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# REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Stephen L. Endicott, *Bienfait: The Saskatchewan Miners' Struggle of '31* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2002)

CANADA WAS HIT HARDER by the Depression than most industrialized capitalist countries as international prices for agricultural and resource production collapsed. The unemployment rate averaged about 30 per cent in 1933, which was the trough of the depression. The high unemployment destroyed the bargaining power of the entire working class and many sectors suffered repeated wage cuts, deteriorating working conditions, and consistent insecurity.

Most workers entered the cauldron of the Depression virtually defenceless. There was almost no safety net provided by the state. Except for a few pockets, trade unions hardly extended beyond the skilled crafts and not in nearly all of them. And as a percentage of the work force, unions had been in decline since the mid-1920s as the unorganized mass production industries expanded.

By 1930, the One Big Union (OBU), which began with such promise in 1919, was virtually extinct. There were three trade union federations: the international craft unions of the Trades and Labour Congress (TLC), the exclusively national unions of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour (ACCL), and the so-called "confessional" unions of the Canadian Catholic Congress of Labour (CCCL). None of these federations had a strategy for deal-

ing with the Depression. They lost members to the ranks of the unemployed and could hardly hold themselves together, let alone mount an effective resistance or attempt much new organizing.

There would be considerable resistance and even some new trade union organizing between 1930 and 1935. Much of it would be led by the Workers' Unity League (WUL), which was founded in 1930 under Communist auspices as an outgrowth of the "class against class" international strategy adopted by the Comintern. The WUL was intended as a revolutionary alternative to the conventional trade union federation and was affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU). It was organized along industrial lines and differed from conventional federations in that unemployed associations, women's associations, and other organizations not meeting the strict definition of trade unions could affiliate. The emphasis was on the unity of all workers within and outside of unions and especially on the common interests of the employed and unemployed.

The WUL led the most effective agitation and organization among the unemployed. Among the employed workers they concentrated on mining, forestry, fishing, and related resource industries, although they were also present in longshoring, processing, and manufacturing in a more modest way. The WUL led most strikes in the resource industries and it has been estimated that they were involved in almost three-quarters of the strikes in Canada between 1930 and 1935. Many were "desperation" strikes, involv-

ing attempts to resist wage cuts and/or achieve union recognition. They were invariably met with vicious repression in the form of co-ordinated attacks by employers, police, government officials, the media, occasionally vigilantes, and often the judiciary.

One such strike among coal miners occurred in and around Bienfait, Saskatchewan in autumn 1931. It was led by the Mine Workers' Union of Canada (MWUC), which was affiliated to the WUL. The most dramatic and tragic event of the Bienfait strike was the shooting and killing of Julian Gryshko, Peter Markunas, and Nick Nargan by the RCMP when they attacked a miners' parade in the streets of Estevan on 29 September 1931. This was the single greatest loss of life of any of the hundreds of similar confrontations of the 1930s. It quickly became known throughout Canada and influenced the consciousness of thousands of workers and political activists. It created the erroneous impression, repeated in many subsequent references to these events, that the miners' strike took place in Estevan, the only sizeable town in the district. The only major events occurring in Estevan were the fateful parade and some of the trials and hearings following the strike.

Endicott clears up the geographic misconception and many others in *Bienfait*. This work is very thoroughly researched and appears to have exhausted the relevant archival and other documentary sources as well as the secondary literature. Endicott also spent considerable time over several years interviewing people in Bienfait and the surrounding district. Some had been activists in the strike itself and others clearly remembered the events of 1931. Some were descendants of strike supporters or people on the other side of the struggle.

The result of Endicott's labour is a magnificent work, not only on the strike and its aftermath but also on the social history of the district. It was an ethnically and religiously mixed community consisting mainly of immigrants from Brit-

ain, Scandinavia, and central and eastern Europe. About 30 per cent were from eastern Europe with the majority of these being Ukrainians, who were in turn divided into religious nationalists and secular leftists. Many of these cultural differences influenced events surrounding the conflict of 1931. Endicott is particularly creative in delving into personal and family histories to provide insights into the cultural and social milieu of the district.

Coal mining had begun in the 1890s with numerous small mines to serve a local market. By shortly after the turn of the century there were a few much larger commercial mines selling into the national and international markets as far away as Chicago. Hundreds would be employed during the winter months with seasonal layoffs in the summer when many found casual work on farms.

Class conflict inevitably developed and the miners began looking for unions to represent them. In 1907 they appealed for help to the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), which tried to organize and represent them for a few years but failed. The OBU tried in 1920 but fell victim to vigilante terror and police intimidation. Without union representation the abuses common to mining towns in that era became particularly oppressive in Bienfait. By 1931 the situation was ripe for another serious effort at unionization. Wages had been cut, working conditions deteriorated, and the drought had eliminated most of the summer employment on the farms. That summer 125 of 532 Bienfait residents were on village relief.

In August the miners appealed to the TLC in Regina to help them organize a union, but their request was ignored. The MWUC was approached and it responded with alacrity. Some of the top organizers were sent to Bienfait, including Joe Forkin from the Regina office, Sam Scarlett from Saskatoon, and President James Sloan from Calgary. Within a short period the union claimed to have signed up 100 per cent of the approximately 600 miners, and MWUC Local 27 was born.

**They were careful to build a community base, and they also chose a local leadership of men who were mainly of British extraction to fend off charges, made invariably when there was labour unrest in that era, that the trouble stemmed from "foreigners" and "un-patriotic" or "anti-British" elements. The union leaders also cautioned the miners to avoid violence at all costs if they were to maintain public support.**

The main operators refused to recognize or negotiate with the union, leaving the miners no choice but to strike. The strike began on 8 September and was total except in a new strip mine that was not organized. It was a non-violent strike despite predictions from the corporations that there would be violence, along with their provocations to make their predictions self-fulfilling prophecy. Even before the strike began, they demanded police reinforcements and the arrest of the outside union leaders.

Endicott's analysis of the police response to the pressures brought to bear upon them provides a masterful illumination of the class and political dynamics of the situation. The local Estevan district RCMP detachment was well informed about the grievances of the miners and the positions and motives of the operators and tried to keep the regional headquarters in Regina accurately informed about the situation. They attempted to play a neutral role and to protect life and property without being used as strike breakers. Regina RCMP headquarters at first appeared at least somewhat supportive to this strategy but were soon thereafter overruled by the provincial and federal governments and the national RCMP leadership. Sergeant William Mulhall, of the Estevan detachment, reported that C.C. Morfit, director at the Taylorton mine and leader of the Coal Operators' Association (COA), was attempting to provoke a strike for economic reasons of his own and that the miners were being forced to strike when Morfit and others refused to negotiate. Morfit declared that he would not negotiate with the MWUC because it was affili-

ated to Moscow through the RILU. Mulhall, however, knew that Morfit, an American, was a principal in a firm of New York consulting engineers that had contracts to operate several mines in the Soviet Union.

RCMP officers sent from Regina at the request of the COA to investigate alleged threats of violence agreed with Mulhall that the miners had justifiable grievances and that the stance of the operators was the main problem. It was also reported that the miners had the solid support of the local community in and around Bienfait. This prompted the provincial Attorney General at first to caution restraint.

The restraint by the RCMP was soon abandoned. The élite within the liberal business and professional class in Estevan, many of whom owned mining shares, mounted a tremendous propaganda campaign against the miners who were denounced as "reds" and "foreigners." This campaign included public criticism of the RCMP as a "rabbit force" and a "disgrace." The campaign demanded that Sergeant Mulhall be replaced as commander of the Estevan detachment. The Regina headquarters at first resisted, but General J.H. MacBrien, national RCMP Commissioner, overruled them and Mulhall was replaced. More reinforcements were sent into the district and the provincial authorities dropped all pretence of neutrality and joined the campaign against the strike. The anti-strike propaganda campaign was made easier by MWUC President James Sloan's insistence on union recognition as the main priority when more emphasis on specific demands and grievances would probably have been a wiser strategy. Sloan was severely criticized for this by WUL National Secretary Tom Ewen after the strike.

The miners' parade to Estevan on 29 September was part of a strategy to rally public support for the cause. The parade was broken up by the RCMP, who killed the three miners and wounded many more despite the fact that it was a peaceful demonstration that included many women and

children. This outrage was followed by a virtual reign of terror designed to break the strike and destroy the union. Ninety fully-armed RCMP descended on Bienfait and terrorized the village for two weeks with constant day and night patrols. "All day long, posses went on the rampage, searching homes in the village and in the mining camps looking for wounded miners, making further arrests, and generally spreading an atmosphere of terror." (96)

The RCMP proceeded to arrest the outside MWUC organizers and many of the local leaders and activists. They were charged with a variety of offences, with the most common being "incitement to riot." Some of the trials stretched into 1933. The Canadian Labour Defence League directed the defence in what were the most important political trials in Saskatchewan in the 20th century. The majority of those charged were convicted but the trials were a mockery of justice, which included jury-tampering, perjury, and biased judges. Annie Buller, who was in Bienfait and not Estevan at the time of the "riot," was tried and convicted though it took two trials and even though W.J. Perkins (the Attorney-General's agent) considered there to be insufficient evidence. General MacBrien insisted Buller be included because she was an important Communist on the national level, and the main Communist Party leadership had already been imprisoned under Section 98.

Some not convicted were blacklisted from the mines and some of these were deported when they had to go on relief, including an important local leader, Martin Day. Many were not employed again until the labour shortage during World War II.

The MWUC did not achieve recognition, though the miners did achieve an agreement of sorts. The MWUC maintained a shadowy existence and their activists helped organize a local of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in 1938. They would not achieve contracts until after the new CCF government, elected in 1944, forced the operators to recognize and deal with the union.

Today the underground mines are no more but several hundred strip miners are represented by the UMWA. Among other things they negotiated May Day as a paid holiday in the union contract — a rarity in North America. Many in Bienfait call it "Gemby Day" after Peter Gemby, a local strike leader blacklisted for ten years after 1931. He would later serve the community in many capacities including several years on the village council.

The local union has begun to look back on the activists of 1931 as pioneers of the labour movement. This has become more than purely a local memory. Endicott erected a plaque that has a moving description of a ceremony in Estevan that took place at the gravesite of the three martyrs in the Bienfait cemetery in 1997. It was sponsored by the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour and the Estevan Labour Committee and was addressed by local, provincial, and federal labour leaders and politicians. Also participating were Amelia Billis Budris, widow of Peter Markunas, who unveiled a plaque at the gravesite, and Peter Gemby, then 94, who addressed the crowd in Estevan with an optimism that would put cynics to shame. "In the long run, history is on the side of the people. I hope the young people here will feel encouraged by what can be achieved when the union makes you strong." (138)

Endicott's labours have been instrumental in encouraging local people to reclaim their own history. When he first began interviewing people, many were reluctant to talk. Decades of anti-communism and a conservative political culture in the outside society made them embarrassed about the events of 1931. Eventually they did begin to talk and became enthusiastic about redressing the conservative interpretation of their history. The launching of *Bienfait* in the fall of 2002 in Estevan and Bienfait drew large enthusiastic crowds.

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**Greg McElligott, *Beyond Service: State Workers, Public Policy and the Prospects for Democratic Administration* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2001)**

AT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT's annual Canadian Centre for Management Development (CCMD) University Seminar a couple of years ago, there was an interesting debate as to whether or not the field of public administration should become more independent from political science. The majority of the participants favoured keeping public administration as a sub-field of political science for a number of reasons. One of the reasons had to do with the perception that public administration was still theoretically "underdeveloped" in relationship to the other sub-fields of political science. Such perceived theoretical underdevelopment stems from the managerial top-down focus of much of the public administration literature, which tends to reduce governance issues to financial models and productivity issues. An alternative, critical/radical literature has begun to develop however by drawing upon critical social and policy theory in order to challenge mainstream public administration theory. *Beyond Service* is a good example of the alternative, radical public administration literature. The author, Greg McElligott, views public administration as not merely an instrument for executing public policy but also as a major determinant of how civil service workers see the world — particularly the political world — and their own place in it. McElligott argues that political consciousness is a necessary tool for state workers because they "both form a missing link in Left strategy, and because the discourse of victimization leads nowhere." (3) The key to this new public administration labour perspective is the concept of social equity. Social equity means invoking a sense of fairness and justice in creating greater benefits for society's most disadvantaged, while at the same time emphasizing civic responsiveness and involvement. By adding social

equity to the traditional public administration concerns for efficiency and economy, the result would be the recognition of the different needs and interests of different people and would therefore result in different treatment.

Since social equity is not foremost in the minds of the neo-conservatives who have formulated the new public administration agenda of public sector restructuring at the expense of front-line workers and the public, McElligott rejects "the legitimacy of hierarchical control and the imperative of obedience." (4) After dispensing with some of the most basic tenets of public administration that rely on a managerial perspective, he argues that "current democratic reforms are so flawed, and attacks on essential services so threatening, that many front-line workers now have a moral justification for resistance and sabotage." It is this moral call to front-line workers (a high proportion of whom are women) who have been silenced not only by the neo-conservatives but also ironically by left-wing theorists, which drives the text's main themes of worker empowerment, cultural organizational resistance, and the development of a new Left agenda based on state worker, "informal" policy making.

The text is divided into three parts, which are in turn made up of eight chapters. The purpose of each of the three parts is outlined on page five and six of the ten-page introduction. Part One, "Appearing to Be in Control" is essentially made up of a "critical cull" of the relevant literature. I use the term "critical cull" because McElligott goes beyond a public administration and public policy literature review in order to integrate different lines of investigation and theories, which may not have been previously connected. The interdisciplinary focus on such areas as political economy, industrial relations, Neo-Marxist theories of the state, organizational theory, and numerous management studies allows the author to clearly identify problems in existing theory as

well as exposing contradictions or holes in existing views.

After clearly establishing a theoretical framework for how front-line workers can influence public policy through a strategy of resistance to neo-conservative management theory, McElligott develops a case-study approach in the second part of the text. In Part Two, "Border Disputes," employer-employee workplace struggles in the former federal department of Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC) are explored in the context of contentious labour-market policy issues. McElligott is careful to point out two limitations to the EIC case study. The immigration component of EIC has been left out of the study because of the small part it played on labour market policy during the period in question and the study also contains an "Ontario-centric" perspective due to patterns of militancy as well as researcher- resource constraints. Despite these acknowledged limitations, the author is quite convincing in revealing how EIC's unified labour-market policies and programs were created to reflect post-Keynesian neo-conservative thinking, government-business relationships, and political/social administrative neglect. It was such political neglect, however, that gave rise to increased front-line worker militancy through the Canada Employment and Immigration Union (CEIU) in the early 1980s. Since CEIU was not at the bargaining table with the federal government because of the role of the parent union, the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), other alternatives had to be found in order to express front-line worker resistance to EIC dictums.

The other alternatives began to crystallize through a CEIU-inspired campaign to shape front-line worker consciousness in favour of a progressive client-centered service approach. The CEIU campaign seemed to have great success among employment counselors and Unemployment Insurance agents who were deeply concerned about a department restructuring that was designed to force clients onto the

labour market as quickly as possible without the benefit of proper counseling. As management pressured workers to deal with larger caseloads as part of a numbers game, CEIU activists were able to develop relationships with such groups as the Toronto Union of Unemployed Workers (TUUW) in order to raise front-line worker consciousness and develop mutual aid strategies against state neo-conservative thinking. One example of mutual aid occurred when the CEIU provided an important brief to the Forget Commission using information, which was obtained from the TUUW and local unemployment help centers. McElligott is able to provide a number of such useful examples as he assesses the impact of front-line worker militancy.

In Part Three, "Self-Management and Citizenship," the case for a new public service paradigm based on state workplace democracy, public service councils, and the democratic transformation of the state is presented. McElligott's concept of public service councils is quite interesting. He proposes councils made up of state and community-based personnel who would interact with current and potential clients, for the purposes of sharing information as well as uncovering problems in public service coverage and delivery. Councils would also be responsible for collectively developing policy and exploring longer term goals. Public service councils would in fact become part of a larger, locally driven "umbrella structure" in concert with different levels of government, the private sector, and the third sector. McElligott freely admits that while a significant number of municipal bodies may already function to carry out some of the above-mentioned activities, popular movements could strengthen public service council bridging structures and perhaps even supplant municipal bodies if they prove to be more effective.

With respect to the "state workplace democracy" and "democratic transformation of the state" components of the new public service paradigm, the key variable

would be the abolition of organizational hierarchy. If there is one area where mainstream theory and the practice of public administration come together, it is in general agreement that 'who says organization, says oligarchy.' In his conclusion, "Bringing State Workers In," McElligott points the way towards future research projects, which could encapsulate an alternative theory of management based upon a hierarchy-free environment. Such future research projects would involve developing new interdisciplinary social and political theory by continuing to critically examine mainstream public administration theory and practice. Greg McElligott's text represents a positive step in this direction.

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Ann Eyerman, *Women on the Job: Transitions in a Global Economy* (Toronto: Sumach Press 2000)

*WOMEN ON THE JOB* is a refreshing, clear, and surprisingly informative account of current trends in the world of work. Importantly, this book reaches beyond an academic audience, and speaks to the thousands of women who work as secretaries, receptionists, clerks, and call-waiting attendants, in addition to a host of office employees. Striking a satisfying balance between the somewhat esoteric restructuring research literature on the one hand, and personal testimony on the other, *Women in the Office* offers an accessible and engaging discussion of current trends in the world of paid work. In the context of a now rather extensive scholarly literature on restructuring, this study represents one of the few accounts in which workers themselves have a voice; indeed, in Eyerman's book, the workers are situated front and centre, positioned within, but not eclipsed by the larger structural imperatives of the "post-Fordist" regime.

*Women in the Office* is premised on two central ideas. One, the world of work has been undergoing fundamental changes, and these changes are to the detriment of most workers. Two, paid employment remains very important to people, not only as a source of income but also as a means by which to find personal fulfilment and meaning in life. The current reorganization of work thereby has a bearing on an individual's entire being, in and outside of the actual "work site." Eyerman effectively weaves these central themes in and out of the stories of twelve women office workers. These stories are presented with care. We do not get the sense that the author merely draws on quotations from the women in order to substantiate claims made by academic writers. Rather, the impression is that the women themselves have shaped Eyerman's analysis; indeed, their testimonies are central to the book. They give it a human, personal dimension, without allowing us to lose sight of the economic and political forces that shape individual experience.

It is significant that this book emerges from Eyerman's own experiences as an office worker, the frustration of working in offices, and never feeling that she really had a voice, as well as her subsequent involvement with *Times Change Women's Employment Service*, a female-run organization that helps women to find secure and satisfying work. In fact, it is through her involvement in *Times Change*, that Eyerman first met the women whose words fill the pages of the book. The analysis, as a result, is not a detached one.

What does the new world of work look like? Eyerman highlights various changes that began to take place in the 1980s and 1990s and continue to this day. These changes are part of what may be termed a "new transnational corporate hegemony." (17) They revolve around the transition to a post-industrial "information society," with the implementation of sophisticated computer technology and



the application of various managerial strategies that promote "flexibility" both of the workplace and the workforce. For office employees, the majority of whom are women, these trends have resulted in heightened job insecurity, an increase in non-standard (part-time, temporary) work, the demise of the reciprocal employment contract (that is, loyalty and commitment in exchange for opportunity and security), an intensification of work, increased (often electronic) surveillance, and an overall loss of trust and friendliness between workers and their bosses.

The women's stories highlight the impact of these larger changes on individual workers. Their testimonies describe both the minor and dramatic changes that have been reshaping office work across the country (for example, the introduction of computer programmes, the contracting out of jobs, and the large-scale introduction of teleworking). The reader will be familiar with most of these changes, perhaps from a distance. After all, they have been the subject of much public commentary. The contribution of *Women in the Office* is in relating the ways in which these workplace developments have impacted on individual work histories and personal lives. The women, for example, speak about the consequences of ever-changing computer technology. In so far as the technology is always developing, the office worker must constantly upgrade, typically at her own expense and on her own time. While this is not an officially-stated requirement of the job, it is an unofficial expectation. The women speak of a new expectation that they will generally go above and beyond, go the extra mile, and put in more overtime. And this is not done in an effort to improve one's chances for promotion. Rather, it is done in an effort to simply hold on to a job. Similarly, the scope of many office jobs has been extended to incorporate such functions as selling and customer service, without a corresponding increase in pay or greater recognition. Moreover, on the whole, flexible new workplaces

have resulted in an intensification of work, with the consequent loss of "down-time." And importantly, Eyerman highlights the consequences of restructuring for women's sense of identity in the workplace, for their values and social relationships. The elimination of the full-time, full-year worker, for instance, has meant the loss of valued friendships with co-workers, changes in workplace culture, the demise of informally-transmitted job-related knowledge, as well as the loss of the collective memory of an organization.

It is no surprise that these developments have had serious implications for workers' health and well-being. Not only have the new computer technology and the refashioned workplace resulted in various physical injuries and ailments such as repetitive strain, chronic neck and back pain, headaches, and eye strain, but they have furthermore contributed to rising levels of stress, tension, and anxiety. The emotional costs of job insecurity and precarious employment arrangements are many and should not be minimized in importance. The consequent deterioration in self-confidence and loss of self-respect are part of the invisible cost of this new era of work.

*Women in the Office* does not break theoretical ground. Nor does it offer any empirical data that have not been documented elsewhere. However, Eyerman does not profess to advance our analytical understanding of workplace change. Rather, she attempts to pull together, describe, and help us to recognize the issues that are important to women who work in offices in Canada. She does this effectively. The women's testimonies echo the themes that we read about in the restructuring literature, but when they are voiced by women office workers themselves, they have a clearer resonance. Eyerman's book will serve as a useful tool in the undergraduate classroom, the union, and the office, and will serve as an important resource for efforts to promote progressive

change and thereby improve the working lives of office workers.

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Joan Brockman, *Gender in the Legal Profession: Fitting or Breaking the Mould* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2001)

DESPITE THE FACT that some women enter the legal profession in order to enhance their power in society, problems that arise in the labour force generally, such as discrimination and sexual harassment, also manifest themselves within the practice of law. Studies reveal that women lawyers earn less than male lawyers and are less likely to become partners in law firms. Many of these problems reflect a deeply gendered notion of "the lawyer" and a workplace structured on an assumption that lawyers are not encumbered by obligations such as childcare. Joan Brockman's important new book explores these questions, placing them in the context of conditions of work such as the expanding work week.

The book is based on an empirical study of 100 British Columbia lawyers called to the bar between 1986 and 1990, and who were still practising when the random sample was drawn. Brockman uses extensive quotations from interviews with these lawyers to convey their views and experiences, making the book a fascinating, accessible read. The chapters are focused on different themes that were drawn out in the interviews: why people went into law and what they like and dislike about it, work histories, discrimination and sexual harassment, views on the adversarial system, and difficulties of balancing work and family responsibilities. Throughout the book, which reports extensive data from this study and others that I cannot begin to relate in this review, Brockman highlights differences between women and men when they arose,

notably in relation to career advancement, discrimination and harassment, and work and family conflict. Her overall theme is that despite the elimination of the exclusionary techniques used historically to keep women and racialized groups out of the legal profession (Chapter 1), their full participation in the profession remains inhibited. Women may be entering law school in the same, or greater, numbers than men, but they are not yet fully participating citizens in the profession.

Of interest to me as a law professor, who often fields inquiries from (especially female) students with a social conscience wanting to know how they can find a meaningful job in law, was the number of lawyers who were dissatisfied with the practice of law. Brockman found that only 50 per cent of the women and 62 per cent of the men were satisfied with the practice of law overall; and only 60 per cent of the women and 70 per cent of the men said that they would go to law school if they could "do it over again." (26) Put together with the fact that 31.4 per cent of the women and 25.6 per cent of the men who were called to the bar at the same time as the lawyers interviewed by Brockman had already left the practice of law, there clearly are some problems with the legal profession and the statistics indicate that these problems have a gendered impact.

Brockman found that although women and men go to law school for relatively similar reasons, their experiences once in practice are less similar. For instance, only 54 per cent of the women, compared with 76 per cent of the men, had practised law continuously since their call to the bar. The women were more likely than the men to give as a reason for leaving a position the existence of discrimination or that they were looking for less stress (more balance) in their lives. When asked whether they thought there was bias or discrimination against women that restricted their career advancement, 88 per cent of the women and 66 per cent of the

men responded "Yes." A rather shocking 36 per cent of the women in the study had been sexually harassed since entering the profession by other lawyers, judges, or clients. In terms of income, although women may earn slightly more than men by the third year of their call, their incomes did not rise appreciably after that time. In contrast, the incomes of male lawyers increased sharply as they became more experienced. As Brockman states: "It may be that, in the legal profession at least, women not only run into a glass ceiling, but in fact they start out very close to it." (60) In terms of achieving positions of power with law firms, the picture is grim: "Women do not become partners at the same rate as men, women are more likely to remove themselves or be removed from partnership track than men, and women appear to have to perform better than men to achieve partnership. In some cases, no matter what women do, they are not considered partnership material." (65) If women copied male super-achievers and put in long hours, they sometimes succeeded. But if they had family obligations or sought to bring different values into the workplace, success was less possible despite the lip service that is now being paid to gender equality. Although Brockman's study and book focus mainly on gender, her data also reveals problems related to race, sexual orientation, age, family status, and disability.

The last chapter deals with strategies for change. Brockman points to the possibility that ultimately, solutions to ongoing discrimination may lie outside the legal profession as much as or more than within it. As Chapter 6 illustrates, the greatest barrier to equality in the paid workforce may actually derive from the disproportionate responsibility that women still carry for child care and household work. The location of the legal profession within a largely corporate market with clients who demand 7-days-a-week, 24-hours-a-day, means that anyone who attempts to achieve a healthy work/life balance or has childcare

or other caring responsibilities will inevitably encounter difficulties. Brockman found that in her random sample of young lawyers, only 26 per cent of the women had children, whereas 50 per cent of the men did. As well, most women with children had them before their call to the bar.

Women, more than men, perceived the practice of law as being an impediment to having children. Some of the men wanted to be more involved with their children and Brockman raises the possibility that this sentiment might motivate the men to support workplace changes. Discouragingly, upon a closer look, it appeared that the men hoped to reduce their typically overtime work weeks (one man worked 95-100 hours-per-week and wished to reduce that number to 50 hours-per-week) to something closer to the normative work week. They would still rely on their female spouses to do more than their share of child care and household work. Several men actually increased their workload when children were born so that their spouses could either reduce or eliminate their time in the paid workforce. Thus the traditional sexual division of labour was reinforced rather than challenged.

This book will be of interest to lawyers, sociologists, and legal academics who are studying the shifting demographics of the legal profession, researchers who are interested in the ways that gender plays out in various fields of work, and anyone who is contemplating a legal career. A key insight is that law remains a workaholic profession, with the women in Brockman's study working a median of 47 hours-per-week and the men a median of 50 hours-per-week. Law firms are basically businesses and operate to a corporate bottom line, which makes it difficult to envision changes (such as part-time work or job-sharing) that would better enable full participation by those who have responsibilities outside their professional lives. Changing this work environment may require changes to the socio-economic structures within which the legal

profession operates, including the overall sexual division of labour. As Brockman concludes: "The old mould of the legal profession will only be altered when the old mould of the family is altered, so that not only do women 'fit the mould' at work, but men 'fit the mould' at home." (215) Meanwhile, women in the legal profession will no doubt continue to press for more short-term changes that might ameliorate their conditions of work and enable them to be full citizens in the legal profession. Brockman's outstanding book provides much food for thought about systemic problems that persist within a profession that is supposed to stand for justice in our society, and both short-term and long-term strategies to deal with them.

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Radha Jhappan, ed., *Women's Legal Strategies in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2002)

WHEN PIERRE TRUDEAU repatriated Canada's constitution in 1982 and included a Charter of Rights and Freedoms, politicians, political activists, and academics all debated the potential legal and political consequences of entrenching liberal rights into Canada's legal system. A quarter-of-a-century later, it is unclear whether the egalitarian provisions of the Charter (Section 15 and 28) have had a cumulatively positive or negative impact on strengthening the status of minorities. In this context, Radha Jhappan, a professor of Political Science at Carleton University, has assembled a collection of essays that examine the successes and failures of Canadian feminist legal strategies since the inception of the Charter. The women-centred volume is divided into four sections, focusing on issues of equality, race, citizenship, family, and reproduction. The overall tone of the work is one that reflects "on the questions of

whether women should persevere with legal projects despite their dangers, whether women's litigation strategies have been successful or unsuccessful and from whose point of view, and whether and how the strategies pursued to date might be improved, the better to represent the complexity of different women's situations and interests." (28)

The various essays reveal that the processes by which feminists seek legal reform, and the legal system itself are fraught with difficulties that often undermine the egalitarian aims of legal advocates. For those who ponder the social utility of rights, this collection is engrossing. The authors write as feminists who are bluntly honest about the hazards of their practice and passion. The value of this book lies in their capacity to dissect not only judicial responses but also, more importantly, the role that activists' strategies played in both poor and laudatory legal outcomes. It is this unrelenting focus on and critique of feminist legal strategy that gives the volume cohesion and energy.

Two leading essays by Jhappan and Sheila McIntyre form the introduction. They provide the contextual and analytical backbone for the rest of the chapters. Jhappan's and McIntyre's discussions reveal an intimate knowledge of the Canadian feminist legal movement during the last two-and-a-half decades — Jhappan's is more academic, while McIntyre's has a basis in legal activism, as she was a long-time member of LEAF (Women's Legal Education and Action Fund). Their pieces lay out the details of the various social movements and organizations as well as the legal cases that form the substance of feminist jurisprudence over the past 25 years. As with many of the essays in the book, they reveal the weaknesses of much feminist theorizing and legal advocacy about equality that has gone on in Canada since the inception of the Charter. The most glaring of these has been essentialism, in which a white middle-class woman came to represent the cate-

gory of "woman" for all Canadian women, thereby obscuring women of different ethnic, racial, and class backgrounds. Consequently, this essentialist error has created forms of advocacy that reinforce legal and political systems that insist on splintering the disadvantages and identities of race and gender when dealing with women of aboriginal or ethnic backgrounds. Despite these pitfalls, both authors argue that women should continue to seek social and political redress through legal channels. McIntyre encourages broadening the processes of consultation that lead to feminist litigations by seeking advice from national public interest groups that are accountable to their constituents and are representative of the diverse demographics of Canadian society. In referring to the difficulties inherent in this type of social activism, she states "it is not *whether* to use the law for social change, but *how* to do so accountably." (74) Jhappan, in a later chapter entitled "The Equality Pit," also contends that women would be wise to broaden the normative basis of their legal petitions and to replace a highly disputed and often narrowly defined claim of equality with a more universalized rhetoric of "justice."

In another chapter, Diane Majury addresses specific debates about equality in the Canadian context. She even questions the privileging of gender equality in Section 28 of the Charter, arguing that its presence is a reflection of the relative political power of feminist activists in comparison to other minority representatives during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The critical debate in equality legislation asks whether law demands similar treatment, or whether it recognizes substantive differences between people and the need to remedy socially constructed inequalities. In 1989, the Supreme Court ruled in a pivotal case that the legal doctrine of equality required that the social context of disadvantage be taken into account. The formal theory of equality thus became muddled and destabilized by an increasing focus on

the source and manifestation of social inequities. Majury reasons that this has only partially transformed the judiciary's responses to discrimination. Decisions increasingly indicate a divergence between dissenting and majority decisions, between contextual approaches and more formalized ones. Nonetheless, she argues that the shifting debates about equality represent an ongoing and vital negotiation about its meaning both inside and outside the courts.

The latter sections of the book cover race, citizenship, family, and reproduction issues. One chapter examines the "Live-In Caregiver Program" (LCP) that allows foreign domestic workers to apply for landed immigrant status after serving as live-in caregivers in Canadian homes. According to the authors, although the courts have been sympathetic to workers in LCP cases, the judiciary has not adequately addressed the arbitrary, discretionary, and often discriminatory powers that are vested in the Department of Immigration. Another chapter scrutinizes the intersection of gender and race in equality-seeking efforts. Here, Joanne St. Lewis observes that Canadian jurisprudence is largely silent about racism in society and that there is little effort to have racially diverse law schools, law firms, and judges. Moreover, she draws attention to a record of LEAF's inability to theorize the role of ethnicity and race in its interventions on women's equality. She argues that while women's racial identities are essential, it is imperative that racialized women attend to traditions of oppression (especially those of colonialism and imperialism) that arise in a wide variety of cultures. In doing so, they will find common rather than disparate identities in their pursuit of equality.

*Women's Legal Strategies in Canada* ends with a chapter by Susan Phillips, an academic in public administration, who maintains that despite the many flaws inherent in the legal system and feminist pursuits of justice, the legal challenges are an essential aspect of political negoti-

ation. At the very least, judicial disputes provide forums in which equality issues can be scrutinized and re-constructed. This is true even if one agrees with Sheila Martin's position in this volume that "laws are not the only, or perhaps even the primary way of shaping human behaviour, and some significant sites of gender-based struggle may not be amenable to legally framed action." (354) This collection makes it apparent that the conflictual and imperfect struggle of feminists to achieve gender equality through the courts has added a welcome and beneficial complexity to political discourse and disputation in Canada. As a result, this volume will be of interest to those intrigued by the evolution of the Charter and of feminist activism in Canada. The essays are cogent and insightful. They speak with an authority grounded in an intimately detailed and candid assessment of Canadian feminist legal struggles.

