass entertainment." (193) A closer, "internalist" reading of cultural forms might have helped the author either to clarify what appear to be inconsistencies, or, what is more likely, to explain why culture could have several diametrically opposed outcomes simultaneously, and perhaps even within a single cultural activity.

The central problem is that the book has a troublesome sense of the role of culture in modern society. The author's approach to cultural history leaves her with a notion of culture as residue or byproduct. Culture responds to, reflects, and is determined by social, economic, and political forces in this approach. This is not to say Abrams does not try to give culture its due; she stresses the "dynamic and assertive" nature of workers' culture. (194) Nor is it to say there is no connection between the rise of industrial society and cultural forms, or that culture does not in fact respond to pressures determined by work structures, markets, and the state. But her analysis does not finally situate culture in a more commanding position; workers were assertive, but their culture was reactive. In my opinion, culture has a more independent, even constitutive, role for its "users" than this. Culture in the widest sense creates the imaginative, discursive, and behavioral relations of meaning in modern society. It does not only respond to society but defines and instantiates it.

Nowhere does Abrams discuss systematically this "stronger" approach to culture. But without some version of it, scholarship on German working-class history, despite the considerable gains made by studies such as this one, will continue to regard cultural identity as a fundamentally residual category.

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Barbara Alpern Engel, *Between the Fields and the City: Women, Work, and the Family in Russia, 1861-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994).

Wendy Z. Goldman, *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917-1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993).

THE FIELD of Russian women's history has flourished since the 1970s, fuelled by the impact which the women's movement has had on many academic disciplines. Initial work in the field focused on famous or exceptional women, reflecting the relatively high political profile of Russian women in feminist and radical movements. Later work, more in the vein of social history, attempted to flesh out the lives of ordinary Russian women. The two books under review here fall into the latter category and deal with the impact of large-scale change on women.

Media coverage of the sweeping changes that occurred in the former Soviet Union has brought the question of the gendered impact of reform into the public eye. Women, for instance, are far and away the largest group among the unemployed. The history of Russia is replete with momentous political and social events, from the industrial revolution in the late 19th century through World War I, the October Revolution, Civil War, the New Economic Policy, and the rapid industrialization and forced collectivization which characterized the introduction of central planning. Not only have these changes shaped women's participation in political and economic life, but they have also shaped gender relations. In looking at these issues, Engel focuses on economic policy in the prerevolutionary period while Goldman puts the stress on family policy after the 1917 revolution.

*Between the Fields and the City* is a valuable contribution to the nascent field of Russian peasant women's studies. As Beatrice Farnsworth and Lynne Viola note in their recent collection of essays,

*Russian Peasant Women* (1992), "There is no full-length history of Russian peasant women in either Russian or English. ... The student seeking information on women has had to find it piecemeal, within larger works on the peasantry and in scattered articles and conference papers. For those who do not read Russian, the subject of rural women is soon exhausted." Engel's study is thus the first full-length treatment of Russian peasant women. However, as the author herself notes, she has "chosen to present ... material in the form of case studies and to focus on particular regions, problems, and aspects of women's lives, rather than to attempt a comprehensive history of peasant women as they moved between the village and the city." (6) Bounded by the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, which signalled the start of the industrial revolution in Russia, and the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the book unfolds against a backdrop of radical change in the demographic make-up of the urban workforce.

The large-scale change under examination by Engel is peasant migration to the city, a phenomenon which was accelerated by the emancipation of the serfs in 1861. One reason behind the elimination of serfdom was the need for free labour to fuel the development of capitalism. In comparison to Western Europe, the industrial revolution in Russia was late and rapid, thus telescoping the accompanying social and political dislocation. As Engel notes, "For the vast majority of peasants, Russia's industrialization would bring dramatic, sometimes wrenching change." (2)

Engel is particularly interested in determining the extent to which migration constituted a break with the past and interpreting what this break meant for women. Her findings are no paean to development. The reader is told at the outset that industrialization was a mixed blessing for peasant women both in economic and social terms: "changes that slackened the hold of the patriarchal family pro-

vided new opportunities for peasant women, but they also rendered women more economically and personally vulnerable." (4) Yet, this is a simplification of her findings. The picture that emerges chapter by chapter shows that age, marital status, and wealth determined whether or not women were rendered more "economically and personally vulnerable." The resulting picture may be muddier, but it is testimony to Engel's extremely balanced and thorough use of sources.

It seems that Engel's reason for stating the argument so baldly is to make a case for the patriarchal peasant family as an institution which was not completely oppressive to women: "Even as peasant patriarchy controlled women's sexuality and restricted women's choices, it generally tried to protect women from the vagaries of the marketplace and to ensure that courtship led to marriage." (130) Yet, more often than not, this "protective patriarchy" was an ideal type — a comparatively well-off family with a male head of household. If the ideal did not exist, women were vulnerable, regardless of their location in a city or village.

The building block of village life was the family household, the basic unit of production in which income and property were held in common. According to Engel, there was good reason for organizing economic life along such lines: "Family members had to co-operate: Pooling their labour as family groups enabled peasants to subsist in an environment where the weather was unreliable and the land increasingly inadequate to feed the humans who depended upon it for their livelihood." (7) Women's labour in terms of agriculture, housework, and childbearing and rearing was essential to the survival of the household. Economic, social, and political life was patriarchal. Family households were headed by men, access to land devolved patrilineally, and local governing institutions such as the peasant assembly and cantonal courts were run by men. In addition to these formal sources of power, courtship practices and mar-



riage favoured men and men often beat their wives.

The most obvious instance in which wage migration worked to women's advantage was when the male head of household became the migrant worker. In such cases, women, in particular the older women, assumed greater authority in the household (the position of young women remained subordinate and weak). Indeed, "For women in migratory regions, marriage to men who migrated was not only the expected but the preferred order of things." (44) It may have increased a woman's agricultural labour dramatically, but her voice in village affairs was greater. In some regions with sizeable outmigration, female heads of households participated in village self-government. The quality of life improved in other ways: infant mortality rates were lower among wives of migrants as were illiteracy rates and the incidences of wifebeating were less frequent. The increased control which women had over their lives gave them more dignity: "By contrast with the 'oppressed pariahs of the black earth regions, who are frightened of saying a word in the presence of their master,' the women of areas with substantial male outmigration tended to be independent, self-reliant, and self-assured," and to know "the value of their labor and themselves." (51, Engel is quoting a contemporary observer)

Of the women who migrated out to work a significant percentage — spinsters and widows — do not enter into Engel's argument because they either were not part of a family household or were marginal and vulnerable members. Patriarchy had virtually no positive benefits for such people. Migration, in contrast, offered the opportunity to make a living. It may also have given younger spinsters and widows a slight chance at marriage. Migrant men far outnumbered migrant women, but they were either already married to village women or were planning on it. Or, they were lifelong bachelors: "Only as men shifted their loyalty to the city,

and/or began making enough money to afford to marry there, would the situation really change. Meanwhile, as they struggled to forge a personal life in the circumstances of the city, single women more often found themselves victims than beneficiaries of economic and social changes." (129)

Migration could create spinsterhood. Peasant ideas about women's nature — women were less rational than men and more susceptible to temptation — led them to believe that city life would corrupt young women. They also believed, and with some justification judging from Engel's evidence, that life away from home made young peasant women more independent and less submissive. Marriageable women who migrated were thus regarded suspiciously and were not considered desirable partners by village men. But does this represent loss of security? The marriageable women who tended to leave were from the most impoverished households. They may well have had trouble finding husbands for economic reasons apart from any cultural considerations.

Prostitution was widespread in Russian cities and the majority of prostitutes were peasant women. Engel argues that the police were particularly suspicious of women without male guardians who lived outside the confines of the patriarchal family. Without the father's authority over decisions concerning marriage, the young peasant woman was more vulnerable to seduction and abandonment. Again, ideal patriarchy could not protect these women because it was rarely a part of their lives: "In Russia, peasant women who became prostitutes tended to be among the more marginal members of the village community. Most came from 'incomplete' families that had lost at least one adult breadwinner, and sometimes both, and had ceased to be economically viable. Unable to find a place for themselves in their native village, daughters, like sons, went off in search of work." (197)

The value of patriarchy to women as shelter during the storm of industrialization seems limited. The peasant women who were more likely to migrate and lead independent, albeit vulnerable, lives in the city were from marginalized groups. Yet, it was the patriarchal structure of peasant society and economy which had marginalized them in the first place. Life in migration was surely difficult for them, but then so had it been in the village. Some married women benefitted from the opportunity to migrate. Despite the obstacles, most notably, the strings attached to getting a passport, migration could be the escape hatch for abused and abandoned wives. As for the woman who stayed behind in the village when a male head of household migrated, her informal power increased only in the absence of the formal authority figure. Ultimately, the more insightful dimension to Engel's work is its detailed treatment of the differential impact of wage migration on peasant women.

Like Engel's account of peasant women, Wendy Z. Goldman's study of early Soviet family policy is a pioneering work. Its chronological focus centres on the period between the October Revolution of 1917 and the conservative June 1936 law which revamped a series of family policy measures, including abortion, alimony, divorce, and childcare. Goldman does not provide a comprehensive study of Russian women's lives, but instead concentrates on what happened to the Bolsheviks' revolutionary vision of women's liberation once they assumed power. In this respect, *Women, the State and Revolution* will appeal to an audience interested in the relationship between theory and practice.

The large-scale change which Goldman deals with is the transition from radical social experimentation during the 1920s to the conservative retreat of the 1930s and her goal is to explain the reasons behind the transition. In determining which reasons — political or economic/material — have more relative ex-

planatory weight, Goldman comes down on the side of politics. Material conditions were certainly important: "The legacy of Russian underdevelopment, the lack of state resources, the weight of a backward peasant economy, society and traditions, the wartime devastation of the industrial base, unemployment, famine, and poverty, all seriously undermined the early socialist vision." (341) Nonetheless, "The ideological reversal of the 1930s was essentially political, not economic or material in nature, bearing all the marks of Stalinist policy in other areas. The 1936 law had roots in the popular and official critiques of the 1920s, but its means and ends constituted a sharp break with earlier patterns of thought, indeed with a centuries-long tradition of revolutionary ideas and practices." (342)

This raises the question of the orientation of the centuries-long tradition of revolutionary ideas and practices. Goldman goes to great lengths to uncover the libertarian strains in Bolshevik thought about women. Starting with the Middle Ages, she traces the development of ideas on four "primary precepts": free union, women's emancipation through wage labour, the socialization of housework, and the withering away of the family. This history of ideas is remarkably Western in orientation. Marxism may be an ideology with Western roots, but it was adopted by a group of people from a country with a blend of Asian and European traditions. It would have been useful to explore the history of Slavic ideas, going further back than the compulsory nod to Nikolai Chernyshevsky's *What is to be Done* (1863).

An example of the kind of problem to which a Western focus might give rise is to be found in the chapter on fertility regulation. The material in this chapter does not adequately engage with the central argument of the book. Having established the libertarian strands of thought on marriage and divorce, Goldman notes (and rightfully so) that they disappear when the political discussion turned to

contraception and abortion. The Bolsheviks' understanding of fertility regulation was, "first, that poverty drove women to seek abortion, and that better material circumstances would thus obviate the need for it; second, that the decision to bear a child was not personal but social; third, that society's reproductive needs ultimately took primacy over an individual woman's desires." (257) Thus, reproductive issues cannot be discussed in such a way that they provide a case study of the demise of libertarian ideas. Goldman cannot ask the question: "does June 1936 represent a move away from the idea of a woman's right to control over her body to state determination of reproductive choices?"

It would have been useful for Goldman to speculate as to why the Bolsheviks regarded maternity as a social function from the outset. The notion of a woman's right to choose has roots in the Western liberal tradition and perhaps an examination of corresponding Slavic ideas on questions of bodily integrity and individual self-determination would help to explain the assumed absence of free will in the sphere of reproduction. Rather than looking at an ideological transition which is not there, Goldman explains the re-criminalization of abortion in terms of the state pursuing an aggressively pronatalist agenda. Repression surfaced finally in 1936, when it was made illegal to get an abortion unless the mother's life or health were in danger. In this manner, Goldman is able to tie fertility regulation into her general thesis regarding the primacy of Stalinist politics in explaining policy reversals. Demographic concerns had always been evident on the part of the state, but the repressive nature of Stalinism permitted a ham-handed approach to increasing the birthrate.

Elsewhere, the discussion of early Bolshevik libertarianism does provide a useful analytical approach. Returning to the topic of peasant women, the reader can move from Engel's analysis of the impact of wage migration to Goldman's

treatment of the Bolshevik attempt at emancipation. The attempt was mediated through two contradictory sets of legislation. The 1922 Land Code was a compromise between peasant customary law and principles of gender equality. The Code recognized the role of the commune in distributing land. However, all household members, including women, belonged to the commune. Women could participate in the commune's decision-making body, the *skhod*, although the presence of a certain percentage of heads of household (who could be women but were usually men) was necessary for decisions to be valid. When a woman entered a household through marriage (society remained patrilocal), she acquired rights to the land and property. However, property division was only allowed if a new household were economically viable.

The Family Code, in contrast with its provisions for the right to live apart from one's spouse and the right to divorce and to receive alimony and child support, was antithetical to the structure of the peasant family household. The main points of conflict between the two codes were property and alimony and child support. There was significant peasant resistance to the family code based on the fear that it would undermine the economic viability of the household. Libertarian ideas ran into the brick wall of socio-economic reality: "Jurists committed to extending gender equality in the countryside encountered the obstacles of extreme poverty, the relative absence of independent wage earners, the economic indivisibility of the household, the importance of physical strength in the division of labor, the powerful dependence of women on men, and the patrilocal focus of family relations. The liberation of peasant women required no less than a complete transformation of the mode of production ... as well as a corresponding revolution in traditional social values and practices." (182)

In subsequent chapters, Goldman analyzes the retreat from the commitment

to socialized child care in the face of the massive problem of homeless children (*besprizorniki*). After World War I and the Civil War, millions of children were orphaned or abandoned. When initial attempts to deal with the problem through state institutions failed, the Bolsheviks fell back on the family as the cheapest and most effective means of feeding, housing, and socializing the children. Goldman also deals with Bolshevik ideas on the withering away of the family by examining the debates surrounding the 1918 and 1926 Family Codes. At the core of these debates is a conflict between women's tenuous economic position during the 1920s and the fluidity of marital relationships. The employment situation for women worsened with the transition to the New Economic Policy and the demobilization of Red Army soldiers. With little or no wages coming from work outside the home, many women found economic security in the family. However, this survival technique was threatened by the marital instability facilitated by easy divorce and nonregistered marriage.