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Carl James and Adrienne Shadd, eds., *Talking About Identity: Encounters in Race, Ethnicity and Language* (Between the Lines: Toronto 2001)

*TALKING ABOUT IDENTITY* represents the second edition of this collection of articles on identity and difference originally titled *Talking About Difference*. Returning to the book after a period of time, I found this revised edition to be insightful and well written. As a second edition of the original 1994 text, it is particularly useful to note that some of the authors have chosen to review and revise their earlier formulations and understandings of self in relation to race, ethnicity, and culture such as Isoki and Khayatt. The collection, as a whole, illustrates the ways in which identity can no longer be thought of as transparent and unproblematic. The discourses represented are varied, with some aligning themselves with more tra-

ditional understandings of identity formation as rooted in history and memory, while others might more accurately be identified with a post-structuralist understanding of identity that recognizes fluidity as well as plurality. The collection provides a useful and complex opening to issues of identity and differences through illustration of the varied ways in which the individual author's identities get played out through daily interaction.

The book is divided into five parts, each of which deals with a different aspect of identity and difference. In Part I, "Who's Canadian, Anyway?" the articles are grouped to highlight the problematic nature of Canadian identity, the symbolic referents that are used in order to signify "Canadian" and who can unproblematically claim such an identity. In Part II, "Growing up Different," the main theme is the way in which growing up in a racialized society affects interaction, and perception of self. Part III, "Roots of Identity, Routes of Knowing," examines the ways in which various authors have struggled to come to "know" themselves and the ways in which identity is as much about becoming as being. Part IV, "Race, Privilege, and Challenges," examines the subtle ways in which "whiteness" provides a position of privilege in a White-dominated society. Finally, Part V, "Confronting Stereotypes and Racism," examines the ways in which stereotypes operate in the everyday.

Although the book is divided into five parts, similarities in themes and concepts are evident across these sections as to how individual subjects struggle with their identity formation. For example, in Susan Judith Ship's article, "Jewish, Canadian or Québécois? Notes on a Diaspora Identity," she deals primarily with the intersection of Jewish, Canadian, and Québécois identity. However, her argument that "defining Jewish identity in singular, monolithic, and homogenising terms as either a religious, cultural, ethnic, or political identity, or even as a matter of socialization, is inadequate for cap-

turing the complexity of lived experiences and consciousness of individuals and collectivities"(21) would seem to apply to other identities under discussion in the collection (e.g. Tsang, Jennings, and James). Similarly Ramos' view that "identity is a two way street ... to choose to be Canadian does not necessarily make you one" links strongly with that of others in the collection, particularly those such as Stan Isoki and Adrienne Shadd who are racialized as "non-White." As Shadd poignantly comments, "at what point do we cease to be outsiders in the country in which we were born?"

Themes that are illustrated range from construction of collective consciousness through to the illustration of the processes of Othering and a striving for recognition of what Homi Bhabha identifies as "translation." The collection also illustrates through access to contributors' narratives the ways in which identity is produced discursively through lived experiences. While I would not totally agree with Shipman that all identities are a construction of the mind, nonetheless her comments illustrate that neither are they fixed. As Mbembe (2002) argues: "identity is formed at the interface between the rituals of putting down roots and the rhythms of estrangement, in the constant passage from the spatial to the temporal, from geography to memory." (638) As well as being useful in terms of understanding the dynamic of identity formation, the text, if read closely, can indicate pathways to follow in terms of pedagogy. The importance of the latter is given extra weighting if one notes the significant number of contributors who identify incidents of schooling as being particularly conflictual in terms of identity formation (Hill and Isoki). Perhaps it should remind those of us who are educators that sensitivity is required when dealing with issues of identity and difference — recognition of plurality and intersections rather than unity and fixity.

The collection allows for a distinction to be made between an "identity" that de-

fines and a "label" that limits. Many of the contributors indicate through their narratives that while one might be labelled as belonging to a particular group, such alignment is not automatically accepted; resistance (for some) is an integral part of the process of working through identity formation. The importance of this distinction between label and identity is that as Didi Kyatt warns: a label may say little about my self-definition, yet nonetheless determine how you treat me.

Any intellectually stimulating text should have the ability to make the reader reflect. This text has several such articles but I would like to highlight three in particular and indicate the nuances and insights into identity formation that can be garnered. Lori Weber's contribution, "I am Canadian but my Father is German," highlights how identities are linked to history and memory and thus carry the legacy of specific memories. Because they are a group racialized as "white," the assumption is that a German identity would represent a privileged point of intersection. However, such commonsense understandings are challenged by Lori Weber's comment that "being German is something one has to apologize for." The latter is a reminder that an understanding of identity formation has to take into account a complex interweaving of class, history, location, gender, etc. that produces heterogeneity rather than homogeneity among racialized subjects.

Another article that I would like to draw attention to is Adrienne Shadd's "'Where are you Really From?' Notes of an 'Immigrant' from North Buxton, Ontario." This selection illustrates the longevity of African Canadian presence and the ways in which centredness within a community can instil a strong sense of self. Further, it illustrates how history and memory can work to provide a sense of collective consciousness that can lead to recognition of identity as not just individual but also collective and ultimately political.

The final essay, Kia James' "What's your Background," illustrates the tension between "culture as property" and "culture as routes." For her some African Canadian youth have a "mistaken" identity in that they cleave to an African American identity that is produced through electronic media and youth culture. Her notion that these youths are mistaken certainly illustrates that for her there is a true identity that is represented through location. James' article provoked two questions and issues of concern with regard to how we conceptualize identity formation. The first is, what happens in terms of identity formation when the local becomes the global, when resources for identity formation for Canadian youth are expanded through access to US media. Second, James' article provoked me to be mindful that researchers must not only inquire how people position themselves in relation to certain identities but also to interrogate to what use they put such identities in their everyday lives.

My judgement of the book is that it will provide a useful addition to more formal course texts on identity, difference, race, and ethnicity. Its narrative structure is very accessible for students (undergraduates and graduates), and can help to illustrate and expand understanding of poststructuralist and post-modern theoretical paradigms. Because the text is an edited collection, the reader/user has a variety of sources through which to construct, reconstruct, and expand on a multiplicity of ways of understanding identities and differences. As with many edited collections, some pieces are stronger than others but there is enough within the collection for these shortcomings to be overcome.

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David Bedford and Danielle Irving, *The Tragedy of Progress: Marxism, Modernity and the Aboriginal Question* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing 2000)

THIS BOOK IS ABOUT Marxism, the Canadian left, and the Aboriginal national question. The main thesis of the book is that the Canadian left has been ineffective in addressing the Aboriginal national question mainly because of their interpretation of Marxism as "a variant of modernity that, like liberalism, capitalism, scienticism and fetishized technology, is seen as flowing from the enlightenment idea of unceasing progress through the application of an instrumental rationality." (15) More specifically, the left interprets Marxism and conceptualizes socialism in terms of metaphysical economism, and fails to address issues of human alienation and emancipation.

The book raises the important question of the right of national self-determination for Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The authors argue in post-modern terms that what is at the basis of the Aboriginal question today is a fundamental conflict between a traditional culture based upon non-modern political economy, and modern industrial culture. Can the left then, as the authors question, develop an analysis and alternative that can transcend this dichotomy between a non-modern and modern culture, or are Aboriginal societies doomed to inevitable extinction?

Though the book is short, comprising four chapters overall, it makes a far from negligible contribution to radical critical ideas and possibly Marxism. There are actually two interrelated discussions taking place throughout the book. One addresses the narrow application of mechanical or "orthodox" Marxism by the Canadian left to the Aboriginal question. The other deals with Marx's thinking, including his concept of historical materialism, the "orthodox" and "dialectical" interpretations of his thought, and their application to subject peoples, — Aboriginal — in de-



fining the right of national self-determination.

In forming their criticism of the left the authors draw upon the works of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation/New Democratic Party, the Communist Party of Canada, three Trotskyist groups — the International Socialists, the Trotskyist League of Canada, and the Communist League/Young Socialists — as well as an assortment of Native and non-Native intellectuals whom they consider as typical of the left. It is made clear from the outset they are not advancing a comprehensive analysis of the ideology of the overall left. Rather, the focus is on the left's understanding of the causes and nature of Aboriginal peoples' oppression, and the interpretation of Marxism that underlies their analysis, and its adequacy.

The first chapter outlines in a generalized and idealistic way the social, political, and spiritual characteristics of communal societies. The authors identify and describe schematically initial contact with Western capitalism, or "modernity," and survey policies by colonial and Canadian authorities that resulted in the destruction of the traditional material cultures. At the same time they maintain that communal spiritualism as an ideology continued into the present period of capitalism. The chapter also contains a brief discussion of the existing state system of Aboriginal political organizations, local governance, federal administration, and present pending self-government as the ultimate coup de grace for Aboriginal peoples.

This chapter sets the stage for confusion that continues throughout the book. There is constant reference to traditional non-modern cultures, including their spiritualism that implies that they have continued unabated. Yet, the authors begin by stating that traditional social and material cultures have been for the most part destroyed, or, at the very least, seriously transformed. Also, there is no analysis of how Aboriginals fit into capitalist class relations and how these relations combine

with culture, whether it is pristine or transformed, to define the national question today.

In the chapter examining Aboriginal apprehensions of Marxism, the authors delve into post-modernism and its application to the Aboriginal question. Though they note the exception of Howard Adams and one other Aboriginal academic who embrace Marxism to analyze and politicize, the remaining Aboriginal intellectuals and post-modernists whom they consult view Marxism as just another Western, modernist, political, economic, and philosophic system out to destroy all that is Aboriginal. The post-modernists contend that Marxism and its historical materialist method are rooted in the culture of the Enlightenment and modernity, and, like liberalism, are not applicable to Aboriginal cultures. These are seen as pre-modern and profoundly different. In their view, culture, including its ideological element, takes on the characteristic of an independent transhistorical invariable.

Bedford and Irving draw upon the post-modern culturalist hypothesis and apply it to Aboriginal spiritualism, arguing that as an ideology with roots in a pre-modern culture, it is unexplainable by Marxist materialism — the dialectic of productive forces, productive relations, and social relations — which has its roots in a separate and different cultural phenomenon. But the authors then argue that Marxism can be rescued by synthesizing some of its insights with post-modernism. They draw upon Marx's own application of historical materialism to posit the autonomy of culture and ideology in dialectical relationship with material production. Such autonomy explains Aboriginal spiritualism as an expression of a pre-modern culture and therefore an independent transhistorical invariable. For Bedford and Irving the relevancy of Marxism is thus in its ability as a cross-cultural methodology to justify the claims of Aboriginal communities, as homelands of culturally non-modern people utilizing non-industrial technology, to

**fashion** Aboriginal autonomy within a greater modern industrial society.

Bedford and Irving do not see historical materialism as universally applicable to all phases of human social and economic development. Nor do they see non-economic spheres, such as culture and ideology, in dialectical relationship with the economic sphere as historically specific, which is the basis of historical materialism. By arguing the culturalist view that culture and ideology are transhistorical invariants, the authors reinterpret Marx's concept of the dialectic and autonomy to define a pluralistic relationship between the cultural and economic spheres. The culturalist argument is then transferred by the authors to their examination of the Canadian left, Marx's thoughts, and interpretations of Marx on the national question.

Post-modernism is as much another contemporary expression of Enlightenment thinking as other expressions of liberalism, including the metaphysical economism that is the dominant thought of capitalism. It is also nihilistic, and when it informs the thinking of social movements, which is the intent of some of the Aboriginal intellectuals, it calls for a return to some premodern condition that in reality is untenable. Marxism and historical materialism on the other hand represent a break with the Enlightenment and metaphysical thinking. The authors accurately claim that the Canadian left's Marxism is "a variant of modernity." (15) This is a problem with Western Marxism as a whole. All too often its degeneration into dogmatism has led it to deny certain social realities, such as culture and ethnicity. The root of the problem lies in its tendency to interpret economic factors as decisive, that is as over-determining, at the expense of their dialectical interrelationship with other factors. This can easily lead to an economic determinist reading of history. Marx himself is guilty of this mistake from time to time in coming to terms with the root cause of changing social phenomena. But the same mistake of

determinism can be made by interpreting culture as a transhistorical invariant, as the post-modernists do it. It too is a return to Enlightenment metaphysical thinking.

Bedford and Irving begin their examination of the Canadian left with a series of questions that seek to delineate the parameters of the Aboriginal national question, while at the same time evaluating the left's analysis and policies. Their questions are centred around the viability of Aboriginal traditional cultures today and the right to national self-determination. Their fate is contextualized in terms of Aboriginal traditional survival within a modern, technologically intense, capitalist, or socialist society.

The conclusion is that the left overall lacks a developed analysis or political position acknowledging national self-determination, whether it is as nationals with sovereignty, or just substantive autonomy. In general, the left sees Aboriginal peoples as "non-historic" nations in the sense that they had not developed the necessary material preconditions to develop in the image of the European bourgeois nation. Furthermore, their historic social and material cultures have been either completely destroyed or seriously transformed by capitalism and policies of the state. This, together with their marginal incorporation into capitalism, combine to condemn them as not constituting any form of cohesive national grouping. In the authors' view, the left lacks all vision of Aboriginal culture and economic life. Perhaps the most poignant insight into the left's attitude towards Aboriginal peoples is the observation that "compassion has been co-mingled with veiled contempt." (65)

For the authors, the left has not developed a more creative analysis of the Aboriginal national question due mainly to their particular orthodox reading of Marx, as well as their conceptualization of the historical dynamic of capitalism. What the left proposes as socialism is the continuation of modernity with its human alienation and intensive use of technol-

ogy in the domination of nature. In fact, there is nothing new advanced beyond bourgeois modernity, other than the more equitable distribution of wealth and some basic autonomy for Aborigines to practice remaining elements of their social culture.

In the chapter on Marxism and self-determination, the authors explore the difference between mechanical, or orthodox, interpretations, on the one hand, and dialectical interpretations of Marx's ideas on the other as they are applied to subject peoples, their cultures, and self-determination. They argue that orthodox Marxists have a narrow, unilinear interpretation of Marx's ideas of capitalist development and nationhood that they apply to peripheral peoples, judging their national struggles in relation to those of Western European historic nations. In contrast, the dialectical analysis looks at national questions and the impact of capitalism within the ambit of culture and ethnicity. This analysis recognizes the contradiction between the emergence of capitalism within Western social formations and its imposition onto peripheral societies, along with the effect it has had on their economies, cultures, and ethnicities. In the accumulation of capital, there is an unequal incorporation and development of peripheral peoples, which, in turn, has produced resistance, the rise of national identity, and the struggle for independence.

This approach suggests that national questions are best analyzed in terms of a variety of political, historical, and economic factors, and by addressing contemporary concrete political and economic needs. This allows an analysis of class relations and how they combine to define the national question. In the case of Aboriginal peoples, class then takes on an inclusive expression as opposed to the orthodox metaphysical interpretation, which sees class as exclusively based on the active wage-labour working class. It looks at national self-determination as a concept inclusive of all national group-

ings within a nation-state. Instead of being a uniform state that ignores national cultures, Canada can be a multi-national socialist state. In this new arrangement the respective nationalities would have the appropriate democratic political and economic autonomy to self-determine within a greater whole, that would include social, cultural, and ethnic reconstitution in conjunction with economic transformation and development.

Interestingly, the authors employ no class analysis of Aboriginal peoples and their position within capitalism and how these might affect the national question today. They automatically assume there is an absolute sharp divide within the working class between Aborigines and "whites" based upon the former's generally marginal economic position and social racism. Apparently the "white" working class has fully succumbed to modernity and is part of the oppressing nation. The solution is national independence with sovereignty for Aborigines, which they call on the left to support. This is problematic. How does one explain the Mohawk, to whom the authors refer in terms of continuing traditional culture, but who work as iron workers? In effect, the authors revert to the same mistake as the left, whom they are criticizing of seeing the working class in metaphysical economic terms. The book's major shortcoming is that it lacks analytical clarity. Their incorporation of post-modernism and its culturalist argument of continuing traditional cultures contributes to confusion in their analysis of both Marxism and the national question.

Despite such shortcomings, the importance of Bedford and Irving's book is that it identifies the reason why the left in Canada, in particular the Marxist left, has not been successful in developing an alternative to liberalism on the Aboriginal national question. The reason is that the overall left has no vision that transcends capitalism. In the case of the Marxist left it is their inability to break with Enlight-

enment metaphysical thinking. For this reason alone, the book is worth reading.

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Wenona Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto: Gender, Immigration, and Nationalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2002)

IN HER ETHNOGRAPHY, *Portuguese Women in Toronto*, Wenona Giles offers a provocative perspective on the relationship between hegemonic ideologies of national membership, state-promulgated immigration policies, and the experiences and life trajectories of immigrant women and their daughters. Her analysis effectively integrates detailed life histories and individual voices with histories of both Canadian and Portuguese forms of national belonging and insights into the multiple effects of economic restructuring. Through qualitative interviews primarily with first- and second-generation Portuguese immigrant women living in and around the large Portuguese community of Toronto, she investigates how biases in Canada's immigration law and official ideology of multiculturalism promote inequities along gender and class lines. Giles offers a much needed and persuasive critique of liberal versions of multiculturalism, helps rectify the frequent analytic inattention to gender and class in studies of immigrant incorporation, and develops a clear argument for alternative modes of political engagement.

Giles' central argument is that Canadian immigration and multicultural policies have greatly contributed to the difficulties and disadvantages faced by Portuguese immigrant women. Canadian immigration law assesses the desirability of prospective immigrants in terms of work skills in ways, she argues, that have "delimited and defined immigrant women as dependents in subordinate positions," (21) and contributed to the fact that most

Portuguese women entered Canada, regardless of their actual status as wage workers, officially classified as "dependents" rather than as "workers." Recruitment preferences in the 1950s and early 1960s for unskilled male labour have continued, but with the introduction of a points system in 1967, have come to include preferences for male workers with advanced education and specialized professional skills. Portuguese women's lack of access to education and skills training in their home countries has, Giles argues, made it harder for them to immigrate on their own. Once in Canada, their low-level jobs and "dependent" status have made it more difficult for women to acquire further education and language training or to garner the necessary family resources to sponsor the subsequent immigration of family members.

A related consequence of Canada's multicultural policies is that identity and social differences have come to be conceptualized, almost exclusively, in terms of culture. Giles persuasively argues that the growing emphasis on "cultural authenticity" and distinctive ethnic traditions as markers of ethnic group identity has increasingly obscured differences in class and the reality of women's lives as workers, and made it difficult to organize around shared experiences of exploitation that often cross-cut ethnic boundaries. Access to state resources is primarily negotiated through ethnic group membership that, as Giles points out, ends up obscuring significant distinctions in regional and class background among immigrants and discourages alliances along other lines. Women in the Portuguese community are, she notes, particularly disadvantaged within the multicultural system of representation as it is usually men who head the ethnic organizations that serve as conduits to the state. She repeatedly asserts that "the promotion of a particular ethnic identity, such as a Portuguese identity, has not and will not lead to more equitable access to basic resources ... unless it is linked to more broadly

based struggles against racism, and gender and class inequities." (110)

The contrast between the outlooks and life options of first- and second-generation Portuguese women forms the ethnographic core of Giles' account. Avoiding facile generalizations, she tells the stories of individual women who have dealt with tensions around gender roles and familial expectations as well as work-related experiences and dilemmas in very different ways. They range from women who feel "a woman should be what her husband tells her to be" (44) to those who push hard against conservative Portuguese expectations and seek more independence and equitable gender relations. Giles pays special attention to the dilemmas of second-generation women who attempt to navigate beyond constraining gender roles while maintaining their commitment to family and community. She also traces the transformation from first- to second-generation mothers. The first generation tend to work in manufacturing or domestic service, left school at the elementary level, have limited skills in English, and few realistic options for further education. Their second-generation daughters, by contrast, tend to work in low-level, white-collar jobs and, despite streaming and discrimination in the schools and often ambivalent family attitudes towards education, have by and large successfully finished high school and in some cases attended college. Interestingly enough, Giles notes that first-generation women tend to work in unionized sectors and participate in labour struggles more actively than do their daughters who generally work in non-union settings and prefer more mainstream forms of political participation.

Another important theme that Giles explores is the relationship between an increasingly deterritorialized Portuguese nationalism and the identities and relationships forged by Portuguese immigrants. The Portuguese state has sought to keep its diaspora "Portuguese" — offering dual citizenship, voting rights in Por-

tugal, and forms of representation to emigrants while not quite encouraging a permanent return. The flexible form of national membership is aimed in part at encouraging the continuation of economically very significant remittance levels from the Portuguese abroad. Giles points out that remittances, as well as plans for an eventual permanent return, are, especially for first-generation Portuguese immigrants, important components of their relationship with Portugal. She presents very interesting insights into how these commitments differed markedly between immigrants from the continent and those who had come from the Azores as the prospect of return to the continent, with its higher standard of living, wider job opportunities, and culturally less restrictive gender roles, was, for most immigrants, more appealing than return to the economically marginal and culturally more traditional islands of the Azores. She also notes that it is primarily women who nurture transnational connectedness through visits, communication, and remittances.

There are several questions raised by Giles' insightful analysis that could be developed further in future work. Citizenship, although addressed at several points, is not systematically explored in this account. Questions remain as to what strategies Portuguese immigrants pursued with regard to citizenship and why. What did formal membership in the Canadian, and Portuguese, polity mean to them? What obstacles do they encounter in seeking to acquire citizenship? What was the role of the state in the process? Recent scholarship by Irene Bloomraad makes important contributions to our understanding of these questions.

It would also be interesting to explore further the multiple ways in which immigrants and their children construct and assert their Portuguese identities. Giles forcefully critiques the political emphasis on cultural authenticity and ethnic distinctiveness, but does not delve very deeply into what cultural identities and practices might mean to people across the

generations. It would also be helpful to place the growing emphasis on identity politics within a wider context as the de-emphasis of class and shared experiences of exploitation, even within leftist political rhetoric, is hardly unique to Canada.

Hearing the voices of women is, obviously, extremely important and the often tense conversations between mothers and daughters add a crucial dimension to our understanding of the immigrant experience. But gender and arguments about gender roles involve both men and women. It would be relevant to hear more from Portuguese immigrant men about how the immigration experience has challenged, and perhaps transformed, their notions of how to be "proper men," or about the interconnected conversations between wives and husbands, daughters and fathers, and brothers and sisters. Adding perspectives from multiple subject positions would add nuance and complexity to our understanding of how people negotiate between shifting and often conflicting expectations.

Giles offers strong critiques of the biased impact of immigration law and multicultural policies on the lives of immigrant women and future work would do well to follow that lead. More detailed attention, however, needs to be paid to how state-level practices and hegemonies actually impact the lives of individuals. What, in other words, are the specific processes through which that impact is realized? For example, while Giles is clear that immigration policies defined women largely as familial dependents, her argument that a "dependent" status undermined the access of immigrant women to subsequent options and opportunities in Canada is less clear. She points out that almost as many Portuguese women entered Canada as did men and the majority found paid work after arrival, regardless of their official entry status. It would be important to more clearly differentiate factors that affect the access of all working-class immigrants, regardless of gender, to educa-

tion, better jobs, and political representation from those that primarily affect the possibilities for women. Hopefully future work will build on Giles' argument that Canada's laws and policies are "deeply gendered," and contribute further analyses of how gender inequities among immigrants are fostered, perpetuated, and resisted.

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Robert Campbell, *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer: Regulating Vancouver's Beer Parlours* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2001)

THE FIELD OF ALCOHOL STUDIES has expanded considerably over the past few decades. In an area of research that is dominated by amateur histories of a particular favourite beverage, popular books on rum-running and prohibition, and baffled amusement at those crazy temperance reformers, academic historians have slowly built a solid foundation of excellent, multifaceted studies. Unlike Britain and the United States, Canada is not as well served in this area, but changes are coming. One of the researchers whose work has been in the forefront of this growing field is Robert Campbell, from Capilano University College in British Columbia. With his *Demon Rum or Easy Money*, Campbell shed light on an oft-neglected area of liquor history: government regulation. With *Sit Down and Drink your Beer: Regulating Vancouver's Beer Parlours, 1925-1954*, Campbell continues his examination of regulation, this time at the level of consumption. As with any good work that fills a much-neglected area of history, the book answers some questions, and encourages the exploration of many more.

Campbell's main contention is that government regulation of beer parlours developed in an uneven manner along lines of class, race, gender, and sexuality,

but blurred those lines in the process. Moreover, government regulation does not fit a simple social control model. It suits more adequately a theoretical framework of moral regulation, an internalization and negotiation of rules governing moral activities. His argument is complex, and I do not want to do a disservice to the complexity of the themes he presents. Instead, I will pick up on a few of the key issues Campbell presents, and then discuss some of the areas that he opens up for further examination.

After a chapter of historiography, in which Campbell demonstrates his adept use of the theory, the book turns to the complex nature of class and regulation in beer parlours. This second chapter is one of the strongest. Beer parlours were created with an eye to expunging the memory and the stigma of the working-class saloon, complete with its perceived attendant vices of gambling, prostitution, rowdiness, and other improper behaviour. While the Liquor Control Board (LCB) aimed to construct the parlours based upon middle-class values, it relied upon the workers and operators (managers) to enforce these rules. Enforcement, therefore, was not simply a top-down affair. Workers and operators had to negotiate between the viability of the rules and the survival of the business and their jobs. Within the structure of the beer parlour, the lines between worker and manager were blurred: sometimes tapmen (who poured the beer) worked as managers, with the power to hire and fire; waiters had to sell beer and monitor behaviour. Moreover, staff and owners were linked by their need to enforce the LCB regulations to keep the business running. So the waiters who sold the beer and had opportunity for sociability with patrons also had to enforce strict rules involving comportment and morality. It is a tension that remains in the bar business to this day: selling drinks makes money, but selling to drunks may get you in trouble.

Campbell's work explores well the issue of the negotiation of moral regula-

tions. While the regulations were imposed by the LCB, they were both encouraged and shaped by owners, staff, patrons, and the general public. The LCB determined that parlours were intended only as places for beer consumption — people could not listen to music or other entertainments, no food or other drinks (soft or hard) were permitted, and patrons had to remain seated while they drank (hence the book's title). Convention and public pressure led to other rules. For example, in the case of mixed-race couples, the LCB had no specific rule, but the patrons and owners appear to have determined that "mixed race" meant a White woman with a man of colour, and mixed-race couples would not be tolerated. The gender of each person was significant: a White man with a woman of colour was not considered such a problem. Concerns of miscegenation did not run both ways. Similarly, the rules regarding the segregation of men and women were negotiated between various parties. A great deal of debate raged around whether or not women should be permitted to drink in parlours. The traditional association of women in bars with prostitution drove much of this debate. As a result, to keep single men from single women, parlours were divided into "men only" and "women and escorts" sections. As men and women continued to cross those boundaries, some businesses began to devise different ways of keeping the two groups apart. Low partitions between the sections emerged and soon the LCB insisted upon full walls dividing the sections. These rules were reinforced by ideas of heterosexual decency and more notably by concerns over the spread of venereal diseases, an issue that Campbell explores in some depth. Campbell also considers what these rules meant for the homosexual community, and how First Nations people were treated under the law.

The negotiations of rules and extent of regulation are the key themes of the book, and while explored well, these discussions must be considered in light of some

challenges. Notably, Campbell is working from a relatively small collection of material, and the silence of the sources on some of the themes is obvious. Some examples appear to be unique, and it is difficult to draw conclusions from one or two cases. Hence, Campbell fleshes out the themes with the work of others. For example, when discussing mixed-race couples, Campbell discusses two examples of mixed-race couples being discriminated against. There is little indication of whether or not this was a frequent occurrence. When discussing Aboriginal drinking, Campbell tends to focus beyond Vancouver for his evidence. While demonstrating a strong command of the literature, this tactic makes the conclusions more tentative than would be possible if the material yielded more information. That challenge from the sources leads to a second, equally moderating factor. Since he is dealing with regulation, and since liquor inspectors, newspapers, and others generally only took notice of cases of deviation from the norm, what we have here is a picture of deviation, not of compliance. Campbell acknowledges that the numerous compliant parlours do not come into the picture. It does not diminish the strength of the discussion on the negotiation of regulations in institutions in which the middle-class values of the LCB were challenged, but it does make it difficult to draw conclusions about the nature of working-class compliance when any compliant working class-institution does not register on the radar of deviation.

The result is a book that answers some questions, and encourages more work to be done. This is a case study of regulation. It confirms some assumptions, notably about the attitudes towards women in parlours, and the demonization of women with regards to the spread of venereal disease. It conversely presents some valuable new perspectives, most notably in the discussion of the relationship between workers in the parlours, their employers, and their working-class patrons. The complexity of this relationship is worth

exploring for other centres, as is the under-examined issue of provincial regulation. In the end, *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer* is a valuable contribution to a growing field which offers some important perspectives on the nature of class and the negotiation of moral regulations, and encourages further work from others in the field.

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Robert Wright, *Hip and Trivial: Youth Culture, Book Publishing and the Greying of Canadian Nationalism* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press 2001)

IN *HIP AND TRIVIAL*, Robert Wright is writing about two things: the social, political, and personal maturation of young Canadians, and their reading habits. In the introduction, the two seem unconsciously and indefensibly (to my mind) intertwined. The central task of youth is to determine who they are in the context of a peer and adult world and, on that foundation, to find a distinctive sense of self. To interweave reading with youth as if the absence of reading may lead to trivialization of their existence and of our nation's culture is a mistake. Low levels of book reading, especially of Canadian literary output, by Canadian youth, may or may not prove a permanent condition of their lives. I see no foundation for moral panic over this generation's reading patterns. If reading speaks to youth, they will embrace it.

That said, the implications of the reading patterns of young Canadians is the subject of *Hip and Trivial*. What does the book offer? Three external elements date this book and bring into question the analysis Wright proffers. First, J.K. Rowling has demonstrated that if an author can deliver the right content in the right form, a whole generation will take up reading at a greatly enhanced level. Second, the terrorist attack on New York and Washing-



ton of 11 September 2001 demonstrates that, from time to time, events will occur that will remind Canadians that much as we might lend a helpful and willing hand to the citizens of the US, their government is on an imperialist trajectory that is not ours. Canadian authors help Canadians to know themselves. Third, at the time that Wright was writing, the intellectual and cultural élite of the country was experiencing a profound shock brought about by massive governmental spending cuts, a defensive manoeuvre of the Chrétien Liberals and overseen by then Finance Minister, Paul Martin. In two years, 1997 and 1998, the publishing industry lost half its federal grants — cuts everywhere were the order of the day — and, the only credible political alternative were deeper cuts promised by Preston Manning and put in place by various provincial governments, Ontario and Alberta in particular. Suddenly, book publishing in its entirety seemed vulnerable to collapse. Concern for youth was emerging as well. In the context of decline of public spending, youth and especially social mobility are vulnerable.

To the book itself. Wright's conclusions are, in essence, that youth are more literate than ever; that we are beginning to see a new generation of writers and publishers in Canada; that the left nationalist project has been eclipsed; and, that the study of literature in schools tends not to bring many students to a lifelong love of Canadian literature. Incidentally, given those conclusions, the book is mistitled. A simple question mark after *Hip and Trivial* would have made it more accurate.

To my mind, the book lacks a clear, close, and explicit argument. Indeed, in general, the basic argument is both understated and overpowered by data, some of which is of questionable relevance. For example: Chapter 1, "Background," describes the development of Canadian writing and publishing beginning in the late 1960s but provides little assessment of its impact. Chapter 2, "Publishing in Canada," describes three threats to the life

of Canadian writing and publishing but does little to evaluate their significance. Chapter 3, "Youth Culture in Canada," reviews the opportunities for youth, their disposable income, and some sociological survey data that present a contradictory picture to the data suggested in the first two parts of the chapter. The data are presented and the contradiction is left unresolved.

Chapter 5, "Reading Youth," is the core of the book in that its central focus is the reading patterns of youth. Within it, a major amount of attention is paid to two interpretations of one data set. My intimate familiarity with the data and one of the studies comes from the fact that Roger Barnes (a market researcher) and I guided Nancy Duxbury in her analysis of the data.

The major difficulties with the reading data cited by Wright are threefold. First, there is a long preamble to the questionnaire intended to be read by the respondent that sets, or attempts to set, a completely biased mind set in the recipients. It speaks of the positive value of reading and all but demands that respondents overestimate their reading-related habits. Our work in examining the data suggested that, for example, respondents may have overestimated their spending on books and reading times by as much as two to three times. Additionally, the preamble plays a neat psychological one-upmanship trick on respondents by pitching its message in such complex language that the meaning of the preamble beyond "reading is important" is almost incomprehensible. Barnes found that it tested out a Grade 21 (yes, 21, not 12) reading level. Did it have any impact? The almost complete absence of Harlequin romances indicates that the data are statistically anomalous given the sales of Harlequins in Canada. A second major difficulty with the core data of the chapter is that all the data were recall data. Thirdly, the questionnaire was far too long for anyone who did not "believe in reading."

Beyond the problem of the basic validity of the data, Wright's interpretation of the two analyses of the data falls short. Wright reports that between 1978 and 1991 there was a 25 per cent increase in book reading for Canadians aged 15 to 19. For anyone who works with survey data, such a dramatic increase would ring alarm bells, deafeningly. Wright also takes at face value the number of books read by the average Canadian per year. For 15-to-19-year-olds the reported average was 25.4 books per year or one book nearly every two weeks. How would anyone have time to play hockey?

The data Wright reports on the reading of Canadian-authored and Canadian-published titles from the same data set are difficult to interpret. Consistently, Canadian publishers and Canadian authors have 25 per cent of the market in terms of books shipped. Consistently, reading and purchasing data show a much lower percentage of consumption. No one has a reasonable explanation for this difference.

But thankfully, all is not lost. Wright reports on some interviews that he carried out, and on some correspondence with several young writers and fledgling publishers who are publishing their peers and bringing new writers forward. The material is interesting. Yet, it is very difficult to know the significance of these authors and publishers.

So what does the book all mean? The buzz in Ottawa on the release of the book was a concern with the low reading levels of Canadian authors and books by 15-to-19-year-olds. One trouble with that small passing panic: The data patterns do not appear to be very different from previous generations. Various research, one study of which Wright cites, shows that Canadians grow into a concern for their country in their late 20s and 30s.

As to the left nationalist project being eclipsed, I believe that there is sufficient social data extant to indicate that Canada, and most countries, are going through ideological renewal. To me that is quite an

exciting prospect, not one that I fear or dread. Nor do I believe that Canada will end up weakened in the hands of the next generation. As for Canadian-owned book publishing, I believe that there *MUST* be a succession strategy put in place over the next few years for the Canadian-owned tradebook publishing industry. What better time for it to happen than when young people around the world are engaged in the task of ideological renewal?

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Denise Lemieux et Michelle Comeau, *Le Mouvement familial au Québec, 1960-1990. Une politique et des services pour les familles* (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec 2002)

CET OUVRAGE ÉTUDIE la famille comme lieu d'association et de militantisme. Ses auteures, Denise Lemieux et Michelle Comeau amorcent par cette recherche l'histoire du mouvement familial qui prend son essor au début des années 1960 dans la foulée de la Révolution tranquille. Elles démontrent comment des organismes populaires et leurs leaders ont contribué non seulement aux grandes réformes de l'État, mais à la définition d'une politique familiale.

*Le Mouvement familial au Québec, 1960-1990*, se divise en deux parties. Dans un premier temps, Denise Lemieux expose le développement du mouvement familial, ses objectifs, ses ramifications, ses principaux acteurs et surtout les actions entreprises tant par les organismes familiaux que par l'État pour doter cette province d'une politique familiale. Cette première partie comporte cinq chapitres qui, selon un ordre chronologique, décrivent à la fois les différentes étapes menant à l'obtention de cette politique et les enjeux défendus par les « familiaux », l'Église et l'État. Dans un second volet constitué de deux chapitres, Michelle

Comeau dresse le portrait de dix-sept organismes familiaux ou parafamiliaux, chacun étant présenté selon un même schéma : l'émergence de l'organisme, ses objectifs, sa structure ainsi que les liens et collaborations suscités par sa participation au mouvement familial. Ce tableau enrichit ou complète l'information des chapitres précédents et met en lumière la polyvalence du champ familial.

L'action sociale auprès des familles telle qu'entreprise dans les décennies 1930 et 1940, entre autres par l'Action catholique et l'École des parents, se transforme dans le contexte de modernisation accélérée de la société au début des années 1960. La laïcisation de l'éducation, de la santé et du bien-être entraîne de nombreux changements. Un nouveau code civil et les lois sur le divorce et l'avortement ont, à leur tour, des répercussions sur la famille et ses membres, les femmes en particulier.

Afin de répondre aux besoins de la famille contemporaine, les associations populaires développent des services spécifiques allant de l'implantation des comités d'école à l'épanouissement du couple en passant par l'aide aux familles monoparentales. D'autres organisent de l'hébergement pour les victimes de violence conjugale ou des services de garde en milieu scolaire, etc. La vitalité de ces groupes, qui comprennent des associations féminines et féministes, repose sur le bénévolat, mais la nature des services offerts, comme par exemple la mission éducative chez la plupart d'entre eux, requiert un financement adéquat et tous s'entendent sur la nécessité d'une intervention gouvernementale.

L'État, quant à lui, instaure des services et des organismes dédiés à la famille répartis dans plusieurs ministères, mais recherche aussi l'expertise des associations en vue d'élaborer des programmes pertinents. Il met sur pied le Conseil supérieur de la famille devenu le Conseil de la famille (1988) en vue de recevoir des avis et sur lequel siègent des militants. Il encourage par ailleurs la création d'un

mouvement familial qui serait le porte-parole de tous ces groupes. De son côté, l'Église s'engage dans une action pastorale pour promouvoir la famille chrétienne et regroupe les associations religieuses autour d'une table provinciale.

À la tête du mouvement familial se trouvent des militants pour qui « l'éducation et la participation des citoyens sont les moyens sur lesquels on doit miser pour transformer la société et l'individu. » (p. 25) D. Lemieux retrace l'action de plusieurs dont Philippe Garigue grandement impliqué dans le mouvement qui commence. Ils sont nombreux à partager son idée que « le dynamisme, la stabilité, le degré d'innovation des individus d'une société résultent de leur vie familiale. » (p. 38) Issus des nouvelles facultés de sciences sociales, ils prennent la tête de ces organismes et vont s'intéresser à ce qui se passe ailleurs, au Canada et aux États-Unis ainsi qu'en Belgique, en Espagne et en France. Les échanges sont fructueux.

Au début des années 1980, les associations conviennent de la nécessité de mener une action concertée. Le regroupement inter-organismes pour une politique familiale au Québec, (RIOPFQ) réunit une trentaine d'associations ou de fédérations. Des deux fédérations phares du mouvement, seule la Fédération des unions de famille s'y joint tandis que les Organismes familiaux du Québec font cavalier seul tout se regroupant en confédération. Le succès des interventions du RIOPFQ viennent justement du fait qu'il rassemble ses « membres autour de l'obtention des structures politiques minimales nécessaires à la mise en place d'une politique familiale sans aller dans les contenus de la politique familiale. » (105) Chacun par la suite fera valoir ses propres requêtes. Après plus de vingt ans de rapports officiels, de forums, de mémoires et d'échanges, une politique familiale est enfin adoptée en 1987. Ce qu'il faut retenir selon D. Lemieux, « c'est

qu'à travers cette action sociale et politique, des groupes de familiaux répartis à travers la province scrutent les législations, suggèrent des modifications, formulent des propositions et participent aux changements sociaux et politiques. » (80)

Au terme de cet ouvrage, on constate la complexité de la tâche qui voulait rendre compte de l'engagement social et de l'action politique d'organismes aussi diversifiés réunis autour d'un intérêt commun : la famille et ses droits. Le champ familial étant dorénavant ouvert, plusieurs problématiques de recherche apparaissent déjà comme l'expose D. Lemieux en conclusion du cinquième chapitre. Parce que les valeurs véhiculées par les familiaux et les mesures étatiques n'ont pas toujours été sur la même longueur d'onde, il reste beaucoup d'éléments à analyser pour comprendre l'évolution de notre société. Cette recherche soignée et bien documentée témoigne de la vitalité de l'action sociale familiale et il ne fait aucun doute qu'elle vient enrichir les études portant sur les mouvements communautaires. Il faut en tenir compte désormais.

Jocelyne Murray

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Maureen Baker, *Families, Labour and Love: Family Diversity in a Changing World* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2001)

LIKE THE FOUR EDITIONS of her edited collection, *Families: Changing Trends in Canada*, this work authored solely by Baker is intended as a text to be used in undergraduate family sociology courses. As such, it is of special interest to those who need to convey the distinctiveness of a sociological approach within the multi-disciplinary family studies literature. Towards that end, the author directly targets the broader societal forces that shape family life, such as colonization,

immigration, industrialization, global labour markets, demographic trends, and, not least of all, state legislation and policies that regulate a variety of family processes. Unlike the majority of family studies textbooks that draw almost exclusively from the experiences of families in a singular (usually American) society, this book offers a comparative analysis of families in three "settler societies" — Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Therefore a distinguishing feature of the text is its capacity to examine cross-cultural variations in family processes at the same time that it introduces a range of substantive topics, including mate selection, cohabitation, family violence, reproduction and child care, gender inequalities in paid and unpaid labour, divorce and remarriage, as well as state regulation. Students are provided with the opportunity to appreciate the enormous extent to which intimate relationships are strongly impacted by macro-social forces: by economic forces, including labour market transformations, as well as by related political processes, cultural milieus, and ideological climates.

The book is rigorously well-organized to guide students along a systematic route. Following introductory chapters addressed to general family trends, cultural variations between and within the three societies, brief historical overviews, and theoretical perspectives, the discussion proceeds to substantive issues such as intimate relationships, reproduction and child care, paid and unpaid labour, divorce and remarriage, and state regulation. Unfortunately, much of the "current" data hark back to the early and mid-1990s, and each chapter concludes with discussion questions that are often formulated in such a way as to encourage students to moralize about family issues. Somewhat neglected topics include family violence, while little more than a page is accorded to gay families under the rubric of those who "remain unmarried." This is most curious in a text that is ostensibly concerned, at least to some extent,

with labour-based inequalities. The more egalitarian division of household labour found among (unmarried and, in some jurisdictions, legally married) same-sex couples provides at least a noteworthy contrast to the persistent inequalities found within heterosexual families. Many would see it as a useful point of comparison to enhance discussions of the acute power of gender as a factor in the distribution of household tasks. Indeed, some of the current research regarding unpaid household labour was apparently overlooked. For example, so-called "labour-saving" household technologies are treated unproblematically and perceived to be beneficial to families, whereas their tendency to increase the time spent at household labour has been well-documented.

While paid and unpaid labour are discussed within the same chapter, the two are treated quite separately and neither the relationship between them nor the impact of their interrelationship upon family dynamics is pursued in any depth. Such a degree of fragmentation is perhaps unavoidable in a text that needs to at least touch upon the plethora of contemporary issues that surround family relations, although it can lead to a neglect of critical linkages that enable better understandings of family-related phenomena. Where discussions of history, labour, and parenthood are each confined within distinct segregated chapters, it becomes difficult to devote appropriate attention to the linkages between historical transformations in women's work, the contemporary feminization of the paid labour force, and their resultant effects upon parenthood ideologies. The connections between the material circumstances of women's lives and emergent changes in their ideals of motherhood go largely unheeded, together with the richly developing body of research regarding new conceptualizations and modes of fatherhood.

In a work that seeks to provide such structural explanations of family life in three societies, little is offered by way of

explanations of how labour markets leave some families "time poor" and others "work poor" — such explanations are deemed to be "outside the scope of this volume." (147) At the same time, it is acknowledged that researchers in all three countries have analyzed the relationship between paid labour and family relations over the course of nearly a century. (147) The discussion of labour market trends might have at least pointed out more of the inequalities that result and more of their implications for family relationships. While there is, for example, reference to the feminization of the paid labour force, the author does not adequately explore its ramifications for families, not even to a degree sufficient for the purposes of an introductory overview. The assumptions of labour legislation that paid labour is separable from family life are duly noted, yet their repercussions for families in general and women in particular are not specified. This is particularly remarkable in a work that adopts a feminist political economy perspective. Nevertheless, the author does provide a comparatively rare focus upon the effects of labour market structures, one that extends beyond the usual attention to the lack of affordable child care. One also finds welcome attention to the economic risks entailed in the acceptance of low-wage labour by families in receipt of social benefits.

Greater elaboration appears in the specific discussion of state regulation, which is to be expected in light of the author's extensive previous work in this area. Here one finds in fact a considerably detailed chronology of the development of state policies that is both historically and theoretically informed. In addition to that strong presentation of material, the key advantages of the text are its focus upon sociological research about families, its consistent concern to properly contextualize family relationships, and the cross-cultural comparisons that it offers. Of yet greater interest to students, of course, would be comparisons that extend beyond three fundamentally similar capi-

talist societies. The book cannot be regarded as a comprehensive introduction to family studies; it is intended to provide "the basic elements of a family text" (xi) and it provides precisely that. The need to supplement it with a variety of additional readings is readily apparent from the brevity of space allocated to major substantive topics within the field. In this respect and in others, the title is somewhat misleading: topics such as the delusional and exploitative Western ideal of romantic love as well as the full spectrum of diversity in family formations are not addressed extensively or, in the case of the former, not addressed at all. Finally, where class issues are concerned, the concluding chapter regarding the future of family life continues a recurrent neglect of working-class families in favour of a much greater preoccupation with middle-class, dual-earner families. Overall, however, the text enables a fruitful launch into the breadth of issues that need to be explored by students of family sociology.

Debra Clarke  
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Tom Warner, *Never Going Back: A History of Queer Activism in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2002)

CET OUVRAGE AMBITIEUX retrace l'histoire du mouvement des gais, lesbiennes et bisexuel-le-s (désormais GLB) au Canada, depuis les premières associations homophiles des années 1960 jusqu'à l'aube du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle. La lecture qu'il propose est celle d'un militant ayant fait siens les principes de l'idéologie de la libération, formulés par les groupes radicaux apparus au tournant des années 1970. Il s'agit donc d'une reconstitution historique effectuée à partir d'un parti pris assumé : loin d'être disparu ou dépassé, le courant libérationniste demeure présent et vital au sein du mouvement large des GLB.

Organisé chronologiquement, le livre découpe trois périodes historiques correspondant à des configurations distinctes des dimensions idéologique, politique et organisationnelle à l'intérieur de ce vaste mouvement social. La première partie (avant 1975) s'ouvre sur une analyse de l'oppression des homosexuel-le-s et son ancrage dans les discours, les lois, les institutions et les structures sociales hérités du passé. Elle relate l'émergence des premiers groupes d'activistes prolifération, pour la plupart éphémères, porteurs d'une rhétorique radicale qui dénonce ce système d'oppression. Le legs fondamental de cette période, toujours à l'œuvre, selon Warner, dans l'action de nombreux groupements et individus, est celui d'une prise de conscience axée sur l'affirmation positive de soi (ou la fierté), la visibilité sociale et la défense des libertés sexuelles. La phase allant de 1975 à 1984 se caractérise par le développement des groupes communautaires, tout d'abord dans les milieux les plus urbanisés, et par les manifestations contre la répression policière et l'homophobie. Tout en progressant, le mouvement se bute aux nombreuses divisions internes et à la montée du conservatisme social, lequel se montre plus agressif au Canada anglais. Conséquemment, il parvient mal à traduire ses revendications en programme de changements sociaux et législatifs. Au cours des années subséquentes (1985-1999), s'opère un renversement des tendances idéologiques alors que les courants réformistes, visant essentiellement l'obtention d'une égalité de droits pour les gais et lesbiennes, occupent progressivement le devant de la scène publique. Misant sur les garanties offertes par la *Charte canadienne des droits et des libertés* et sur un élargissement de leurs alliances, ces groupes mènent des luttes juridiques et politiques de plus en plus victorieuses touchant la reconnaissance des conjoint-e-s de fait et de l'homoparentalité, tout en revendiquant l'accès au mariage. L'opposition entre tendances

« libérationnistes » et « assimilationnistes » se cristallise tandis que monte une nouvelle génération d'activistes *queers* qui renoue avec le radicalisme tout en remettant en question l'idéologie de l'affirmation identitaire.

Dans cet ouvrage volumineux, Warner fait œuvre de chroniqueur : il documente en détail les diverses facettes du mouvement tant sur les plans associatif et communautaire qu'au niveau des luttes politiques et de la vie culturelle. Une tâche titanesque pour laquelle il s'appuie principalement sur des témoignages, de nombreux articles parus dans la presse gaie et lesbienne ainsi que des documents d'archives. À ce titre, l'ouvrage constitue une référence indispensable, d'autant plus que l'auteur, conscient des habituels biais ethnocentristes, a déployé de réels efforts pour concrétiser une approche qu'il voulait globale (c'est d'ailleurs en ce sens qu'il faut décoder l'emploi du terme *queer* dans le titre). Ainsi sa fresque historique couvre l'ensemble du territoire canadien, incluant non seulement les grands centres urbains mais les régions rurales ou semi-rurales. Elle prend en compte les variations des conjonctures politiques provinciales (les gouvernements NPD s'avérant les plus favorables aux changements législatifs) ainsi que la spécificité québécoise.

En outre, Warner fait écho aux voix des groupes traditionnellement marginalisés au sein du mouvement (et de la société) : les lesbiennes, les minorités ethnoculturelles et les groupes racialisés, les bispirituel-le-s (Autochtones), les GLB ayant un handicap. Son attention aux groupes minorisés demeure soutenue tout au long de l'ouvrage, et non pas affirmée par principe puis négligée par la suite comme c'est trop souvent le cas. Refusant d'occulter les inégalités et les confrontations qu'elles suscitent, l'auteur expose leurs revendications en expliquant les difficultés et les frustrations qui sont les leurs, engendrées par le sexisme, le racisme et les autres formes de discrimination. Pour chacune des périodes

étudiées, il rapporte leurs réalisations, suit le développement de leurs réseaux associatifs et leurs façons de s'insérer dans l'ensemble du mouvement. Ainsi, il ressort la pluralité des modes d'organisation des lesbiennes et explique l'émergence d'un mouvement autonome (bien distingué du séparatisme lesbien) tout en relevant les points de friction avec les féministes au sein du mouvement des femmes et avec les gais dans les regroupements mixtes.

Certes, l'ampleur même du projet, dont la réalisation s'est étalée sur plus d'une dizaine d'années, exclut *a priori* toute possibilité d'exhaustivité et Warner n'y prétend pas. L'on pourrait déplorer certains manquements bibliographiques, des oublis d'événements ou de groupes dont l'existence, pour qui en aura été témoin ou acteur, aurait mérité d'être signalée. Cela dit, et malgré quelques passages un peu énumératifs, ce livre collige une mine d'informations tout en les rendant intelligibles : il brosse un portrait synthèse qui illustre efficacement les dynamismes propres à chacune des périodes et démontre concrètement la vitalité du mouvement des GLB, depuis ses origines dans la contestation sociale de la fin des années 60 jusqu'à la mosaïque contemporaine qu'il est devenu.

L'auteur ne se contente pas de suivre la mouvance des organismes associatifs et communautaires ou d'enregistrer les avancées et les reculs politiques. Il met en perspective chaque phase de l'évolution du mouvement en la situant dans son contexte socio-historique, analyse les enjeux et les déplacements entre divers terrains de lutte (contre le harcèlement policier et la répression sexuelle, vers l'adoption de mesures anti-discriminatoires et l'inclusion juridique des couples et familles homoparentales), décortique les jeux d'alliances et les stratégies, avance des explications aux succès et aux impasses rencontrées. Bien au fait des tensions et des querelles au sein d'un mouvement qu'il connaît de l'intérieur, Warner ne cherche pas à les

atténuer mais plutôt à faire comprendre les divergences objectives d'intérêts et les affrontements idéologiques ayant été sources de conflits et de scissions, notamment autour des stratégies de luttes (réformisme juridique versus tactiques de visibilité et de confrontation) et des questions relatives aux libertés sexuelles (pornographie et censure, âge du consentement à des activités sexuelles, etc.). Lorsqu'il fait état des débats d'idées, l'auteur présente clairement les positions des uns et des autres, prend soin d'étoffer les diverses argumentations en faisant preuve de rigueur et en maintenant une certaine distanciation. Le livre réverbère davantage les luttes de tendances telles qu'elles se sont déroulées en Ontario; il est donc malaisé pour un observateur extérieur d'évaluer la fidélité avec laquelle certaines controverses sont rapportées. L'ouvrage n'est pas exempt d'auto-justifications et adopte un ton plus ouvertement polémique dans certaines sections, mais il évite les raccourcis et les interprétations par trop réductrices. Dans l'ensemble, il jette un éclairage très instructif sur la nature des dissensions qui ont agité le mouvement.

La thèse principale de l'auteur découle de son analyse des racines de l'homophobie et de l'hétérosexisme présentée dans l'introduction. Warner dénonce avec vigueur l'illusion réformiste selon laquelle la tolérance sociale et l'égalité juridique suffiraient à mettre un terme à l'oppression des GLB. Fidèle à l'idéologie de la libération, il soutient la nécessité de changements sociaux en profondeur, lesquels s'amorcent par une transformation de la façon de se percevoir, individuellement et collectivement. C'est le refus de la victimisation (à distinguer d'une quête du sceau de la normalité et de l'approbation sociale) qui enclenche la volonté de lutter contre l'oppression : rejet de la haine intériorisée et de l'auto-dépréciation, célébration de la diversité sexuelle, visibilité et résistance active au harcèlement, à la discrimination et au

paternalisme dans toutes les sphères sociales. L'utopie de la libération n'a pas épuisé ses effets même si, dans la façade la plus visible du mouvement, la rhétorique radicale s'est émoussée — comme tous les discours libérationnistes des années 1970 — au profit d'une adhésion aux codes sociaux dominants. Que l'on partage ou non le point de vue de son auteur, cet ouvrage dresse un portrait fouillé et fort intéressant de l'évolution d'un mouvement dont les succès sont remarquables. Outre son intérêt historique et pédagogique (entre autres pour les plus jeunes générations n'ayant pas connu « l'âge d'or » de la libération ou s'interrogeant sur les origines des clivages actuels), ses principaux mérites résident, à mon avis, dans sa perspective large qui reflète la multiplicité des composantes du mouvement des GLB et dans la capacité de l'auteur de nous faire saisir, vu de l'intérieur, le pluralisme idéologique qui l'habite depuis toujours.

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Leslie Choquette, *De Français à Paysans. Modernité et tradition dans le peuplement du Canada français* (Septentrion: Presses de l'Université de Paris Sorbonne 2001)

LA PARUTION DU LIVRE de Leslie Choquette offre aux chercheurs et aux étudiants francophones la possibilité de prendre connaissance d'une étude importante, publiée en Anglais il y a déjà cinq ans. L'ouvrage de Choquette, qui est élaboré à partir de sa thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'Université Harvard en 1988, nous apprend des choses nouvelles sur l'immigration en Nouvelle-France.

D'abord, l'auteur a décidé d'approcher le sujet d'une perspective originale. Tandis que les chercheurs canadiens, spécialistes en démographie historique, faisaient surtout appel à des sources canadiennes, Choquette se tourne vers les



sources métropolitaines, telles les listes d'embarquement, les listes de malades et les déclarations de liberté au mariage. Par ce moyen elle a pu créer une banque des données impressionnante, contenant presque 16000 noms d'émigrants français qui se sont dirigés vers la colonie laurentienne ou vers l'Acadie.

La méthodologie adoptée par Choquette lui a permis de jeter un regard plus attentif sur les gens qui échappent très souvent au scrutin "canadien." En autres mots, elle put mettre en relief les immigrants saisonniers, ceux dont la présence dans la colonie fut d'une courte durée et qui repartaient en France (ou qui se déplacent dans les directions non-traditionnelles) sans avoir laissé des traces dans les documents notariaux ou d'état civil. L'importance démographique de ce groupe devient évident, entre outre, à la lumière du recensement de 1666 reconstitué en 1995 par Marcel Trudel.

Le titre du volume explique bien la plus importante conclusion de Choquette. Contrairement à l'opinion populaire, la grande majorité d'immigrants qui se dirigent vers la Canada sont originaires des zones urbaines et, comme le veut l'auteur, porteurs de la modernité française de l'époque. "Les communautés des départs étaient souvent des centres urbains qui avaient généralement un bon accès aux principales voies de communication, tant pour le transport des gens que celui des marchandises." (85) Les affirmations de Choquette remettent en question la vision habituelle du passé, vision selon laquelle le caractère national des Canadiens français s'explique par l'origine paysanne de leurs ancêtres. Or, selon l'auteur, dans le contexte d'émigration française, la paysannerie française était la seule vraie absente. L'auteur souligne l'importance de la composante artisanale — chose surprenante pour ceux qui croyaient que le développement économique de la colonie laurentienne aurait été mis en échec par l'absence du main-d'oeuvre spécialisée. Grâce à ses sources, l'auteur

peut aussi remettre en question la homogénéité religieuse de la colonie. Malgré le monopole officiel et légal de la religion catholique, le statut des minorités religieuses était en pratique plus ambigu. Grâce à la diversité du bassin d'émigrants, "les juifs et des protestants ont pu vivre dans la colonie pendant des périodes de temps prolongées." (127)

Nous ne pouvons que nous réjouir de la publication de cet ouvrage important et féliciter la maison d'édition Septentrion pour son initiative louable. On aurait souhaité l'inclusion d'une bibliographie (préférentiellement une bibliographie mis à jour) mais ce petit défaut sera sans doute corrigé lors d'une réimpression future. Il est certain que le livre de Leslie Choquette, déjà bien connu des chercheurs familiers avec la version anglaise, sera d'une grande utilité non seulement pour les spécialistes, mais tous ceux qui s'intéressent au passé canadien.

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Colin M. Coates and Cecilia Morgan, *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2001)

THE ROLE of political symbols, rituals, and *lieux de mémoires* in the formation of national identities has become a staple theme in the field of cultural history. A number of monographs have appeared in recent years on the "politics of commemoration" in modern Canada — by Norman Knowles, H.V. Nelles, Jonathan Vance, Jacques Mathieu, and Allen Gordon, among others — while the current spate of conference papers and journal articles on national mythologies, heroes, anniversaries, and monuments promises to transform the study of Canadian memory into an academic growth industry. *Heroines*

*and History* is a valuable addition to an already distinguished body of scholarship.

The book consists of two absorbing, richly detailed case studies of female heroism and its historical representations. Colin Coates traces the rise and fall of Madeleine de Verchères — who in 1692, at the age of fourteen, successfully defended her father's fort against an Iroquois attack — as an icon of Franco-Canadian Catholic and nationalist values; while Cecilia Morgan explores the metamorphosis of Laura Secord, on the basis of her celebrated twenty-mile walk through the wilderness to warn of an impending American attack during the War of 1812, into a potent symbol of patriotic womanhood for English Canada.

In their jointly written introduction, Coates and Morgan provide a concise, yet impressively thorough and astute survey of the major scholarly approaches to the study of collective memory, and a critical overview of recent Canadian contributions to the field, within which they situate their own distinctive analytical framework. The authors reject the idea of a strict dichotomy between a supposedly real social memory, rooted in a living popular culture and shared by all the members of the community, and the abstract, incomplete reconstructions of formal historical discourse based on archival documents and other textual remains. Neither concept by itself can convey the complex, tangled origins of our sense of the past, which is the product of a continuous dialogue between history and memory. The authors resolve the conundrum by applying the composite term "historical memory" to the representations of female heroism they set out to describe and analyze. (4)

Both authors begin by carefully establishing the original historical context in which Verchères and Secord performed their heroic exploits, in order to show how the first sketchy and contradictory eyewitness accounts were embellished and manipulated by a later generation of commemorators.

The stories of Verchères and Secord remained largely unknown until they were suddenly rediscovered in the second half of the 19th century by nationalist organizations eager to exploit their usefulness as unifying symbols. In French Canada, Verchères, together with the more prominent Dollard des Ormeaux, provided the nationalist right with a powerful symbol of *survivance* in the face of hostile external forces, whether represented by Iroquois warriors, British imperialists, or modern American popular culture.

Morgan describes how accounts of Secord's walk were seized on by Ontario's local historical societies after Confederation and incorporated into a new founding myth for the infant Dominion, peopled by heroic Upper Canadian militiamen and intrepid Loyalist pioneers. Morgan's acute analysis of "the gendered and racial dynamics" of British-Canadian memory charts the transformation of Laura Secord into the supreme symbol of female loyalty to empire and nation. (145) Unlike the official memories of the War of 1812, dominated by the male spheres of military heroism and politics, these later pioneer narratives, according to Morgan, represented women as historical agents, contributing to the spread of British civilization in the Canadian wilderness. Despite being permeated with deeply conservative assumptions about Canada's imperial destiny and the superiority of the British race, the historical memory of Loyalism did not necessarily reflect an anti-modern nostalgia for the vanished pioneer past. The educated, middle-class members of the women's historical societies, many of whom were also active in temperance and suffrage organizations, had a vested interest in certain forms of progress. And they placed Laura Secord, the War of 1812, and the Loyalists within a teleological framework that culminated in the progressive, confident, modernizing world of late Victorian bourgeois society. At the same time, however, they marginalized the contributions of other historical actors to the nation-building

process, especially Native people and the working classes, who were virtually erased from the collective memory of English Canada.

Coates situates Verchères within the woman warrior tradition epitomized by Joan of Arc, and provides an illuminating discussion of the way in which her transgression of traditional gender identities had to be minimized before she could serve as an appropriate role model for French Canadian youth; for example, by emphasizing her feminine qualities at the expense of her martial virtues, and insisting on her return to a conventional domestic role after her exploit, as a dutiful daughter, wife, and mother. But Coates also shows how Verchères, like all symbols, could lend herself to a variety of uses and causes. In the early 20th century she was appropriated by pan-Canadian nationalists anxious to create a shared historical memory capable of uniting the two founding races, and by English-speaking feminists and suffragists looking for inspiring icons of female empowerment and emancipation.

By focussing on a single object of commemoration the authors are able to consider historical memory in all of its forms, from monuments and epic poems to television dramas and commercial advertisements. Coates' detailed account of the campaign to construct an enormous, 25 foot bronze statue of Verchères in 1913 reveals the conflicting interests and meanings that are often involved in acts of public commemoration, as the pan-Canadian and Québec nationalists involved in its construction sought to claim the monument for their respective political communities. Morgan describes a similar struggle between the local, mainly female, defenders of Laura Secord's memory in the Niagara Region and male heritage bureaucrats who were more interested in the preservation of forts and battlefields.

Coates argues that Verchères' popularity as a symbol of French Canada peaked in the 1920s — a period of rapid

and unsettling social and economic changes — and then steadily declined, citing as evidence the dwindling number of visitors to her statue, an increasing willingness to question aspects of the original narrative, and the irreverence of later references to her exploits. And he describes how her loss of iconic status was accelerated by professional historians, who set out to debunk the conventional image of Verchères as a chaste, virtuous, French-Canadian version of Joan of Arc by revealing her subsequent career as a litigious, morally ambivalent virago, perpetually at odds with her neighbours and the local clergy. Unfortunately, Coates seems to lose interest in Verchères after the 1920s, providing a sketchy, disappointing survey of the use and abuse of her memory in the succeeding decades. His few scattered examples of latter-day representations, such as a magazine photograph of a lusty young woman being chased by a licentious priest, undoubtedly demonstrate her loss of status as a symbol of traditional French-Canadian values. This is unsurprising in view of the rapid secularization of Québec society after World War II. What Coates perceives as evidence of her decline in popularity, however, could perhaps be used to support a very different argument — that the image of Verchères could be successfully adapted to the needs of a modern secularized Québec. The illustration of a poster for the *oui* side in the 1980 referendum campaign, which prominently displays an image of Verchères as a woman warrior, clutching her musket and rallying her fellow citizens to the separatist banner, seems to point towards this conclusion. Even the more parodic treatments of her memory arguably demonstrate the "multivocal" nature of her appeal for French-Canadians. A fuller account of Verchères' fate as a national symbol in the new Québec would include some discussion of the part played by Québec's educational system in interpreting and transmitting her story to generations of impressionable schoolchildren. Surpris-

ingly, however, Coates completely ignores the role of schools and textbooks as vehicles of historical memory.

Morgan, by contrast, devotes a long perceptive chapter to the representation of Secord in Ontario school textbooks, readers, and examination papers from the 1880s to the present, in which she exposes the racial, class, and gender biases that for much of this period continued to exclude Aboriginal people, autonomous women, and labour struggles from officially approved narratives of nation-building. She is also able to point to examples of effective resistance from Native organizations, trade unions, and other groups, which in the 1970s began to demand a more inclusive curriculum. Morgan goes on to survey other forms of commemoration that were used to popularize Secord's memory in more recent decades, including monuments, historical pageants, radio and television plays, heritage tourism, and, of course, candy boxes; describing, for example, how the Laura Secord Candy Company sought to exploit the images of quaintness, tradition, and purity associated with her memory.

In a combined epilogue, the authors set out to "decentre" these dominant narratives of European heroism and endangered Canadian womanhood by attempting to recover the authentic motives and perspectives of the Aboriginal Other. In the case of Verchères, Coates has to rely on indirect evidence about contemporary Iroquois methods of warfare to challenge conventional representations of inherently cruel, marauding savages; whereas Morgan can draw upon the work of revisionist Native historians who in recent years have played a major role in reconstructing the experiences of the Mohawk people as rational, active historical agents during the War of 1812.

*Heroines and History* tends to focus on the ideas, activities, and motivations of the middle-class elites responsible for the construction and dissemination of historical memory. The authors frequently assert the popularity of Verchères and

Secord as public icons without providing much evidence — apart from some references to attendance figures at historic sites and an isolated public opinion poll — of what ordinary Canadians actually thought about them. But it would be unfair to castigate Morgan and Coates for dealing inadequately with the issue of reception, which remains the Achilles heel of cultural approaches to history. It is notoriously difficult to determine how or even whether the inherently ambiguous symbols and cultural messages generated by élites are received and understood by their intended audience.

Coates and Morgan draw upon an impressively wide range of recent works on memory, political ritual, and commemoration. Their complex and challenging arguments are solidly based on a varied and extensive array of primary sources, including sound recordings and films, and presented in a fluent, readable prose that masks a lightly worn theoretical sophistication. The text is enlivened by a generous selection of evocative illustrations, and marred by a scattering of minor typographical errors.

Coates and Morgan are both concerned with the "varied and multiple uses to which the same historical narrative may be put as it shifts locations and context." (232) They do not, however, address this crucial issue with the same degree of thoroughness, comprehensiveness, and insight. Coates' uneven contribution to their joint project is full of stimulating arguments and insights that cannot, however, wholly compensate for its gaps and omissions. It therefore suffers from the unavoidable comparison with Morgan's exemplary study of history, memory, and the interplay of gender, race and nationality in Loyalist Ontario.