*Between the Fields and the City and Women, the State and Revolution* offer two detailed portraits of the lives of ordinary Russian women. That they differ very much one from the other demonstrates the range of scholarship in the field. Hopefully, pioneering studies of equal quality will continue to appear and fill in the gaps of our knowledge for particularly sketchy periods such as the Stalin and Khrushchev years.

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Scott McLemee and Paul Banc, eds., *C.L.R. James and Revolutionary Marxism* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press 1994).

THESE ESSAYS STAND by themselves as pieces of work on history and politics. In order fully to understand their impor-

ance, however, we need to place them in the context of James' corpus. C.L.R. James died in 1989 and left a large amount of writing and practice that embraced historical, philosophical, and political analysis. He also commented on cricket, developed literary criticism, and penned short stories, a novel, and a play. Above everything else, however, he was a revolutionary Marxist and participated in the revolutionary movement. Together with George Padmore, James founded the International African Service Bureau before World War II, gained stature as a major figure in Pan Africanism, built and led a Marxist organization, the Johnson-Forest Tendency, and was editor of the newspaper of the ruling party in Trinidad immediately following independence.

In his early 30s James went from Trinidad to Britain where he joined the Trotskyist movement. He came to the United States in 1938 and had discussions with Trotsky that led to the reorientation of American Trotskyism in its approach to the independent Negro struggle. He stayed in the United States until he was deported in 1953. In that period, along with his comrades in the Johnson-Forest Tendency, he developed a theoretical orientation that gave them a unique position in the revolutionary movement. With Raya Dunayevskaya, he began a re-evaluation of the nature of Soviet Russia that led them to conclude that they first had to start with an understanding of the then existent stage of development of world capitalism. What James and his co-workers sought to do for Marxism in World War II was what Lenin had done during World War I in his work *Imperialism. The Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

They started by rejecting the proposition that nationalization of the means of production meant a workers state of Socialism; they then went on to show, as Marx, Engels, and Lenin had before, that the ultimate tendency of capitalism was extreme centralization. As James wrote: "It was Marx in *Capital* ... who stated that the only limit to centralization was all the

capital in a single country in the hands of a single corporation. If that is not the economic form of State Capitalism, what is it?" Crucial to an understanding of this theory of state capitalism was that it was a theory of the stage of development of world capitalism not just in Russia. To round out their analysis, a study of Soviet society by Dunayevskaya made clear that the laws of capitalism as presented by Marx in *Capital* dominated the Russian economy.

Taking this as his theoretical foundation, James went on, as Lenin had done, and began an analysis of the mode of labour, or more specifically, the role of the labour bureaucracy under state capitalism. His analysis centred on the United States where a "whole new layer of workers, the result of the economic development, burst into revolt in the CIO. The CIO in its inception aimed at a revolution in production. ... Because it was not and could not be carried through to a conclusion, the inevitable counterpart was the creation of a labour bureaucracy. The history of production since is the corruption of the bureaucracy and its transformation into an instrument of capitalist production, the restoration to the bourgeoisie of what it had lost in 1936, the right to control production standards. ... The bureaucracy must inevitably substitute the struggle over consumption, higher wages, pensions, education, etc., for a struggle in production. This is the basis of the welfare state, the attempt to appease the workers, with the fruits of labour when they seek satisfaction in the work itself." Then James developed an analysis with the Russian bureaucracy: "This is the fundamental function of the bureaucracy in Russia. Already the tentative philosophy of the bureaucracy in the United States, its political economy of regulation of wages and prices, nationalization and even planning, its ruthless political methods, show the organic similarity of the American labour bureaucracy and the Stalinists." This new analysis of the role of the labour bureaucracy was one that

saw it as containing and controlling the working class.

The other side of this contradiction was a picture of the class as it then existed in advanced industrialized capitalist countries. A class far ahead of any other exploited class in its education and training, James regarded American labourers as dominated by the experience of alienation and exploitation, which would lead them to revolt and eventually establish a society where they would control their lives and have creative outlets in their work.

James was fond of repeating over and over again that the working class was revolutionary or was nothing. He did not mean that it was potentially revolutionary, or revolutionary when it had correct ideas or revolutionary when it followed the right vanguard party. He said the working class was revolutionary, made that way by the conditions of work and life and that its daily activities constituted the revolutionary process in modern society. This was not a new idea. Marx, before him, had said that capitalism revolutionizes the forces of production and foremost among these was the working class. In rediscovering this, James brought it into a modern context and developed it, insisting that discovering, documenting, and elaborating on the aspects of working-class activity which constituted the revolution in today's world was the political project of all who sought working-class transformation.

Following from this analysis, James developed a new conception of working-class organization appropriate to this new stage of capitalist development and of the working class that, in his opinion, ended with rejection of the vanguard party in advanced industrial societies. He saw the development of an organization where the working class itself was the party. This idea arose from the empirical reality of the struggles of workers in the French and Italian Communist Parties, the experience of the Hungarian Revolution, the French general strike in 1968, and the millions

that flocked to the Polish Solidarity movement. He advocated the building of, what he called the small Marxist organization whose function was to participate in class and other struggles (Blacks, women, youths) and to act as a conduit of communication within the working class and between the working class and other sections of society. Furthermore, in the United States, the organization was to develop an understanding of American society — its culture, history, and its present situation — that would arise out of the use of the Marxist method and make this available to the working class. This was called the "Americanization of Bolshevism." This careful and thorough study of American society would be the foundation for a specifically American Marxism as the European classics had done for the countries of Europe. The problem, as James saw it, was less one of persuading workers to accept Marxist analysis than one of putting this analysis in terms appropriate to American culture and history.

According to Scott McLemee, one of the editors of this volume, these essays mark a shift in James' personal identity, from European to American, from man of letters to professional revolutionist. The essays from 1939 to 1941 continue the work he began in England. In a second group of essays starting with "In the American Tradition: the working class movement in perspective" James begins the project, outlined above, of the Americanization of Marxism.

This group of essays concentrates on two aspects of American life: the importance and validity of the independent Black struggle and its revolutionary role and historical and analytical essays on American society and its place in the world. McLemee says there is a connecting link between James' British and American years and that the theme running through all of these essays is revolution. James directed this work at an analysis and intervention in the revolutionary process. This process, at its roots, was creative and allowed the release of sup-

pressed and/or unknown human powers. It aimed at building a society better suited to the development of human ability.

In closing, though these essays are not among James' major works, they reflect his fundamental views and I found myself learning much and enjoying the broad sweep of his knowledge of American society and the grandeur of his analysis and style. The only thing I would criticize is the organization of the essays by the two editors. Scott McLemee did an excellent job of discussing James and placing these essays in context. But instead of being an afterword, McLemee's essay should have been the introduction. Paul LeBlanc wrote the introduction, but used the major part of his essay to engage in a sectarian polemic with James about whether or not there was any political reason for James and the Johnson-Forest Tendency's break with Trotskyism and the need for a vanguard party. McLemee's piece should have been the introduction and LeBlanc's, if it should have appeared at all, the afterword.

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Peter Drucker, *Max Shachtman and his Left: A Socialist's Odyssey Through the "American Century"* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press 1994).

FOR DECADES, Max Shachtman was one of the principal leaders of the anti-Stalinist left in America. A founder of the American Trotskyist movement in 1928, Shachtman was a brilliant polemicist, virtuoso debater, and loquacious and occasionally creative expositor of Marxist texts. By the 1950s, he had built up a circle of influential admirers and chronic oppositionists who often called themselves "Shachtmanites." Yet, despite the range of his associations and activities, it was clear by the time of his death in 1972 that Shachtman's anti-Stalinist politics had not supplied any substantial rationale

for a renewed left. The meaning of his political legacy remains elusive. Always committed to nurturing the careers of young radicals, he was an early mentor for both Irving Howe and Michael Harrington. Other protégés ended up working in progressive labour unions, some in the Reagan administration.

Shachtman's multifarious intellectual and organizational activities are well-documented in Peter Drucker's biography. Shachtman grew up in a Polish-Jewish immigrant family in East Harlem; his father was a tailor who read the *Forward*, but was more influenced by a Marxist high school history teacher than by any involvement in, or consciousness of, New York city labour struggles at the time. Participation in socialist clubs allowed him to "feel part of a broader world than East Harlem," but "stay loyal to the working-class Jews he had grown up with." Socialism was a way to "satisfy his ambition without sacrificing his identity," according to Drucker.

Shachtman joined the Communist movement at age seventeen, an indignant left-winger who raged at the "bloody betrayals" of the social democrats. His ample skills as a writer and editor soon facilitated his entrée into certain higher echelons of the party. He became a prominent youth organizer, agitating in high schools for the overthrow of the government. At the same time, he was a committed member of the James Cannon-William Foster "trade unionist" faction of the party, and under Cannon's tutelage became editor of *Labor Defender*, the magazine of the International Labor Defense. Shachtman and Cannon liked to think of themselves as potential "Americanizers" of the party, even though both were as slavish as any in their outward devotion to Comintern "line" in the 1920s. Shachtman was profoundly influenced by Trotsky's critique of Stalinism in 1928, and he and others soon followed Cannon out of the party to form their own revolutionary nucleus.

Shachtman edited the *Militant* until 1934, when the Trotskyists merged with the Musteite American Workers Party. During this period Shachtman developed a close relationship with Trotsky and his wife, frequently acting as Trotsky's "commissar" for foreign affairs. At the height of the Soviet purges, Shachtman's writings were sharply contemptuous of liberal fellow-travellers and apologists of any stripe. However, his anti-Stalinist politics of the 1930s was inextricably tied to the Trotskyist disdain for the Popular Front. In criticism of the republican regime during the Spanish Civil War, Shachtman wrote that the Communist International was "the fiercest protagonist within the labor movement of the monstrous fraud known as bourgeois democracy and the most brutally aggressive guardian ... of capitalist private property." (93) Despite his belief that the union movement was the most fertile environment for American socialists, Shachtman was a radical intellectual, not a labour organizer or activist. He edited the strike daily for the Minneapolis teamsters in 1934, but divisions between New York-based radicals and the supposedly more "native" unionists around James Cannon persisted within the tiny Trotskyist movement.

During World War II, American Trotskyists sharply divided over the question of defense of the Soviet Union. Against Trotsky, Shachtman now argued that the Soviet Union was hopelessly reactionary and undemocratic. Drucker shows that Shachtman's positions during the period of his break with Trotsky were more complicated than is often assumed, although Shachtman's theory that the Soviet Union represented a "bureaucratic collectivist" state now seems either hopelessly nuanced (Shachtman was in favour of defense of the Soviet Union under certain specific conditions) or overly simple (his world view was still one which encompassed mainly Stalinist bureaucrats and capitalists). The small movement he built possessed an interesting internal dy-

namic. Drucker shows that while still committed to the Leninist ideal in the 1940s, Shachtman himself was a doubter and agnostic by nature. He encouraged a level of debate and democracy within his party that was highly unusual for radical splinter groups. The party's debate over the nature of the Soviet polity inspired some provocative analysis by Shachtman associates Hal Draper, Joseph Carter, and James Burnham, to name a few.

Still, the atmosphere of the hermetic cult remained. Aggressive skepticism and political gamesmanship was mixed up with a petulant orthodoxy. Despite his call for an "all-inclusive revolutionary party," the unique culture that he helped create in the Workers' Party generally excluded women from leadership roles, and attracted only a few African-American recruits. Despite a fairly successful campaign to get members into industrial jobs and unions during the war, the primary avocation of the party seemed to be the endless development of "positions." And, Shachtman could still defend the Bolshevik ideal quite ably, defending Trotsky's role in suppressing the Kronstadt rebellion, for instance. Even the Soviet Union of the mid-1920s and the early 1930s was a workers' state, Shachtman was saying in the 1940s. Drucker portrays Shachtman as always searching for an exceptionalist, democratic perspective, but Shachtman's theoretical positions during his most "creative" period seemed to revolve mostly around how to interpret Lenin — should the party follow the Lenin of 1905, 1917, or 1921? Despite his theoretical sophistication, Shachtman did not produce particularly insightful or innovative analyses of the central domestic issues of the era for American Marxists: McCarthyism and the politics of loyalty; the role of intellectuals and the universities in radical politics; the place of art, artists and "culture" in revolutionary movements; workers' nationalism, or questions of productivity and workplace democracy.

By the 1950s, Shachtman's American road to socialism had resolved itself into the idea of working within the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic party for the emergence of a labour party in the distant future. Workers' Party activists had played a prominent role in the United Auto Workers (UAW) in the 1940s by forming an anti-Communist caucus and mobilizing sentiment against the no-strike pledge. However, after the war, Shachtman's apocalyptic anti-Stalinism led him to support Walter Reuther in his expulsion campaign against Communist unionists. A number of Shachtmanites eschewed organizing for positions in the UAW bureaucracy. The 1960s saw him lend his support to the attempted invasion of Cuba and, later, American involvement in Vietnam.

Shachtman was a gregarious intellect and great "inside" speaker and organizer, but he could not inspire the non-committed. Drucker's biography is an exhaustive catalogue of Shachtman's various political positions; this is necessary and illuminating in a study of someone for whom politics was livelihood. However, in this case sorting through the manifestos has not yielded a new perspective on Shachtman's life and career. Drucker's biography is useful and suggestive as a first full-length study of an important figure. However, others, most notably Maurice Isserman, Irving Howe, and Alan Wald have written more penetrating accounts of both the culture of New York radicalism and Shachtman's influence and legacy.

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Tim Wohlforth, *The Prophet's Children: Travels on the American Left* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press 1994).

THE "PROPHET" of Tim Wohlforth's valuable book refers — in the tradition of the great biographer Isaac Deutscher — to Leon Trotsky, the revolutionary Marx-



ist, who joined with Lenin to lead the 1917 Russian Revolution. Once inspired to embrace Trotsky's powerful ideas and example, Wohlforth writes: "His was a tragic history, for he lost power and died a hounded man. This permitted him to speak with a voice of moral authority that the possessors of power generally lack." Although Wohlforth (unlike Deutscher) finally broke fundamentally with the outlook of the "Old Man," he considers himself and his erstwhile comrades to have been "children" of the revolutionary prophet — and he feels some pride in that. Combined with an effort to maintain a certain objectivity, this residual connection with what he calls the "exceptional human beings" of the Trotskyist movement results in a memoir that is worth reading.

There are certainly problems with *The Prophet's Children*. The genre of autobiography gives an author the opportunity of reworking the raw material of one's life and memories in a manner which 1) seduces the reader into identifying with the passions and rationalizations of the authors, 2) validates the author's past and/or present views and actions before the bar of History (which depends on the record provided by such source material), and 3) enables the author to create a truly coherent, meaningful version of what he or she has experienced and done — regardless of what the inevitably messier realities might have been. Delicious temptations such as these are counter-balanced by the genuine contribution that can be made by giving readers an incomparable "feel" for the realities experienced, the personalities encountered, and the commitments made in particular historical situations.

Wohlforth's book is the work of someone who has succumbed fully to the temptations of autobiography, and yet at the same time it is an important contribution to the history of the Left in general, and of Trotskyism in particular. There are many memoirs by veterans of the US Communist movement, but very few by

those who were part of the left wing of that movement which — in the face of Stalinist tyranny — remained true to the original radical principles of workers' democracy and revolutionary internationalism. It is certainly not the case that *The Prophet's Children* falls into the category of great literature. But it is well-written, the work of someone who has decided to offer a somewhat critical-minded account of what he saw and did, blending interesting doses of the personal and the political, more often than not trying to deal sympathetically with political adversaries as well as political friends. More than this, he places all of this in the broader political context of his time as a political activist which stretched from the late 1940s (when he was in the periphery of the Community Party and a supporter of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party) through the early 1980s, when he emerged from the Trotskyist movement to adopt a maverick form of social-democratic politics. The intervening years saw him shift from the "third camp" semi-Trotskyism represented by Max Shachtman's Independent Socialist League, to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) led by James P. Cannon, to the Workers League headed by himself (but taking orders from Gerry Healy, the autocrat of an especially substantial British sect claiming to be the only true Trotskyists), then back to the US Socialist Workers Party. Wohlforth eventually left the SWP again and became part of a fairly strong Mexican Trotskyist group, before finally "winding down," as he puts it.

The book is rich with descriptions of innumerable activities of revolutionary activists over three decades, offering more-or-less balanced summaries of various complex theoretical positions, sporting interesting (whether shrewd or questionable) "insider" evaluations of various situations on the Left and in the Trotskyist movement. Especially interesting are the innumerable pen-portraits: Cannon and Shachtman, of course, and Healy, but also such heroes of the 1934 Minneapolis General Strike as Farrell Dobbs, Vincent

Raymond Dunne, and Carl Skoglund, not to mention the well-known brother and sister in Healy's entourage, Corin and Vanessa Redgrave, actors turned revolutionary who "projected a kind of intense, fervent, burning sincerity, which was almost frightening and otherworldly." A great strength of the book is Wohlforth's attempt to give a sense of many people whose names would be unfamiliar to all but a small handful of readers. Describing the SWP Political Committee (PC) of the late 1950s, he writes: "My favorite PC member was Morris (Moishe) Stein. Moishe, who looked so frail, small, and old, still worked each day as a plumber. He had come to the party in the 1930s from the Jewish movement and had once edited a Trotskyist journal in Yiddish. He was bright, political, particularly interested in the international movement. Morris's wife, Sylvia (Bleecker), came to all branch meetings and spoke out on every point on the agenda. Sylvia had a disdain for routinism and bureaucratic procedure and was the bane of local organizers." *The Prophet's Children* is peppered with such descriptions of unsung heroes and heroines, from three or four generations and many countries. Sometimes the author may not get the details quite right, but the sketches are more or less recognizable, and they bring life to this account of his travels on the American Left.

It would seem that a similar point could be made about the book generally: some of the details may be distorted, but the general story seems to correspond to what happened. Yet some might argue that it is more accurate to say the opposite: although he gives interesting details about who was who, and who did what, Wohlforth seriously distorts major aspects of "the big picture." It may be that by giving in to the temptations of autobiography, the author has undermined the value of this book as a reliable guide to certain aspects of the history. A kinder, gentler Tim Wohlforth emerges from these pages than was evident to many as the intense and intransigent leader of the

ultra-sectarian Workers League of the 1960s and early 1970s. We do have a sense from this book that the author was involved in factional manoeuvring and in-fighting, sometimes "going along" with or even helping to initiate policies that drove people out of the organization that he led. The careful and thoughtful reader will conclude that much personal as well as political damage was done, not only to Wohlforth but to many others.

Wohlforth demonstrates that in all of this he was simply following the lead — and sometimes the explicit directives — of the politically destructive, perhaps psychotic, leader of the Workers Revolutionary League of Britain, Gerry Healy. Healy claimed to represent "real" Marxism and Leninism and Trotskyism, as opposed to the alleged "revisionism" of mainstream Trotskyism. Wohlforth accepted that claim, confidently internalizing and practising Healy's version of "Leninism," until Healy attempted to break Wohlforth himself, as so many had been broken before him. After returning to the Socialist Workers Party in the 1970s, the author found a newer, younger, less experienced leadership in that organization, college graduates less confident than the class-struggle veterans who had founded the party in the 1930s. These new "Leninists" consequently focused on tightening "party discipline" in a manner that strangled critical thought and internal democracy. At the end of his book, Wohlforth concludes: "Certainly my own experiences suggest one very fundamental aspect of Trotskyism that should be looked at more closely: its *Leninism*." Here, he concludes, are the seeds of totalitarianism.

The problem with this is that Wohlforth reads back into the outlook and practices of Lenin and the Bolsheviks the rigidity and intolerance which he practised, and suffered from, in the 1960s and 1970s. Consequently his view of the Bolshevik Revolution merges with that of Cold War anti-Communists who insist that Stalinism was the logical and neces-

sary consequence. Not only the analyses of Trotsky but the scholarship of Isaac Deutscher, E.H. Carr, and many recent social historians of the Russian Revolution, are thereby ignored or swept aside. (The brief account of Lenin in the 1995 edition of *Colliers Encyclopedia* reflects this more reliable scholarship.)

Similar distortions crop up when Wohlforth generalizes about later revolutionaries who identified with the Leninist tradition. He argues that "there have been far too many Healys in the Trotskyist movement," and others "who have shared at least some of Healy's characteristics as a personalist leader rather intolerant of minorities and who dominated a small group include Pierre Lambert, Ted Grant, Michel Raptis (Pablo), and James P. Cannon." From his own book, it is difficult to evaluate this generalization, because only Cannon receives serious discussion in *The Prophet's Children*; in fact, a comparison of Wohlforth's own descriptions of Cannon and Healy does not seem to support the generalization. The question has some importance because Cannon is not an insignificant figure in the history of US radicalism in general. To characterize him as "a Healy" is wide of the mark by many accounts. Consider the comments by James and Grace Lee Boggs and Freddy and Lyman Paine, comrades of his (at the time followers of C.L.R. James) who had also broken from Leninist and Trotskyist politics: "Cannon was not a small or a mean man; he had a basic faith in the proletariat, but he sensed that there was much more to life, to history, to politics and to revolution than just the proletariat. ... He was the kind of chairman who could sit back and not have to interfere with everything going on. He was not an insecure person. ... Cannon was glad for us to come in [to the SWP] and permitted us a great deal of freedom ... [I]n 1953 C.L.R. [James] was already becoming a Marxist egocentric, something which, strangely enough, Cannon never became. Cannon never tried to balhyoo Cannon."

"Lessons" drawn from one's experience can sometimes distort that experience, and the historical records. Thoughtful and informative as Wohlforth's memoir is, some of its thoughts are worth challenging, and some of its information needs to be checked. That is true of many useful books. Even those who find much to criticize will appreciate this significant contribution to the history of the US and international Left.

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Douglas Blackmur, *Strikes: Causes, Conduct and Consequences* (Sydney: Federation Press 1993).

THE PERIOD FROM 1945 to 1949 in Australian labour history was one of both political and industrial conflict. The expectations of Australian workers for a better working life after the War were not immediately met and fuelled strikes in key sectors of the economy such as coal mining and the metal industry. The growth of the Communist Party, especially within trade unions, was met with concern by Catholics and moderates within the Australian labour movement. Through the 'Movement,' which was endorsed by the Catholic Church, and the Industrial Groups, which were sanctioned by the Australian Labor Party in most states, the anti-Communist forces fought a campaign against their opponents against the background of the emerging Cold War.

The Labor Party, which was formed by trade unions in the 1890s and committed to parliamentary democracy and the solution of industrial disputes through compulsory arbitration, held power federally and in key states such as New South Wales and Queensland. The Labor Party was concerned with post-war reconstruction and ensuring no repeat of the Great Depression, when up to a third of the workforce was unemployed. The Chifley

Federal Labor Government was particularly focused on minimizing inflation through wage restraint.

Blackmur examines two of the major industrial disputes in this period: the 1946 Meatworkers' strike and the 1948 Railway strike. Both occurred in Queensland, the third most populated state in Australia. The author argues that his study focuses upon an industrial relations history, rather than labour history of the strikes, because he concentrates on the state and employers as well as labour. While Blackmur does skillfully bring together records of these actors in the strikes, this distinction is misleading. The historiography of Australian labour has encompassed management, especially through the influence of labour process theory, and has been unable to ignore the role of the state because of the importance of compulsory arbitration and labour parliamentarianism.

The book is divided into four sections. The author provides a contextual section which highlights reconstruction and the economic history of Queensland. The Labor Party in Queensland, which lost only one state election between 1915 and 1957, was a broad alliance of urban workers, rural workers, small businessmen, and farmers. It was dominated by the conservative Australian Workers' Union (AWU), which covered rural workers and was strongly committed to compulsory arbitration after defeats in several major strikes in the 1890s. This union also provided the parliamentary leadership of the Party.

The next two sections focus on the 1946 Meat Industry strike and the 1948 Railway strike. Both sections begin with a historical overview of the patterns of industrial relations in the respective industries. With the exception of one abattoir, the meat industry was privately owned. The Australian Meat Industry Employees' Union did not share the AWU's enthusiasm for compulsory arbitration and saw post-war reconstruction as an opportunity for workers' control of the industry. The strike revolved around

an attempt by the union to introduce a comprehensive seniority scheme that would have ensured permanency for union delegates. By contrast, the railways were a state-owned enterprise. Railway workshop metalworkers felt disadvantaged relative to their counterparts covered by the federal arbitration system and wanted wage increases to flow-on to them. However, the Queensland Railways were rundown following the war and there was a major need for capital reinvestment.

Both strikes highlight the tensions that arise within the Australian labour movement between the industrial and political wings, especially during times of Labor Governments. Particularly in the Railway strike, where the workers' demands had a direct impact on state finances, the Queensland Labor Government was willing to use the power of the state to defeat the strikers. There was a State of Emergency and threats to sack strikers. Queensland state police used force against pickets and strike marches. The Federal Labor Government assisted its state counterparts by providing air-force transport planes to supply goods to remote areas. The Labor Governments' concern with the national interest and re-election overrode any sympathy with strikers pursuing particular grievances. Added to this was the Queensland Labor Government's concern with Communist involvement in the strikes.

The final section of the book is entitled 'Theoretical Reflections.' It is a defence of the institutional school of Australian labour history. Unlike most Australian institutional labour historians, Blackmur is prepared to articulate his approach. Within the institutional framework, the author rejects the use of explicit theorisation, questioning concepts such as community and class because they cannot be empirically verified. There is also little weight given to 'history from below' and oral history techniques, which have had a major impact on Australian labour historians influenced by the New Left and

**Social History.** Unfortunately, the author ignores the international debate concerning 'neo-institutional' labour history ignited by Jonathan Zeitlin and misses an opportunity to directly contribute to an important dialogue.

In conclusion, the author provides a detailed and revealing study of two major strikes in Australian history. His strengths and weaknesses are those of the particular approach to Australian labour history that he champions — the institutional school.

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Christian Berggren, *Alternatives to Lean Production: Work Organization in the Swedish Auto Industry* (Ithaca, NY: LLR Press 1992).

AUTO ASSEMBLY remains the most Taylorist of all modern industries. Those concerned about humane work organization seek alternatives to assembly-line based mass production, especially to counter its most recent extreme form, Toyotism. Swedish industry, and in particular Volvo, has been held out as a viable alternative. There was the pioneering Kalmar plant in 1973, then the paradigm breaking Uddevalla plant since 1989. The aim has been to reduce repetitive jobs for auto assemblers and their attendant ill-effects for employers (absenteeism, high turnover) and employees (physical strain, stress injuries, and boredom).

Christian Berggren presents his book as a contrast between the Volvo trajectory in Sweden and Japan's Toyotism, currently being exported as transplants throughout Europe and North America. The main point, which he makes exceptionally well, is the contrast between the two approaches to auto assembly. He successfully poses them as 'ideal types.' They differ especially in their systems of control with contrasting versions of 'teamwork.' A key point is that the Swed-

ish notion of workgroups has a tendency to empower workers while the Japanese one subordinates them to the corporate team. Less convincing, however, is whether the Volvo 'experiments' constitute a viable alternative to the hegemony of the Toyota-style juggernaut and its lean production practices.

Berggren provides a thorough account of Toyotism and its transplants as the primary foil against which Volvo's practices are evaluated. He knows of what he writes, having first-hand experience with Japanese practices at home and abroad. His primary purpose, however, is to pose whether Volvo and Saab-Scania are a viable production alternative. He provides in-depth insights into the relatively open and contested debates at Volvo over issues of work organization, managerial control, trade union involvement, and the experimental approach of its industrial engineers. He locates his discussion in a thorough grounding based on conceptual issues about the organization of work and qualification policies.

At the core of the book (Chapters 6, 7, and 8) are six case studies of organizational and technical changes between 1970 and 1990 in the Swedish auto industry, asking if there is a discernable direction to be identified and contingent upon what conditions. Typical of Swedish intellectuals, Berggren has been directly engaged in the workplaces he researches in Sweden, a strong match for his extensive international experience. He provides a good balance between the particular and the general. The reader gets enough of the specific to grasp its essence without the burden of detail. I wish the same could be said for the next four chapters, three of which rely on a five plant survey. This material is not well integrated and is the least satisfying in its presentation because of its descriptive quality. There is a chapter on production design which does argue convincingly that the way auto assembly is designed makes a difference for how work is experienced both socially and physically.