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Priscilla Murolo and A.B. Chitty, Illustrations by Joe Sacco, *From the Folks Who Brought You the Weekend: A Short Illustrated History of Labor in the United States* (New York: New Press 2001)

THIS BOOK IS TITLED a short history, but commences with the Spanish colonialization of Florida in the 16th century, and the English in Virginia in the 17th. The period covered concludes with Teamsters and Turtles in Seattle at the end of the last century. This is not an illustrated history in the sense of the American Social History Project, *Who Built America?* (New York 1992) which has drawings, paintings, and photographs liberally distributed throughout. Instead there are the cartoons of Joe Sacco, which rather than complementing the text, appear as the occasional oasis in a desert of "text book style" type.

This is not conventional labour history. It is not restricted to trade unions or working-class history. The authors are "more inclusive" in terms of "workers" and working peoples' movements, and thus it is also a story of forced and free labour, master and journeyman. It covers the struggles of women and oppressed minorities and is inclusive in terms of the events and historiography included.

Historiography here implies that the authors have largely depended on secondary sources for their narrative, a reasonable thing to do in a survey. But the lack of footnotes, and a very limited bibliography, make it difficult to locate the authors' sources. However, historiography is contentious by definition, most events having contested explanations in terms of cause, effect, and importance of outcome. The authors believe that because they are describing historical events "from the bottom up" of people united in pursuing common goals that a truer and more useful history is created than that provided in schools. But this raises the question: can history be taught in isolation from the controversies that are integral to it? There is a risk that ignoring complexities of in-

terpretation creates a one-dimensional view of history.

For example, writing on Reconstruction, the authors state "the color line in employment was not challenged." (95) Regrettably, that was mainly the case. But it is not the whole story; William H. Sylvis of the Iron Molders' International Union and A.C. Cameron of the *Chicago Workingman's Advocate* argued for cooperation between black and white. It is also the case that Sylvis and Cameron failed to win the National Labor Union to their viewpoint. History from below cannot afford to ignore the minority that carried out a struggle for equality.

Another example is the racism that undermined the precarious unity of black and white Populists. There are complex issues to be considered here. What was the extent of real black and white unity, and what caused the breakdown of such unity? This issue has caused much heated debate amongst historians. Perhaps a lack of space explains the authors' approach, but a footnote with an acknowledgement of the controversy involved, and a guide to the relevant literature could overcome this.

One problem in covering such a vast period of history in an abridged form is what is to be included, or left out. The authors include a massive amount of detail in their account. An amazing number of strikes, campaigns, and organizations are detailed here. That being the case, what has been left out? Often rather than leave anything out the authors cram important episodes into a few pages. So the massive struggles of 1919-22, one of the most extensive and important periods of working-class activity in US history, are dealt with on four pages. There is at times a feeling of a calendar of events rather than a periodization of history.

Another example of this is that of the Seattle General strike of 1919. Although the strike suffered a serious defeat, it had an enduring influence in Seattle, and nationally was used as a springboard to create a backlash against the IWW and immi-

**grants (the notorious Palmer Raids or Red Scare). Yet this event is covered with only a few lines and no explanation of its wider effect or importance. (166)**

The strikes of 1919-22, and the attempts to build a labour party disintegrated under the weight of a bosses' offensive, anti-Red scares, and troops. But the crass leadership of the AFL did not help. The authors imply some criticism of the AFL leadership, but there is a need for a more analytical approach to this. This shying away from analysis permeates the whole book.

Almost by default there is continuity here: strikes are won or lost, and are listed in detail. Forced labour, master craftsmen, journeymen, servants, skilled labour, unskilled labour, and the oppressed, all are detailed here. However there is no consideration that a master craftsman may have different aspirations to that of a wage labourer. At what stage does a journeyman give up hope of becoming a master, or labour cease to sell his/her labour just as a commodity, but realize it is part of a class? Surely the class position, or aspirations, of a master craftsman are not the same as unskilled workers. The term, "labour" should not be used indiscriminately; the labour of exploitation belongs to a different class than that of the working class. In a sense, labour here becomes synonymous with "the people," an approach that can blur and confuse class lines.

Further to this it is also important to address why, at times, there is a lack of unity among workers. Why do racism and sexism take a hold? To what extent are these divisions caused by the actions of the ruling class? The politics of workers is another important factor that needs more explanation and analysis here.

For example, the authors describe the effect of anti-communism in undermining the unions and paving the way for Taft-Hartley. But why were the Communists so unsuccessful in combating their tormentors? Why did the mainstream union leaders get so taken up with

Red-baiting that they failed to prevent the shackling of the unions? There are hints at explanation, but the untrained eye could miss these hints. Those wanting to know more will feel that their wish is unfulfilled.

At the time of writing there are signs of the unions and movements in the US reviving, and many new activists will want to learn not just what happened in the past, but why. I feel it is in answering why that this book is at its weakest. The authors have not, as is fashionable in some parts of academia, written off the role of labour. For them no victory or defeat has ever been final, "for when the final conflict comes — as come it will — working people will have to be ready; the world will hang in the balance." (332)

These are noble sentiments but the key here is to be ready, not just for a "final conflict" but all the conflicts that are happening now. Today's activists want to know how to be ready and learn the lessons of the past. Why has US labour failed to have final victories? Why has labour, and the many movements, had to reinvent the wheel again and again, failing to build, so far, an organization that could ensure that final victory?

This book is strong on description of what happened (albeit if sometimes rather brief). However it may be better to cut back on the wealth of specific description, and provide an overview that relates to key conjunctures in the class struggle, leaving more space for controversy and analysis.

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Kenneth Wolensky, Nicole Wolensky, and Robert Wolensky, *Fighting for the Union Label: The Women's Garment Industry and the ILGWU in Pennsylvania* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press 2002)

WITH MINING EMPLOYMENT in steep decline in the Pennsylvania anthracite region, garment contracting factories left New York City in droves in the 1920s and 1930s in search of cheap labour and in an effort to avoid unions. *Fighting for the Union Label* documents the story of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union's (ILGWU) efforts to organize "runaway" shops in the Pennsylvania-Wyoming Valley during the post-World War II era. In particular the book focuses on the role Min Matheson played in building the union and its infrastructure. From its peak in the early 1960s, the union rapidly lost power as a result of deindustrialization. The authors argue that the flight of garment manufacturers overseas in the last few decades was rooted in the earlier exodus from New York City. They suggest that lessons for today's union organizers can be drawn from the ILGWU's post-World War II successes.

The ILGWU's organizing success depended upon cultivating relationships outside of the shop floor and in the larger community. The ILGWU depended upon building inter-union solidarity with the United Mine Workers of America and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The Teamsters were able to put significant pressure on intransigent factory owners by refusing to transport raw and finished materials to and from their facilities. The ILGWU also sought to gain support from community elites through participation in Community Chest and Red Cross blood drives. Furthermore, union leaders cultivated relationships with progressive employers. The union developed close ties with democratic politicians at the local, state, and national levels through concerted work on political

campaigns. Active ILGWU participation in electoral politics played a major role in the political realignment of the anthracite region toward the Democratic Party. Developing these partnerships signified both for Min Matheson personally and the union at large a turning away from a more radical worldview toward a belief in the possibility of reform.

While coalitions helped build a union-friendly environment in the Wyoming Valley District, the ILGWU's success ultimately rested upon determination in the face of the violence. A significant number of garment factories in the region were owned by prominent figures in organized crime. These staunchly anti-union employers engaged in intimidation, threats, and physical violence to undermine union efforts to organize workers in their factories. Making things even more difficult for the union, these gangsters often had the protection of corrupt police departments. Some of the most interesting passages of the book document Min Matheson and other rank-and-file women's tactics for confronting mob violence as well as their own fear.

The ILGWU and Matheson, the authors argue, were deeply committed to "social unionism," a belief that the union meant more than organizing for higher wages and better working conditions. The goal of "social unionism" was to build camaraderie and a union "way of life." This commitment required the establishment of a union infrastructure in Wyoming Valley. The components of this infrastructure consisted of a union newsletter, a garment workers' health care center, and a district chorus. Perhaps one of the most significant accomplishments of the union was the establishment of the Wyoming Valley District's Union Health Center in Wilkes-Barre. In its first 10 years the center provided health care services to over 20,000 district members. Given the health center's achievements, greater attention could have been paid to its development. While the chorus undoubtedly played an important role in the union "way of life,"

the authors' decision to publish the lyrics of so many songs without discussing their importance is a bit tedious for the reader.

The local and the national union also drew strength from a comprehensive educational program. The program largely emanated from Unity House, an elaborate workers' center and summer resort for union members. While significant attention is deservedly devoted to the educational aspects of Unity House, in discussing the resort's importance more attention could have been given to the role of leisure in the union "way of life."

A significant component of the educational programs and organizing efforts of the ILGWU consisted of transforming the place of women not only in the workplace but also in the home and the community. The authors document Matheson's successful efforts in the late 1940s to return the vote to women in Pittston, Pennsylvania. Before this campaign, women signed for their ballots and at the insistence of polling officials turned them over to their husbands. In spite of this intriguing story, the authors fail to convincingly document how the union changed the home lives of rank-and-file women. This weakness stems from the fact that they have written an organizational history rather than a social history. But the problem also stems from a general indifference to gender analysis. While issues related to gender seem constantly present in the book, the authors rarely address the matter directly. Even with a focus on organizers and union leaders, the issue of gender could have been addressed more adeptly.

*Fighting for the Union Label* leaves the reader with the distinct impression that the ILGWU's greatest success in the Wyoming Valley — the 1958 General Dress Strike — contained the seeds for the ultimate demise of the union. With the unions entrenched in garment manufacturing in the Northeast US, contractors and jobbers, often with pressure from retailers, began to move production to the South and ultimately out of the country altogether. While there is no question that

these forces were outside of the control of the union, the authors fail to look critically at the ILGWU and examine how the union's strategies may have hindered its capacity to adapt to this challenge. The absence of critique undercuts the authors' efforts to learn from the past. By failing to criticize the ILGWU, the authors ironically leave the readers with a sense of hopelessness. In spite of all the efforts of the workers, the reader is left wondering if capitalists will always win out.

Areas that seem prime candidates for critical analysis include the nationalistic strategies of the union and the ILGWU's over-reliance on the Democratic Party. The authors' insistence that the union was anti-racist, while potentially true, is far from compelling. A more sophisticated analysis of race, as it pertains to both the union hierarchy and the rank-and-file, would be illuminating. A more critical approach would have helped provide the reader with a greater understanding of the difficulties the union had in redefining itself in the 1990s. The book's cover has a photograph of an older white woman holding a photograph of a union advertisement urging consumers to "Buy American." Did this strategy forestall union efforts to organize workers in Central America, the Caribbean, and Asia? While the book acknowledges the Democratic Party's support of NAFTA, it fails to mention that the erosion of the Cotton Textile Agreement occurred with little opposition from the party in the 1960s and 1970s. More attention by the authors to the mistakes made by the union and its members would have provided the reader some room for hope in the future.

In spite of its shortcomings, *Fighting for the Union Label* introduces us to a little known chapter of labour history — women garment workers' struggle to organize in rural Pennsylvania. The authors successfully make the case that Min Matheson deserves a place in the canon of labor heroes. And most importantly, the book makes us rethink the history of



deindustrialization by turning back the clock 50 years.

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Ellen Israel Rosen, *Making Sweatshops: The Globalization of the U.S. Apparel Industry* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2002)

THE APPAREL INDUSTRY has figured prominently in processes of industrialization and in the struggles of the Western labour movement. In the context of a globalizing economy it again provides the textbook case, illustrating, in a new way, the principles of relentless capital accumulation, the supporting role of states, and the effects of hegemonic policies on workers. *Making Sweatshops* is bound to become the authoritative treatment illustrating these principles in the globalization of the US apparel industry. Ellen Israel Rosen offers a thorough understanding of developments in the industry and presents a story that keeps the reader glued to the text. This is an intelligent book that everyone interested in globalization should read.

Rosen argues that markets are not natural phenomena, but complex political institutions. Global markets gain their peculiar shape through rules codified in trade agreements, labour laws, and constructions of gender. Understanding markets as institutions allows her to link the globalization of the apparel industry to US foreign policy, anti-union, and gender politics.

Her narrative begins after World War II with the reconstruction of the Japanese textile industry under US occupation. The closure of the Chinese market for Japanese products, surpluses in the US cotton industry, and the desire to contain communism came together to shape a policy of opening US markets for Japanese garments. In the 1950s, the US desire to counteract the perceived falling of Asian dom-

inoes motivated similar strategies with regard to South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and contributed to the economic development of these countries. In all cases women workers, paid considerably less than men, constituted the bulk of the labour force.

The Eisenhower administration never succeeded in reconciling America's security aspirations with the demands of American industry for protection from increasing Asian competition. The Kennedy administration found a solution to this problem in GATT trade agreements, which enabled a funneling of Asian exports to European markets. Import quotas became the means of choice, limiting Asian exports into the US. The Multifibre Arrangement (MFA) multilaterally regularized the quota-based trade restrictions that characterized this first phase of the liberal trade regime.

In the 1980s, the Reagan administration launched a full-scale attack on limitations to free trade in clothing, circumventing defensive mechanisms allowed under the MFA against Chinese quota violations and vetoing protectionist legislation passed in Congress. Neoliberal orthodoxy and the discovery of new communist threats in Central America and the Caribbean motivated a regional free trade arrangement, the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI). The initiative included requirements for structural adjustment of Caribbean economies in exchange for financial support to develop non-traditional exports. Though the CBI excluded apparel, it functioned to accelerate apparel imports from the Caribbean region. US manufacturers took advantage of US Tariff Schedule 807.00, which allowed them to subtract US-fabricated components from the value of goods imported from the region for tariff purposes. Expanded in 1987 to allow unlimited quotas for imports from the Caribbean, the provision fostered the formation of export-processing zones and played a key role in enabling "just-in-time" production. It helped turn the Caribbean Basin

into "America's new garment district." (215)

The North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), paired with fiscal reforms imposed on Mexico by the IMF, expanded this logic of regional trade. While NAFTA allowed inputs to be procured from the three participating countries, it retained rules of origin that locked out Asian competitors and institutionalized a "nonprotectionist form of protection" for US textile companies. (203) Bilateral trade agreements between the US and individual Latin American countries proliferated in the 1990s, as did regional trade alliances that stiffened competition among countries exporting to the US. The 1996 African Growth and Opportunity Act extended free trade and rule-of-origin policies to Africa.

Players in the US textile and apparel industries have come to favour different trade strategies. Whereas the textile industry benefits from rule-of-origin protections, the apparel industry sources internationally and favours free trade without restrictions. Large-scale retailers have emerged as key political players who also favour free trade. Unions, that in the 1950s were supportive of free trade with industrialized countries, fiercely oppose contemporary free-trade arrangements with developing countries that they believe undermine wages and labour standards and foster a "race to the bottom."

In 1994, the Multifibre Arrangement expired. It was replaced by the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC) which was included in the treaty establishing the World Trade Organization (WTO). ATC prescribes the gradual phasing out of all quotas by 2005 and a substantial lowering of tariffs for textiles and apparel. China, the US's fiercest competitor in textile and apparel, now is a member of the WTO and will no longer be subject to quotas. US apparel producers are celebrating this new "freedom," while US textile producers are scrambling to open factories globally.

Throughout the book, Rosen shows that trade policies are labour and indus-

trial policies and reproduce gender inequalities. There is a parallel between the Taft-Hartley act, which encouraged the movement of garment factories from the Northeast to Southern "right to work" states, and free trade policies that encourage the movement of firms to "structurally adjusted" developing countries. And the freeing of trade in the apparel industry has effected a movement of US women workers into retailing, producing a new gendering of the labour force: almost 40 per cent of women in the US labour force today work in retailing, and 79 per cent of them earn an hourly wage of \$7.91 or less.

Rosen ends her narrative by asking who are the winners and who are the losers in the globalization of the apparel industry. She adduces evidence to show the gains of apparel manufacturers and the increased salaries of their CEOs. She also shows the losses for garment and textile workers, mostly women. Job losses have been particularly devastating for them, as they typically take longer to find new jobs and are rehired at considerably lower wages. Production workers have seen their wages dive globally, and the conditions of workers in export-processing zones today often are worse than those in the Massachusetts textile mills of the 19th century. Finally, workers have seen the reemergence of sweatshops; the majority of garment assembly jobs in New York today violate labour laws. Gains to consumers asserted by neo-liberals are questionable because neo-liberal models do not account for differences in power of economic players; indeed capitalists gain disproportionately, and there are minimal gains for those at the bottom of the economic hierarchy (often women). Protectionism, Rosen reminds the reader, is a progressive tax.

It is difficult, in a brief summary, to convey the richness of empirical detail and freshness of interpretation that characterize this book. Taking on liberal ideologies while illustrating the contradictions and complexities of globaliza-

tion processes, the book is an exercise in passionate scholarship at its best.

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James D. Rose, *Duquesne and the Rise of Steel Unionism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2001)

JAMES D. ROSE has given us a book of considerable depth and originality. In re-telling the story of the early days of steel unionism, Rose overturns much of what we thought we knew about the era. Company unions, working-class unity, rank-and-file militancy, labour law, the New Deal, and ultimately the rise of steel unionism itself are revisited. This fascinating account represents labour history at its very best. Part of the University of Illinois' "Working Class in American History Series," edited by David Montgomery, *Duquesne and the Rise of Steel Unionism* is a must read for anyone interested in the history of North American trade unionism.

The book is organized into six chronological chapters arranged around the great steel strike of 1919; the shop floor issues of the 1920s and 1930s; the rise of a "rank-and-file" movement in the immediate aftermath of the New Deal; the formation of an Employee Representation Plan (ERP), or company union, at US Steel; the triumph of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) in 1937; and, its subsequent consolidation. This basic story-line has been repeated so often that it is a wonder that Rose has anything new to add. The fact that he succeeds brilliantly owes much to his innovative approach and to his use of new sources.

Rose tracks the rise of steel unionism in a place that remarkably few labour historians have looked: on the shop floor. Unlike earlier studies that paid close attention to the institutional rise of industrial unionism, or the more recent literature dedicated to local working-class

communities, Rose focuses on the shop-floor relations of a single workplace: the Duquesne Works of US Steel, located South of Pittsburgh in the Monongahela River Valley. A study of this kind allows Rose to recreate the interplay between the company, its employees, and their unions. We therefore learn much about day-to-day conflict over wages, poor working conditions, promotion, and job security. We also learn that the workforce was divided along racial and ethnic lines, pitting skilled workers against the unskilled, and hourly paid workers against those paid by tonnage. There were no "steelworkers" at Duquesne, only bricklayers, machinists, chippers, open hearth labourers, tonnage men, foremen, immigrants, and the native born. Given this fragmentation, it was truly remarkable that industrial unionism eventually took hold.

But the originality of Rose's book goes well beyond his decision to study a single steel mill. The closure of US Steel's Duquesne Works in the early 1980s proved disastrous for steelworkers, their families, and for the mill town as a whole. It did, however, result in the salvage of personnel records from an abandoned mill building and their being made available to researchers at the University of Pittsburgh's excellent United Electrical Workers/Labor Archives. To be blunt, these corporate records made Rose's workplace approach possible, enabling him to reconstruct the shop floor experience of Duquesne steelworkers and provide us with an inside look into a company union. Rose's findings on a number of counts are crucial to understanding the rise of steel unionism in the US. For the purposes of this review, however, I will limit my comments to two aspects: the positive role that the company union played in the triumph of industrial unionism at Duquesne, and the exaggerated image of rank-and-file militancy propagated by some historians.

Two models of labour representation vied for the loyalty of Duquesne

steelworkers in the 1930s: industrial unionism and company unionism. Up to the present time, labour historians have generally praised the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers as the forerunner of the SWOC: a militant and multiracial movement of unskilled workers. By contrast, the local ERPs set up by US Steel have been condemned as creatures of the company. But Rose finds otherwise. He argues that *both* organizations laid the foundation for steel unionism at Duquesne (and one would presume at other mills). I was surprised to learn, for example, that the Duquesne ERP quickly developed a mind of its own, representing the shop floor concerns of skilled and semi-skilled workers with great resolve. Grievance records reveal that 91 "requests" (for there was no binding arbitration) were made in the first year, dealing with a variety of issues, big and small. Decisions were also regularly appealed to corporate headquarters. As a result, ERP representatives, elected annually, won important improvements in health and safety, hours of work, wage and tonnage rates, and a host of other issues. Naturally, these shop floor representatives enjoyed considerable rank-and-file support among the privileged and largely native born, white workers. When several of these same ERP representatives defected to SWOC in 1936-37, they gave the industrial union instant shop floor credibility, local leaders experienced with grievance procedures, and a following among skilled and semi-skilled workers.

Rose also raises important questions about the "rank-and-file" school of history most closely identified with Staughton Lynd. How militant were steelworkers during the 1930s? Could local rank-and-file organizations take on US Steel? In their formulation of the "radical and localized activity of workers early in the depression," (5) Lynd and others have argued that a spontaneous upsurge of working-class militancy (or "community unionism") was suppressed by the nationally organized CIO. This

historiographic line has its counterpart in the extensive "post-war compromise" literature in Canada. In *Duquesne and the Rise of Steel Unionism*, Rose finds the claims of working-class militancy exaggerated. Corporate paternalism, the threat of reprisals, and a fragmented workforce all worked against working-class unity. Thus, industrial unions, whether locally or nationally organized, failed to sign up a majority of Duquesne workers until *after* the national agreement had been signed with US Steel without a strike. Rose demonstrates, very effectively in my opinion, that it took a combination of the New Deal, the Wagner Act, and a nationally organized industrial union with support from unskilled and skilled workers to force a giant like US Steel to the bargaining table.

One final point. There is, as Rose points out, a tendency to let the recent failures of industrial unionism and labour law shape our view of the rise of industrial unionism during the 1930s. The Cold War purges of left-wing trade unionists, union support for the war in Vietnam, and the failure of the United Steelworkers to resist plant closings during the 1970s and 1980s, however, should not diminish the early accomplishments of steel labour.

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Nikki Mandel, *The Corporation as Family: The Gendering of Corporate Welfare, 1890-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press 2002)

THE CORPORATE WELFARE movement that emerged towards the end of the 19th century was awash in familial metaphors. Workers in a wide array of North American corporations were encouraged to think of themselves as members of the corporate family as they availed themselves of a dazzling, if patchy, array of amenities ranging from water fountains and cleaner toilets, to reading rooms and

glee clubs, to pensions, paid vacations, and profit sharing. Employers' motives were transparent to both workers at the time and to subsequent historians. As workplaces grew in size and complexity, particularly during the merger movement at the century's end, and as workforces became more diverse and potentially intractable, employers' "search for order" led them to experiment with welfarism.

This was decried by many workers at the time (and, subsequently, by historians) as paternalism. The implication was that welfarism was backward looking, and its critics were always ready to denounce it as "industrial feudalism." Nikki Mandel, however, argues convincingly that "the corporation as family" was not an allusion to a bygone ideal. Rather, the movement faithfully reflected the Victorian values of its sponsors — middle-class men and women. Far from being advocates of a discredited paternalism associated with "indiscriminate charity" and emasculating dependency, they sought to recognize and direct workers' desires for independence and self-respect.

For the Victorian middle-class, the family harboured the solution to social ills. Within the family, boys would learn to channel their natural aggressiveness and girls develop their nurturing characters. The disordered and vice-ridden world of workers and immigrants reflected the failure of the working-class family. Indeed, an emerging breed of sociologists would soon lament the "break-down of the family." Other social institutions would have to fill the gap, not least of which was the factory itself.

All of this helps explain some of the peculiar features of late 19th-century welfarism. Employers and welfare managers sought to create the proper environment, analogous, in many ways, to their own homes. Reading and smoking rooms were well appointed, lunchrooms provided wholesome meals, restrooms shone as models of privacy and of cleanliness, and gardens bloomed on company grounds. All of this was analogous to the

assumed moral effect of middle-class décor on their own class. Women were taught sewing and social skills; men were encouraged to save for their family's future. In short, despite eschewing paternalism, workers were assigned the role of children, requiring the kind of training and direction their own families had failed to provide.

The domestic sphere, of course, was women's and corporate welfarism attracted a considerable cadre of dedicated women. Primarily concerned with employers' motives and workers' responses, Mandel notes that the literature has given short shrift to those who constructed and ran these programs: the welfare managers. They shared much with other Progressive era activists who aimed to extend the values of the home through settlement houses, rational recreation, domestic science, scientific charity organizations, and on and on. Rather than rehashing all of this, Mandel incisively explores the challenges they faced in the corporate world as a means to understanding the dynamics and the trajectory of the movement.

Central to her argument is a recognition that the corporation was not a family, and certainly not the idealized family of the Victorian middle-class. Welfare workers — the putative "mothers" of this fictive family — were outsiders in the business world, both because many (but far from all) were women, and because their agenda differed so markedly from employers. The workplace remained the "foreman's empire," and foremen and line managers resented their authority being challenged, particularly by interlopers who had no business being there in the first place. They had not bought into the "corporation as family" myth, and were hardly likely to, given that they would have no place of authority within it. The employers — the Victorian fathers — were hardly less helpful, since their support of welfare was predicated upon its profitability, and they primarily saw it as a means of controlling their workforce. Indeed, despite the proliferation of wel-

fare schemes, any toehold welfare managers were able to gain within factories was tenuous. This was largely because they took their social housekeeping seriously, often recognizing that the conditions of work, particularly low wages, precluded the stability they sought to provide for working-class families.

Not only was the analogy to the family tenuous in the first place, the gender ideology that provided a space for women here soon shifted. The early 20th-century companionate family ideal undermined notions of motherly duty and promoted more egalitarian gender roles and increased autonomy for family members. Maybe, although it would be difficult to argue that Victorian ideals vanished, particularly within the rarefied culture of corporate America. More convincing is Mandel's argument that the corporation was a poor environment to nurture women's professionalism. Welfare managers were isolated and lacking in autonomy, and were, consequently, unable to build a professional organization that could sustain a professional identity or, in the end, protect their jobs. This, indeed, is a remarkable weakness given the proliferation of women's organizations in every other sphere of activism, and Mandel explains it with considerable skill. As managerial capitalism took firmer root, women welfare workers all but disappeared, replaced by male personnel managers. Here Mandel's focus is weaker, as there is little recognition of the character of the post-World War I labour uprising that gave rise to a flurry of industrial representation plans intended to satisfy workers with an *ersatz* workplace democracy. This would hardly, though, have weakened Mandel's thesis since they attempted to reflect a citizenship that was deeply gendered.

While Mandel explores the maternal role of welfare managers skillfully, her exploration of the workers' response to all of this is less satisfying. While there are accounts of workers shunning the role of corporate child, preferring to maintain

their independence and dignity, the evidence here is considerably spottier. The problem is the wide diversity of welfare schemes. Although Mandel cites impressive statistics as to their breadth, welfare plans were often very rudimentary. Even among workplaces with substantial plans, workers might face diverse scenarios often, as Mandel notes, finely attuned to workers' gender (and also to their ethnicity, age, organizing capabilities, history, and so on). In order to tell these stories, a very different focus would be necessary. An interesting counterexample is Joan Sangster's careful analysis of women's work culture and welfare capitalism at Westclox in Peterborough. Here many variables are brought into play to explain the process of accommodation. Although the timeframe is later and more sources are available, it is important to take note of gendered cultures, local traditions, and limited options, that confronted specific groups of workers.

Welfare capitalism certainly represented a coherent movement within North American business. But at the same time, it is a catch-all of diverse and often contradictory actions. As Nikki Mandel quite rightly argues, corporate behaviour was informed by Victorian family ideology. Nevertheless, anyone who has studied corporate welfarism will recognize how variable its programs, and consequences, were. Her recognition of the centrality of gender ideology to the entire enterprise will prove invaluable for those studying workers' lives under corporate welfare regimes. There is still much to learn about how corporate welfarism shaped class and gender relations in the workplace. Local studies are a staple of labour history and this national survey — as strong as it is — reminds us that class and gender are shaped in concrete relations on the shop floor, in homes, and in neighbourhoods. This book should help reinvigorate such research.

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Prometheus Research Library Staff, *Dog Days: James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933* (New York: Spartacist Publishing Company 2002)

WHAT IS LEFT of the Left has lost its stomach for debating finer points of revolutionary program. This is one reason, among many, that recent much-heralded and undoubtedly sincere attempts in Canada to "Rebuild the Left" were destined to derail — which they have. It is all well and good to decry finger-pointing and desire to overcome splits and lack of unity, but these realities of fragmentation do indeed have histories. They are rooted in actual political clashes about significant matters. All of this will not be overcome by the suppression of ideas and the insistence that political practice build unity on a foundation of divergent beliefs.

If the Left responds to its current and undoubtedly temporary fractured inconsequentiality by denying the importance of programmatic clarity, the "progressive" academic milieu is much worse. It decries the Left's failures, and abandons the politics of building the Left for the attractions of subjectivity and the strokings of the self, making an intellectual and theoretical virtue, as well as a canvass of study, out of its own narcissism. The result, within the discipline of history, is a turn toward "fashionable" subjects as depoliticized as they are generally championed to be political.

There remain, thankfully, some on the Left for whom the meaning and clarification of a revolutionary political program is of paramount concern. This is of course a historical question, for the Left distills and refines its conception of direction and the critical tasks of the age within history, through a constant testing of ideas and practices in the crucible of activity that is always situated contextually. This is precisely why, within the Left, no tendency is perhaps more prone to factional debate, and more attuned to its significance, than Trotskyism. For the historic Left Opposi-

tion was born in the factional formations within the Soviet Union and the Communist International that chose to consciously resist the programmatic degenerations of Stalinism.

Among United States Trotskyists, organized in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) from 1938 on, and who were for much of the pivotal years of the 1930s and 1940s the leading section of the Fourth International, the decisive faction fight, pitting two of the original founders of the movement, James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman, against one another, was the 1940 discussion over the nature of the Soviet Union. Cannon, whose supporters included many of the old guard trade-union stalwarts of American Trotskyism, argued that the Soviet Union, for all of its degenerations, remained a workers' state and thus had to be defended unconditionally against imperialist aggression. In contrast, Shachtman, his commitment to this orthodox Trotskyist stand broken with the Hitler-Stalin pact and the Red Army invasion of Finland, insisted that the Soviet Union had become something other than a workers' state. He later labelled this new and contradictory social formation "bureaucratic collectivism." If, under certain conditions, this new state, however defined, *might* be defended, it was also possible, in the shifting Shachtman set of understandings over the 1940s, to refuse it support. This entailed pursuing a politics of 'class struggle' that risked the destruction of Soviet society, its replacement by capitalism, and a consequent strengthening of imperialism. No "unity" could prevail, especially in a context of World War, with these differences separating Cannon, Shachtman, and their respective followers; indeed, it was not long before Shachtman and his minority (which included a substantial section of the Trotskyist youth) split from the SWP to form the short-lived Workers Party (WP). Over the course of the 1940s and 1950s Shachtman drifted to the right, and eventually his 'Third Camp' politics, which

soon came to regard both Stalinism and capitalism as equally pernicious enemies of socialism, led to his failure to condemn even American imperialism's Bay of Pigs invasion of the Cuban deformed workers' state.

The 1940 Cannon-Shachtman faction fight is thus a defining moment in what some have called the "two souls of Trotskyism." Next to the 1928 expulsion of Cannon, Shachtman, and others, including, in Canada, Maurice Spector, from the Communist International, the 1940 factional split is the most important act of political differentiation *within* the revolutionary Left in the 20th century. Its meanings penetrated the fissures of the Left for generations, as disagreement over the nature of the Soviet Union continued to exercise an importance for orthodox Trotskyists and various Third Camp formations into the 1980s. Why, for instance, if Stalinism and capitalism were equal enemies of the revolutionary workers' movement, could Third Campers *refuse* unconditional military defence to Korean Stalinists in the early 1950s but call for military victory of Vietnamese Stalinists in the 1960s? How could a Stalinism that was already capitalism's bureaucratic collectivist equal by the 1970s have such profound consequences when it collapsed politically in 1989 and ushered into being an unambiguous project of barbarous capitalist restoration in Russia? (Does not the final descent into capitalist restoration suggest there *was* something worth defending critically within the Soviet Union even as late as the 1980s?)

Within Trotskyism, there has always been an almost underground mythology of a pre-1940 factionalism, pitting Cannon and Shachtman against one another in the early days of the SWP's predecessor, the Communist League of America (Opposition), or CLA. But no actual writing on this early 1930s factionalism has ever sustained an argument of substance about this schism, including a discussion of the actual politics animating the clash. Indeed, because a part of this factional rift

supposedly turned on Shachtman's and others' personal pique at Cannon ducking his leadership responsibilities and failing to live up to his role as the preeminent leader of the small US Trotskyist forces, the tendency has been to brush this factional period aside as a momentary falling out of key figures in the movement, men who would later come together in the Minneapolis truckers' strike of 1934 and go on to build Trotskyism and found the SWP.