The essence of the story is that the world has turned to Swedish innovations in the assembly of autos as an alternative to the traditional assembly line. Indeed, Volvo's Kalmar plant has been widely touted as the model of team production. Volvo's Uddevalla plant was the 1990s answer pushing the Kalmar 'experiment' a quantum leap further.

A basic problem to be faced is that both plants are now closed, returning exclusively in Sweden to Taylorist auto assembly in the traditional Volvo Gothenburg plant. This is a real-life drama with telling importance for Sweden and the world. Berggren's book provides a backdrop to why this decision has such high stakes. Published in 1992, it preceded the round of closures announced in November 1992 (although the 1993 Introduction to the paperback edition acknowledges them). As the 1993 Introduction notes, Volvo announced the closure of Uddevalla in 1993 and Kalmar in 1994. A detailed account of this dramatic announcement and the politics surrounding it can be found in an article by Åke Sandberg in *Studies in Political Economy* (1994) entitled "'Volvoism' at the End of the Road?" Sandberg's article (and Berggren's own 1993 Introduction) provides a sobering balance to the essential optimism of Berggren's book.

Just what was at stake here? Uddevalla was the world's most radical auto production design. Fifty parallel teams assembled complete cars without traditional supervisors. It was known as 'transcendent production' whereby workers each spanned the entire production process. Some have called it 'neo-craft' production but Berggren carefully points out its fundamental differences from traditional craft production: "Materials are collected in individual kits in a largely automated process. Planning and coordination are based on an advance computerized information system. And a number of technical aids have been developed to make small-scale assembly efficient and at the same time ergonomically vastly su-

perior to line assembly. Furthermore, the holistic assembly and its upgraded intellectual quality support a greater collaboration between assemblers, industrial engineers, designers, and product engineers." (238) Both as a goal and practice, 40 per cent of the blue-collar workers at Uddevalla were women. These are the kinds of developments which have excited labour process researchers. Sweden's auto industry pioneered progressive innovations in production design and work organization in an era when the standardization of Toyotism threatened to become universal. Berggren does provide additional evidence from Volvo and Scania's heavy-bus production using integrated parallel assembly as an alternative. The battle of production paradigms does not exclusively favour the Japanese but they are the clear economic winners in the international mass-production market.

Sweden's car crisis of the early 1990s was brought about by declining sales and rising Japanese market shares. The issue of the quality of work, however, does not disappear. This issue has long been paramount in Sweden because of traditionally tight labour market conditions and developed social politics but it has also become important in Japan where work intensity characteristic of Toyotism and lean production are being challenged. While succumbing to the cruel political economy of the car wars, Sweden still provided a 'technologically feasible' alternative with a more human work environment adaptable to employees with outside work obligations and represented by unions with an active involvement in production and organizational planning.

Berggren's book is a helpful reference work for the valuable task of imagining possibilities for alternative production forms.

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Ulrich Jurgens, Thomas Malsch & Knuth Dohse, *Breaking from Taylorism: Changing Forms of Work in the Automobile Industry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993).

ALTHOUGH NOT A work of history, this book will still be of interest to historians. It describes the dismantling of the Taylorist/Fordist production system at seventeen automobile assembly plants located in Europe and North America in the mid-1980s. It is based on interviews of "experts" including managers and union officials conducted between 1983 and 1986. By comparing the nature of work reorganization in different countries and between different firms, the authors explore how local factors shape the process of change. They ask why, despite gaining significant power over workers in the 1980s, management is now seeking to dismantle traditional forms of control and replace them with demands for worker self-regulation.

This work is another product of the "Future of the Automobile" program co-ordinated by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Originally published in German in 1989, it partially fills a gap created by the other much celebrated volume of this project *The Machine that Changed the World* by Womack, *et al.* The latter volume has been criticized for its vague definition of lean production, its uncritical acceptance of this system as a necessary change for firm survival in the 1990s, and the suggestion that lean production will enhance the quality of life at work. Through detailed case studies, Jurgens *et al.* leave the reader with a better understanding of alternative forms of work organization. While accepting that by the 1990s Japanese producers had achieved a near hegemonic position, they cast doubt that lean production is the only alternative to Fordism or that the dismantling of Fordism will improve working conditions. The new systems of production may hold out the promise of humanized work through the reintegration of

conception and execution, but this need not be the case. Automobile workers in all countries have far more to lose in the transition to a new system of production than the despised production chain.

The starting point of the study is the loss of market share suffered by North American and European producers during the 1970s. This forced firms such as General Motors and Ford in North America, and Volkswagen in Germany to begin looking for new forms of work organization. A common theme in the alternatives being considered was the breaking down of the separation of responsibility for the planning and control of work from its execution. The authors focus on the role of "expert" groups within the mature Fordist system. External to production itself, these "experts" acquired responsibility for designing production systems, setting work standards, enforcing these standards, monitoring quality, and repairing and maintaining equipment. Direct production workers were left with a highly circumscribed set of tasks.

The rigid separation of conception and control from execution, and the formation of "expert" groups created three sets of problems for managers of automobile plants. The first was the time it took to move from conception of a new product to its ultimate production. The second was the inefficient use of information leading to inefficient product and process design, labour intensive systems of monitoring quality, and the general waste of firm resources. Finally, advances in technology and the spread of automation, particularly at the German sites in the study, called for new kinds of workers able to perform maintenance, inspection, and production tasks.

While the authors make a convincing argument that a new system of production is emerging, they also warn us that the changes are less extensive than many would have us believe. In many cases "old wine is being poured into new bottles." The new production systems have two general characteristics. First, they look

surprising similar to existing Fordist systems. The moving assembly line, short work cycles, and regimented working conditions remain at the heart of most alternatives. Second, despite this similarity, subtle changes are taking place in the allocation of tasks. The rigid separation between conception and production is breaking down. To some extent the line between the traditional roles of management and those who are managed is being blurred. Significant changes are taking place in the role of "expert" groups. Responsibility for quality control, production support such as material handling and maintenance and, even to some degree, standard setting and monitoring effort are being decentralized. This has led to job enhancement, in some cases, but job dilution in others as skilled workers are asked to perform routine production tasks. In other cases this has simply resulted in work intensification.

The authors conclude that two distinctly different models were emerging during this period as candidates for replacing Fordism. In Germany, compulsory apprenticeship programmes, the resulting excess supply of skilled labour, and the structure of codetermination shaped one broad approach. Having some of the characteristics of the Swedish system of production, the German alternative to Fordism was built around the innovative skills of workers organized into self-regulating teams of skilled and unskilled workers. Job cycles tend to be longer and in some cases tasks were decoupled from the discipline of the assembly line. In the United States, the United Auto Workers' approach to work reorganization, the historical importance of seniority systems, and the overall lower skill base dictated a different approach. Here the model followed closely the contours of Japanese production systems. Productivity was to be improved through self-regulating teams of unskilled workers, working at short cycle, line-paced tasks.

The strength of this book is the detailed case studies of technologies in tran-

sition. The authors take a critical magnifying glass to both the Fordist system and the alternatives emerging in North America and Europe. They caution the reader against naive expectations of a new worker utopia as the old system breaks down. They are also sensitive to the disadvantages of Fordism from the perspective of workers. Their ability to predict the ultimate impact of the new production systems on workers is limited by their reliance on "expert" interviews with managers and union officials. The sources dictated the measures of technical change employed. There are extensive sections on levels of productivity, quality indices, and ratios of direct and indirect labour which speak to the goals and interests of management. From the perspective of workers, there are passing references to job reductions and improvements in ergonomics, but little else. Stress, fatigue, health and safety, and quality of life at work are barely mentioned. Nonetheless, this work fills a gap created by *The Machine that Changed the World*. It deserves the attention of those concerned with the future of work. It points to the need for studies which focus on workers' assessment of change.

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Armine Yalnizyan, T. Ran Ide and Arthur J. Cordell, *Shifting Time: Policy and the Future of Work* (Toronto: Between The Lines 1994).

THIS BOOK CONTAINS two essays, the first entitled "Securing Society: Creating Canadian Social Policy" by Armine Yalnizyan, and the second "The New Tools: Implications for the Future of Work" by T. Ran Ide and Arthur Cordell. An introduction by Jamie Swift and an afterword by Ursula Franklin round out the book's contents.

The unifying theme of the book is "an examination of the *real* world of work,



wealth, technology, and a Canada-in-transition." (11) The debate about the nature of work given the rapid changes in technology, the automation of many occupations, and the globalization of each nation's economy will continue as we and other countries come to terms with a new order of society. The book is, therefore, a very timely review of many of the concerns raised by commentators, academics, and others about the type of work people will have (good jobs vs bad jobs), the extent to which work is available to all (levels of unemployment), and the distribution of income and wealth if a substantial proportion of those who have traditionally been part of the labour force are excluded. In his introduction, Swift makes reference to the major review of programs to be undertaken by Lloyd Axworthy, the Minister of the Federal Department of Human Resources. Swift is not sanguine that any such review will focus on the war on poverty rather than the war on deficit reduction. Now that we have had an opportunity to see Mr. Axworthy's proposals and hear Federal Finance Minister Martin's calls for substantial cuts in federal payments to social programs, there is little doubt that the redesigning of programs aims to restrict eligibility and to move more of the costs to those who use the services, as Swift predicted. The issues discussed in this book are again very timely because of this current program review; we are surely witnessing a Canadian social system in transition.

Of the two essays, I found Yalnizyan's the most useful. It contains a detailed, up-to-date analysis of income distribution, the distribution of working hours, and the evolution of the Canadian social security system. Reports on the increasing disparity between the incomes of the poor and the rich, and the increasing difficulties people face in finding secure full-time employment have been with us for some time. Yalnizyan's contribution, however, is to put all of this information into one essay, thereby drawing our atten-

tion to the overall direction in which Canadian society is travelling and, indeed, has already travelled. It is not a comforting picture. Concerns about a permanent underclass are well-founded and fears about who will be affected next by the changes in our economic system are felt by all of us. As Yalnizyan argues, the twin pillars of our economic security — stable, decently-paid jobs as the main source of income and a social security system to support those who are not in the labour market — are very much in question. Her argument, that our current crisis "is about economies facing possible system breakdown and about the significance of nation states" (66), is an important one when discussions about overhauling the social security system could be seen as simply reorganizing the deck chairs on the Titanic.

For Yalnizyan, the critical use is to create sufficient, decently-paid work that is more evenly distributed throughout the work force. To move in this direction, she proposes a strategy which would put some controls over the mobility of capital such that there is increased investment in industries and services dealing with the basics of life rather than the current approach of seeking high-value-added, niche oriented products and services. "Canadians, as well as people in other nations, [should] demand the basic right of being able to produce a significant proportion of what they need to consume." (62) Yalnizyan is aware that her suggestions run counter to the current thinking, that the question of Canada's international trade will immediately be raised and that there is a very real question of whether Canada, as one small country, could be a leader in challenging the current global economic policies. It is not at all clear that we and our politicians have the will to listen to the alternatives Yalnizyan proposes and work through the detail of whether the options she raises are better than the proposed strategy of cost-containment.

Ide and Cordell's essay continues the theme of who will work and in what sort of jobs. The essay focuses on the changes in all aspects of our lives resulting from the new computer-based technologies and in particular their impact on work and access to income. The review of the importance and nature of work, the impact of the industrial revolution and the differences of that revolution compared to the changes we are now experiencing, contains information which I think will already be known to most readers. The part of the essay which could have added to current debates is less well developed. Ide and Cordell question whether we will all be in the labour market for 30 to 40 years considering the capacity of the new technologies to produce the goods and services we require. Given their support of Stendhal's view that "without work the vessel of life has no ballast," they do not really engage the debate about how we might so radically change our society and how people will find meaning and fulfilment in their lives without work as we have traditionally defined it. Similarly, they raise what has to be the fundamental question, namely, if most of us do not work for most of our lives how do we distribute income? Again, they do not explore this issue to any degree. They do discuss different scenarios — business as usual, the resurgence of humanism, enlightened self-interest — but do not challenge us to question how our society might be reorganized quite fundamentally if work ceases to be such a significant part of our lives. The enlightened self-interest scenario, which the authors consider a likely alternative, rests in part on what they term a technology productivity tax, an idea which I would have liked to see discussed in greater depth.

The authors of this book are clearly of the view that it is the task of left-leaning thinkers to challenge the limits within which our debates about reforming the social support system and containing costs are being discussed. This is a very important and worthwhile undertaking

and one to which this book makes an important contribution. At the same time, however, I would have preferred that they engage more directly the debate about a life without work, since this could well be our future.

Susan M. Clark  
Brock University

Howard Botwinick, *Persistent Inequalities* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1993).

HOWARD BOTWINICK attempts to account for the apparent intractability of significant wage differentials in capitalist economies, when much orthodox economic theory predicts wage convergence for workers of comparable productivity in a competitive market. Drawing on a re-reading of Marx, he contends that existing accounts of wage-setting — whether neo-classical, institutional, or radical — fail to appreciate that these inequalities result from tendential properties of capitalist competition, rather than from artificial barriers to competition, such as monopoly power. The book also has a more political goal: to demonstrate that strong unions, adopting an adversarial approach to industrial relations, are the best way for workers to improve their wages and that those unions now favouring more 'cooperative' and business-friendly strategies (including acceptance of wage roll-backs in many cases) are making a mistake.

A number of insights derived from Marx are used to suggest that wage levels may vary considerably between firms in the same industry, even when they are in a competitive market. The most important are based on Marx's analysis of differential profit rates, which are said to exist in any technologically innovative industry. Firms that innovate realize efficiencies and profits unavailable to competitors and, if forced to by their workers, can pass part of these on in the form of higher wages. 'Regulating capitals' emerge in

most industries, that is, firms that set the standards for production costs in the industry and can afford higher wages than less efficient 'non-regulating capitals.' In firms or industries where capitalists have invested substantially in capital stock, the potential for profits, the ability to pass costs on, and the costs of exiting from the industry, are all said to be higher than elsewhere; where one can anticipate a potential for higher wages than in less heavily capitalized firms or industries, whose markets would take longer to adjust to price increases, and where the option of exiting from the industries in the face of wage demands is more appealing. Profit differentials therefore provide the foundation for much of Botwinick's analysis of wage differentials, but the latter also has other sources: technical innovation constantly destroys the livelihood of some workers, while creating opportunities for others; and, of course, the uneven efforts of labour unions to enlist workers in various industries, and the anti-egalitarian behaviour of many craft unions, are additional causes of wage inequality.