Animated by a gnawing suspicion that more was at stake in this original factionalism, the Prometheus Research Library (PRL), which has previously published an invaluable collection of James P. Cannon's communist writings of the 1920s, began the arduous research task of piecing together the Cannon/Shachtman rift in the CLA over the years 1931-1933. The task was not easy. These were the "dog days" of North American Trotskyism. The movement commanded a scattered army of little more than 200 anti-Stalinist stalwarts, had access to no Moscow gold, and faced the destitution and demoralization of the first years of the Great Depression in the worst imaginable material and political circumstances. Oral recollections of the events, which the PRL attempted to secure, proved of little use, for participants generally claimed that no substantive politics lay behind the Cannon-Shachtman clash, and that the factionalism of these years had little lasting impact. Almost no published writing existed that shed much light on the issues, although one factional lieutenant of Shachtman, Albert Glotzer, published a 1945 tirade reviewing Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism* (1944) in the WP's theoretical journal, *The New Internationalist*, which hinted at important continuities. But by meticulously going through CLA bulletins, minutes, and correspondence, as well as seeking out the international context and correspondence of Trotsky that addressed issues far from US shores, the PRL eventually unearthed an amazing 600 documents relating to the



contentions in the CLA, 118 of which appear in this volume, which also contains a lengthy and informative introduction, a highly useful glossary, and a thorough and indispensable index. The choice of documents to include was in part made on the basis of what was available in other collections (such as the Monad Press volumes on Cannon's writings and speeches in this period, published originally in the early 1980s). But there will inevitably be eyebrows raised about what is reprinted here and what is not. That, to my mind, is not a primary concern, for enough has been included to make this a volume of unrivaled utility.

This quest to reconstruct a history that appeared to have been almost consciously buried by all participants is thus a model of traditional historical method, and one that should not be lost sight of in our age of postmodern textualism, in which researchers latch on to a rhetorical source and run with its meaning in playful circles of self-indulgence and intellectual licence. For what the PRL did was search out the uncollected, scattered, and subconsciously repressed archive of evidence necessary to build an understanding of what actually was happening in 1931-1933. Refusing to see only what was before their focused eyes, the PRL researchers insisted, and fruitfully so, on casting their inquisitive net widely, drawing into it the overlapping evidence that would finally bring together inferential links that clarified the politics of the moment as reaching past the personal and into issues of substance, especially in terms of international questions relating to how the Trotskyist movement was to be built.

What the PRL found was intriguing. To be sure, some of the documentation is personalized carping against Cannon. That Cannon himself bore some responsibility for this is undeniable, given that he was too often absent from his post or desultory in providing reports and carrying through on necessary journalistic assignments, as even supporters such as Arne Swabeck, or

his lover and comrade Rose Karsner, made abundantly clear. If there is a "personal" history in these documents that needs addressing, however, it is how insensitive Shachtman and his young allies, such as Martin Abern and Albert Glotzer, were to the pressures of poverty and family responsibility (Karsner was not physically well, and she and Cannon had the care of three children) that plagued Cannon in this period and contributed, along with the sour political climate, to his mood of pessimism and withdrawal. Without children, and sustained by working wives, the Shachtman contingent had the insensitivity and arrogance of youth stamped all over its attacks on Cannon who, to be sure, handed them his head on a platter and then spit nails when his opponents demanded this "prize."

More critically, and this is the overwhelming contribution of this documentary collection, the evidence amassed by the PRL offers the first suggestion that the faction fight of 1931-1933 was about much more than a critique of the deficiencies of the Cannon "regime" and that it ultimately threatened the very life of early US Trotskyism. The dispute was not unrelated to Shachtman's role internationally, where he was the key link between the US Trotskyists and the European International Left Opposition. Trotsky found Shachtman too cozy with unprincipled maneuverings and cliquist formations and insufficiently forthright in his reports and interactions, and the documents presented establish that without question. If there is a flaw in this segment of the collection, it is that the PRL's argument about Cannon's opposition to Shachtman and, in particular, Cannon's attack on trade union opportunism in the French section, is *underdeveloped*. For instance, in the first section, "Shachtman in the International," not a single Cannon item appears, the Cannon group represented by a solitary Swabeck statement among 23 documents.

In the next section on "The Fight" itself, the disputed questions of the period

are revealed, including: Leninist methods of party organization; the role of the Red Army as a potential proletarian agent in resisting Hitler's rise to power; and the nature of Trotskyist work in the US trade unions, particularly among the miners of southern Illinois. Cannon is very much at the centre of things, running headlong into oppositions from Shachtman and his factional allies. All of this brought the nascent American Trotskyist movement to the point of a debilitating split, and documents in the third section show how Trotsky and the International intervened decisively in early 1933 to convince the US comrades to stop the blood-letting. Because there were no clear-cut programmatic issues involved in the ongoing differences in the CLA, this final "settlement" was necessary and laid the basis for six years of collaboration between Shachtman and Cannon. This 700-page anthology suggests that the seeds of political differentiation had been laid, however, and their bitter fruit would eventually ripen into the historic schism of 1940. But the jury must remain out on that particular verdict. The Cannon-Shachtman difference over the potential role of the Red Army in contributing to the European challenge to Hitler's rise to power is, however, suggestive, with Cannon opting for the *possibility* of a more offensive role outside Soviet borders and Shachtman backing away from this stand.

This volume is a reminder of what historical research can uncover. And it conveys richly what early Trotskyism contributed to the discourse and practice of the revolutionary Left. For its politics were about what mattered: programmatic direction and principled practice. When disagreement arose among those committed to the revolutionary transformation of society, positions were developed and differences were fought out with vigor. Suppression of principles and bureaucratic dictate did not win the day in all circles of the Left, as it had among the Stalinists, and the cult of personality and the unquestioned authority of leaders, even

Trotsky, as these documents show, was anything but dominant in this factional contest. Internationalism, in combination with airing of differences (at times, admittedly, far too personalized) within a national section, and their eventual principled resolution, brought US Trotskyism out of its internecine fights and dog days and into the struggle for a proletarian party and an influence within the working class.

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Ronald D. Cohen, *Rainbow Quest: The Folk Music Revival and American Society, 1940-1970* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press 2002)

IN CONTRAST TO THE DEARTH of good material on the English and Canadian folksong revivals, there is already a huge number of works on the post-war American revival: biographies, autobiographies, reminiscences, collections of essays, collections of primary documents, articles, and doctoral dissertations. One hardly knows where to begin in approaching such a splendid array of printed matter. A book such as *Rainbow Quest*, which attempts to make sense of it all by providing a synthesis of the literature and an overview of the roots and evolution of this significant cultural phenomenon, is therefore very welcome. It is not an easy task to accomplish well. Others before Cohen have tried and, in the main, failed. The most recent attempt was Robert Cantwell's *When We Were Good: The Folk Revival* (1996). Cantwell chose to write a series of reflective essays on various aspects of the revival, but his book provided very little factual information, and seemed curiously selective in its emphases. While useful and sometimes insightful, it was hardly the definitive history for which we have so long been waiting.

Cohen's alternative survey is moderate in length (290 pages, plus preface, endnotes, and index). The book has many virtues, although, surprisingly, it lacks a bibliography. It is thorough, informative, well documented, and even-handed in its coverage of those aspects of the American revival on which its author chooses to focus. However, as an overview of the entire movement it has some weaknesses. Cohen does not go back far enough in his search for the roots of the revival. He is good on the work of such American pioneers as Carl Sandburg and John Lomax, but he needed to look further back than the 1920s and further afield than the US. The post-war American revival was one of several branches from a stem rooted in the British Isles. If you analyze Joan Baez's early material, for example, you will find that she mainly sang a mixture of traditional ballads and folk-lyrics. The ballads were mainly selected from those collected from English and Scottish sources during the Victorian era by Harvard professor Francis James Child. The folk-lyrics were often songs collected in the Southern Appalachians by English folklorists Cecil Sharp and Maud Karpeles, or by their successors working for the Library of Congress. Many of the topical folk songs written during the 1950s and 1960s (including several of Bob Dylan's) used melodies that derived from traditional song. And the resurgence of traditional music — unaccompanied ballad singing, fiddle playing, rebel songs, and Celtic stylings — was a major dimension of the revival; indeed, the foundation that underlay both protest song and the commercial folk boom. Equally important was the way in which a whole gamut of singer-songwriters developed traditional forms in their search for self-expression. Cohen minimizes and neglects these important dimensions of the movement. His version of its history is largely restricted to topical song and to the rise and fall of such big names as the Weavers, the Kingston Trio, Baez, Dylan, and Peter, Paul, and Mary.

The people most strikingly absent from *Rainbow Quest* are thus all the other singers. A considerable number of artists — country bluesmen, urban bluesmen, "old timey" musicians, bluegrass pickers, and a few singer-songwriters — do get brief mentions, but their work receives no concerted analysis. One looks in vain for recognition of the important roles played in the 1950s by such figures as Buell Kazee, Bascomb Lamar Lunsford, Susan Reed, and Cynthia Gooding, or in the 1960s by Eric Anderson, Judy Collins, Gordon Lightfoot, Joni Mitchell, and Jean Ritchie, among others. Why is this? In part it is a matter of space. By choosing to give the floor to administrators and journalists, Cohen left too few pages available to do full justice to the many talented singers and instrumentalists. But the explanation goes beyond this. The truth is that Cohen is not very interested in the *music*. Only one song, "Tom Dooley," receives any substantive analysis, and none are quoted. There are no musical examples. Nor is there ever any discussion of musical styles, except for Dylan's return to his rock 'n' roll roots. In short, the music gets short shrift in *Rainbow Quest*, and so does the poetry in the lyrics. It is as if Woody Guthrie never composed "Deportees," Pete Seeger "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" Dylan "Desolation Row," Joni Mitchell "Woodstock," and Baez never recorded "La Colombe (The Dove)" or Judy Collins "Marat/Sade."

*Rainbow Quest* is therefore not a survey of the entire American folk music revival. Notwithstanding the book's subtitle, it is essentially an *institutional* history, covering the years 1945 to 1967. The focus is on organizations and on the people who founded and ran them. The reader is treated to a great deal of fascinating data on clubs, coffee houses, stores, magazines, and festivals, much of it culled by Cohen from interviews conducted with participants or from the papers left behind by others. For example, we follow the troubled history of the *People's Songs* cooperative and its successor, the *People's*

**Artists booking agency.** The changing editorial perspective of *Sing Out*, managed for most of its early life by Irwin Silber, is analyzed. The varying fortunes of several folk festivals, including Berkeley and Newport, are chronicled. The evolving viewpoint of Izzy Young, proprietor of the Folklore Center (a Greenwich Village music store) is traced over a ten-year period (1957-67), using Young's diary and his semi-regular "Frets and Frails" column in *Sing Out*. Cohen has amassed a large body of hitherto mainly unused primary source material, and he quotes from it extensively, thereby recreating a first-hand feel for the ongoing debates and controversies within the movement over such issues as authenticity, protest song, commercialism, and the very nature of "folk music" itself. There is a striving for racial equality in the coverage: one of Cohen's frequently quoted activists is Julius Lester, and, as might be expected, considerable space is given to the reciprocal interaction between the Civil Rights movement and the folk boom. Another striking virtue of the book is the fairly systematic attempt at geographical evenhandedness. This is not just a history of the New York scene. Cohen makes a concerted attempt to also follow events on the East Coast (Boston/Cambridge), the mid-West (Chicago, primarily), and the West Coast (LA/San Francisco). On the other hand, the focus is almost entirely on the big cities, and the Asheville festival, for example, receives only a few brief remarks.

Although this is in no sense a polemical work — indeed its accurate and balanced documenting of different opinions on divisive issues is one of its virtues — Cohen's preferences (and his politics) can be read between the lines. For example, he has little sympathy for Bascomb Lamar Lunsford's anti-communism or for Burl Ives' repudiation of his leftist connections. His heroes are Guy Carawan, Izzy Young, and Julius Lester, and he is willing to print without negative comment the latter's scathing and mean-spirited attack

on Baez (a dedicated campaigner for racial equality and against the Vietnam war) as a good-looking white "bitch" whose only trials were "deciding whether she should fly first-class or tourist." (207) He judges the revival to be in decline after 1966 because the commercial boom began to wane and politically engaged singers turned away from civil rights to the anti-war movement. This view undervalues the wealth of contemporary folksong created in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as well as neglecting the resurgence of traditional music that fueled the Celtic revival. So although *Rainbow Quest* comes fairly close to satisfying the need, we are still waiting for a comprehensive history of the American folk revival.

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Gordon Lafer, *The Job Training Charade* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 2002)

IN THE 1980s the rising tides of neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism rocked the foundations of the welfare state in all of the advanced western nations. Two prongs of the attack on the modes of regulation that characterized the Fordist/Keynesian era were cutbacks in the generosity and coverage of welfare and unemployment benefits and a retreat from the use of direct state intervention to promote full employment through job creation programs. Reduction of welfare and unemployment insurance expenditures and the fight against inflation became top priorities. Given that poverty and unemployment remained serious issues, politicians needed a policy that would at the very least give the appearance that they still cared about the millions of people who were unemployed or underemployed in part-time or temporary jobs, or in positions that simply paid too little for them to break out of poverty. This is the context in which governments,

ranging from social democratic through to right-wing conservative in terms of their proclaimed leanings, latched onto job training as the solution to the problems of unemployment, underemployment, and poverty. The idea that these problems stemmed from the characteristics of individuals rather than from failures of the market was given academic respectability by (mostly) economists who argued that they were rooted in a lack of human capital or in a mismatch between the skills of those looking for decently paid work and the positions that were available. Thus, what had once been seen as deficiencies in the workings of labour markets came to be seen and treated as deficiencies in those individuals unable to make a go of it in the new *laissez-faire* world.

Gordon Lafer provides a detailed and well-argued critique of this ideology and policy through an examination of the job training system in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. He analyzes both the theoretical and empirical evidence regarding the efficacy of job training as a solution to unemployment, underemployment, and poverty, and the political and ideological dimensions of the job training dogma. He begins with a devastating deconstruction of the commonsense idea that there are plenty of jobs to go around if only the unemployed and the poor had the motivation and the skills to fill them. US politicians like to use the fact that at any given time there are "help wanted" ads to support their claim that the issue is not a lack of jobs but rather an absence of motivation and/or a mismatch between the skills possessed by the unemployed and those employers need. Lafer shows that the number of decently-paid jobs that were available in the US over the last twenty years has never been more than a fraction of the number needed to raise the poor beyond the poverty level. The problem has always been a shortage of positions that pay wages sufficient to lift people out of poverty.

Lafer also provides a powerful critique of the skills-mismatch hypothesis. Very briefly, the skills-mismatch hypothesis argues that as technology and labour markets change, segments of the population will find that the skills they possess are no longer in demand. They must be able and willing to constantly upgrade and change through endless education and training or face low pay and unemployment. This argument has been used to explain unemployment and the fall in real wages that many segments of the labour force experienced over the last 25 years. One of the key assumptions in the skills-mismatch hypothesis is that employment rates and wages or salaries are strongly correlated with levels and kinds of education. Lafer shows that in fact, except for certain professional positions that require specialized and highly controlled education and that comprise a very small portion of the labour market, variables such as gender, age, race, and whether or not workers are unionized, are more important determinants of the levels of employment and wages than are levels of education. Moreover, there is a surplus of well educated people condemned to toil in jobs for which they are overqualified. Finally, he reviews the substantial evidence from many studies of particular manifestations of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). This shows that job training does not work, especially as a means of moving people out of poverty. The success stories are relatively rare while failures have been documented repeatedly. As the negative evidence accumulates, however, those who see job training as the panacea to a range of problems become increasingly vague as to exactly what job training is supposed to accomplish. From the provision of specific, marketable technical skills, the rhetoric has moved towards loosely defined ideas about instilling desirable behavioural characteristics in those stuck at the bottom of the labour market.

In addition to the fact that job training fits with neoconservative social values

and neoliberal economic dogmas, in the US the promotion of job training at the expense of direct government support for the poor and unemployed served Republican political goals. Lafer details how the JTPA in the US provided a way for the Republican administrations of Reagan and Bush (senior) to claim to be acting to reduce poverty and unemployment, while they were cancelling and/or reducing direct funding for anti-poverty and make-work projects, many of which were targeted at areas (cities for example) that were Democratic strongholds or that were controlled and administered by Democratic supporters.

Under the welfare reform measures, which Republican administrations began and which Clinton saw through to completion, job training has become a means for enforcing discipline on the most disadvantaged segments of the population. Indeed, by the beginning of the new century, the job training "charade," as Lafer refers to it, is largely about social control. It is at one level a new version of the culture of poverty thesis that was popular in the 1960s and as such is consistent with the return of the "blame-the-victim" mentality that is a core feature of neoconservatism.

Lafer's book focuses on the US but it is very relevant on a more global scale. The skills mismatch hypothesis underlies the OECD's recommendations about labour market flexibility (see its 1994 *OECD Jobs Study: Facts, Analysis, Strategies*). The International Labour Organization has also endorsed the neoliberal emphasis on skills mismatch and human capital formation in its recent publications (see its *World Employment Report 1998-99*). Of course, the critique of the training paradigm has also been developing in other places. Unfortunately, Lafer does not locate the US experience or his own analysis in this wider context. There is a rich relevant literature emanating from a variety of other national contexts. Many elements of the critique of job training have already been developed in Canada, for example,

by David Livingstone and Stephen McBride among others. Nonetheless, this is a valuable and powerful critique of an ideology that has become a global dogma in the last twenty years and the policies that have derived from it in the US.

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John D'Emilio, *The World Turned: Essays on Gay History, Politics and Culture* (Durham and London: Duke University Press 2002)

AS I BEGIN WRITING this review, an e-mail from John D'Emilio pops up on the Queer Studies List, a reaction to an account of an appallingly homophobic and misogynistic lecture given by a controversial researcher working on the etiology of homosexuality and its links to gender atypical behaviour, in other words to "sissyness" or "tomboyishness." "A generation ago, queer activists made it very difficult for an earlier generation of ... ideologues posing as scientists to appear and speak in public — "zaps" were a part of queer movement life then."

These few lines — a call for action imbued with nostalgia — give a good sketch of the character of D'Emilio, a fuller portrait of whom you will find in *The World Turned*, a collection of his essays of the 1990's. Far from being a staid academic whose audience is limited to the initiated few, D'Emilio is one of a dying breed of scholar-activists whose work is stimulating and accessible. Not only is he the foremost historian of the homophile movement, the group of pioneering individuals and organizations of the 1950's and 1960's that paved the way for gay liberation, he is also an important actor and commentator of the struggles of the last 30 years.

Perhaps this central role will excuse the fact that the *World* in the title refers strictly to the US, even though an occasional glance at what was happening in

gay communities elsewhere in the world might have made for interesting comparisons. For Canadian readers, the opening and closing essays on black civil rights activist Bayard Rustin will undoubtedly call to mind gay Québec liberationists Pierre Bourgault, late founder of the *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale*, who heaped scorn on the gay movement as a secondary if not trivial struggle, or the late Pierre Vallières, of *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* fame, who late in life joined it. In an effort to bring gay history to bear on subjects not directly related to homosexual oppression or the homosexual subculture, D'Emilio argues that Rustin's homosexuality played a key role not only in fashioning his political career, badly damaged by scandals and FBI leaks to hostile politicians, but also in fashioning his political ideas on the civil rights movement. D'Emilio thus paints a carefully crafted picture of Rustin in which this often ignored aspect of his life is highlighted, but not to the point of obscuring his major accomplishments, an example that I hope will one day inspire a gay history of the Québec independence movement.

Perspective and subjectivity notwithstanding, D'Emilio is at his best when he writes history that is also *his* story, and the first part of the book, on gay history of the last 50 years, is most palpitating when the subject touches him directly, as in his essay, "Still Radical After All These Years." This is a preface he wrote for the 20th anniversary edition of *Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation*, a book that was nothing less than a "cathartic experience" for the young D'Emilio in 1973. Still somewhat entranced by the echoes of these radical *Voices*, he now offers clearheaded assessments of the revolutionary ideas they proposed, tracing their historical roots and examining their branching into strategies that were sometimes fruitful, but mostly barren. If he is happy with the success of one pivotal idea, the politicizing of the private and the sexual, he is regretful that the analyses

linking sexism to homophobia have been jettisoned; feminism and gay liberation having parted ways long ago. D'Emilio shows here one of his major concerns, which pops up again and again in the other essays of his book, namely that our views of oppression are being fragmented and that the struggle for gay rights will go nowhere if we fail to build alliances.

Another idea that D'Emilio encountered in *Out of the Closets* and which remains close to his heart also resounds all over this collection: the concept of sexuality as a malleable potential that promises escape from oppressive categorizations. He is dismayed by the failure of this vision and by the spread in the general public of the contrary notion of a fixed homosexual identity. He condescendingly calls this a "slippage," but elsewhere he consoles himself by noting the triumph in academic circles of a closely related idea, the social-constructivist view that sexual identity is historically transient. Not surprisingly, D'Emilio's previously published theory that the emergence of a homosexual identity in the 19th century is somehow linked to capitalism suffuses his writing. This is an extension of the concept of the homosexual as a creation of 19th-century medicine, proposed by the French philosopher Michel Foucault. It has become a creed of "queer studies" to which D'Emilio subscribes unquestioningly, even though Foucault himself had renounced it late in life when confronted with the work of Michel Rey on the networks of sodomites in 18th-century Paris.

Even if you do not always agree with D'Emilio's *Interpretations*, which is the title of this first section, there is enough information and coherence in these essays to elicit respect and sometimes even sympathy. For instance in "Placing Gay in the Sixties," a reassessment of the importance of homosexuality in that pivotal decade and its later repercussions, D'Emilio leaves room for a good debate by presenting nuanced arguments against which you can measure your objections.

His *Interventions*, as the second section is titled, are quite different in tone. The ideology that served as a discreet background to the first section is now brought to the foreground with sometimes disastrous results. In "Born Gay?" a critique of the belief in the biological basis of sexual orientation and of its political utility, D'Emilio comes across not only as dogmatic, but as an anti-scientific philistine. From the start of this essay, you know where he's heading when he writes "I'm not particularly interested in trying to counter the findings of scientists. In part, because I don't have the background to critique the scientific studies of the past years." (154) Indeed, he will keep his word and only allude to the studies of identical twins and to the "study of genetic markers of homosexuality" with no further elaboration. As you read along, it becomes clear that he believes these prove the biological determinism implied in the title, whereas, for instance, what the twin studies show is that only half of identical twins of gay men are also gay. Weighing in such information and discussing it would be too much for D'Emilio, who is not even interested in exploring the broadest principles of modern genetics (such as the interplay of genes and the environment) and much less its intricacies. To put it simply, he does not understand *what* the science is saying, but that does not stop him from misrepresenting it.

That a cultured man at the beginning of the 21st century should not make an effort to grasp some basic science when so much knowledge is easily accessible is disappointing. But worse yet is his attempt to prove, by conflating modern research with absurd theories of the past about congenital homosexuality and "contrary sexual instincts," that science is a "thin reed" swaying in the winds of fashion. To a scientist, his efforts only confirm that contemporary history sometimes has more in common with the flights of fancy of Herodotus than molecular genetics has in common with 19th-century medicine.

I, for one, would not go as far as calling for a zap against "ideologues posing as historians" without trying to understand the history they write. But zap or not, D'Emilio is holding on to the notion that there is some measure of choice in sexual orientation as steadfastly as Soviet biologists held on to the theory of Lamarckian evolution.

Fortunately, the closing section entitled *Reflections*, brings some modicum of relief to the exasperated reader. To the opening essay on Rustin is added a much more interesting pendant. "A Biographer and His Subject" is a fascinating house of mirrors in which D'Emilio tries to understand his own politics and those of Rustin by reflecting each upon the other, comparing the civil rights strategies of the 1950s and 1960s with those of the gay rights movement of the 1970s to the 1990s.

All in all I would sum up this collection with a variation on the old saying: *the personal is better than the political*.

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Becky Thompson, *A Promise and a Way of Life: White Antiracist Activism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2001)

SOCIOLOGIST BECKY THOMPSON's *A Promise and A Way of Life: White Antiracist Activism* is a "social history of white antiracist activism from the 1950s to the present in the United States," (xiv) a topic that has to date been largely ignored or misinterpreted by scholars. The book, which relies primarily on a series of interviews with 39 anti-racist activists across a spectrum of progressive social movements, explores the variety of ways these individuals have worked — publicly and privately — to oppose racism and create multi-racial communities. It highlights the conflicts, successes, and limitations of these efforts in the past and attempts to



draw lessons for current and future political activism. Thompson seeks to present "a structural analysis alongside attention to consciousness." (374) The result is a fascinating group portrait that enriches our understanding of the post-war history of American social movements.

*A Promise and A Way of Life* is broken into three sections. The first part focuses on the civil rights movement, particularly the transition to black power and the interplay between anti-war activism and movements for racial justice. Next, Thompson offers a stirring anti-racist reinterpretation of second wave feminism during the 1970s and 1980s. Lastly, the book explores White activism during the 1980s and 1990s, an era of reaction and repression without a unifying social movement to link activist energies or provide broad-based support for anti-racist efforts. In this third section, Thompson emphasizes the Central American solidarity movement, prison activism, and diversity training in large organizations. A final chapter looks at the way white activists have succeeded in molding a unique multi-racial "anti-racist culture" (325) to nurture and sustain their political work in the face of many obstacles.

Along the way, *A Promise and a Way of Life* stirs up a host of fascinating questions that do not come with easy or definite answers: Does white anti-racist activism require a repudiation of one's racial identity or can "whiteness" be transformed through activism and participation in a multi-racial culture? Is there a difference between white identity and white privilege and, if so, is anti-racism based on undermining the former or just the latter? Should anti-racist whites work predominantly within white communities or communities of colour? Given the vast inequalities between races in the US throughout its history, how might white people contribute to multi-racial movements without dominating or controlling them? How can white anti-racist activists express solidarity with people of colour without retreating into racial privilege in

the face of repression? What is the relationship between violence and revolutionary politics in white anti-racist activism? What role does culture and psychology play in sustaining white anti-racist activism and long-term racial change in the US? What are the personal and political costs of anti-racist activism for white people? To her credit, Thompson allows her subjects to articulate complex and often contradictory responses to these difficult questions. It is this openness to the unresolved crosscurrents of white anti-racist activism that makes the book most insightful and challenging.

*A Promise and A Way of Life* also catalogues the many ways white anti-racist activists have failed to live up to their ideals and meet their goals. For instance, she details the failure of Students for a Democratic Society to look at the "whiteness" of their organization; the Weather Underground's arrogance and sexism; the slow challenge of white radical women to the race and class bias within second wave feminism; the inability of predominantly white Central American peace organizations in the US to make meaningful connections with US-based Latino groups; the myriad and unusually unexamined cultural biases of whites bearing "witness" in Central America; the tendency of white anti-racist consultants to confront racism on an individual rather than systemic level; and the trend among white prison activists to ignore black and latino activists inside jails and prisons on whose behalf they purport to work. Thompson laments the opportunities white progressive movements have missed by lagging in their openness to the experiences, insights, and leadership of people of colour. While such cataloguing can be frustrating, Thompson probes these limitations, not mainly as a means to judge or condemn, but with the hope that current activists might learn from them and create their own way forward.

At several turns, Thompson's work challenges current historical assumptions about well-known social movements. For

instance, she contests the often-repeated view that white people were kicked out of the civil rights movement with the advent of black power. It is clear from those activists she interviewed that many white people sympathized with and supported African American self-determination, and thus the shift to all-Black institutions during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Moreover, even those who lamented the transformation often understood the utility and purpose of the decision. Another intriguing section of the book questions the common misperception that radical, white activists during the 1960s and 1970s — particularly those in the Weather Underground — were simply violent romantics. Thompson's interviews with these militant revolutionaries — several of whom are still serving lengthy prison terms — make clear that much of this white radicalism was animated by a sincere desire to live out a meaningful solidarity with black power militants in a time of increasing government repression and political radicalism at home and an unpopular "neo-colonial" (84) war abroad.

Thompson's reassessment of Second Wave Feminism is by far the most lively and exciting challenge to historical convention. According to most accounts, White women came to feminism in reaction to and out of frustration with the male-dominated civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements. As a result, gender became the most exclusive dimension of their identities and the focal point of their political activism. Thompson's research makes clear that there was also a group of white activist women who came to feminism primarily through the example of strong women of colour within the civil rights movement and who understood the inter-connection of race and gender. These activists' commitment to racial justice made them hesitant or unwilling to join with early white, middle-class feminists in their narrow focus on patriarchy and gender discrimination at the expense of anti-racism and anti-colonialism. Thompson's subjects

sought to fight against gender and racial inequality simultaneously. These white women finally "came around to calling themselves feminists" only after women of colour "rescued feminism" (369) during the 1980s and 1990s with a multi-perspectival approach to social change. Thompson's analysis reminds us of the diversity among white feminists in the early years of the modern women's movement and underscores the fact that it was women of colour and their white allies who broadened feminism.

The last section of the book is not as cohesive or satisfying as the first two. For example, the book moves abruptly from a focus on white anti-racist activists' attempting to bring about fundamental, systemic, or revolutionary change, to those working within established institutions to achieve more reform-oriented goals, without sufficient discussion of the broader shifts in the American political and cultural landscape that fueled these changes. A more detailed discussion of the emerging "new conservatism," rooted in racial reaction and a punitive social policy, would help readers understand the shift in tactics and strategy among many older activists. Moreover, the disproportionate number of interviewees from the civil rights generation (only 2 of 39 were born after 1960) leads Thompson to overlook several areas of white anti-racist activism among young people, particularly with hip hop culture, the anti-War-on-Drugs movement, and the global democracy movement. There is a similar skew in her sample toward subjects who hail from large northern cities and their suburbs (28 of the 39), particularly New York and Boston, and toward women over men (23 versus 16). A more diverse sampling may have yielded even richer results. In addition, although Thompson alludes to "critical whiteness studies" and often employs its specialized language, she fails to explore this new academic sub-field as a significant site of anti-racist activism in its own right. Finally, given Thompson's continual stress on the cru-

cial role people of colour played shaping the thoughts, actions, and lives of white anti-racists, her lack of attention to the perspective of people of colour on her subjects seems to be a critical omission.

Yet, overall, *A Promise and a Way of Life* is a valuable addition to the burgeoning history of post-war political history as well as a practical guide for white activists still concerned with racial justice. According to Thompson, "studying antiracist activism historically — its conflicts, successes and limitations — is an antidote to despair. It is also a way to counter a long history of historical amnesia about progressive social change." (xv) On these grounds, the book is a rousing success. *A Promise and a Way of Life* is accessible, well-written and presented with an honesty and passion that make the author's arguments compelling. At every stage, Thompson provides a fresh approach to old subjects and a new spin on well-worn historical assumptions. By highlighting the under-appreciated contributions of white activists to movements for racial justice over four decades, Thompson has enriched our understanding of progressive social change. Consequently, this book should be of use to a diverse array of scholars and activists alike and deserves a place in intermediate-level college courses.

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Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press 2001)

BETWEEN 1868 AND 1959 Cuba had four revolutions. There were two anti-colonial wars for independence against Spain, the first from 1868 to 1879, and the second from 1895 to 1898. There were two more revolutions in the 20th century, one in 1933, and the other in 1959. Most of the

existing literature discusses how these revolutions influenced the process of Cuban state formation and political economy. Yet until recently the scholarship on how the meanings of race have changed within the larger processes of national formation has been remarkably weak. This gap in the literature is surprising given the powerful influence of the African heritage in Cuba's history. Alejandro de la Fuente's *A Nation for All* goes a long way to fill this gap in Cuban historiography. The author's thoughtful, well written, and sophisticated analysis of the shifting meanings of race, class, and politics in 20th-century Cuba makes this book essential reading for Cuban specialists, Latin Americanists, and for anyone working on the problems of race and class.

The author begins his discussion with the years 1902 to 1933, which were the formative years of the Cuban republic. It was at this time that Cubans debated and literally fought over the interwoven meanings of race, citizenship, and democracy in a nominally independent country under US hegemony. A powerful rhetoric of racial equality had emerged during the wars for independence and Afro-Cubans demanded that an independent Cuba end racism. Such a demand made the political implications of independence frightening for the white upper-classes and for the US. Nationalist and anti-racist rhetoric insisted that there *should be* no whites, blacks, or mulattos, but only Cubans. Yet this sentiment existed precisely because Cuban society was so deeply divided along class, race, and regional lines. De la Fuente does an excellent job in showing how the nationalist myth of racial equality clashed with the day-to-day realities of systematic and institutionalized racism.

The book's central argument is that the myth of racial equality was not simply an élite-generated idea that served to demobilize or co-opt Afro-Cubans. The author convincingly demonstrates that Afro-Cubans appropriated the same myth to fight against racism, class oppression, and neo-

colonialism. The élite interpretation of racial equality saw any race-based demands, organizations, and sentiments as racist and anti-Cuban. In contrast, a subaltern popular nationalism of mostly Afro-Cuban origin saw the conscious struggle against racism as an integral aspect of the fight for social justice and national independence. Thus race relations in Cuba were characterized by ambiguity more than rigid social dichotomies, by contestation and accommodation more than violent confrontation, and by competing notions of national identity that shaped Cuban political transitions and culture.

The book discusses how the problems of racial inequality influenced the labour market, education, and social mobility. Afro-Cubans were excluded from higher-paid jobs and from higher-status professions. Unlike what happened in the southern US or in South Africa, nationalist and anti-racist rhetoric was powerful enough to make systematic state-sponsored segregation untenable. Afro-Cubans got the vote at a time when it was being sharply restricted in the southern US, Brazil, Venezuela, and South Africa. Yet in the private sphere of élite clubs, private beaches, company hiring practices, and higher education, segregation was widespread. Racialized labour markets permeated Cuban society, as did racialized notions of "culture" and social status. In general, to be "cultured" meant to be white.

The third part of the book focuses on the years 1933 to 1959. These years witnessed a strong reformist and nationalist impulse within Cuban political culture, a process that culminated in the Constitution of 1940. The revolutionary upheaval of the early 1930s created a political opening where the long-standing popular demands for workers' rights, women's rights, and racial equality were incorporated into the constitution. The importance of the 1940 consensus was not found in what it actually accomplished but rather in what it promised and it certainly

provided a political opening for Afro-Cubans to carry out legal struggles against racism in public spaces and at work. One of de la Fuente's main contributions is his analysis of the role of the Communist Party in the struggle for racial equality. The Cuban Communist Party (CP) has been the subject of much controversy over the years, not least because of its relatively cordial relations with Fulgencio Batista up to the 1950s. What has often been overlooked is the party's record in fighting for Afro-Cuban workers. No other single group in pre-revolutionary Cuba fought for the interests of Afro-Cuban workers as hard as the communists. While it was true that the CP's rigid class analysis of Cuban reality meant that they underestimated or openly opposed any Afro-Cuban attempt to form autonomous racially-based political groups, their recognition that most blacks were doubly oppressed as workers and as blacks was a direct challenge to the dominant nationalist myth that racism was a nonissue in Cuba.

The final section of the book examines the politics of race since the Cuban revolution from 1959 to the present. The socialist state confronted institutionalized racism head-on and the lives of Afro-Cubans and mulattos improved dramatically. No serious scholar challenges the idea that the socialist revolution has improved the lives of Afro-Cubans. De la Fuente's book supports this view. Equally important is the author's balanced, yet critical, evaluation of the revolution's failures on the race issue. One of the great paradoxes de la Fuente analyzes is how the revolution's explicitly anti-racist drive contradicted the leadership's official silence on racism in daily relations and in the private sphere. The revolutionary government continued to promote the idea that any race-based demands were anti-Cuban and even counterrevolutionary. The language of the revolution was nationalist and class-based; racism would end when class oppression ended, and the idea that revolutionaries could be racists

was simply not discussed. As early as 1962 the government claimed to have eradicated racism and many foreign supporters of the revolution supported this claim. A political space for specifically Afro-Cuban voices was not provided, but nor did most Afro-Cuban leaders demand one.

Yet it was also the revolution's official silence on race that allowed for the continuation and reproduction of racism in the remaining private spaces of revolutionary society. This situation became alarmingly clear with the arrival of the social and economic crisis of the "Special Period" after 1989. The dollarization of the economy has benefited whites more than Afro-Cubans, first because more whites than blacks get money from relatives abroad, and second because blacks are frequently denied access to the tourist sector. The supposedly eradicated racist stereotypes about the Afro-Cuban propensity to participate in crime, the black market, and in prostitution reemerged with remarkable speed. De la Fuente's book does not pretend to provide answers about how these contradictions can be resolved, but he has written an invaluable book that helps us understand how complex the social construction of race can be and how antiracism and racism can coexist and even fuel each other within the same society.

Robert Whitney

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Robert Whitney, *State and Revolution in Cuba: Mass Mobilization and Political Change, 1920-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2001)

ROBERT WHITNEY STATES his case at the outset: During the period under study, 1920-1940, mass mobilization, revolution, economic crisis, and the threat of US intervention obliged Cuban politicians to come to terms with the popular social classes, the *clases populares*. The

force of popular sectors was such that established oligarchic mechanisms of social and political control no longer functioned. The issue then was how "the masses" were to be incorporated into the political process. After eight years of corporatist Machado rule, the masses exploded into social revolution in summer 1933, after which Cuba was a different country. Between 1934 and 1940 a new consensus based on authoritarian and reformist principles emerged, whereby the new and modern state should intervene in society to modernize the country, a process culminating with the 1940 Constitution. Following seven years of behind-the-scenes control, overseeing a transition from military to constitutional democracy, Batista became president of Cuba, cementing Cuba's transition away from oligarchic rule.

Whitney's prime argument as to how and why this came about is the mass mobilization of the *clases populares* and resulting change in political culture. This leads him to challenge Cuban historiography that sees 1933 as part of Cuba's "long revolution" for independence and social justice; one that "began" in 1868-78 and 1895-98, and continued through the "frustrated" revolution of 1933, which, had it been successful, might have pre-empted the more radical socialist revolution of 1959. The corollary to this is that, had the US understood better the implications of 1933, history might have taken a significantly different turn. He questions those who see 1933 as a pre-revolution, prologue to, or dress-rehearsal for, 1959, when neither the subjective nor objective conditions existed to guarantee its success. In all such historiography, 1933 is appraised not in its own right but in terms of its centrality to what happened subsequently in the 1950s. Whitney's study takes a different approach, which is to focus on the complex interplay between popular mobilization and state formation during 1920-40, in and of itself.

The book is divided into seven chronological chapters, four on the build-up to 1933, one on 1933 itself, and two on the post-1933 years. Chapter 1 provides a background overview of politics under the oligarchic state up until the early 1920s, with the popular rebellion of the Veterans and Patriots Movement of 1923-24 for the moral high ground and political and economic reform within existing state structures. The movement failed but led to rethinking the relationship between society and state and questioning Cuba's neocolonial condition. Chapter 2 explores radical nationalist politics in the immediate aftermath of 1924-8, in the context of ideological crisis occasioned by defeat of the veterans and Machado's rise to power. This was the new social, political, and economic force of the "masses" responding to capitalist modernity. Chapter 3 homes in on the increasing crisis of oligarchic rule with the economic depression of 1929-32 and the increasing political consciousness of large sectors of the *clases populares*. Chapter 4 forefronts the collapse of that rule in 1932-33, in the context of emerging new nationalist visions of the modern state on the part of middle-class political groups as an alternative to oligarchic capitalism, alongside more radical groupings.

In Chapter 5, on the revolution of 1933, the crux of the argument is that mass mobilization is what undermined oligarchic rule and placed a revolutionary government in power. Despite organizational weakness and factionalism, the balance of power shifted away from the oligarchy and toward other social classes. Chapter 6 charts the immediate post-1933 years, 1934-36, not as a restoration of oligarchic rule but rather a continuation of the process of Cuba's evolution to nominal democracy. In Chapter 7, the populism of 1937-40 is grounded on earlier state violence undermining autonomous forms of political organization: the *clases populares* needed to be "disciplined," to become the basis of corporatist, "or-

ganic," restrained democracy. Only thus could Batista be transformed from shadowy military figure with conventional corporatist ideas into public political figure with populist pretensions, and legitimate president of democratic Cuba.

The analysis leads to an ambivalence with regard to Batista. On the one hand, we see a Batista who can maneuver to keep rivals Grau and the Autenticos as well as the US at bay. On the other, we have the Batista state which redistributes wealth as part of social policy — the redistributionist demagoguery of Cuban populism accompanied by real, if modest, reforms; recognition of labour unions; and restrictions on foreign capitalists who no longer can act with the impunity of pre-1933. The 1940 Constitution represented a political arrangement that reflected a new balance of power, to which foreign capitalists would have to adapt. The error of historians, Whitney claims, is to view Batista as counterrevolutionary because of 1959, without observing the populist base of 1937-40 and the reasons why Cuba became a formal democracy in 1940. Under Batista, for the first time in Cuban history, segments of the popular classes were incorporated into the public domain organized by the state, as under Roosevelt in the US and Cardenas in Mexico. Batista was both American ally and populist nationalist. Yet, the consensus of 1940 proved fragile; the state structure was too weak and crumbled, and the post-1940 years would be witness to the growing widespread feeling that corrupt politicians cynically betrayed and manipulated popular sentiments.

Previous revisionist historiography of Cuba has lent primacy to the middle rather than the popular classes, and, in this, Whitney's study makes a welcome addition to our growing knowledge of the period. He marshalls an impressive array of important primary sources, drawing on the press, especially the *Havana Post* and *Daily Worker*, and archival holdings in Cuba, the US, and Britain. His use of the University of Florida's Braga Collection

and of British consular reports and Foreign Office correspondence in the London Public Record Office is particularly enlightening, the latter juxtaposed against US accounts.

And yet, this reader is left questioning. To what extent can the force of the masses be characterized as new, when there were strong antecedents, not least in 19th-century abolitionism and independence? Why do the *clases populares* remain so amorphous, with only passing reference, for example, to sectors of workers, regions, gender, or race? Why are so few links made with labour more generally in Cuba and the Caribbean, as well as South and North America, Britain and the European continent — links such as those between labour and political parties, and with the whole Popular Front period?

These questions aside, Whitney has regaled us with an important, if somewhat traditional, political study of a crucial period in 20th-century Cuban political history, whose main message is embedded in the mobilization and control of mass support, a lesson no doubt not lost on post-59 Cuba, which bore within it the fundamental issue of not whether the state should be popular and national but what being popular meant and which sectors of the people were true representatives of the nation.

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Eric Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life* (London: Allen Lane 2002)

DO NOT JUDGE this book by the cover. An elderly man stares at you disparagingly. He is dressed in jacket, tie, and thick pinstriped shirt, looking more like a retired corporate lawyer or banker than the most well-known and widely-read Marxist historian in the English-speaking world. The lifted corner of his lip seems to

be saying, "I am Eric Hobsbawm and you're not."

The Eric Hobsbawm of these 400-plus pages is not that man on the cover. His autobiography is extraordinary both for its candour and its scope, offering the reader an account of experiences that begin with a Viennese childhood, then school in Weimar Germany and later London, onto Red Cambridge in the 1930s, wartime London, and on and on. Historian that he is, Hobsbawm also reflects on his memories and the way that time so often distorts them. The second chapter, "A Child in Vienna," opens with the following sentence: "I spent my childhood in the impoverished capital of a great empire, attached, after the empire's collapse, to a smallish provincial republic of great beauty, which did not believe it ought to exist." Then in two paragraphs he summarizes Austria's political situation and its social currents. Hobsbawm pauses, admitting: "But this is a historian's retrospect. What was a middle-class childhood like in the Vienna of the 1920s?" (8-9) As with his books on the four "ages" subdividing the past two centuries, his offhand observations are as illuminating as his treatment of large themes. Thus he notes that a stamp-collecting child such as himself subconsciously absorbed the tangled political history of post-1914 Europe, for stamp collecting "dramatized the unchanging continuity of George V's head on British stamps and the chaos of overprints, new names and new currencies elsewhere." (9) Later, describing the collapse of the Weimar republic — Hobsbawm was already a teen-age communist sympathizer — he again pauses to question his own account: "Reconstructing my experience of the last months of the Weimar Republic, how can I disentangle memory from what I now think after a lifetime of political reflections and debates about what the German left should or should not have done? ... In any case, I did not really react to the news politically or critically, but as a romantic partisan, or a football supporter." (71)

Hobsbawm has never disguised his political allegiance and not surprisingly the autobiography provides an insider's account of communism's trajectory from the 1930s to its collapse. The chapter, "Being Communist," deserves to be read by anyone with even the slightest interest in that passionate commitment: "It is easy in retrospect to describe how we felt and what we did as Party members half a century ago, but much harder to explain it. I cannot recreate the person that I was. The landscape of those times lies buried under the debris of world history." (136) And yet he is never solemn and his account does not lack its improbable figures and ironic connections. He describes a visit to Hungary in 1960 and his insistence on meeting George Lukács: "Lukács had been seized and exiled after the 1956 revolution and now sat in his apartment above the Danube once again like an ancient high priest in civilian clothes, smoking Havana cigars." (144) And a visit the following year to Cuba "with a British left-wing delegation of the usual composition: a left-wing Labour MP; unilateral nuclear disarmers; a hardnosed, usually Party-line union leader, not without an interest in foreign nooky; the odd radical conspirator; CP functionaries and the like.... All I can remember about [the delegation] is that I found myself translating for Che who (in Fidel's place) received us for lunch in the former Hilton hotel." (255-56) Che, he notes, had nothing much of interest to say, and Hobsbawm was happy to escape to the barrios of Havana, listening to the music that has been one of his passions. I had always wondered how Hobsbawm became a jazz aficionado and why he wrote under the pseudonym, Francis Newton, a puzzle he explains here. It turns out that he chose the name because of Frankie Newton, "one of the few jazz-players known to have been a communist, an excellent but not superstar trumpeter who played with Billie Holiday." (225) Perhaps the most improbable of his political vignettes is the account of an Italian television show in which he par-

ticipated on the occasion of Marx's centenary. An enormous papier-maché head of Marx dominated the set, from which the host of the show would pull "large cards marked CLASS STRUGGLE, DIALECTICS and the like.... I was supposed to expound THE LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE for not more than five minutes." (360)

It is also an easy book to read. Hobsbawm's tone is conversational and his manner engaging. Nor has age dimmed his formidable intellect, which ranges across the past century. He has some intriguing comments on the radical ferment of the 1960s, especially in his comparison of that period with his own radical youth in Weimar Germany. (70) In an aside about the cultural milieu of the 1960s, he reveals his awareness of that context, with its connections between the personal and the political: "Mick Jagger wrote 'Street Fighting Man' after a dramatic Vietnam Solidarity demonstration in 1968 and published it in the flamboyant Pakistani Trotskyite Tariq Ali's new radical paper, *The Black Dwarf*. (252) And yet Hobsbawm admits that for people such as himself, the period was less exciting: "We, or at least congenitally pessimistic middle-aged reds such as myself, already bearing the scars of half a lifetime of disappointment, could not share the almost cosmic optimism of the young." (253-54) He warns us that this comes from a man who never wore jeans, although in yet another aside he suggests that their growing ubiquity during the period was a sign of profound social change that — in his view — approached a cultural revolution. But jeans, he notes, are the badge of youth: "By then I was no longer young ... nor could I see myself as credibly performing the role of the oldest teenager on the scene." (261-62)

Readers of this journal may be most interested in the two chapters, "Among the Historians" and "In the Global Village," where he describes the changes in intellectual practice during his career. Interestingly enough, some of the more personal moments in the book come in the



latter of these two chapters: "In my case it has been an extraordinarily enjoyable life.... It has given me more private happiness than I ever expected. Has it been the life I had in mind when I was young? No. It would be pointless, even stupid, to regret that it has turned out this way, but somewhere inside me there is a small ghost who whispers: 'One should not be at ease in a world such as ours.' As the man said when I read him in my youth, 'The point is to change it'." (313)

The chapters that follow touch on his experiences in Europe (notably France, Spain, and Italy), in Central and South America, and in the US. Canada barely rates a mention. About the only significant reference comes when he describes Cambridge colleagues and mentions H.R. Norman and H.S. Ferns, whom he lists as among the handful of scholars who forced Hobsbawm to think about the extra-European world. (292)

Although I rarely read autobiographies — the genre seems to stimulate the pens of those in whom I have no interest whatsoever — I found this a compelling book. That stern gentleman gazing out from the cover is an extraordinary historian, which doubtless helps to explain my fascination with the story of his life. But there is something else as well; it is hinted at in the two short sentences that end the book, an injunction of sorts: "Social injustice still needs to be denounced and fought. The world will not get better on its own."

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Jeffrey Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2002)

PROFESSOR HILL, who has written extensively on the British Labour movement in the 19th and 20th century and a history of Nelson, Lancashire, has expanded his boundaries into the neglected areas of

sport and leisure. Even in England where there is a substantial body of research by historians on sport and leisure, no one has brought the two areas together. Hill attempts to bring sport and leisure out of "the margins of academic discourse" and show its relevancy to the broader field of social history — a most worthwhile endeavour. Professor Hill recognizes that for the most part historians regard as unimportant the leisure activities of all classes — they are incidental to the "more" important things in life. The reality is that for significant numbers of people sport/leisure activities were not marginal but provide a central focus to life. Central to his approach is the assumption that "The book's 'big idea' is that sport and leisure are processes which themselves have a determining influence over people's lives — processes from which we derive MEANING." (2) In other words, leisure is not, as the majority of historians believe, peripheral to life but rather central. Sport and leisure provide different insights into the structure and functioning of society.

One of the strengths of the book lies in the clear articulation of the theories that informed the writing; Barthes, Derrida, Bourdieu, Baudrillard, Geertz, and particular elements of Gramsci — his idea of Civil Society and the emphasis upon power and power relations. These inform the work but never override the evidence. Evidence is foundational to this book. Hill also locates leisure within the wider context of social history. Very simply, the scholarship is impeccable.

The book is structured around three main themes that, in turn, are informed by three sub-themes. An introduction in which he examines the main themes of "sport," "leisure," "culture," "Britain," and "twentieth century" lays the foundation of what follows. Part 1, "Commercial Sport and Leisure," examines, in separate chapters, Association Football, Sport and the Media, Going to the Pictures: America and the Cinema, and Getting Away From it All: The Holiday Spirit. Part 2 fo-

**cuses on Leisure, the Home, and Voluntary Activity.** The three chapters consider **Leisure, the Home, Radio and Television, Youth, Age and the Problem of Leisure, and the Club Principle.** Part 3 examines **Public Policy: The Role of the State and Politics in Sport and Leisure; and From "Rational Recreation" to "Sport for All."** Three sub-themes provide threads that run through the book: gender, class, and ethnicity. While Professor Hill provides a great deal of evidence of the sport/leisure activities, it is in his insights into the complex nature of class (also gender and ethnicity) and class relations that he enters new territory. He provides subtle and nuanced views of the ways in which class permeated all aspects of sport/leisure: radio announcers having to wear black ties, an in-depth analysis of the composition of cinema audiences, and George Formby being portrayed as the sort of worker their superiors prefer to see. Also there's the history of holiday-making as a history of class relations, with travel brochures aimed at different audiences, magazines for girls portraying similar ideas of femininity, domesticity, and early marriage; the central role of the "pub" in working-class life; and the sheer number of local associations of all kinds, over 4,000 in Birmingham alone in the 1970s. What this all leads to is new insights into the nature of class and class relations. Professor Hill never oversimplifies but leaves the reader with an understanding of the subtlety and complexity of class relations. This supports my own work on the leisure activities of the miners of Northumberland, England, that revealed an amazingly complex set of activities and social relationships that call into question simplistic class analyses. Very simply what Hill has done is to dig deeper into the "realities" of working-class life and class relations. He opens new doors and new avenues to an understanding of the social relationships that were foundational to British society in the twentieth century.

How is this book relevant to readers of *Labour/Le Travail*? It is relevant because

Canadian historians even more than their British counterparts marginalize as irrelevant, sport/leisure activities. One has only to look at the last ten years of *Labour/Le Travail* to recognize that Canadian labour historians rarely address leisure. Very few articles address leisure even in a cursory fashion and only three of the book reviews deal with sport/leisure — Kidd, Howell, and Marks. In fact, there is one book that attempts an analysis of sport/leisure along the lines advocated by Hill: Donald Wetherell with Irene Kmet, *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta, 1896-1945*. What if Hill is right and sport/leisure was and is an important area from which people derive meaning? It means that historians are missing an important element of life and another entry into an understanding of working-class life. A study of leisure would reveal new ways in which the working class resisted the power of the dominant groups to structure what they watched, read, and did. This book should be read by anyone truly interested in understanding the reality of working-class life.

There are several interesting little additions that add significantly to the value of the book. First, at the end of each chapter there is a chronology of events that provides a context for the chapter. In fact, it may have been useful to provide these at the beginning to set the stage for the ensuing discussion. Additionally Hill provides a small number of Key Readings, usually four or five, that provide entry into more in-depth discussion of the topics covered in the chapter. Even more interesting are the 182 entries in his bibliography that are divided into chapter topics. Hill provides a one-sentence assessment of the importance of each source. For example, "Cunningham, H. Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c.1780-c.1880. Another classic; helped to define the field of leisure for historians; alert to theory but not a slave to it." (221) These one-sentence commentaries provide an outstanding review of the secondary literature.

The bibliography in conjunction with the commentaries provides a clear overview of the development of the areas of study. Interestingly while some areas such as youth, age, and community were based on research in the 1960s, most emerged in the late 1980s and 1990s. In other words, this book could not have been written earlier than the end of the 20th century.

In conclusion, in the mind of this reviewer, Jeffrey Hill has provided convincing evidence and arguments as to the validity of his "big idea" that sport and leisure are processes from which people derive meaning. Unfortunately for Canadian historians, because of their research agendas, the body of primary research and secondary sources remains thin and thus sport and leisure will remain on the margins of Canadian social history.

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Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002)

AS THE TITLE of this major study suggests, Professor Inikori has a two-fold argument. He is interested in why there was an Industrial Revolution and why it still matters. He argues the historical contribution of Africans and their descendants in the Americas was essential to the success of the world's first industrialization. African labour powered the plantation economies. Africa and the slave economies of the Americas constituted the primary markets for English industrial production. The trade in slaves and slave-produced commodities called into being vital shipping and financial services. Without this multi-faceted African contribution, Inikori argues England would not have industrialized. The lesson he draws for the present is that industrialization through import substitution re-

quires international trade. He contrasts successful economic development strategies of select Asian economies in the late 20th century with failed strategies in Africa and Latin America to conclude that the English model is still relevant.

After a brief introduction, which stresses the centrality of international trade, Inikori provides a staple-based overview of English economic development since 1066. What interests him most is the regional nature of economic growth and the remarkable disjuncture between differing areas over the *longue durée*. So, medieval and early modern growth were both dependent on foreign trade, but they did not provide the basis for the Industrial Revolution. What that basis was is the subject of a long review that divides the historiography into three temporally distinct schools. Up to the 1940s he describes a Commercial Revolution model as dominant. It considered trade as the central factor. The second school, presented as an almost monolithic approach within economic history until the 1980s, focused on internal, largely technological, factors. By contrast, the recent scholarship of importance, consisting of Professors Inikori, Solow, Engerman, and O'Brien and colleagues, has, we are told, demonstrated the primacy of external trade in what were highly regionalized areas of growth. The chapter concludes with a comparison of the external trade of England, 1700-1850, with those of South Korea and Brazil, 1960-1990.

Inikori then explores four related themes: slave-based commodity production, the English slave trade, the relative importance of shipping, and finally financial services. He deals with slave-based production first, through a survey of the secondary literature, because he has to establish that this wealth creation by Africans preceded English expansion. Mercantilism did not prevent international trade; rather, it rewarded those who best combined commercial and military force. Inikori has long been engaged in a debate over quantification of the slave trade. De-

spite some rather specious extrapolations, I found his survey of sources and their many problems sound. Certainly his revised estimate, that the English traded 4,215,250 people, merits careful consideration. Many did not survive the Middle Passage and Inikori's discussion of the number of vessels lost at sea highlights an aspect of the trade significant for his discussion of both shipping and financial services.

Inikori makes extensive use of shipping registry data to show the linkage between English shipping and the trades in slaves and slave-produced commodities. These figures are, however, only available for the last nineteen years of the English slave trade. For the first 235 years he relies far too heavily on the anecdotal evidence of an occasional statistical estimate. His discussion of financial intermediaries suffers from a similar imbalance, compounded by serious misunderstandings of how credit functioned. He fails, for example, to take into account differences in the turnover time between inland and foreign bills and therefore seriously over-estimates the relative importance of external trade in the development of English banking.

Inikori establishes that by the end of the 18th century England dominated the slave-based economies of the Atlantic world. Unquestionably this relationship affected all aspects of English economic life, but this does not mean that either English shipping or financial intermediaries were simply by-products of this relationship. Temporal coincidence is not cause and effect.

Inikori concludes his study with a survey of African-produced raw materials imports and industrially manufactured exports. Here, Inikori seems not to be aware of the problems with available quantitative estimates. He uses, for example, Nick Crafts' figures on output, value added, and raw materials from 1770 to 1830, to show the latter's continued importance, but Crafts' estimates assumed a constant ratio for these variables over this

entire period. Although he does recognize the problem of Ralph Davis with treating food imports as distinct from raw materials, as if sugar need not be refined; he did not use available data to correct the problem. As a result, the scale and change over time of African-produced inputs to industrializing England are never properly assessed. The analysis by major product group of exports to Atlantic markets, which he defined as Africa, the Americas, and the Iberian peninsula, shows these regions' importance. With the exception of the metal trades, however, he does not establish the relative importance as consumers of Africans and their descendents, presumably because it is not necessary for his larger argument that industrialization by import substitution requires trade.

Inikori reduces the Industrial Revolution to a question of technological breakthroughs dependent on foreign markets. Since change is a response to external stimuli, there is no need to examine internal factors. This greatly facilitates both levels of his argument. English industrialization is explained by expanding foreign trade, without ever having to explore the nature of local, regional, or national markets. Any changes in social and gender relations of production and reproduction within England are simply ignored. So too is any research informed by Raphaël Samuel's idea that English industrialization combined hand and machine tools within an uneven development that created far more workshops and manufactories than factories. Now it is easier to write history if you simply ignore all the innovative work for the past 25 years that disagrees with you, but this was not the reason for Inikori's extraordinarily selective reading. If he had allowed internal factors to be considered in the English case, then he would not have been able to make the leaps to present-day South Korea and Brazil, for their historical specificity would have needed to be considered as well. In short, his reductionist definition was necessary in

order to make possible, if not plausible, his timeless model.

A sad and profoundly disturbing contradiction lies at the heart of this work. Professor Inikori consciously opens the book with a tribute to an earlier generation of progressive Afro-American scholarship: C.L.R. James, Abram Harris, and Eric Williams. The sub-text running throughout the work is a laudable attack on Anglo-centric racism. The care Inikori takes in counting slaves strongly suggests he thinks slaves count. They do; unfortunately, no African makes history here. Instead, agency is accorded to ahistorical economic forces. Towards the end of the work, Inikori asks why plantations developed in the Americas rather than in Africa. After a descriptive sketch of failed Dutch and English attempts in Africa, he concludes they had simply not proved feasible. It never occurs to him that this would have meant no slave trade and therefore no slave-trade profits. C.L.R. James would never have committed such an oversight, but historians are in history and Professor Inikori's capitalist faith is at one with the New African Partnership for Economic Development proposed by the G8.

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Christafis H. Iordanoglou, *Public Enterprise Revisited: A Closer Look at the 1954-79 UK Labour Productivity Record* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing 2001)

PUBLIC ENTERPRISE has had a bad rap in recent years, with the ascendancy of neoliberal economics and the collapse of Soviet-style planned economies in eastern Europe. In most developed countries, policies of privatization, deregulation, and free trade have supplanted earlier social democratic efforts to build a mixed economy. IMF and World Bank structural adjustment policies have forced

many developing countries to downsize their public sectors and abandon efforts to use public enterprise as a vehicle for domestic economic development. Moreover, one of the key objectives of recent international trade agreements has been to roll back the public sector and impose commercial disciplines on government enterprises.

Yet the prevailing view of neoclassical economists that public enterprise is invariably less efficient than private business is open to question for a variety of reasons. Recent failures of Enron, Nortel, WorldCom, and Andersen — to list just a few corporate disasters — suggest that the market does not always make the best economic decisions. So it may be timely to revisit the question of whether public enterprise is more, or less, efficient than its private counterparts.

Obviously this is a huge task. Those attempting to compare public and private enterprise encounter numerous methodological challenges. There is no single model for public enterprises. They operate in a wide range of different sectors of the economy and under varying regulatory and policy mandates. Changes in the scope and functions of public enterprises over time as well as recent privatization initiatives also make it more difficult to carry out long-term comparisons. Key data needed to make sound comparisons are often unavailable.

In many cases, public enterprises operate in sectors with no comparable private competitors. They may be mandated to pursue public policy objectives, such as regional development, local procurement, training, and the like that impact their bottom-line. As the prices they charge and the employment practices they follow are politically sensitive, they may be required to adopt policies that a private business would shun. Their investment decisions may be determined by factors extraneous to their business such as politically imposed limitations on government borrowing. They may have been established because the private sector was un-

willing to take long-term financial risks, or as a result of private sector bankruptcies or corporate bailouts. Some public enterprises have been hamstrung by under-capitalization or the fact of being located in a declining industry. And, some have seen their activities arbitrarily limited due to pressure from business on government — pressure intended to make them eschew competing in profitable areas of economic activity. For these, and many other reasons, evaluating the relative performance of public versus private enterprises is a daunting task.

While acknowledging the numerous methodological challenges, Christafis Iordanoglou has developed an interesting approach to evaluating a somewhat narrower question: the relative productivity of public and private enterprises. His study examines changes in labour productivity among comparable private and public industries over a 25-year period beginning in 1954. What is central to his study is not comparisons of the absolute level of labour productivity at any given point in time but, rather, comparisons of the long-term growth in productivity. His question is whether there is any discernible difference in the productivity performance of the two sectors over a 25-year period. Iordanoglou's initial focus is on industries in the UK. However, he broadens his study to look at how UK industries compare with the US during the same period.

Iordanoglou's study narrows the scope of comparison to public and private industries with three key characteristics. First, they must be capital intensive. Second, they must operate large-scale plants, producing standardized goods or services. Third, they must be expanding their sales at — or more quickly than — the overall average for all industries. His objective is to compare the best performing enterprises in both sectors. (He excludes low-growth industries because he believes that public enterprises in declining industries are normally pressured by governments and the public to cushion the

employment and community impacts by maintaining operations that private businesses would close. In other words, they are required to pursue non-commercial objectives that negatively impact productivity.)

From an initial pool of 155 3-digit UK industry classification categories in mining, manufacturing, utilities, transport, and communications, he narrows the focus of his study to the 78 industries whose market sales grew at, or above, the overall average during the 25-year period of the study. Iordanoglou further reduces this list, excluding industries characterized by small-size plants (thus focusing only on industries with large-scale standardized production) and industries with high capital investment per employee. The resulting list includes five public and twenty-four private industry categories.

The five public sector industries are electricity, gas, water, telecommunications, and airlines. With the exception of water (which had about 20 per cent private ownership), the public sector industries were essentially monopoly suppliers. The private industries were in a variety of sectors such as food and drink, vehicle production, textiles, metal goods, chemicals, electrical engineering, paper, and building materials.

It is not possible in a brief review to indicate the various methodological issues associated with this process of selection. However, Iordanoglou provides a very detailed technical explanation of the basis for the criteria used to screen the various industries and the reasons for the various statistical measures he utilizes.

His conclusions from this comparison within the UK are not likely to endear him to the neoclassical crowd. Iordanoglou finds that labour productivity growth in the much-maligned UK public sector industries under study was considerably greater than in the private sector. When the 29 industries were rank ordered, four of the public sector industries were in the top eight. The other, water, was sixteenth. The unweighted mean growth rate in the

public sector was 6.7 per cent compared with 4.8 per cent in the private sector. In Iordanoglou's words: The gross output per employee estimates for the period as a whole indicate that the public sector has shown the fastest growth rate. All arithmetic and rank means point to the same direction. In particular, the difference between the two sectors' rank means is invariably impressive. The effects of the changes in index type or the shift from an employee-hour to an employee-year kind of measure are minimal. Indeed, the position of the industries, relative to each other, seems to remain virtually unchanged. (129)

The second major component of Iordanoglou's study is a comparison of the performance of UK public and private industries with their US counterparts over the same period. The key issue for him was whether there was any difference in the rate at which UK industries closed the labour productivity gap with their US counterparts. In other words, were the five public industries able to close the gap more rapidly than the UK private sector industries?

For technical reasons, only 27 of the 28 industry groups were used in this comparison. The author made various statistical adjustments to make the UK and US data series compatible, including adjustments for differences in the industry classification systems and approaches to measuring inputs and outputs. The US comparators for the five UK public industries were predominantly privately owned, which avoided the problem of public to public comparisons which might only have shown that the public sectors in each country were equally efficient, or inefficient.

The analysis revealed that in the base year, 1954, US industries across the board enjoyed labour productivity that was about 2½ times higher than their UK counterparts. The gap in the public sector was even greater. By the end of the study period, private sector UK industries had made very little progress in closing the

productivity gap. In contrast, the public industries had significantly reduced it. In short, UK public enterprises were far more successful in closing the productivity gap than their private counterparts.

Iordanoglou is careful not to inflate the significance of his findings, believing that there are still many factors that could influence the relative success of the public sector in the UK. But he does speculate that one possible reason for its relatively good performance was that public enterprises avoided the propensity to focus on short-term returns on investment in favour of a longer-term approach. They were more willing to take long-term risks involving major capital expenditures unlike their more risk-averse private counterparts. He also believes that publicly owned industries enjoyed advantages associated with being able to plan a co-ordinated, industry-wide approach to their operations. This enabled them to maximize economies of scale, standardize production (and outputs), and avoid unnecessary duplication by being a single supplier.

The preceding account does not do justice to the very detailed and comprehensive analysis contained in the book. Almost one-half of the 659-page study is devoted to technical appendices explaining his methodology and supporting his decisions to adopt the various measurement tools he chose to use. There is also the (almost) obligatory discussion at the beginning of the book of the major arguments mainstream economists have generally used to prove that public enterprise is inherently less efficient than private, including a discussion of the principal-agent issue and the arguments associated with property rights.

The book is not without faults. At times the writing is awkward. Iordanoglou has a tendency to use the passive voice, a style that this reviewer finds irritating. His writing could benefit from George Orwell's advice on the proper use of language. The book would also have benefited from a good copy edit to elimi-

nate a number of passages that simply restate what he has already said. But these are stylistic quibbles.