A singular merit of Botwinick's analysis of wage-determination is that it is neither as indeterminate as many radical and institutional approaches, which anticipate no limit to what workers can earn other than the power of employers to resist their demands, nor so deterministic as neo-classical approaches, which argue that unions can gain no real long-term wage advantages for workers. Within the (highly uneven and temporally flexible) limits set by capitalist competition, militant bargaining can, Botwinick argues, improve wage levels without causing unemployment. But the author also draws our attention to the need for unions to mobilize workers in all 'regulating' firms in an industry if these gains are to be realized.

This last insight, however, points to a problematic feature of the book which (in this reviewer's opinion) calls into question its claim to have re-legitimized adversarial unionism. Botwinick admits that

recent developments have eroded the ability of unions to exact higher wages. 'Regulating' firms in many industries have moved to regions (such as the southern US) where unions encounter a hostile environment, or to industrializing countries where wage levels are far below those that prevail in Europe and North America. Surely, it is precisely the difficulties associated with coordinating bargaining strategies with workers in these inhospitable milieux that convinced many unions to adopt more 'moderate' stances. There are also troubling implications of Botwinick's observations that some limits to wage increases are imposed on workers by competitive pressure, and that these limits are more severe for workers in 'non-regulating capitals' than for workers in these firms' more efficient competitors. Combined, these undermine the plausibility of pursuing 'solidaristic' wage bargaining across entire industries; for workers in inefficient firms, solidaristic bargaining clearly risks driving their employer out of business. (Here, the author invokes the Swedish example to suggest that solidaristic bargaining can be combined with full employment, but Botwinick himself notes that the centralized industrial relations system which presided over this outcome has now collapsed in that country; in recent times, we have also seen a substantial increase in Sweden's unemployment rate). In general, Botwinick has done much more to demonstrate the theoretical possibility that unions can bid up wages in the long term, than to demonstrate that this remains a practical possibility for most workers under current circumstances.

This gap between theoretical ambition and empirical accomplishment is also evident in the fact that the book consists almost entirely of an exegesis of Marx's economic thinking, combined with a review of alternative academic literatures, which are found to be lacking to the extent that they depart from Marx's insights. Many of the book's claims about wage-setting appear to be empirically testable,

and it is surprising that Botwinick largely did not corroborate his account in this way.

*Persistent Inequalities* nevertheless offers an important corrective to much contemporary discussion of how to protect the livelihood of working people in developed capitalist nations. There is now much talk — on the political left as well as on the right — of the need to improve the quality of 'human capital' if living standards are not to erode. But Botwinick convincingly critiques the 'human capital' theory of wage setting, suggesting that there is no necessary link between the productivity and skills of labour on the one hand, and its remuneration on the other. In the US, for instance, productivity rose during the 1980s, while real wages fell. And this, of course, transpired while what was left of union power in America was rapidly dissipating. Labour unions may not be enough to defend the wages of workers in contemporary capitalism, but neither is this goal likely to be achieved without them.

Rodney Haddow  
St. Francis Xavier University

David J. Walsh, *On Different Planes: an Organizational Analysis of Cooperation and Conflict among Airline Unions* (Ithaca: ILR Press 1994).

MANY OF THE MOST significant events in labour-management conflict have been shaped by the degree of solidarity that could be attained both within unions and among them. Yet, as Walsh says, analytic studies of inter-union relations are rare. He sets out to use organizational theory to fill this gap. The result is a monograph which is interesting for its use of this theory, its blend of quantitative and qualitative methods, and its substantive conclusions.

The focus on unions in the US airline industry is justified on two main grounds. First, the craft-based structure of union

organization means that issues of co-operation arise more clearly than in other sectors. Second, the importance of airlines in the American economy and its rapidly changing economic organization and fundamental re-structuring of labour relations make it a generally interesting case.

The 'theory bit' is cogently done. Walsh presents a model of inter-union relations based on the concept of interdependence: the degree to which organizations depend on each other shapes fundamentally how much, and in what ways, they deal with each other. This in turn comprises seven elements. For example, the more that unions compete the more will they be drawn into relationships with each other. Contextual and organizational factors, and potential obstacles to solidarity, are then added. This is a very clear framework, which might well be of use to researchers in other contexts.

A chapter on the context of the industry establishes the nature of union organization and the craft tradition. Walsh also argues, convincingly, that changing employer strategy following airline deregulation increased the need for unions to cooperate with one another. A particularly interesting aspect for the British reader is the comment that the decentralized craft structure, which worked well during the stable regulatory phase, became a liability when conditions altered. (43) Apparently powerful localized shop steward organizations in Britain learnt the same lesson during the 1980s. If Walsh is looking to extend his analysis, Britain offers many interesting, if generally depressing, cases.

Three empirical chapters employ a qualitative methodology. One reviews the history of inter-union co-operation. It shows that unions were involved with each other only sporadically, and that relations were often marked by conflict, for example, over jurisdictions. Mutual aid was rarely needed because airlines typically closed down during strikes, but during the 1980s this policy changed, and

union cooperation became more important. Chapters seven and eight explore cases of inter-union co-operation and examine the case of Eastern Airlines in depth. The lessons are mixed. Unions have worked together against difficult odds, and Walsh finds both "inspiration and instruction" in the Eastern case. Yet he also underlines the difficulties that unions face in gaining lasting victories. Some of the problems stem from the sheer magnitude of taking on the airlines, others reflect traditional parochialism and mutual suspicion among the unions themselves.

Sandwiched between are two heavily quantitative chapters. Drawing on interviews which he conducted with 33 union officials, Walsh uses some complex statistical techniques (multiple regression with quadratic assignment procedure and multi-dimensional scaling) to analyze each possible pair of relationships and to explore the character of the network in which the officials were involved. The techniques are clearly explained and the substantive conclusions are spelt out in a non-technical manner. On the bilateral relationships, these are that interdependence does indeed shape the extent and character of relations and that aspects of the economic context also encourage mutual action. On the networks, these are found, in line with the qualitative analysis, to be largely confined to the airline industry, decentralized and fluid.

In short, this is a careful monograph that explores its topic thoroughly while also having some wider lessons. On the case itself, the analysis is clear and competent, though Walsh might have sought a more lively account of the dramas and actors involved. A particular issue here is conflict among unions. While fully aware that conflict and competition run through inter-union relations, Walsh does not weave rivalry and suspicion into the analysis as fully as he might. As to the wider lessons, I would have welcomed more explicit location of the argument, in two respects. First, in terms of substance,

Walsh does not really locate his analysis in any wider model of what unions do or what kind of role they might seek. Though he stresses that inter-union and labour-management relations are intimately connected, the reader is left wondering what approach might most benefit the unions. In seeking to work together, should they adopt the "associational" model of Charles Hecksher, Arthur Shostak's "robust unionism," or some other path? Yes, we know something about what helps them to co-operate, but to achieve what goals exactly? Relatedly, the theoretical model of unions is underdeveloped. What does the case say about the general issue of generating unity in the labour movement? Second, and analytically, Walsh notes that the "possibilities for integrating organizational and industrial relations scholarship are numerous" (168), citing a forthcoming publication. Yet Peter Cappelli and Bruce Kaufman, among others, have debated this issue for some time. Consideration of how the book advances this integration and how an industrial relations perspective 'adds value' would have been helpful.

Finally, the title is unbelievably corny. The thesis of the book is that solidarity is maintained "on a wing and a prayer." Did whoever came up with the present title reject this as just too whimsical?

Paul Edwards  
University of Warwick

John Calvert with Larry Kuehn, *Pandora's Box: Corporate Power, Free Trade, and Canadian Education* (Montréal: Our Schools/Our Selves 1993).

THIS IS A TOPICAL book on an important subject. Its goal is to examine and anticipate the impact of free trade on Canadian education, and the story it tells is entirely awful. If the authors' scenario holds, Canadian schools and universities are

doomed. They will become little more than an intellectual fast food chain: pre-occupied with efficiency, of dubious quality, and American-dominated.

This may surprise those who followed the Free Trade Agreement and North American Free Trade Agreement debates. The fate of schooling was seldom mentioned, and in fact, as the book notes, Article 1206 of NAFTA protects existing public educational services in Canada from foreign competition. How, then, is Canadian education vulnerable? According to the authors, efforts to establish new educational services under public control could be challenged by American companies. Furthermore, America's extensive network of private educational institutions could put privately-run Canadian training and vocational schools out of business. Finally, the opening of government procurement contracts to foreign bidding could minimize a Canadian presence in the textbook, computer, and educational equipment markets.

These are potentially significant matters and the authors rightly raise the caution flag. Still their argument, and much of this book's content, is highly speculative. Indeed, there is precious little material here about the life of the Canadian classroom, pre-or post-free trade, though issues tangential to education such as drug patents, day care, and medicare are discussed in a way that obscures the supposed focus of this short book.

Because the authors believe that NAFTA will complete the harmonization of Canadian and American societies, they include a section on American education which is intended to provide a window to Canada's future under free trade. Superficially and selectively researched, it describes only the worst features of US schooling and ignores everything else. It is simply too large a leap of bad faith to predict that Canadian schools are destined to become racist, elitist, privatized establishments, propagating the American creed of social Darwinism instead of the Canadian values of compassion and

social responsibility. These are caricatures and clichés — about both countries.

Hyperbole infuses and further weakens this study. While the authors point to some disturbing individual episodes, such as the attempt to mount a private International Space University at York University, they provide no evidence for their sweeping claim that university "programs and even entire departments, are assessed on whether they can meet the test of commercial viability, or minimally, commercial relevance." (116) Citing others who believe the same thing is not adequate documentation. The changes in higher education in other developed countries — Australia for example — have been far more extensive than in Canada where the arts and humanities still manage to thrive. And to equate the problems of Canadian post-secondary education with those in Mexico and other developing countries, as the authors do, is to trivialize the terrible financial and political problems faced by the latter.

An intellectually puzzling, and unintentionally amusing, feature of this book is its idealization of Canadian schooling and society prior to the free trade era. NAFTA, we are told, will cause a "fundamental break with out Canadian traditions and present a clear and present danger to the educational programs we cherish." (5) It will "loot our common cultural and intellectual heritage" (45), and "erode our historical and cultural ties with Europe and the rest of the world." (105) These mushy patriotic platitudes cast a conservative haze over what I thought was a left analysis of free trade. The impact of NAFTA may be greater than I thought. It has apparently turned socialists into United Empire Loyalists.

There is no question that Canadian schools, colleges, and universities are experiencing great financial pressures, brought on by the erosion of public funding. And things could certainly get worse. This problem began well before free trade which seems, contrary to the argument of this book, almost irrelevant to the funding

dilemma. The private sector, never exactly absent in the development of Canadian schooling, may well have a more conspicuous educational role than in the past. Its mere presence rouses the anger of the authors. But their study would have been far more useful had they toned down the rhetoric and conjecture, and probed, perhaps by way of detailed case studies, how corporate interests (Canadian and non-Canadian) have already affected the quality and content of education. As it stands, a book which claims so much and proves so little may provide more solace than discomfort to the defenders of free trade.

Paul Axelrod  
York University

Harrison M. Trice, *Occupational Subcultures in the Workplace* (Ithaca, New York: ILR Press 1993).

IN THIS BOOK Harrison Trice argues that neither organizations nor occupations can be properly understood in isolation from one another. If organizations are cultures, then the occupations situated within them often constitute sub-cultures. The relationships of these occupational sub-cultures to one another and to the administrative apparatus become central dynamics of organizations. Thus, Trice conceives of organizations as multi-cultural and in a process of continual change, as sub-cultures adapt and re-adapt to one another.

This book is divided into two main sections. In the first, the author lays out in some details the cultural aspects of occupations. Trice shows how occupations manifest distinctive ideologies and cultural forms expressing those ideologies such as myths, ceremonies, language, rituals and, rites of passage. In the second and slightly shorter section of the book Trice deals with the more complex and theoretically significant matters of

how occupations adapt to one another and to managerial structures.

The writing in this book is lucid and generally free of distractions, save for a few too many references to comments made in prior chapters. To illustrate his points, the author employs numerous interesting examples from a wide variety of occupations. Drawing together an impressive sampling of the sociological literature on occupations (to which the author has been an important contributor over his distinguished career), Trice creates a colourful mosaic of occupational life. Substantively, the author succeeds in his efforts to alert organizational researchers, particularly those with an interest in organizational culture, to the importance of occupations and the problems they (and other sub-cultures such as ones based on race or sex) pose for simplistic, unitary views of organizational culture.

Yet, for many, the essential argument that occupations matter and display certain cultural trappings will be unremarkable. The material in the second part of the book which attempts to situate occupations in their organizational context is more far-reaching, but also less convincing. Again, it is important to remember that this book is primarily a synthesis of prior work, rather than an attempt to break new theoretical ground. At times, ideas are put forward in a tentative fashion and their theoretical implications are not pursued. For example, Trice suggests that the number of persons in a given occupation employed by an organization is relevant to the potency of the occupational sub-culture (158), but the potentially significant social network and organizational demographic underpinnings of this statement are not clearly evident in the rest of the book. Similarly, as a good sociologist, much of what Trice has to say involves power (for example, attempts of occupational groups to gain power by unionizing or attaining licensure requirements), but there is a curious reluctance to analyze the "adaptations" between occupations and with employers explicitly in terms of power.

The argument that occupations matter rests on the observation that occupationally-based groups at times resist employers and promulgate ideas at odds with "the corporate culture." The most explicit theoretical (or at least typological) framework in the book attempts to account for varying modes of adaptation between occupational and administrative sub-cultures in terms of the "group" (factors promoting cohesion and group identity) and "grid" (structures ordering relations among members within the occupation) features of an occupation. Occupations like personnel, accounting, and engineering are seen as having weak group and strong grid characteristics, leading to their unproblematic assimilation into the corporate structure. In contrast, corporate physicians, meatcutters, and skilled craft workers in the building trades are seen as occupations exemplifying strong group and grid characteristics, leading to an accommodation in which both parties retain their essential cultural features. Assigning occupations to the four cells of this typology is an uncertain task at best. Problems with this typology are evident in the fact that while it is premised on occupational characteristics, the same occupation performed in different organizational settings (for example, corporate lawyers and lawyers employed by a law firm) is classified differently. Since it is adaptations between occupations and organizations which are at issue, Trice's approach might usefully be modified by identifying characteristics of both occupations and employing organizations which help determine the relative power of both parties (for example, degree of occupational organization, status of occupation, dependency of employer on the occupation) and which thus affect the terms under which any adaptation occurs.