His discussion of the historical forces that shaped the establishment and functioning of public enterprises is also a bit thin, although to be fair this is not the central focus of the book. In the case of the UK, many of the industries that were nationalized, either by the Atlee government in the immediate post-war period, or the Wilson government in the 1960s, had been starved of investment by their private owners for more than a generation and were a huge burden on the wider economy. They were "bail outs" in the true meaning of this term. The governments' decisions to bring these industries into the public sector were motivated not so much by socialist ideology — although that was a factor — but, significantly, by the practical realization that only government could provide them with the amount of capital needed to modernize.

There are a number of other gaps in terms of the general discussion of the role of public enterprises in a mixed economy and the forces which have shaped their decision-making process. However, this would be another book of a somewhat different character.

Iordanoglou has carried out a very significant piece of work. His basic idea of comparing the growth rate of productivity in the public and private sectors over a 25-year period provides a very useful method of approaching the bigger question of the relative efficiency of public enterprise. The conclusions, despite some of his caveats, are important. They are also highly relevant to the current debate over whether governments should privatize what is left of Canada's public enterprise sector.

The book deserves wide distribution.

John Calvert  
Simon Fraser University

Jane Lewis, *The End of Marriage? Individualism and Intimate Relations* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing 2001)

LEWIS' MAJOR CONCERN in this book is to examine the thesis that the growing individualism of the 20th century is selfish. She ends with the conclusion that this is not true. The book is premised on the notion that changes at the level of the family cannot be understood without considering the much broader social context, and that the cultural variable plays a key mediating role. She argues that the anxiety about increasing individualism centres on its implications for the sources of moral commitments. During the 20th century we have witnessed the gradual erosion of an externally imposed moral code. She concludes that commitment today takes different forms, but that this does not necessarily pose problems for social policy.

Her stated goal is not to come to firm conclusions regarding the key variable that might explain family change, but to explore the part played by mentalities and norms in social change. The book is thus not intended to be definitive; rather, the purpose is to view the complex issue of family change using a different lens. She does that for sure.

She discusses the decline of the breadwinner model of the family, the concomitant shift from public to private morality, and the abandonment of an external moral code for a more individualized approach to intimate relationships. She provides us with a fascinating history of the British understanding of individualism and marriage. We learn about shifting views with respect to morality from within and without, from the perspectives of the left and the right.

It is, however, not always an easy route to follow. She traces ideas rather than events, and hence moves back and forth in time (roughly through the 20th century). For someone not highly knowledgeable about British intellectual his-



tory, this makes it difficult to always keep the actual chronology clearly in mind.

The second half of the book presents an empirical study comparing married and cohabiting couples. There are two components: a large-scale quantitative study of attitudes towards marriage and cohabitation, and a qualitative study involving 17 married and 12 cohabiting couples and 72 of their parents, consisting of 32 married couples and eight widows. One of the selection criteria was that the younger couples could not have been married before or have a child from a different relationship, and their parents' marriage had, as well, still to be intact — although they were included if they had mothers who were widowed and had not separated before the death of their husband.

The comparison is thus between stable marriages and stable cohabitation arrangements, with an intriguing intergenerational component. There are some wonderfully subtle distinctions she draws between changes in attitudes and in behaviour, and how both matter in different ways. It is also one of the few empirical studies comparing cohabiting with married couples in two different age cohorts.

This is a very worthwhile book that offers two important things: first, an intellectual history of notions of intimacy between two heterosexual adults and how empirical forms of interaction are informed by a larger cultural context of shifting forms of morality. Second, and equally important, it adds to the scarce literature on cohabiting couples with an intriguing intergenerational component. The discussion is always complex, subtle, and illuminating.

With respect, however, to making an original contribution to policy discussions, the book is less impressive. Her focus on intimate relationships between two (heterosexual) adults leads Lewis to bracket the question of parental relationships. Although she acknowledges off and on that much of the contemporary discussion and concern has shifted from cou-

ple to parental relations, she has nothing to offer on this score. Her empirical study is restricted to couples in which parenthood is shared by the two partners. I would argue that the most perplexing policy issues today have more to do with parental relationships than with couple relationships, and in particular, how to deal with parental obligations as well as rights when there is a discrepancy between parental and spousal roles.

That said, this book remains a most welcome addition to the sociology of the family.

Margrit Eichler  
OISE

Richard Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2001)

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN to the scholarship of the last generation concerning the rise of urban capitalism — in all its class, gender, family, legal, business, political, and organizational implications — if the “liberal” notion of freehold property was missing from the equation?

Richard Rodger, of the University of Leicester, and one of the icons of urban history in Britain, gives us an inkling, and gently suggests we may wish to adjust our understandings somewhat in the light of his study of 19th-century Edinburgh, even if it is a study that is largely concerned with residential housing development.

Rodger's *Edinburgh*, however, is not based on a counterfactual, “what if?” but rests on the fact that there was no freehold property in Edinburgh in the 19th century, or in Scotland for that matter until the 1970s. A modern, western European, capitalist city developed in the 19th century in the context of what Rodger calls a “modern” feudal system, that is, out of “absolutist” as much as liberal assumptions regarding property.

As much of our understanding of urban growth, its relationship to capitalism, and its ethos rests on assumptions about property, in particular that "unrestrained ownership of property was at the core of [an] 18th-century value system with freedom and equality of status conveyed by an individual's control over property," (506) Rodger's *Edinburgh* in some measure de-links property ownership and capitalism, and seems to suggest that for capitalism to thrive, as it did in Edinburgh, other foundations are possible and must be considered.

Rodger intimates they may be found in his excursion into the "legal and institutional structure" (4) of the city, which is what, he says, his book is actually about. Is it really the "legal and institutional structure," not freedom, that matters?

Regardless, what emerges, Rodger acknowledges, stems from the central question of "Who owned Edinburgh?" (26) At bottom, only the Crown did, as all land was held in the form of a Royal grant to a heritable owner (or "superior"), and then through a complex chain of vassals ("feuers" and "sub-feuers") to people who actually built homes, usually for others who lived in them as owners or lessees.

The system, however, was "modern" in two respects. First, "land was conveyed" to a "feuer for his use in perpetuity, on condition that a small annual feu-duty was also payable 'for all time coming.'" (53) That is, for the most part, the feu-duty was the only financial obligation (though as land was sub-divided, this was complicated by a chain of sub-feu duties). There were, in addition, constraints, in the form of a "feu-charter" on how the land could be used.

The growth of the "feu-charter" stemmed from an 1818 court decision that ruled the 18th-century "feu-plan" for Edinburgh's New Town was insufficiently detailed to control property development, and from that point on virtually all land in the city was conveyed with increasingly detailed feu-charters attached, most pre-

pared in the numerous law offices of the Scottish capital, to ensure a form of development that would protect the value of the heritable land and the feu-duty attached to it.

The feu-duty was a valuable commodity: it was 'for all time coming'; and in case of, say, bankruptcy of the feuer, the feu-duty took precedence over all other obligations. It was not only a valuable commodity, it was iron-clad.

As a result, heritable property was often at the core of the personal and institutional "trusts" of the title of the book, cobbled together by the lawyers of the city to protect the income of downstream generations, or of endowed institutions, mainly hospitals and schools. Such trusts were major landholders, at one point controlling some twenty per cent of all holdings of more than an acre, and only surpassed in this regard by railways and the city itself.

It is in this context that the book unfolds, focussed on residential development in a city that grew from 67,000 in 1801 to nearly 300,000 by 1901, a not uncommon trajectory for major centres in the period, and against the structural ups and downs of the housing market of the period. Most residential development was in the hands of private developers, leavened somewhat by a major workers' co-operative and toward the end of the period by civic intervention. There appears to have been very little self-building, possibly due to financial and legal complexities, but Rodger is largely silent in this regard.

Rodger dives deeply into each of these areas, particularly private development, including a detailed examination of James Steel, a bankrupt who became the city's largest residential developer. Steel's experience, as that of the workers' co-op and civic endeavours, is compared to the overall pattern derived from Rodger's massive research into civic documents, like tax rolls, and the reams of feu-charters registered in the "sasines," or what might be called the feudal rolls.

All, furthermore, is considered in relation to the current literature on most aspects of the urban process.

In a volume of so many departures, of such meticulous and comprehensive research, and by such an informed scholar, only some of the questions raised by Rodger can be touched on in a short review.

How was capital raised? Essentially by using the prospect of income from the inassailable feu-duty as collateral; or in the case of a heritable owner, commuting ownership to free, locked-in capital and investing it in housing, industrial, or other opportunities.

Who invested? Rodger indicates this modern feudal system tended to broaden investment opportunities. The security of the feu-duty and the protection of the feu-charter drew people of limited means into the development process, especially widows, spinsters, and elite labour and avoided the paradox of liberal freehold as tending toward monopoly while at the same time held to be the foundation of liberty, freedom, and even democracy.

How did developers protect themselves against the vagaries of the market? Private developers, like Steel, developed a practice of incorporating a range of accommodation within a single development, one that served a range of needs, from singles to families, and a range of classes. Changed family conditions would trigger internal movement usually within the familiar development to a bigger or smaller space, or to cheaper or more expensive space. Rents could sometimes be negotiated to better conform to demand. A mixed residential culture emerged.

The major workers' co-operative accomplished the same thing by spreading its housing developments geographically. Economic changes, and consequently élite labour requirements, appear to have been worked out in city space, not, like the middling classes, within a single development.

What did the feuing system mean for urban and architectural design? In many respects, it created fairly substantial but conservative housing, generally dictated by the feu-charters. Orthodoxy in style was a motif: tenements were described as a four-storey equivalent of a medieval wall with windows; much middle-class construction was in a Scottish baronial style. Power and social order, Rodger says, are the messages conveyed, and are coupled with ego-adornment, often in the form of plaques, memorializing the builder, whether private, trust, worker, or civic, and often containing Scottish nationalist motifs.

In the case of urban design, the feu-charter largely took precedence over the plan. What did the feuing system mean for the worker? Edinburgh, despite its swarms of professionals, was nonetheless an industrial city by any standard, and, Rodger intimates, housing for workers, as it played out in the capital, served in some measure to integrate the worker into the larger community.

Class cleavages were not as pronounced as compared to Glasgow, operating under the same general system, but with a different pattern of development, especially in the public housing area. In matters of class, Rodger seems to be saying, "it depends." Urban exceptionalism?

This seemed particularly true in the case of the workers' colony housing developed by the Edinburgh Co-operative Building Company (formed in the 1860s in the wake of a lockout of the building trades). This housing was special and attractive: doubles featuring two external entrances and a small garden, which, with other features, "insinuated a different vision of urban living into the mentality of the Edinburgh working class." (369)

But there was a downside to the feuing system: the chain of vassalage, of sub-feuers, generally meant higher unit rent for the eventual occupier, and, as a result, Edinburgh residences tended to be less affordable and more cramped than

their English freehold or leasehold equivalents.

Scotland is a rarity in modern capitalist development in its so extensive alternative systems to freehold property. In Canada, there is the seigneurial system but it ends in the 1850s at the beginning of the modern period. There is also Ottawa in its Bytown days, when British Ordnance operated two leasing systems, one that precluded voting because the "quitrents" were so low, and the other that generated a shacktown because the leases were so short. One of the few, on-going contemporary systems is in Canberra. In the Australia capital territory, all land is held by the federal Crown, and conveyed on 99-year leases joined to something like a feu-contract that sets out rents, development conditions, and the like. There is pressure for 99-year leases, or freehold by another name.

Does land ownership matter to capitalism? Perhaps and perhaps not. But alternative systems of ownership, if Edinburgh is an example, may matter a great deal to the nature and shape of a city and of its society. It may also matter a great deal to contemporary theory premised on freehold notions.

As Rodger points out in his conclusion, with the feu-system, "investment leakages were contained" in a place with limited financial resources. "Limited supplies of capital were recirculated to enrich Scottish economic growth and urban development." (507) Along with the institutional innovations, like the trusts, "urban development in Scotland was liberated by the feuing system." (508)

What the author does not tell us is why freehold eventually prevailed. Perhaps by the 20th century it did not matter. Or perhaps to capital, it mattered a great deal.

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Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2002)

AS SHARON FARMER admits in the last sentence of this book, "many of the things that we would like to know about the poor of medieval Paris were buried with them when they died." (169) This book, then, is more about gender and ideology than it is about the daily lives of the poor; that, however, as every medievalist knows, is less the fault of the author than a result of the tyranny of the sources. Moreover, whatever picture that emerges about the poor in Paris in these pages — both men and women — is mediated by men who were not themselves poor. Thus, "first-hand knowledge of poor people" (2) remains beyond the secure grasp of the modern historian. It is not surprising, therefore, that very few pages in this book actually treat "perspectives of the poor," the vast majority being about "perspectives on the poor." Fortunately, this book's value lies not in a recounting of actual experiences of poor folk, but rather in a close and convincing analysis of the intellectual construction — the ideology — of cultural values and stereotypes about poverty, physical disability, and begging.

This ideology comes to us largely from the writings of "preachers, teachers of preachers, and theologians," (2) and these provide Farmer with the backbone of sources for her book. She plumbs the sermon literature of Humbert of Romans, Jacques de Vitry, and Gilbert of Tournai, and extensively uses *The Life and Miracles of Saint Louis* by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. Guillaume was a mendicant friar and the confessor of the wife of the French King Louis IX, (d. 1270) and wrote *Life and Miracles* (1303) in an effort to promote the canonization of the dead king. He based his book upon an actual canonization inquest that interviewed 330 witnesses to 65 posthumous miracles between 1271 and 1282. Only a fragment of the original transcript sur-

vives, but Guillaume had access to the entire document and summarized its contents. Guillaume's narrative, no less than the sermon literature that the author scrutinizes, was coloured by male, clerical prejudices and assumptions, as well as by those of the intended audiences of this literature. Acutely aware of this cultural shaping, Farmer is able to write a book built around a very important theme: that gender and socioeconomic status were integral parts of the hierarchical ideologies of the cultural élite "that imposed expectations and prejudices upon the poor." (1) As a result, she argues convincingly that "poor men and women were gendered differently from élite men and women." (2)

Guillaume's narratives of miracles provide information on the social status of 52 beneficiaries of miracles, and the places of origin of 32 beneficiaries and witnesses. Most of these people were from artisanal, labouring, and poor backgrounds. From this rather meager database, Farmer tries to elicit evidence that would push the conjugal "European household pattern" as the norm before the Black Death, and to establish that female "celibate servitude was an indefinite arrangement rather than a life-cycle phenomenon that ended with marriage when the[se women] reached their mid-or late-twenties." (27) These are provocative suggestions that challenge current historiographical assumptions, but the jury remains out on the question of whether these are anomalies (Farmer insists that they are not), or if they point to "significant numbers of people." (29) (Farmer insists that they do.) Invoking corroborating evidence from 15th-century Reims and 14th- and 15th-century England does little to confirm what still seem to be speculations.

Farmer is more convincing when she turns her attention away from empirical social history (the subject of chapter 1, "Wealth, Migration, and Poverty") to the cultural construction of gender stereotypes (chapter 2, "Adam's Curse," and chapter 4, "Eve's Curse"). Here Farmer

notes the well-known division of labour articulated in Genesis — that man's lot after the Fall would be productive labour, woman's lot reproductive. From this premise medieval clerics elaborated a binary and gendered schema that associated male/mind/public and female/body/domestic. The clerical authors of the 13th and 14th centuries did just this, associating men with reason and matters of the spirit and women with irrationality, the body, and lustful appetite. This created a "blind spot," for clerical authors tended to ignore female productive labour, and have left modern historians with the difficult task of accounting for female participation in the market, and not just the household, economy. These male, clerical assumptions are important components of the ideology of poverty that Farmer is reconstructing, but she goes further. Guided by methods of recent feminists of colour and post-colonial feminists, Farmer also analyzes "medieval gender categories within the hierarchical 'grids' of difference that medieval people constructed," (41) and finds that the clerical authors had more complex notions of gender in mind than this simple binary construct would suggest. Indeed, Farmer convincingly argues that "medieval clerical authors in fact constructed various hierarchies of masculinity, and associated lower-status men both with necessary bodily labor and with moral weaknesses arising from the body." (42) Property, in other words, was an important determinant of gendering. This assumption then allowed clerical authors to perceive men who begged as not masculine. Female gendering was more complex than the Genesis-inspired dichotomy as well, and once again, as with males, social status and property were important categories of difference for clerical authors. Propertied women, we find, could be more closely associated with matters of the mind and spirit even than lower-status males, and were poles apart from poor women who were closely tied to bodily, sexual, and irrational characteristics.

These grids of difference generated in the minds of the cultural élite a distrust of poor and especially disabled people. For the élite, the body became a sign, and poor and disabled bodies to them were a sign of the consequences of sin. Thus, surprisingly, we find (in chapter 3, "Men in Need," and chapter 5, "Women in Need") that the élite really were *not* significant benefactors of the poor, nor were established, formal institutions like guilds or hospitals. The true line of defense for the disabled indigent against death was informal and non-institutional — family, employers, neighbours, and friends of similar socio-economic status. Repeatedly in the narratives of the miracles recounted by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus we read of help offered to the ill, blind, lame, deaf, and mute by artisans, labouring poor, and, in the case of disabled and poor females, companions of the same sex.

Largely because of the kinds of sources available to the author, this book is less successful as social history than as cultural, but the strengths of the latter are substantial. This book cautions us from thinking too simply about gender constructs, and, most importantly in my opinion, brings property and social status to the center of the discussion about what constitute masculinities and femininities which were, Farmer convincingly argues, various and several.

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Peter Carstens, *In the Company of Diamonds: De Beers, Kelnzee, and the Control of a Town* (Athens: Ohio University Press 2001)

THIS IS A BOOK about company towns, those social and economic products of industrial capitalism that exist in most remote parts of the world that offer natural resources of significant value. Peter Carstens situates his story of a company town *par excellence* within the theoretical

and functional debates of what defines a company town, and how the social anthropology of these towns differs in important ways from other forms of social and economic organization with which we are familiar.

The Introduction provides a succinct overview of the literature on company towns, and helps to set the scene for the focus of the book, which is the diamond mining town of Kleinzee situated in the remote semi-desert reaches of Namaqualand to the South of the Orange River in South Africa. Although diamonds had been discovered and mined since the 1860s in South Africa's interior at Kimberly, Kleinzee was part of the rich alluvial belt of coastal diamonds that were discovered in 1925 and 1926 along the cold waters of the Atlantic Ocean, stretching from the southern desert of Namibia (where diamonds were discovered twenty years earlier) into the Northern Cape Province. Control of these diamond fields was quickly wrested from the private prospectors and smaller companies by the most powerful diamond company in the world, De Beers.

Carstens argues that De Beers' control and influence (together with Anglo-American) over the lives and socio-economic structure of Kleinzee was formidable, linking the mine and its functions into global capitalism, while simultaneously structuring its employees' lives and destinies in profound ways typical of isolated company towns. Carstens' historical analysis of the interaction between people's lives in Kleinzee and the major actors in the diamond industry in relation to world events over the past 75 years provides the evidence needed to tease out the more theoretical conclusions of the case study. Based on this analysis, the last two chapters of the book abstract the findings by linking them to the broader literature on socio-economic structure and function. Carstens concludes that company towns like Kleinzee, together with other "closed communities" such as the military, are not total institutions in their own

right, but rather subject their participants to social conditions associated with "incomplete communities" that induce a range of pathologies including high suicide rates, domestic violence, mental disorders, and substance abuse.

The style with which the detail in this book is presented makes it read like a work of fiction: characters are carefully and skillfully constructed, with their strengths, weaknesses, and other human elements so well portrayed that turning the next page is mandatory. The fascinating analysis of this mining town's operation is as much about industry and management as it is about sociology. The book's strength lies in its application to broader industrial and political processes that were at play globally and within South Africa. The analysis successfully marries the broader industrial and organizational processes of capital and production that were international in character with the specificities of South African politics. Fordist-style mining operations made an easy partner with the racial segregation and discrimination on which not only the diamond mines, but also the gold mines of South Africa prospered.

Carstens also shows how the macro-political events of the past decade in South Africa have changed the racial criteria that were central to the labour architecture of the mine. In the early 1990s De Beers quickly reconfigured its racial policy to one of inclusion to mirror the rise of the African National Congress to power in 1994 which, in turn, marked the formation of the country's first democratically elected government and the abolition of racial discrimination. If anything, De Beers was proactive in its integration of Blacks into the professional and management ranks of the company, illustrating Carstens' assertion that hegemonic control of its workforce by companies like De Beers is accompanied by various propagandist strategies to maintain a positive image both within the company town and the international political arena.

As a case study, the rich insight that the book provides makes an important contribution to our understanding of the South African mining complex and complements similar material that deals with the history of mining, labour, and industry in South Africa. Although parallels are made with other institutions such as mental hospitals and the military, with a short epilogue on the resource town of Tumbler Ridge in British Columbia, a weakness of the book is its near-exclusive focus on Kleinsee and the diamond industry. By situating the story of Kleinsee within a narrow theoretical and analytical framework, Carstens limits the appeal of the book to an audience of specialists. Nonetheless, the author has provided so comprehensive an analysis of Kleinsee and the diamond industry that this focus is indeed also the book's strength. Its appeal crosses disciplinary boundaries and it will be of equal interest to sociologists, anthropologists, and historians as it will to geographers and economists.

There can be no doubt that the author's personal experience of growing up in Kleinsee is central to his sophisticated appreciation of life in this company town. It would have been easy for Carstens to rely on impressions and views obtained from his childhood experiences, but his analysis is based squarely on his detailed research and documentation. The text is rich with footnotes, figures, and photographs that augment rather than complicate the text. Although his own biases are not overt in the book, Carstens does employ a delightful mix of ironic humour and tone that at times amuses and can leave little doubt in the reader's mind of his personal views. This is particularly well done when describing the diversity of characters that constituted the white management hierarchy and its relationship to company policy and the coloured and black workers.

This book comes at an important time when issues of corporate control of resource extraction and processing are on

the global political and socio-economic agendas. The role of multinational and transnational companies in wealth generation is increasingly under the spotlight as environmental pressure, climate change, and persistent poverty dominate the international development debate. Peter Carstens' book provides a window into the complex interplay between the welfare of ordinary people under the control of formidably powerful companies, with the ways that changes in the political and economic arenas can determine the social and material outcomes of those ordinary people's lives.

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Sheila Smith McKoy, *When Whites Riot: Writing Race and Violence in American and South African Cultures* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 2001)

THIS IS A PROMISING LITTLE BOOK (only 126 pages of actual text) that, in the end, did not fulfill the expectations I had for it. Since readers of this journal would likely bring similar expectations to this book, I want to work a bit with them. But then I want to emphasize that, disappointed expectations aside, *When Whites Riot* raises valuable questions that are worth our consideration.

One important caveat for readers of *Labour/LeTravail*: Smith McKoy is not an historian. She is an English professor, within a department (Vanderbilt University) that emphasizes the somewhat innovative practices of "comparative literature" and "cultural studies." She and her colleagues do not simply study poems, short stories, memoirs, novels, and the like, but they extend their investigations to "texts," which include not only all of the literary products I have already mentioned, but also plays, films, photographs, newspaper articles, material objects, laws and court decisions, speeches, and more,

including riots and how they are represented.

For those students of labour history who learned from the likes of E.P. Thompson to squeeze all possible meaning from scant primary documents, it is not such a great leap to swim around in these new disciplines of "comparative literature" and "cultural studies." At the same time, however, we often find less regard for historical contextualization and less attention to the systematic consideration of evidence and the construction of analytical frameworks than we try to practice and expect from our peers. Here, more often than not I find, is where we become disappointed, if not downright dissatisfied, with these new intellectual endeavours.

And so I came to *When Whites Riot* with expectations of a systematic comparison of key instances of racial violence in the United States and South Africa. To be fair, Smith McKoy nowhere promises that this is her scholarly agenda. Rather, she selects "episodes" from both countries that illustrate her argument. These "episodes" are not selected because they emerged from parallel historical contexts or grew out of synchronous historical dynamics. They do follow the etiology that Smith McKoy lays out, and in that sense they do indeed illustrate her argument. And in so doing, they encourage readers to think in some new ways about racial violence and its representation in both the US and South Africa (and, perhaps, by inference, in Canada). But this mode of presentation does not deepen our sense of the comparative histories of the two countries, nor the specific roles played by violence in the maintenance of racial hierarchy in them. That important task is left to an as yet unwritten book.

*When Whites Riot* proceeds from some key basic assumptions, which are themselves the products of fairly recent work by such US historians as George Fredrickson, John W. Cell, and David Roediger, among others. First, the notion of "apartheid" is as applicable to the US



South in the era of "Jim Crow" as it is to South Africa under the hegemony of the National Party after World War II. Second, "race" is not the property of people of colour alone, but characterizes white people ("whiteness") as a corollary of the "race" ("blackness"), which characterizes African Americans and indigenous South Africans. Third, while these various peoples might have different and disparate cultural values and practices, the "whiteness" and "blackness" that are ascribed to them and even claimed by them are historically and socially produced, driven by ideological beliefs and social-psychological practices of repression and projection. And, fourth, these ascribed differences are mobilized to support existing racial hierarchies (i.e. white supremacy) and, when their assertion alone is insufficient, violence has been utilized to enforce those hierarchies.

From this foundation, Smith McKoy proffers her major innovative insight — that what have typically been called "race riots" in both the US and South Africa have, in fact, been "white riots," in which the agents of aggression have been whites. Through the intervention of the mass media — newspapers in the 19th century, TV, film, and video more recently — this underlying social reality has been camouflaged and, in its place, images of out of control, threatening, dangerous black bodies have been inserted. In the public consciousness, then, "race riots" are viewed as "black" riots, just the opposite of what they are about. The historical course of the violence is, Smith McKoy suggests in a lovely turn of phrase, "raced" and "erased." Such a (mis)representation then has material power of its own, reaffirming the justice and necessity of the existing racial hierarchies. Indeed, she argues, the news and commercialized mass entertainment create and perpetuate a trope of violent black bodies which *must* be controlled. Finally, Smith McKoy also points out that African Americans (like the novelist Charles Chestnutt in his *The Marrow of Tradition*)

and indigenous South Africans (like the playwright and filmmaker Mbongeni Ngema in his "Sarafina!") have manifested agency and resistance in their efforts to construct representations that *do* identify the instigators of racial violence and legitimate resistance to it.

These are useful insights that we should keep in mind from our engagement with newspaper documents in the archives to our viewing of the evening news or the latest action flick. While I might wish that Smith McKoy had chosen her historical "episodes" systematically, that she had placed them within specific historical contexts, and that she had used them to flesh out a structured comparison of the reproduction of racial hierarchies in the US and South Africa, I am grateful to her for having stirred up for me this entire question of how moments of social conflict can be "raced" and then their authorship "erased." As historians and as citizens, we should be ever vigilant about these processes.

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Ashwin Desai, *We are the Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (New York: Monthly Review Press 2002)

DRAWING EXTENSIVELY on his own experiences as a community activist in the greater Durban region of South Africa, Ashwin Desai provides an overview of changes in popular protest politics in South Africa in the post-apartheid era. Central to his book is the concept of the "poors," an inclusive category encompassing those deemed surplus to the needs of contemporary capitalism, other than as a revenue source in return for the provision of basic water, electricity, and related services.

Chapter one deals with attempts by the African National Congress to mobilize support within the historically Indian area

of Chatsworth, Durban in 1999, five years after its accession to power and rapid conversion to neo-liberal, macro-economic policies. In the end, a senior community leader with close ties to the ANC leadership was forced to question the new government's insistence that the poor should pay for basic municipal services. Centring on the story of one family, the Judhoos, chapter two provides a harrowing description of the foundation of Chatsworth during the early years of apartheid. Not only was the township filled with those evicted from their homes in inner Durban, but the land itself was taken from Indian small farmers who were themselves evicted.

Chapter three traces the development of Chatsworth from the 1950s to the 1990s; again, it centres on the story of a family, the Anamuthoos. Again, it is a story of the relentless destruction of livelihoods, through escalating municipal rents and arbitrary forced removals. Ironically, in the post-apartheid years, the dropping of protective tariffs devastated the textile industry, unleashing a new wave of misfortune. Chapter 4 explores the social consequences of forced removals, exploring the escalation of lawlessness in the 1980s. The latter represented not only a product of the breakdown of family ties, but also the increasing complicity of the police in crime. By the 1980s, the bulk of policing resources were concentrated towards curbing mass resistance to apartheid, leading to a large proportion of criminal activity being ignored. Moreover, the involvement of sections of the police in "dirty tricks" — death squads, and fraud, torture, and petty vandalism aimed against political activists — led to increasing numbers of policemen developing ties with the criminal underworld. Epitomized by the Chatsworth Police Station's notorious Unit 5, sections of the police soon became linked to large scale armed robberies, vehicle theft rings, the drug trade, and the like.

Political resistance to apartheid from within Chatsworth resulted not only in the revival of the largely middle-class Natal Indian Congress, which played a prominent role in the formation of the United Democratic Front, but also the formation and rapid expansion of grassroots civic organizations. After exploring these developments, Chapter five concludes that democratization in 1994 did not deter the local authority from abandoning its policy of seemingly arbitrary evictions of those behind on service charges, even in cases of severe poverty. Chapter six explores the new wave of popular resistance to evictions, and chapter seven critiques attempts to "solve" the problem through the classically Thatcherist method of selling off sub-economic housing. The following chapter returns to the theme of evictions, again by tracing the stories of a few of those targeted. A ray of light against a depressing chronicle of arbitrariness and police brutality was a rare legal victory proving that the relevant local authority had not always followed due processes. Chapters eight and nine deal with the further fracturing of family and community ties in the 1990s, in the face of increasing impoverishment, and chapter ten with the human cost of ongoing factory closures by firms squeezed by heightened global competition. The following discusses a protracted legal battle surrounding municipal efforts to disconnect the water supplies of account defaulters. A legal victory led the council to ruthlessly press on with its policy of disconnections, the chief official responsible being the Orwellian-named Stalin Joseph. Chapter twelve discusses the 2000 municipal elections, which, for the first time, led to an independent candidate, expressly representing the poor, being elected. The following two chapters explore community struggles against rents, service charges, and evictions elsewhere in the country — in the Mpumalanga district of Natal (not to be confused with the province of the same name), Soweto, and Tafelsig in Cape Town.

Probably of most interest to the readers of *Labour/Le Travail*, Chapter fifteen looks at the 2000 Volkswagen and 2001 Engen strikes. The former strike, at the motor firm's massive Uitenhage plant, pitted a section of the workforce against the national government, management, and the union, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa. The strike underscored the importance of linking community with workplace. Denied the full backing of the former, the ultimately dismissed strikers were forced to turn to the courts for what proved a protracted and bitter case. In contrast, the Engen strike, headed by a tiny breakaway union, resulted in a relatively favourable settlement. The author ascribes this to the strong community support the union received. However, a less charitable explanation was that, quite simply the stakes were lower. Unlike Volkswagen, Engen is a locally owned petrochemical firm, not an international conglomerate that must be appeased. The following chapter deals with the formation of a new umbrella civic forum, the Concerned Citizens Forum (CCF), covering a number of urban areas in Natal. Chapter seventeen deals with the mobilization for the protests that took place at the World Congress Against Racism, held in Durban in 2001. The final chapter explores the possibilities for developing community activism as the basis for a new mass movement against neo-liberalism, a chapter that is regrettably rather brief.

Desai's work is a passionate and searing account of an age where just staying alive is a privilege that has to be paid for. As international financial organizations and the WTO relentlessly press for the marketization of basic social services, the active redistribution of resources from the poor to the rich that has characterised much of neo-liberal policy for the past two decades becomes increasingly flagrant. Desai depicts the fate and responses of communities at the receiving side of such unrestrained marketization. This is both a major strength and a weak-

ness. His account of the creativity and richness of community counter-attacks is deeply inspiring in an age when formal politics have become moribund and meaningless. However, it does make for a certain lack of strategic vision. Too often, the resultant contestations have been isolated affairs with alliances across communities and regions being fragile and constantly open to co-optation by elites. Whilst they could represent a new focoism, epitomizing hit-and-run attacks that debilitate the status quo and excite communities for the next struggle, it can also make for factionalism and fragmentation. Are we seeing the start of a renewed challenge working towards a more equitable future, or desperate and isolated responses by communities under constant assault? In other words, are we seeing the emergence of a new politics based around community activism, or a kind of "anti-politics" driven purely by reaction? These questions are particularly important given possible state responses. Resistance to the imposition of neo-liberal style governance can result in the adoption of more inclusivist social policies or the state simply abandoning communities to their own fates. Arguably, the latter has already taken place in central Johannesburg and immediately adjoining residential areas such as Hillbrow. The closing two chapters of the book do highlight the importance of mounting joint challenges uniting communities, aimed directly towards the commanding heights, yet it is still too soon to say whether the emergent social alliances are sustainable. Attacks on the status quo need to go beyond making the existing order ungovernable. The real challenge is to force viable policy alternatives firmly onto the agenda.

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**Mark Frazier, *The Making of the Chinese Industrial Workplace: State, Revolution, and Labour Management* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2002)**

SOME SCHOLARS have argued that China's initiation of market-driven reforms in 1978 brought about the "second revolution" of the communist era (1949-present). In retrospect, this assessment seems only partially correct. China's decision to institute free-market reforms 25 years ago was indeed revolutionary. Yet the lingering effect of command-control institutions on market development has made the process of reform less revolutionary than evolutionary. In *The Making of the Chinese Industrial Workplace*, Mark Frazier illustrates a similar evolutionary logic can account for the development of the Chinese work unit (*danwei*), the chief labour management institution associated with the "first revolution" of the Communist era.