Ultimately, Trice's attempt to inject a measure of reality into organizational culture accounts which grossly overstate the degree of consensus and shared experience within organizations, also raises questions about the use of the concept of

culture in the study of organizations. Culture has an encompassing and taken for granted nature which is increasingly lost as we apply the concept to smaller, more numerous, and overlapping "sub-cultures." Furthermore, however appealing is the inquiry into occupational stories and other cultural artifacts, the fact that occupational groupings have organized to different degrees through professional associations and unions, enjoy differential amounts of support and legitimation from the state, and have widely varying ability to make claims on organizational resources, may in the end be more telling. Regardless of whether Trice's approach succeeds in rescuing the organizational culture literature or only raising further questions about its viability, his rich synthesis of the sociological literature on occupations and the spotlight he places upon the organization-occupation relationship, make this book very worthwhile reading.

David J. Walsh  
Miami University

Terry L. Leap, *Tenure, Discrimination, and the Courts* (Ithaca, New York: ILR Press, 1993).

THIS IS ESSENTIALLY a manual for those who are involved in promotion and tenure disputes in American colleges and universities. Since 1970 such disputes have escalated because promotion and tenure are increasingly difficult to achieve, and because in 1972 the anti-discrimination provisions of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act were deemed to apply to institutions of higher learning. The author focuses on those cases in which a faculty member was discharged or denied promotion due to alleged discrimination rooted in race, sex, national origin, disability, or age biases. A specialist in human resource management and employment law, Professor Leap's stated purpose in writing this book is to help reduce the likelihood



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of such suits, since, he argues, they are usually no-win situations for both the plaintiff and the institution involved. Judges often throw up their hands and refuse to pronounce on such complicated cases or resort to a narrow, conservative interpretation of the law. No matter what the final outcome, both sides come out psychologically bruised and financially battered.

As a woman deeply involved in the activities of my own faculty association — although in the somewhat different Canadian academic and legal setting — I found this book to be both useful and disturbing. It is useful in that it lays out clearly the legislative background to the laws that are designed to protect faculty members in the United States from various forms of discrimination, the processes by which promotion and tenure are awarded in most institutions of higher learning, and the major cases which have come before the courts. What is disturbing, though not surprising, is the time, cost, and trauma entailed in such litigation, and the position which the courts have taken on discrimination issues. However, there may be some hope. The Civil Rights Act of 1991 permits compensatory damages for victims of intentional discrimination and punitive damages when the employer acts with "malice or with reckless indifference to" a victim's rights. According to Professor Leap, this act was designed to send a message to the Supreme Court that conservative, pro-employer stances in employment discrimination suits will not be tolerated. Only time will tell.

In the meantime, the very foundations upon which tenure and equity legislation have been developed in North America are rapidly crumbling in the 1990s. Tenure is being attacked not only by neo-conservative governments, such as that headed by Ralph Klein in Alberta, but also by university administrators (whose numbers have grown impressively in recent decades), anxious to "reform" what they see as a too-powerful faculty. If eq-

uity issues are considered at all in these reform efforts, they are usually side-lined by bottom line concerns or "vision-aries" out to undermine what they snidely proclaim as "political correctness." In addition, contractually limited appointments, which do not carry the privileges of tenure and, in some cases, even union protection, have created a two-tier faculty where professors are pitted against each other. Under these circumstances, scape-goating becomes much more likely and, while males complain that even one — woman, black, senior, or whatever — is too many. Professor Leap discusses the arguments for and against tenure but he avoids the larger ideological debate now undermining efforts to create "inclusive" universities. He offers, instead, suggestions for better hiring, promotion and grievance procedures, as well as career development programs, working environments, and performance indicators that will help universities and those aspiring to permanent employment in them to avoid the courts.

While better procedures and structures are essential to fair employment practices, they are not likely to stop the hand-to-hand combat that now characterizes many hiring, promotion, and tenure battles in our colleges and universities. We now seem to be entering an era in which "collegiality" is being relegated to the roster of other quaint terms such as "loyalty" and "honour." Of course, there is no reason to expect universities and colleges to be immune to the realities of the North American workplace, but it is sad that they seem unable to offer leadership at a time when it is so badly needed.

Margaret Conrad  
Acadia University

Jeremy Seabrook, *Victims of Development: Resistance and Alternatives* (London: Verso 1993).

THIS MIX of storytelling, journalistic reporting, and sociological analysis com-

bines a range of case studies of village- and neighbourhood-level hope and despair, each representing the failure of western development models. Seabrook highlights the "eclipse of Communism" as his post-structural premise in this vague and disorganized call for a rethinking of models for the global redistribution of resources.

Most cases presented are offered up as morality tales of failed development. Several of the first-hand testimonials raise questions about the author's understanding of the underdeveloping world. Seabrook speaks of "Gipsy women" in Sao Paulo, for example, though he does not make clear that those concerned are Gypsies. There is little consideration of major labour movements and grassroots organizations that have emerged in the past decade, including the Islamic resistance in the Philippines and the Workers Party in Brazil. In the case of the latter, Seabrook is unreasonably dismissive. His assessment of more than twenty years of struggle that helped bring down military rule is that the Workers Party did little to mitigate "the ugly inequalities" in Brazil. While several descriptions concern working women, the author provides no gendered analysis. Moreover, his reflections on indigenous peoples are facile. Seabrook deplores the proliferation of cocaine in Latin American cities, but makes no comment on the rampant exploitation of workers and addicts associated with that industry. A critique of national and international migrations from rural to urban zones — and of the industrial economies this massive human movement supports — laments ecological disaster, but offers no solutions. Too frequently, the book lectures on the obvious: "The slums of Bombay are seen by the rich as polluting the city. Yet slum dwellers are negligible polluters compared to those who live in the high-rise flats."

Much of the discussion has useful components, though it is always presented in simple and pedantic terms, reasserting that western models for develop-

ment are "wrong." In one section, Seabrook compares three factory models. The Japanese-owned Woodard Textiles in the Free Trade Zone on Penang Island in Malaysia is the most automated textile factory in Asia, but has seen significant recent job losses as a consequence of mechanization. The Rubber-world factory in Manila — under license of Adidas — is very labour intensive. The result is appalling working conditions. The contrasting success of the third example, Kamani Tubes Limited at Kurla in north Bombay, is based not only on the model of a worker-owned cooperative, but on the rejection of trade unions as irrelevant to the Indian context and supposedly wedded to the notion of workers as unable to manage a plant.

Some models of non-western development explored are intriguing. They are always localized, though, and never contemplated effectively in larger regional, national, or international contexts. Moreover, Seabrook's discussion of the regeneration of the countryside in Ralegan Siddhi, India, demonstrates two further difficulties in his understanding of poverty. First, the author is captivated by cases in which people have been led toward change by an impressive thinker or leader. In this instance, he stresses the importance of Anna Hazare, a retired soldier who came to Ralegan Siddhi and convinced people to leave the alcohol trade as a first step toward sustainable development. In this and other examples, Seabrook shows only passing interest in grassroots movements that have sustained (and likely advanced) the non-western development process. Second, Seabrook's devotion to local development solutions identifies no shades of grey between faulty western plans and laudable non-western models. When some in Ralegan Siddhi refused to give up the consumption of alcohol, the author writes glowingly of the harsh community response: "Anna Hazare and the youth of Ralegan Siddhi took the law into their own hands: the drinkers were tied to a pole in the centre

of the village in front of the temple. There was no beating; just the public shame." Such intangible and questionable measures of "Development" through purported communal strength ignore class divisions, local ideological divides, social conflict, or the relationship between village and regional political authorities. Seabrook's assertion that there are "no big landlords" in Ralegan Siddhi, and "no sense of social injustice" is unconvincing without any supportive data or analysis.

Though some of Seabrook's descriptive passages are thought-provoking, and even gripping at times, the critique of western development model advocates — as fervent anti-Communists and worse — is worn, as is Seabrook's idealized vision of non-western development proposals.

David Sheinin  
Trent University

Richard Langlois, *Pour en finir avec l'économisme* (Montréal: Boréal 1995).

CETTE FIN DE siècle est marquée, partout dans le monde, par une accentuation de la soumission du social à l'économique, par une généralisation du règne de la marchandise, par une valorisation exclusive du marché et de la concurrence. Plus que jamais, tout s'évalue à l'aune de l'argent, dont la poursuite effrénée est devenue le principal but de l'existence. En même temps, la croissance stagne, le chômage et l'exclusion s'aggravent, l'écart entre riches et pauvres, pays comme individus, s'accroît. Jour après jour, on nous répète à satiété que les difficultés économiques seraient dues aux excès de générosité de l'État providence, qui auraient provoqué un accroissement catastrophique de la dette publique. Trente années d'interventionnisme keynésien et de réglementation seraient responsables d'un dérèglement de mécanismes économiques qui ne fonctionneraient efficacement que si on les laissait suivre leur cours naturel. La seule manière d'en sortir serait de se serrer la

ceinture. Prenant le relais du discours religieux qui a dominé l'Occident pendant plus d'un millénaire, le discours économique contemporain appelle les peuples à se sacrifier pour se racheter d'un péché originel, celui d'avoir vécu au-dessus de leurs moyens, aux crochets de l'État.

Il est temps qu'un discours alternatif se fasse entendre et que soit dénoncé cet économisme qui soumet la société à la loi du marché et de l'économie. Il est temps que soit rappelée cette vérité trop souvent oubliée: l'économie doit être un instrument au service de l'homme et de la société, qui leur permette de disposer des conditions matérielles nécessaires pour jouir d'une vie plus heureuse, plus pleine, de se tourner vers des buts non économiques, de cultiver l'art de vivre plutôt que de s'efforcer à assurer sa subsistance.

Il est bien qu'un économiste dénonce l'économisme, «doctrine privilégiant les faits économiques dans l'explication des phénomènes sociaux et politiques, manière d'agir qui en découle.» C'est ce que fait avec vigueur et conviction Richard Langlois dans un des petits livres polémiques de cette collection décapante, consacrée à une remise en question iconoclaste des idées reçues de notre époque, «Pour en finir avec.» Pour son propos, l'auteur s'inspire en particulier de Karl Polanyi qui, dans un ouvrage majeur paru en 1944, *La grande transformation: aux origines politiques et économiques de notre temps* (Paris 1983), a montré comment la montée du capitalisme et la révolution industrielle ont été caractérisées par une inversion du rapport entre la société et l'économie, la première étant désormais soumise à, «encadrée dans,» la seconde, et comment cette inversion préparait des catastrophes futures, dont le bolchévisme et le nazisme furent deux exemples.

Dans un premier temps, Richard Langlois dénonce ce qu'il appelle l'Économie, avec un E majuscule, pour qualifier la discipline dans laquelle il a lui-même reçu sa formation. Cette Économie s'est ainsi construite sur le postulat que

l'économie est un mécanisme naturel qui fonctionne selon des lois objectives que l'économiste doit mettre à jour, comme le physicien met en lumière les lois qui régissent le mouvement des corps. Pour Langlois, l'Économie usurpe la qualification de scientifique. La formalisation mathématique poussée et l'utilisation des statistiques masquent cette réalité, qui éclate au grand jour lorsque sont constamment démenties par les faits les prédictions des économistes assimilés aux astrologues des temps modernes.

L'auteur s'attaque ensuite à certains aspects de l'idéologie économiste, telle qu'elle se déploie dans divers domaines. Est d'abord critiquée l'exaltation de ce que Langlois appelle la «triade de l'intégrisme économique.» (L'expression est bien choisie, puisque l'intégrisme religieux — qui est en partie une réaction à la détérioration de la situation économique des populations déshéritées — est l'autre grande menace de notre temps.) productivité, compétitivité, croissance. On nous y rappelle cette évidence qui va pourtant à l'encontre des idées reçues: la croissance n'entraîne automatiquement ni le plein emploi, ni la hausse des revenus du plus grand nombre, ni le bonheur de l'humanité. Après avoir consacré un chapitre à la réduction économiste du débat sur la souveraineté du Québec, Langlois s'attaque à certains aspects du discours néolibéral qui a supplanté dans les années soixante-dix le discours interventionniste keynésien. La dénonciation incantatoire de la dette publique, qui n'est pas nouvelle dans l'histoire du capitalisme — système fondé sur la dette et le crédit — est un paravent pour remettre en cause l'État redistributeur. L'auteur rappelle à juste titre que jamais la dette privée n'est dénoncée, non plus que le parasitisme bancaire. Et dans un univers dans lequel on appelle à se sacrifier pour payer la dite dette publique, on constate que les riches, plus particulièrement les banquiers, s'enrichissent de plus en plus, comme le décrit, humour noir et

données à l'appui, le dernier chapitre, «La misère des riches.»

Nous sommes d'accord, sur le fond, avec la critique que fait l'auteur de cet économisme qui pollue notre fin de siècle. Mais nous avons quelques réserves sur la manière dont la charge est menée, à la bayonnette plutôt qu'au fleuret moucheté. L'auteur ne s'embarrasse guère de nuances. On ne peut évidemment lui reprocher un ton polémique dans une collection dont c'est précisément la marque de commerce. Mais la polémique est un art qui a ses règles, dans lequel il est bon de garder une certaine distance et une certaine réserve. Il suffit parfois de résumer ou de rapporter les propos d'une personne, avec un humour allusif, pour en faire ressortir les faiblesses, incongruités ou stupidités. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'en remettre (La langue anglaise utilise l'expression intraduisible d'«overkill» pour qualifier ce travers que nous reprochons à l'auteur.) en multipliant les qualificatifs désobligeants (fêlé, délirant, ineffable, fantasmant, toqué). Un style parfois trop familier dessert le propos de l'auteur. Certaines allusions à saveur très locale (les Jocelyne Blouin de l'économie) sont incompréhensibles pour les non initiés, et ne sont pas vraiment utiles.

Sur certaines questions de fond, nous aurions aussi souhaité plus de nuances. Que les prétentions à la scientificité de l'Économie soient excessives, soit. Mais de là à considérer toute la réflexion économique comme une sorte d'astrologie, c'est faire un amalgame un peu excessif. L'économie est un domaine du savoir vaste, complexe, traversé de courants contradictoires, et qui a tout de même permis de faire avancer notre connaissance de la société et, parfois, d'améliorer le fonctionnement. Statistiques et mathématiques peuvent être des instruments utiles au progrès de la connaissance, comme l'autoroute informatique peut être un moyen d'améliorer le fonctionnement social. Tout est affaire de fins et de pouvoir politique.

Il manque enfin à cet ouvrage une mise en perspective historique, qui permettrait de comprendre comment est né l'économisme, comment s'est fait le passage à l'interventionnisme, associé au nom de Keynes, et pourquoi finalement l'interventionnisme a été supplanté par le néolibéralisme. Mais ce serait sans doute là le sujet d'un autre livre. Celui que nous avons sous les yeux est un bon point de départ et un excellent antidote à l'économiste ambiant. Il soulèvera sans doute de vives réactions, en particulier chez nos collègues économistes. C'est bien ainsi.

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Gunther Schmid, Bernd Reissert, and Gert Bruche, *Unemployment Insurance and Active Labor Market Policy: An International Comparison of Financing Systems* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press 1992).

THIS BOOK EXAMINES the effects of financing institutions on the labour market policies of six countries: Austria, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Sweden, and the United States. It is a revised version of a book originally published in German in 1987. It is divided into two major parts: one dealing with the financing of "passive" income-replacement measures such as unemployment insurance (UI); the other with "active" labour market policies such as job counselling, mobility assistance, training, and job creation measures. Large parts of both sections are devoted to descriptions of the institutional and financial arrangements for these two types of policies. They examine such issues as whether they are funded separately, or out of a common budget; whether they are financed essentially through contributions, or out of general revenues; whether or not there is an autonomous body which administers labour market policy; the level of benefits and the extent of the UI coverage; the

proportion of labour market expenditures which go towards active labour market policy, and so on. In addition, issues such as whether unemployment is an insurable risk and whether generous UI benefits contribute to unemployment are reviewed.

A major concern which underlies the study is to identify the institutional arrangements most conducive to the promotion of active over passive policies, the authors arguing that it is better to prevent unemployment than simply to compensate the unemployed. They point to the financing system as being a critical determinant of the type of policies implemented and suggest a number of factors which might favour the use of active measures. For example, they suggest that if the two types of programmes were financed separately (rather than from a common budget) it could avoid the situation, found in Germany, where in a period of rising unemployment and fiscal constraint an increasing share of expenditures went to passive measures while active policies were cut back. They found that funding from a central government budget (for example, in Sweden and Great Britain) was more conducive to the promotion of active measures than funding through contributions since contributors tend to resist paying for active policies which benefit not just themselves, but society as a whole. They suggest that active labour market policy is also favoured when the financial responsibility for such policy lies with those institutions that would financially benefit from a decrease in unemployment — for example, through increased tax revenues or reduced social expenditures.

The authors also point to a number of other ways in which financing systems have consequences for labour market policies. For instance, they found that when financial restraints have been imposed, financing systems have influenced the pattern of benefit reductions. For example, they argue that in the US, an insurance-based system provides protection of entitlements as a quasi-property right and

this has made it difficult to reduce the level of benefits, but has allowed for the exclusion of poor risks and thus the percentage receiving benefits has declined. In Great Britain, in contrast, where funding is mostly out of general revenues and benefits do not have strong protection as property rights, the average benefit level has declined but the percentage receiving benefits has hardly changed. The authors also find that tax-financed systems allow for the greater use of labour market policy to redistribute income or to target particular regions or groups than systems where benefits are tied to contributions.

They conclude that the best system would be one of mixed financing through contributions and taxes. They argue that contribution-based systems result in more effective protection and a greater willingness to pay on the part of contributors. However, they suggest a tax-based system may be necessary to provide a minimum for all unemployed and to finance long-term unemployment, ensuring that the cost of general employment measures are shared by taxpayers as a whole so that labour market policy could be used more for redistributive purposes, and so on.

The book is useful in providing an overview of the range of policies used in the six countries and some of the observations made by the authors are of some interest. It is worth considering, for example, that a tax-based system is more conducive to the establishment of general employment policies, as well as to the redistribution of income. The book is limited, however, by its narrow institutional focus and, in particular, by the exaggerated importance it attributes to financing institutions. An evaluation of financing systems is of limited usefulness if it is divorced, as it is in this book, from a discussion of broader objectives and policy directions. In general, the authors underestimate the ability of policy-makers to use different financing systems or labour market measures for a variety of purposes depending on their political objectives and the particular economic and

political context. In Canada, for example, when it has been politically desirable to do so, a contribution-based system has been used as a redistributive measure across regions. The extent of protection of benefits as a property right under such a system is similarly contingent on political priorities and certainly it is not always the case that such benefits are immune from cuts in the level as well as the extent of coverage. Active measures, such as training programs, will in themselves do little to increase employment; a tax-based system (in the form, for example, of a guaranteed annual income) can be used not necessarily to redistribute income or to increase employment, but also as a means to reduce overall funding or subsidize cheap labour. Beyond showing some of the hazards of generalizing about the consequences of financing systems on the basis of a few countries, these examples illustrate how financing systems and, indeed, labour market policies as a whole, are largely tools to aid in the implementation of broader goals. Clearly what is critical is the nature of those goals.

In general, what is lacking in the book is a discussion of how the specific economic and political development in different countries may have helped shape both financing institutions and the nature of the labour market policies implemented. There is no discussion, for example, of what the particular conditions were that led to the establishment of a contribution-based system in Germany and Austria and a tax-based system in Britain; why it is that in Austria trade unions view labour market measures as an instrument of incomes policy and do not support their expansion, whereas in Sweden they do; how in Britain the relative importance of active policies fitted with the policies of the Thatcher government. An attempt to address such issues would not only have made for less dry reading, but would have provided a better basis for explaining why particular policy combinations have developed in some countries but not others, as well as for evaluating which system

might be both feasible and desirable within particular conditions.

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Donald Tomaskovic-Devey, *Gender & Racial Inequality at Work: The Sources & Consequences of Job Segregation* (Ithaca: ILR Press 1993).

THIS BOOK ASSESSES theoretical explanations for gender and racial inequality in the labour market based on a large random sample survey of employed adults in North Carolina in 1989. The strength of the book is the author's attention to inequality as ongoing social processes, and the attempt to use survey data to assess competing interpretations of the processes at work. The weakness of the book is its very difficult prose style, making it unlikely that many beyond specialists in economics and sociology will venture too far into the text. This is a shame, because for those able to get through the material Tomaskovic-Devey does have some useful contributions to add to our understanding of the processes of gendering and racialization at work.

Throughout the study the author contrasts explanations drawn from neo-classical economics — human capital theory (the supply side model) and statistical discrimination (the demand side model) — and explanations drawn from sociological theories focusing on status-based forms of social closure. Economic models are found to have little explanatory utility, especially with regard to gender segregation. The main argument of the text is that segregation is primarily the result of ongoing practices of status closure (practices by the privileged to maintain their privileges) and status composition (processes by which jobs and organization of the labour process become gendered and/or racialized in composition).

Both gender and racial segregation are significant in the North Carolina sam-

ple. Seventy per cent of men and women work in jobs where all co-workers are the same sex. Fifty-six per cent of workers work in a racially homogenous environment. Processes of closure against women and black workers form a major source of segregation. Women are more likely to be excluded from higher skilled jobs than lower skilled ones, whereas the reverse is the case for African-Americans. Racial exclusion remains a dominant process in working-class jobs in the United States where the bulk of job competition between black and white workers occurs. Women compete with men across the class and occupational spectrum, and in recent years most intensely in middle-level professional jobs, so gendered social closure occurs throughout the job hierarchy.

Not only are women and African-American workers segregated in different types of jobs, they also experience different work environments and organizational structures as an effect of the 'status composition' of the work. In other words, work associated with women or minorities is organized differently; jobs become gendered and/or racialized. The North Carolina data shows that the nature of supervision, task complexity, existence of promotion ladders, and managerial style and responsibility varies by race and gender, with white men working in more desirable work environments. Job segregation also corresponds with monetary rewards, with significant wage gaps between women and men and white and black workers. Two processes — gender composition of jobs and closure of skilled jobs — account for the majority of the wage disparity between women and men. In addition, the racial wage gap is also affected by human capital, with black workers bringing into the workplace lower educational and skill qualifications.

In the final chapter of the book Tomaskovic-Devey uses his findings to discuss organizational policies to alleviate gender and racial inequality in the

workplace. He suggests that formalized hiring and promotion procedures, less specialized division of labour, flatter job hierarchies, and narrower wage scales can all reduce job segregation and inequality. Affirmative action programs should be expanded to lower skilled jobs, comparable worth initiatives should continue and move to lessen the skill differentials between the lower and higher paid workers, and class-based barriers to higher education must be addressed to reduce racial segregation.

This study has the merit of treating gender and race as something more than descriptive variables. Rejecting explanations based on individual attributes and choices or neutral market mechanisms, Tomaskovic-Devey seeks to understand processes grounded in the material advantages and disadvantages of workers here and now, not just as artifacts of past practices of slavery and patriarchy. He extends the insights found in the growing literature on gendering jobs to understand how jobs can also take on clear racial characteristics that then shape the very organization of work and its rewards. At the same time, Tomaskovic-Devey's research shows some clear differences between gendering and racialization at work that defy simple analogies and require further theorization.

A major limitation of the research, however, is the lack of attention to the intersections of race and gender, and not enough attention to class and contemporary economic trends. White and black workers are treated as genderless, while men and women are treated as raceless. The result is that black women become invisible. Are the processes of racial closure the same among white men and women? Are the processes of gender closure the same among white and black men? We do not know. And yet the differences identified between racial and gender segregation make these crucial questions for a fuller understanding of the processes involved. Turning to class issues, can we expect white middle-class

professionals to practice social closure when more African Americans begin to compete for these jobs? What does all this tell us about the current backlash against equity policies? Is it really likely that affirmative action and comparable worth initiatives will continue to be expanded? It would also be useful to have the author comment on the implications of some of the current economic trends for gendering and racialization at work. For example, what effect does economic restructuring and flexible specialization have on these processes of social closure and job segregation?

This book should be of interest to all those concerned with gender and racial inequality in the labour market, but I fear that the difficulty of language and writing style will dissuade many from anything other than a search for general conclusions. The book will be of greater interest to specialists in economics and sociology, the audience for whom it is written.

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Robert Mullaly, *Structural Social Work* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1993).

"STRUCTURAL SOCIAL work is much more than a technique or a practice modality. It is a way of life." Social work for Mullaly is a radical enterprise — "change from the roots up" — and he clearly intends structural social work to be in that tradition. He reminds us that social work and social welfare are not gifts from a generous state, but benefits won through struggle by the working class, women, aboriginal peoples, the poor, the aged, and other oppressed groups.

However, our current generations of citizens were not present, nor did we (most of us) participate in the key struggles ourselves. If we had, we would have used an ideology such as socialism or Marxism to focus and identify our criticisms and form our demands for radical



change. Non-radicals would have worked under the banner of social democracy or liberalism for non-fundamental changes. And there is the trouble with this book. Mullaly presents Structuralism as an ideology, but it is not like Marxism, socialism, liberalism, social democracy or conservatism, banners around which generations have fought out class struggles. Structuralism is an ideology abstracted at least one level from the daily experience of ordinary people, and probably something of an abstraction even for social workers. To add to the murk, in one place Mullaly calls Structuralism a paradigm, and claims that "to present an alternative paradigm is the ultimate revolutionary act." (28) He does admit problems with the use of the paradigm concept in a footnote, and stumbles further by mixing the two together in a singularly elliptical definition. (38) But that is not the central issue here.

Mullaly is clear about Structuralism's origins in social work professional writing, and its origins and usages in Canada. But even a brief section on Structuralism proper and its development would have helped to identify which kind of structuralism is being used here. Mullaly has ignored the very deep criticisms of Structuralism, especially the French Structuralist school built on the work of Althusser and Poulantzas. E.P. Thompson's *The Poverty of Theory* attacked the French school as a Structuralism of stasis, departing from Marx's own historical method. That is a lasting impression of Mullaly's use of it as well. Structures just are. They are something social workers work in and against. They are something within which to understand social problems, oppression, and injustice. To overcome the effects of those structures either by reforming them or destroying them requires a political project, based on a genuine ideology like socialism or Marxism, with strategy and tactics telling what steps need to be taken. The ideology also has to be a believable clarion call which will not only guide people, but motivate

them as well. The Structuralist model/paradigm/ideology presented by Mullaly seems, at bottom, to say that merely offering the structuralist analysis, showing how people and their problems are in structures, will lead to effective action. This is not a sufficient revolutionary act.

Mullaly's book has some very good features, nonetheless. Sections on conservatism, liberalism, social democracy, and Marxism each end with a table showing the relation to social work on a number of key questions which I would recommend to any student, social worker or otherwise. Inexplicably, Mullaly does not present a similar table for his own structural approach. Nor does he try it for feminism and environmentalism as burgeoning ideologies. There are good reasons not to, given the conflicts and disarray in both camps, though similar struggles exist in all the other ideologies portrayed in these tables. One great service Mullaly presents is to reveal the "ecological" model of social work practice as just another tepid liberal variant.

There are some important bones to pick with Mullaly on other fronts. Mullaly follows a peculiarly social democratic view of socialism, claiming that no "true" socialist would argue "the Russian experience contributed to an emancipation of the proletariat in the former Soviet Union." (86) Rather, the Soviet Union was an "embarrassment to democratic socialists." Perhaps I would be an "untrue" socialist to observe that the Soviet Union did make enormous gains for its own working class while it lasted, that it influenced social welfare the world over in making plain that universalism was an achievable ideal and that structures producing benefits for the working class exist in a context, with a history. Sometimes these gains are defeated, sometimes through the efforts and acquiescences of social democrats. Their part in anti-communist drives from the 1920s to the present helped create the conditions within which thousands were assassinated and

millions were abandoned to starvation and military pogroms in many countries globally. Would that be an embarrassment to democratic socialists?

Some final notes. A bibliography would have been useful and easily achievable with today's computer technology. The book is clear, easy to follow, unencumbered by excessive documentation or other clutter. It covers the ideological foundations of modern social work and social welfare better than many texts, and is clever in its presentation of them. Mulaly is honest about his approach and clear about his direction. If I used this book in a class, I would have to augment and criticize its materials in a vein similar to the comments above, but it is a good addition to our literature.

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Ken Collier, *Social Work With Rural Peoples* (Vancouver: New Star Books 1993).

SINCE 1975 A RICH, diversified, and substantial social work literature known as 'radical social work' has developed. Various referred to as critical, Marxist, political, progressive, socialist, and structural, the radical social work perspective challenges the hegemony of person-reform as well as limited social reform theories of conventional social work. Radical social workers do not blame social problems on individual deviance but believe such problems are the logical consequences of a society based on inequality. Furthermore, radical social workers do not believe that social problems can be solved by administrative or technical means. They can only be resolved by a reorganization of the society (or capitalism) that caused the problems in the first place. The ultimate goal of radical social work is the social transformation of society, which can only be facilitated by the development and use of

emancipatory forms of social work practice.

The first edition of Ken Collier's *Social Work With Rural Peoples* made a modest contribution to the radical social work literature at the time of its publication in 1984. It contained a Marxist critique (albeit rudimentary and incomplete) of social work that was not inconsistent with those made by other radical social work writers of the time. As well, it focused on an area of social work practice where a dearth of literature had existed — working with rural peoples. Although lacking in practice skills, the first edition of Collier's book was warmly received by many in the social work community for alerting social workers to the social control aspects of their practice and to the inappropriateness of transplanting urban social work to rural areas.

Given the contributions to radical and rural social work of the first edition it was with optimistic anticipation and expectations that this reviewer opened the cover of the second edition. However, major disappointment and disbelief followed when it was discovered that the second edition is almost an exact replication of the first edition. Other than a few updated footnotes, a one page postscript tacked onto the end of the book, and a couple of format changes, there is nothing new or different in the second edition. Basically it represents a second printing of the original book rather than an updated and further developed treatment of the subject matter.

Because the book's content has not been updated there is no discussion of several relatively recent events and issues that have affected society (including rural areas), social work, and radical scholarship. For example, there is no mention of our post-industrial or post-Fordist economy, free trade, neo-conservatism, the current wave of social reform, or the current challenges in radical scholarship. In large part, the book has been left behind by many major societal events of the past one and one-half decades.

What may have been contributions to the radical and rural social work literatures in 1984 (first edition) can hardly be considered contributions in 1993 (second edition). Although the book may have been recommended reading ten years ago it cannot be recommended today as it adds nothing to the contemporary social work literature. The author has ignored the considerable Canadian (and non-Canadian) radical social work literature that has appeared in the past fifteen years. This literature contains a much more comprehensive and inciteful analysis of our present liberal capitalist state and the role that conventional social work practice plays within it. This literature also details liberating practices of social work that contribute to the social transformation that Collier calls for.

The author also overlooks the substantial literature that now exists in North America which details the emancipatory forms of practice that are current in Central American countries where social workers are working with large numbers of oppressed, rural peasant populations. Missing as well is any reference to the multiculturalism and social work literature and to the anti-racist social work practice literature, both of which are relevant to working with rural populations in general and to aboriginal populations in particular. Contemporary rural social work books ought to go beyond a mere call to be culturally sensitive and to make adjustments (unspecified) to practice with rural peoples. Social critique and analyses may have been the order of the day in the 1970s and 1980s, but it is praxis that is the preoccupation of radical and rural social workers today.

Even the author's choice of a social work approach, the generalist approach, is not grounded in any particular social theory. Without such grounding the generalist approach may be used by either conventional or radical social workers, but with completely different means and ends. The author does not make the generalist approach relevant to his radical

analysis or agenda. In fact, the references to the generalist approach cited by the author have been criticized elsewhere for their status quo orientation and emphasis. One final criticism of the book is that the author uses the term 'rural peoples' to refer to aboriginals (remote communities) and farm families (agricultural societies). This restricted use of the term 'rural' excludes most of the rural population with whom social workers work in the Atlantic Provinces, that is rural fisherpeople and independent woods workers. This is a serious omission for a book on rural social work.

On a positive note the book does contain valuable information for rural social workers. Its contention that social work must break with its role of being an advanced area of capitalism, that there is often an unconscious urban bias in rural social work, that critical analysis is essential for effective rural social work, and that contradictions exist within the dominant industrial society which provide radical rural social workers with latitude in advantaging clients are all worthwhile. They would be even more worthwhile, however, if they were placed in a sound theoretical framework which was contemporary and included a political practice for radical rural social workers.

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Charles Craypo and Bruce Nissen, eds.,  
*Grand Designs: The Impact of Corporate Strategies on Workers, Unions, and Communities* (Ithaca: ILR Press 1993).

CRAYPO AND NISSEN have assembled a collection of case studies documenting the deindustrialization of the US Midwest during the 1980s. Drawn from the industries that once fuelled the Midwest economy such as meatpacking, steel, and rubber, the case studies document the effects of largely unfettered corporate power on workers and their communities.

In doing so, this volume explores how both local unions and communities have failed to halt the exodus of good jobs from America's industrial heartland.

The volume makes two important contributions. First, it focuses attention on local actors. In the current era of restructuring, plant management, local unions, and local governments play central roles. Corporate decentralization has increased plant management's power, issues such as workplace restructuring and plant closure have forced local unions to take on new responsibilities, and bidding wars among local governments have increased the importance of community activists. Yet our traditional approaches, especially in the field of industrial relations, have systematically blended out these local actors to focus instead on corporate management, federal government, and international unions. The cases included in *Grand Designs* provide excellent examples of the workplace level studies that current changes make imperative. Second, the authors provide the reader with rich, contextual descriptions of the development of the actors' strategies. Through these detailed accounts we learn the factors that both facilitate and block the formulation and implementation of effective strategies.

The case studies are especially insightful regarding the problems local unions face in effectively responding to management's agenda. In most cases, local unions were ill-equipped to deal with management's aggression given the skills and capabilities they had built up in the post-war era. During the heyday of mass production unionism and the relative acceptance by management of a union presence in the workplace, local unions learned to negotiate over wages and benefits, to handle members' grievances, and to lead strikes. In today's environment, these capabilities are less and less useful. Instead, local unions need to think strategically, to forge links with other interest groups, to find alternative means of applying leverage to recalcitrant employers,

and to educate and mobilize not only their own members, but also the larger community. It is only through case studies such as these that the grounded theory to understand what new capacities are needed and how unions can acquire them, can be developed.

The strength of this volume lies in the detail and insight offered by the case studies. The weakness of Craypo's and Nissen's work lies in the concluding chapter. My critique of that essay is twofold. First, the argument the editors' advance sits uneasily with data the editors' have failed to include in this volume. Second, given the current set of cases, a different kind of analysis would have been more appropriate.

Craypo and Nissen admit in the introductory chapter that the cases contained in the book are not representative, but rather, are illustrative of what they argue most firms are able to do in the new environment. This poses no problem if the authors merely seek to document the effects of unbridled corporate power on workers and communities, or to explore the ways in which labour and government might respond most effectively to managerial initiatives to close plants or relocate production.

However, the stated purpose of the book is to advance an explanation of union and manufacturing decline in American communities. The editors argue, based on the preceding nine case studies, that corporate hegemony is responsible for the devastation of the industrial base in the US Midwest. In short, national and global corporations control local situations, the post war accommodation of organized labour was merely a historical aberration, and unions and communities are now unable to counter the power of these entities.

Yet, in contrast to the picture painted by *Grand Designs*, the mainstream industrial relations and management literature is filled with accounts of the development of new union-management relationships built around increased information shar-

ing, a sense of a shared future, and increased input into firm decision making on the part of the local union. Such cases fly in the face of Craypo's and Nissen's argument. Instead, their work begs several important questions. Why do some firms pursue cooperation and the participation of their union in the firm's governance? Why did the firms in this volume not do so? What are the critical factors that promote one response over the other? If *Grand Designs* had included a sample of such accommodative cases as well, the editors could have added significantly to our current knowledge by identifying critical differences between the two types of cases.

My second critique of this work concerns the use the editors make of the nine case studies in their concluding chapter. Although most of the case studies in *Grand Designs* conclude with the failure of local unions and communities to alter the strategies of corporations bent on abandoning worksites in the Midwest, there are some success stories. Craypo's chapter on the meatpacking giant IBP and Nissen's piece on LaSalle Steel highlight two local unions that successfully challenged the corporate agenda. Nissen's chapters documenting the activities of the Calumet Project provide equally rich detail concerning successful campaigns by community activists. The case studies provide rich data for learning what makes some local unions and community activists more successful than others. The editors, however, virtually ignore this opportunity.

For example, the IBP and LaSalle Steel cases highlight the importance of a united, mobilized community of workers and the devastation that can occur when workers are divided along racial lines (as at Wisconsin Steel) or by factional differences (as at Torrington's South Bend plant). Further, proactive locals led by individuals that are not only well trained but that are also well connected to other groups are able to actively engage management. In contrast, largely reactive lo-

cals are doomed to failure as the decertification of the local union at Clinton Corn Products shows us.

The lessons that can be drawn from this set of case studies are invaluable for labour and community activists. Attention needs to be directed to developing the internal capabilities of these organizations through membership and leadership training, and by continuous organizing. It is only once these internal capabilities are developed that local unions and community groups will be able to pursue the externally directed strategies Craypo and Nissen do advocate in their final chapter.

Despite these criticisms, *Grand Designs* is a valuable contribution to the literature and Craypo and Nissen are to be commended for bringing together this excellent set of case studies. Union and community activists, as well as academics, should make this book a priority.

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Greg J. Bamber and Russell D. Lansbury, ed., *International and Comparative Industrial Relations: A Study of Industrialised Market Economies* (London: Routledge 1993).

FOR A BOOK DEALING with industrial relations, this one takes a refreshingly broad view of its subject. Each chapter deals with a separate country, but there is a common structure encompassing economic and social influences on industrial relations, some historical background, and (less often) an attempt to assess the relative power of capital and labour.

In addition to the country chapters, the editors have provided an introduction which outlines various theoretical approaches as well as the major debate in the international and comparative industrial relations field: convergence versus divergence. A new concluding chapter by Oliver Clarke attempts to synthesize the material given in the chapters on particu-

lar countries. Finally, a lengthy appendix provides statistical material.

There are two problems for all books of this type: the selection of countries and the passage of time. The first is necessarily somewhat arbitrary, the second inevitable (hence this new edition). Limitations of space oversimplify the details of specific countries. The chapters are discrete accounts with little cross referencing. From this arises the lack of much that is genuinely comparative in the text itself. This volume has at least attempted to remedy the latter problem with the inclusion of Oliver Clarke's chapter.

The appendix alone justifies the purchase price of the book. Hard work has gone in to dealing with the bane of international comparisons: finding statistics that are genuinely comparable. Where such figures have not been available, explanations are given (for example, in 1980 the US increased the minimum threshold for inclusion in its strike statistics to at least a full shift, and from five workers to 1,000). At times the appendix supplements the country chapters, none of which give more than a passing mention to immigration or women in the workforce, for instance.

The sections on specific countries do give much useful information. Hoyt Wheeler's chapter on the US, with a more comprehensive (three pages) historical coverage than most of the others, provides a helpful antidote to the idea of the US as an archetypal anti-union society. It is a pity there is not a little more of this in the Japan chapter (for example, the massive upsurge of industrial and political struggle in the late 1940s), in order to counteract similar stereotypes about Japan.

Nor surprisingly, the sins of such books are almost always those of omission. Bamber's and Lansbury's collection is frustratingly short on explanation. For example, the chapter on Britain (which is not atypical) documents a series of shifts in industrial relations: the increase in strike proneness in the mid-sixties (espe-

cially unofficial strikes), the rise and fall of shop steward power in the last three decades, the two-yearly legislative attacks on trade unionism by the British Tories through the 1980s and their inability to continue the same process into the 1990s. The question of why these changes occurred is unaddressed.

On other occasions the writers lay out the facts side by side, again without an attempt to explain. For anyone interested in the fate of trade unionism, the following is a tantalising example of the method: "The level of union membership and strikes declines sharply [in Britain]. Interestingly, however, there was a parallel decline in unionisation and strikes in Australia, even though for most of the 1980s it had an apparently 'pro-union' government." (51) This would not matter so much if such omissions in the country chapters were dealt with in the final, synthesizing chapter. Unfortunately, this is one of the weakest chapters in the book.

Clarke does draw out a series of common features across the nine countries that are discussed: the shift from manufacturing to services, the increasing numbers of women in the workforce, declining union density and strike levels (except in Sweden), the growth of white collar and public sector unionism during the 1960s and 1970s, and falling real wages. But many of the "explanations" of these features just cram the facts into the writer's preconceptions.

To continue with the UK/Australia union membership conundrum outlined above, Clarke explains what he calls "the particularly substantial drop in membership density in the UK" (250) by militancy in the late 1970s harming the public image of unions and therefore curbing workers' propensity to join. Actually the appendix shows that union membership in Britain continued to grow till the early 1980s, and that membership decline in Australia (which he regards as an example of union success) was almost identical to that in Britain. Far from illuminating the empirical detail given in the chapter

on Britain, Clarke contradicts it ("However, opinion polls show that the popularity of [British] unions increased in the 1980s, even though their membership decreased.") (52)

Too many of Clarke's conclusions take dubious or limited evidence at face value. The "satisfying" jobs created at Volvo, Saab-Scania, Olivetti, and ICI were, in reality, limited in application to only a few plants. Some doubt must also be cast on the assertion that workers in the 1980s and early 1990s "welcomed the feeling of being at the front line of technological advance" (272) — even as they lost their jobs.

The weaknesses of the concluding chapter are exacerbated by the lack of a clearly-stated theoretical perspective on the part of the individual chapter authors. While the editors inform us that "the contributors to the current book have been most influenced by pluralist approaches," (25) this is too vague to assist in the

reader's interpretation of the material that each writer has chosen to convey.

Nonetheless, as the editors themselves point out, the first edition of this book was one of the world's two most widely prescribed texts in this field. While market demand bears no necessary relation to actual need, in this case it does seem to indicate the requirement for a single volume, dealing with a variety of countries at a level that assumes no prior knowledge of their industrial relations systems. Bamber's and Lansbury's collection fulfills this requirement.

The non-academic analogy that springs to mind is the market for travel books of the *Europe on \$50 a day* genre — no-one expects to gain a detailed knowledge from them, but they do provide a useful introduction, and in the end the traveller must draw their own conclusions.

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