The strength of Frazier's book is its descriptive richness. Frazier has translated previously unavailable primary source documents that detail how labour management institutions developed in Shanghai and Guangzhou over a period that starts approximately in 1930 and ends approximately in 1960. Frazier's careful presentation of these archival records lends a personality and a pulse to factory life during an understudied period of Chinese history. The gathering of this evidence also suggests several important theoretical questions that are applicable to institutional developments outside the time and place featured in the book. Among the most important is: why are institutions founded in pre-revolutionary crises inclined to survive beyond the period in which they originated? If this question were addressed more systematically, the book would not only be a necessary addition to the bookshelves of China and labour studies scholars, it would be of interest to a broader cross-section of social scientists.

The historical backdrop for Frazier's study is the three decades that straddled the fall of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist regime and the rise of Mao Zedong's Communist regime (1930-1960). While this time period frames the book, Frazier is interested in micro-political developments — specifically the development of the Chinese work unit. The work unit has long been regarded as the primary vehicle through which the Chinese Communist leadership exercised its control over society. It has also been regarded as an institutional innovation unique to the Maoist era.

Examining the history of two shipbuilding and textile factories in Shanghai and Guangzhou from the 1930s to the 1960s, Frazier demonstrates that the work unit was not as unique as previously assumed. During Nationalist rule (1927-1945), Chinese labour officials faced two dilemmas. The first involved balancing the growing influence of Western impersonal management principles with more familiar, particularistic labour management practices. The second and more daunting dilemma involved locating this balance in the midst of a Japanese invasion that induced rapid increases in the price of consumer goods.

The Nationalist response to this twin dilemma was to use the industrial workplace to formally institutionalize a system of more personalized social welfare. As the purchasing power of wages fell, Nationalist officials channeled funds to several of the largest industries (including the shipbuilding and textile factories that are highlighted in this study) and ordered them to provide employees with housing, medical services, and other non-wage benefits. The provision of goods and services not only cushioned workers from war-induced hyper-inflationary shocks, it resulted in a growing reliance of workers on their enterprises and their shop-floor managers. The worker-employer bonds that were forged during this period did not dissolve easily with the removal of the Japanese threat in the mid-1940s — and

the memory of these ties faded slower still.

At the beginning of the 1950s, communist labour management officials confronted a set of challenges that rivaled those of the recently deposed Nationalist regime. On the one hand, there was a need to balance Soviet-advocated, impersonal labour management principles, with the traditionally preferred, particularistic management practices. On the other, there was a need to reinvigorate the industrial economy in the wake of the Chinese civil war. At what is the most compelling juncture of the study, Frazier illustrates that Chinese communist officials borrowed a page from the Nationalist book in responding to these labour management challenges. The industrial workplace became the focal point of the Chinese communist industrial reform program.

These similarities notwithstanding, there was a palpable difference between the objectives that the nationalists and the communists sought. While the nationalists were attempting to prevent the industrial economy from collapsing, the communists were attempting to rebuild an industrial economy that had already collapsed. This difference implied (among other things) that the use of factories to institutionalize traditional labour management practices was even more sweeping during the communist than the nationalist era. Communist commitments introduced during the First Five Year Plan (1953-1957) ranged from narrow wage differentials between skilled and unskilled labourers to recruitment policies that assigned workers from the same family to the same factory to the all-important offering of social welfare benefits.

The depth and scope of these institutional commitments made the industrial workplace into far more than just a place of work in the post-revolutionary years of communist rule. An intended consequence of these institutional commitments was that they facilitated the socialist transformation to a command-control economy. An unintended consequence of

these institutional commitments was that they solidified ties between workers and their employers and sharply limited social interactions to the work unit. Subsequently, communist party officials discovered that this second consequence was not only unintended, but also undesirable. The close ties between employers and workers weakened the influence of campaigns such as the Great Leap Forward (1958-1962) that intended to bring greater party control of factories. The durability of institutional commitments to institutional reform is an appropriate point to segue into a concluding evaluation of the book.

One of the more provocative themes highlighted in Frazier's book is the tension between pre-existing institutions that reflect the interests of society and institutional innovations imposed by the state. The book vividly illustrates this tension. Where the book is less fulfilling is in its analysis of the theoretical extensions of this argument. Instead of exploring these extensions, Frazier appears content to use a neo-institutional framework to elucidate how the Chinese work unit developed over the 30-year period in question. While he should be commended for demonstrating the usefulness of this theoretical framework to a region and an era where neo-institutionalism has been underutilized, readers not focusing on China or labour studies might desire more theory building and less theory application. If Frazier ventured to do so, the book's contribution would be both evolutionary and revolutionary.

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Hagen Koo, *Korean Workers: The Culture and Politics of Class Formation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2001)

MODERN SOUTH KOREAN society is marked by two simultaneous processes. While one is its unprecedented economic

success celebrated in academic literature on the developmental state, the other is its rapid proletarianization and the subsequent labour militancy to which little attention has been paid. Given that critical accounts of capitalist modernity in north-east Asia have been overshadowed by economic success stories, this book, threaded along the line of workers' lived experiences and culture, makes an important contribution by providing an alternative narrative of the political economy of modern South Korea.

Koo's central question in this book is: How can we explain the radical transformation of the politically quiescent Korean workers of the 1960s and the 1970s into an organized militant labour force in the 1980s? According to Koo, the existing reductionist-structuralist approach has treated this historical phenomenon as culturally given or natural. This then easily leads to the conclusion that the transition from unorganized to organized labour was discontinuous. He correctly points out the fallacy of what is called "psychological reductionism," a methodological tendency to retroactively infer the consciousness of individual workers from macro structural patterns. His narrative, constructed from the viewpoint of the workers, helps avoid this theoretical shortcoming.

In addressing his central question, Koo adopts two useful strategies, one methodological, and the other theoretical. From a comparative perspective, Koo attempts to find out the historical-cultural conditions that enabled the distinctive formation of Korean working-class politics. Three levels of comparison are utilized in chronological order. First, Korean workers in the 1960s and the 1970s are contrasted to the workers of 19th-century Europe. Historically, unlike the European working-classes, Korean workers lacked a legacy of artisanship, the traditional Confucian culture having hindered its development. Secondly, while East Asian labour has historically been disciplined and passive, Korean

workers' unique departure from this trend from the 1980s onwards can be found in the urban nature of the industrial transformation, which was also highly conducive to the formation of militant working-class politics. Third, Koo diagnoses that Korean workers in the 1990s and beyond are at the crossroads between a political movement and a narrow trade unionism. Compared to the social-movement unionism of Brazil and South Africa, South Korea's new unionism since 1987 has failed to articulate with larger social forces, due to various economic, political, and social factors.

Drawing on the social-constructivist approach to class formation, which can be traced to the work of E.P. Thompson, Koo highlights the contingent nature of class formation, the role of human agency, and the role of discursive conditions in the making of working-class politics in South Korea. Although Koo does not explicitly mention it, this book indeed can be regarded as a study that exemplifies Ira Katznelson's integrative model for studying class formation. At the level of "structure," Koo delineates the distinctive features of peripheral Fordism in South Korea led by the state and *chaebols*. This export-oriented and urban-based industrialization ultimately conditioned certain "ways of life" for workers, who were culturally homogeneous female workers in the 1970s in light industries and male workers in the 1980s in heavy industries. Workers' homogeneity and the collective experiences of humiliation and bitterness produced particular "class dispositions," including a strong sense of justice, rather than just a sense of economic deprivation. Finally, their class dispositions burst into "collective action," primarily in the form of demands for "humane treatment."

To be sure, as Koo strongly argues, structural conditions do not automatically determine the formation of working-class politics. While it is a truism that human agency and culture are always working to make class formation an indeterminate phenomenon, Koo extends this insight in

an original way. His central argument is that Korean working-class formation has always been closely associated with broader socio-political processes, particularly with a democratic social movement led by intellectuals and college students. In the 1970s, female workers' resentment developed into a trade-unionist movement in coordination with church organizations. In the 1980s, the *minjung* culture and, in particular, Marxism provided the ideological maps through which workers understood their situation and expressed their resentment via political action. In addition, Koo implies that only by locating these two seemingly discontinuous labour-led movements in broader political and cultural processes, are we able to understand that they were in fact interconnected. Although the female workers' struggles bore no directly visible fruits, it is important to recognize that the movements were eventually externalized and politicized beyond isolated union activities, which provided the cultural and organizational grounds for the militant labour politics of the next decade. Koo's argument therefore vindicates the thesis in labour history that class formation occurs in a contingent way, and simultaneously demonstrates the distinctive trajectory of Korean working-class formation.

I would make two points that might go beyond Koo's theoretical interests but that are not incompatible with his arguments. First, this book alludes to a radical disparity between structural conditions and identity formations, and focuses on the way work-based experiences are articulated with hegemonic discourses. The labour rhetoric in the 1970's was humanitarian in orientation due to workers' connections with church organizations. By the same token, as Koo shows, despite extremely patriarchal control of their labour, gender issues were never seriously raised by female workers because they had no interpretive framework to recognize them as such. Even so, institutional political exclusion of labour co-existed with some ideological inclusion of la-

bour. Various nationalist languages purported to interpellate workers, such as "industrial worriers," were constitutive of workers' identities, which leads me to conclude that the developmentalist regimes until the 1980s were not entirely despotic.

Second, even though working-class formation in South Korea took a unique path, why are the outcomes — ideologies and strategies — getting similar to their predecessors in western Europe? As Koo argues, the formation of class identity may or may not occur. But if it occurs outside western Europe, is it supposed to follow the Western model to its final destination? If there is no universal and teleological path to class-identity formation, we may find the answer in the active role of culture, more specifically knowledge constitutive of social reality and class formation. As Koo clearly shows, the main discursive resources since the 1980s were *minjung* culture and socialist ideologies widely shared by intellectuals and students. Here we see again the hegemonic articulation, specifically through the "theory effect" or "concept-dependency" of social action.

Overall, this book is highly recommended. It is the overdue, first serious, comprehensive, and well-researched study on South Korean working-class formation available to English readers. For those who are interested in Korean political economy, I believe that this book will provide a story that is overlooked by the developmental state literature. For those who are interested in labour studies and industrial sociology, this book shows how theories on class formation can be wonderfully combined to illustrate a particular case.

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**Pippa Norris**, *Digital Divide: Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2001)

IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, a virtual publishing industry on the "digital divide" has arisen. Academic books, research papers, government reports, private corporate position papers, and market research brochures have sketched its profile, pointed to its seriousness, and recommended public policies for alleviating it. The book by Pippa Norris is one of the more serious academic attempts to outline, on the basis of survey research data, the social, economic, and especially the political contours of the divide.

Norris discusses her topic in terms of a *global divide*, "divergence of Internet access between industrialized and developing societies"; a *social divide*, "the gap between the information rich and poor in each nation"; and a *democratic divide*, "the difference between those who do, and do not, use the panoply of digital resources to engage, mobilize, and participate in public life." (4)

Running throughout the book is a contrast between two positions. The cyber-optimists view the Internet as an opportunity for reducing social inequalities and engaging the disengaged, the alienated, and the dispossessed. The cyber-pessimists suggest that the Internet reinforces and may even intensify traditional social cleavages; they view the Internet as conferring advantages on large media corporations and governments to dominate political discourse rather than enabling interactive communications that could transform politics and government. Most of Norris' data appear to support the cyber-pessimists, though not without qualification.

Part One of the book is devoted to the socioeconomic divide between and within nations. Norris employs survey data collected by others (such as *NIA Internet Surveys*) to conduct statistical analyses showing that North America,

western Europe, and Scandinavia are much more wired than the developing countries of sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia. Given the lack of much survey data collected in the developing world, Norris focuses primarily on the US and Western Europe to outline deep inequalities in access to the Internet by education, income, gender, occupation, generation, and race/ethnicity. None of this is new. Many other researchers have published and discussed the same kinds of statistics. But she takes these statistics somewhat further by engaging in regression analyses showing that technological diffusion and socio-economic development (per capita GDP and investment in research and development) have much more to do with who is online than a nation's level of democratization. A constant theme is the similarity between new media and old media, such as phone, fax, TV, and VCRs.

Part Two, devoted to the "virtual political system," is the main section of the book. Using data from various public agencies, Norris displays counts of the number of Web sites hosted by parliaments, government departments, electoral political parties, the news media, interest groups, new social movements, and transnational advocacy groups. Norris' regression analyses mostly show that technological diffusion explains national differences in "digital politics" more than socioeconomic development or level of democratization. Political organizations use the Web to extend what they normally do off the Web, such as the distribution of policy documents. Most of her analyses and arguments suggest that digital politics is more about the top-down distribution of information than a bottom-up interactive communications that might potentially create a new kind of dialogue or even transform institutional politics.

Part Three is a small section on the democratic divide. Norris presents data showing that Internet users in the US and western Europe tend to support a post-materialist cyber-culture somewhat



more than non-users; users are somewhat more liberal in moral values on the environment, gay rights, lesbianism, censorship, equality, individualism, and secularism, but more conservative on some economic and political issues (more pro-business and republican). Norris appears to side with the reinforcement thesis (those most politically engaged through the Internet were previously engaged in traditional politics) than the mobilization thesis (the Internet will engage the disaffected and unengaged).

The value of the book is that Norris integrates international and national socioeconomic Internet access data with data on digital politics. She utilizes social and economic data on inequality of access to understand why some citizens are engaged politically through the Internet while other citizens are excluded.

Even though the book is cast at the international level, it privileges the US as the gold standard against which all other countries are to be judged. Her questions are not about comparative international differences in Internet access, but how other countries are similar to or different from the US. The comparisons are generally between the US and western Europe and the US and Scandinavia. There is hardly any data presented on the developing regions of the world. Nor is there any intensive analysis of why more than 90 percent of the world is excluded from the Internet.

We do write books from our historical and social vantage point. The author is located in the US at Harvard University in Boston. Privileged locations can provide instant Internet access to considerable data and information. They can also create blinders on the type of research conducted, the kinds of data considered legitimate, and the sensitivities to global cultural diversities and perspectives. There is nothing in her theoretical model that provides a rationale for the focus on the US. Nor is it defensible empirically, since on some measures other countries have greater Internet connectivity. It should

also be noted that the percentage of world Internet hosts and clients located in the US has been declining, which receives only one mention in the book. English-language Web sites, as a proportion of all Web sites, have also been on the decline. Some of the greatest growth in the Internet in recent years has been in the non-English developing world (especially Asia), whose citizens want to view Web sites in their own indigenous language and culture. As Norris admits, some of her databases (AJRNewslink) are located in the US and are likely to reflect an American bias. To compensate, she cross-references *Editor & Publisher*, *World News Index*, and *Yahoo*. However, two of these indexes are also headquartered in the US, and are likely to contain similar biases. The one rationale for the focus on the US could be the Internet's historical roots in that country. But Norris does not make much of it, perhaps because of the importance of Switzerland in developing the concept of the Web through the work of Tim Berners-Lee, the father of the Web.

Almost all the empirical data presented in the book are based on statistical surveys or quantifiable data, such as numbers of Internet clients, hosts, and domains. Not only does this privilege data in the US and western Europe where the best and most numerous surveys have been collected, but it excludes qualitative data and analyses, other than anecdotal examples. This has a profound effect on what one considers important about digital politics: the number of Websites run by various political organizations. This sets up a bias in favour of institutional politics and large political organizations, and their well-financed and professional presentation of information through the Web. Such a methodological choice downplays grassroots political activism through interactive communications (e-mail, chat rooms, and listservs) spawned by new social movements and the international advocacy coalitions. The Web is essentially a medium for the presentation and distri-

bution of information, not primarily a communications medium. The Web should not be confused with the Internet. Although there have been many software attempts to incorporate communication utilities into the Web, these are add-ons. It is the communication utilities that have been particularly important in grassroots campaigns by activist groups. As a result, new social movements and grassroots global protest campaigns only get a passing reference in the book. There is a growing literature on the twinning of social and political activism and the communication underbelly of the Internet that is not reflected in this book. There is no analysis of the anti-globalization campaigns that have made sustained use of the Internet's communication utilities to organize internationally. The book thus does a good job at outlining how traditional institutional politics make use of the Web, but fails to mount any sustained analysis of global and local electronic political activism.

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Antimo L. Farro, *Les mouvements sociaux* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, coll. "Politique et économie" 2000)

CETTE ÉTUDE EST RICHE, intéressante, parfois un peu pesante cependant. Ce dernier qualificatif ne veut pas décourager le lecteur: elle comporte en effet une telle somme de connaissances et l'auteur domine si manifestement son objet qu'on y apprend beaucoup. La réflexion de Farro cherche à ne rien laisser rien au hasard; élaborée pierre par pierre, elle rappelle constamment où en est le texte et sur quelles bases il va procéder plus avant. Mais c'est précisément cet aspect qui rend son contenu à l'occasion répétitif et un peu lassant.

Le but de l'auteur consiste, globalement, à comprendre la forme et la signification des mouvements collectifs

aujourd'hui, en les "distingu[ant] des autres phénomènes collectifs et en les insérant dans un contexte de représentation théorique de la vie sociale": il faut pouvoir différencier analytiquement l'idée d'un "ensemble de fans" s'organisant pour "suivre les concerts de leurs stars préférées" et l'idée d'un ensemble d'employés s'organisant pour mener une grève, ce que la notion "empirique" de mouvement ne permet pas. (8-9) Et c'est ainsi que Farro s'engage d'abord dans un réexamen des grandes "explications théoriques" que la sociologie a données des mouvements collectifs au fil de son histoire, en partant des classiques et en cheminant jusqu'au monde contemporain, de Weber, Marx et Durkheim à Melucci, Offe et Touraine.

Ce livre, manifestement l'oeuvre d'un expert, gagne notre confiance et réussit à associer à son parcours. Je ne peux revoir ici le traitement réservé à chaque auteur. Soulignons simplement la très grande qualité de ce réexamen. Synthèse détaillée des principaux apports de la sociologie à l'explication et à la conceptualisation des mouvements de protestation et de contestation, dans chaque cas instruite du questionnement de quelques grandes problématiques (ex.: y a-t-il un lien entre les actions quotidiennes de revendication et les initiatives plus globales de transformation sociale; quelle est la part de rationnel et d'irrationnel dans les mouvements de masse, comment soulever correctement cette interrogation?), présentation claire des blocages, des imprécisions, des césures et des dépassements ayant scandé les avancées de l'analyse sociologique, autant d'éléments couverts de façon convaincante et juste.

Antimo L. Farro offre une contribution de nature essentiellement théorique, mettant en avant certains exemples concrets pour illustrer son propos mais ne faisant pas oeuvre d'étude sur le temps présent non plus que de réinterprétation de grandes initiatives collectives du passé. Personnellement, Farro se situe du

côté de la théorie et des enseignements de la sociologie de l'action d'Alain Touraine, selon lesquels le "rapport social" et le "conflit social" sont des "constructions". Pour qu'on se trouve en présence d'un rapport social, il ne suffit pas qu'il y ait "domination exercée par les acteurs dominants", mais encore que les "acteurs dominés résistent [...] à cette domination". Car en elle-même, la relation dirigeants-dirigés est donnée comme un "rapport de soumission et non de confrontation", en d'autres mots: une relation qui n'active pas le conflit social de manière inhérente. (225-26)

Voilà l'une des deux bases à partir desquelles Farro va chercher à poser la nature des mouvements sociaux contemporains. L'autre base, également mise en avant par la sociologie de l'action, veut que le monde d'aujourd'hui ne soit plus celui des réalités de la société industrielle, qu'il ait dépassé celle-ci ou soit en train de la dépasser. Dans la société industrielle, le mouvement de contestation au centre du rapport social fondamental était le mouvement ouvrier, "mouvement de classe." (85, 106) Le conflit social déterminant avait trait au "contrôle des moyens de production des biens matériels" et du travail, (208) alors site de la "direction sociale de l'historicité." (85) Mais à partir des années 1960, la centralité de ce conflit disparaît progressivement, "déclin [...]" qui est aussi celui de la société industrielle". Sur le coup, la sociologie de l'action a pensé que le monde nouveau prendrait les contours d'une "société programmée", dont le groupe dirigeant serait formé des technocrates, alors que le lieu du conflit social central et le caractère du premier acteur contestataire restaient à constituer. Mais cette nouvelle société n'est pas véritablement apparue, on a assisté plutôt à une longue "déstructuration de la société industrielle" et de ses "acteurs sociaux principaux". Le monde contemporain se révèle donc comme celui du passage d'une société à une autre, passage

inachevé, obligatoirement marqué par la "recherche du sens" et la "construction de nouvelles cohérences". Voilà le cadre à partir duquel il faut expliquer la naissance et le développement des nouveaux mouvements sociaux. (86-95)

Dorénavant, la domination "s'exerce à travers la production et la diffusion des informations" qui structurent les "codes culturels" de la vie sociale, codes articulant le rapport à l'environnement, les relations entre les sexes, au travail, entre les générations, etc. Les acteurs dirigeants définissent les contenus de ces codes, mais il "peut y avoir refus de la part de ceux qui devraient seulement [en] utiliser les messages." (122-24) La résistance aux contraintes qu'imposent les "acteurs dirigeants" dans la "construction du sens de l'existence", individuelle et de groupe, se fonde en un premier temps sur une volonté d' "affirmation de la subjectivité et des diversités"; puis, elle suppose qu'on relie son mécontentement à une cause précise dans l'organisation de la vie en société, passage que va favoriser l'enclenchement d'une initiative collective; celle-ci pourra conduire à la mise en forme d'un véritable rapport social, lieu du conflit avec les acteurs dirigeants au niveau institutionnel et même systémique, quand on en vient à disputer directement à ceux-ci le contrôle de "l'allocation des ressources relatives à la définition [de] divers secteurs de la vie individuelle et collective": (227-29) à ce moment, l'action de groupe est effectivement devenue mouvement social.

Sans pouvoir rapporter chacun de ses éléments importants, on a là, je crois, un résumé honnête du point de vue théorique par lequel l'auteur propose d'aborder l'analyse des mouvements sociaux d'aujourd'hui. Pour celui/celle qui s'intéresse spécifiquement au monde du travail et au mouvement ouvrier, Farro use cependant d'un raccourci qui empêche l'adhésion à cet aspect de sa contribution. C'est en effet par simple affirmation, reprise à trois ou quatre

endroits, qu'il avance "que le centre des conflits de la société n'est [plus] fourni par la lutte pour le contrôle des moyens de production, mais par des actions qui interviennent à des niveaux culturels de tout autre nature," (116) ou que, depuis les années 1960, "l'épuisement du caractère social central des acteurs de la société industrielle devient évident [...] et le projet d'émancipation sociale et historique promu par le mouvement ouvrier perd son sens," (144-45) sans étude de la structure sociale, de la vie économique ou des rapports politiques en tant que tels. Il s'agit bien d'un raccourci malheureux, parce que de nombreuses recherches établissent présentement le contraire, même quand on considère que la structure de la société en classes n'est plus celle du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'absence de démonstration à cet égard laisse donc sur sa faim, surtout que l'auteur, en citant Touraine, tient à souligner cette idée forte voulant que dans le monde post-industriel, "la notion de mouvement social doit remplacer celle de classe sociale, comme l'analyse de l'action doit prendre la place de l'analyse des situations." (121) Le concept de *construction* du rapport social et du conflit social doit ainsi être entendu littéralement.

D'autres questions, par ailleurs, mériteraient aussi d'être débattues. Ainsi, la problématique de ces phénomènes de domination qui se manifesteraient partout, dans tous les secteurs de l'activité humaine, avec dirigeants et dirigés, sans qu'on explique quel(s) facteur(s) est (sont) à l'origine de ce principe universel de domination, valable notamment en société post-industrielle, ni s'il y a des appartenances ou des filiations communes aux acteurs dirigeants de ces multiples secteurs. Ainsi, mais sur un autre terrain, la problématique de cette distinction qu'opère la sociologie de l'action entre le mouvement identitaire et le mouvement social, en indiquant que le premier se fige à la phase initiale de la résistance subjective, avec toutes les fermetures d'essence totalitaire que cela entraîne, alors que le

deuxième conduit à unir subjectivité et réflexion rationnelle, dans une dynamique émancipatrice qui pousse à l'acceptation des diversités. Voilà certes une distinction qui peut plaire, mais l'auteur ne réussit pas vraiment à la justifier épistémologiquement: la démonstration serait pourtant la bienvenue, précisément en ce qui a trait aux réalités du monde contemporain.

Cela dit, la contribution de Farro n'en reste pas moins très valable: introduction remarquable aux grandes études sur les mouvements sociaux, explication de la logique de leur enchaînement, présentation et discussion des divers courants d'analyse sur les "nouveaux mouvements sociaux", exposé de son point de vue particulier. On doit noter, à mon avis, quelques creux, et j'ai tenu à en indiquer certains. Mais s'il y a beaucoup de livres traitant des mouvements sociaux, celui-ci se révèle, sur plusieurs aspects et par sa recherche érudite, particulièrement utile et enrichissant.

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Mike Noon and Paul Blyton, *The Realities of Work, Second Edition* (New York: Palgrave 2002)

MIKE NOON AND PAUL BLYTON have produced a book that will serve for some time as a complete, comprehensive, and useful textbook for students of industrial relations and human resource management (HRM).

This is the second edition of a book that originated in a course offered by the authors at the Cardiff Business School to encourage students to think about the actual experience of employees who are subjected to the management's decisions, tactics, and strategies. They make the worker the central reference point, in contrast to so much that is written in this field, in which the employee is either completely ignored, or is treated as a regretta-

ble and sometimes troublesome cost of doing business.

The book also challenges the tendency to supply simple answers to human resource problems. It demonstrates the complex and even self-contradictory nature of the study of work, which makes it so time-consuming, confusing, and even disillusioning — exactly what is not wanted by a market that is geared to “quick-fix” solutions, the “six steps to success.” This remarkable book somehow manages to accommodate all of this in a manner that is clear, manageable, and still academically rigorous.

*Realities of Work* is a treasure, because it addresses so many of the concepts, theories, and images used by those who study the workplace. Even better, it begins with a discussion of “theory” itself. Instead of assuming that readers are comfortable with such notions as “theory,” “model,” or “typology,” Noon and Blyton provide an introduction, making this an even more valuable learning resource for those who want to test dominant theories of work against the reality experienced by workers.

This second edition uses feedback from peers and students, and as a result, is even more critical and inclusive, particularly with the addition of two valuable chapters on “knowledge work” and “representation at work.” As well, the structure of the chapters makes the book particularly useful as a learning tool, as each begins with a list of key concepts, chapter aims, and learning outcomes, and includes such pedagogically useful features as pull-outs, exercises, and sum-up paragraphs.

The authors identify the issues of work one by one, summarizing and deconstructing the mainstream view in a straightforward and simple way, in contrast to scholars who complicate these issues beyond comprehension, or HRM consultants who deal out rhetoric and utopian enthusiasm. Typical is the unstartling, but often overlooked observation, that the mainstream study of work

largely ignores unpaid labour, a huge area, which if paid for, would overwhelm the total value of paid work.

In typical fashion, the chapter on “work values” dismembers theories that explain why people work at all. In their analysis of the “moral necessity” theory, most often referred to as the “work ethic,” for example, the authors do a delightful job of showing that it is not exclusively “Protestant” at all; it is also Islamic, Buddhist, and Catholic. They also inflict considerable damage on the popular notion that the “work ethic” is in decline.

Noon and Blyton are able to summarize the essential features of a broad range of theories and approaches into simple text, which leaves the reader with a good sense of their contribution to the study of work, and links them to their own experience. Richard Hyman, Karl Marx, and Harry Braverman are among those whose theories are called on in this manner to add meaning to what might otherwise appear as prosaic observations.

In this way, the chapter on dominant forms of work organization, and competing theories of skill opens the door to the debate over labour process by focusing on how workers actually cope with fundamental shifts in the organization of their work. It offers a clear and uncomplicated commentary on Taylorism and Fordism as dominant traditions of work organization, and likewise clarifies much of the contention surrounding Braverman’s thesis on deskilling and degradation of work. I was particularly impressed with the discussion of gender and skill, in which “the social construction of disadvantage” is based upon an ideology of gender that labels certain attitudes and forms of behaviour as masculine and others as feminine, and in which work role is seen as a reflection of natural ability, i.e., biological.

Likewise, euphemisms and rhetoric that serve to obscure more than they reveal about the world of work are tackled one by one, e.g., the concept of “enterprise culture,” which, by heralding the growth of self-employment in Britain,

served to mask the reality of working life under Thatcherism. Likewise, the notion that knowledge has become a key element in the workplace is challenged. For example, they ask whether knowledge has not always been important to work. As well, they provide insights into such concepts as "knowledge work," "knowledge worker," and the "information society," ending with a discussion of the expropriation techniques developed by employers to "capture" the knowledge of their workers.

The chapter on trade liberalization and the growth of supranational alliances (i.e., 'globalization'), clarifies the nature of changes occurring in the workplace that are tied to international political developments. It also destroys some of the official explanations as to why these are happening. It shows how dominant concepts and categorizations used to describe these developments not only encourage over-generalizations about the direction in which the world is heading, they also embody unfounded assumptions about where it has been. This chapter also adds a useful section on the EU Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers (the Social Charter) that was signed into the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.

The sharp, critical distinction the authors draw between accepted theories and the experience of workers is especially productive when applied to some of the priorities and specific projects of human resource managers — the ones that so often drive workers mad. The chapter on "time and work," for example, critically dissects the obsession of management with the re-definition of working time to exclude all non-productive periods, and to increase their flexibility with assignment of work. It shows how the way time is utilized is fundamental to workers' experience of work, and why their ability to control their own time has always been a major focus of individual and collective negotiations.

The insights the authors provide into "survival strategies at work" are particularly interesting. "Making out," "fid-

dling," "joking," "whistle-blowing," sabotage, and "escape" illustrate how resourceful and creative workers can be in devising strategies to take back some control, and construct meaning for work. They are also turned by the authors into an analysis of two major themes in industrial relations — consent and resistance to work. Workers engage in both, much to the chagrin of academics who would prefer a "hard line."

These strategies illustrate a theme that runs throughout the book, i.e., that workers develop counter-rationalities to management policies and plans. Additional rest periods, ways of increasing income and reducing pressure are therefore not temporary deviations from management orthodoxy. They are persistent and rational responses of workers who only partially identify with the aims of their employers, and have an overriding interest in preserving as much life, energy, income, and time as possible.

The value of the authors' ability to distill such complex themes into a few lines of text is clearly seen in their discussion of "emotion work," one of the best I have seen. Shifting industrial patterns are increasingly assigning workers to work that consists of the management of their own and other people's emotions; e.g., to make them feel good, motivated, more willing to engage in forms of behaviour, etc. An increased emphasis on customer service, where the ability to deliver service in a certain 'emotional' way is seen as key to competitive advantage, produces new demands and pressures on workers, with which they must find ways to cope; e.g., dissonance between felt and displayed emotions.

The only difficulty I have with *Realities of Work* is that it consistently ignores or downplays the role of unions. The chapter on representation at work may contain useful points on why unions exist and the difficulties they are encountering. After the rich and insightful treatment given to other topics, however, its treatment of unions is disappointingly thin.

Collective action by workers should have been a consistent theme throughout all of the chapters. Self-estrangement and other problems for workers caused by emotion work, for example, require the type of strong and plausible alternative to management's construction of the world of work, which unions are in a position to offer. As workplaces and processes increasingly exploit workers' feelings and emotions, the capacity to ensure that they can share understandings and norms will become increasingly important, and might well be the single most important service that trade unions can offer to workers facing the reality of work today.

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Jean Sexton, *Initiation à la négociation collective* (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval 2002)

CET OUVRAGE VISE, selon son auteur, à présenter les premiers éléments, les valeurs, les principes de base, les postulats et les principales composantes de la négociation collective pour en comprendre la nature et le rôle. Cette présentation, elle est faite à l'intention de lecteurs de la pratique professionnelle et du milieu universitaire intéressés par la négociation collective. Comme tout ouvrage à publics multiples, on constatera à sa lecture qu'il y en a un peu pour tous mais pas assez pour chacun. Le lecteur universitaire y manquera un cadre d'analyse permettant de rassembler le contenu et le praticien, les nombreux trucs du métier aussi appelés les savoir-faire du négociateur. Mais cette dernière lacune constitue aussi la force de l'ouvrage car les deux types de lecteurs tireront bénéfice de la lecture de cet ouvrage. Après tout, en 174 pages, on ne peut s'attendre à faire le tour de la question sur un sujet aussi complexe que la négociation collective.

Les chapitres 1 et 2 présentent et définissent la négociation collective. La négociation, dans son sens large, est tout d'abord considérée comme un processus social naturel et un mécanisme efficace de prise de décisions entre des intervenants aux intérêts différents. Puis, la négociation est analysée (là et dans le reste de l'ouvrage) dans le contexte particulier des relations patronales-syndicales. Elle s'inscrit dans la logique pluraliste de l'économie de marché nord-américaine et de ses institutions, exige un certain équilibre des forces en présence et vise à régler des problèmes pratiques au travail. Ses impacts dépassent cependant ce cadre étroit en favorisant une certaine démocratie salariale et un meilleur partage de la richesse.

Alors que les chapitres 3 et 5 examinent la relation psychosociale entre les parties, les chapitres 4 et 7 comportent une forte composante institutionnelle car ils portent sur les processus. Nous les aborderons donc à partir de ces deux regroupements.

L'auteur rappelle au chapitre 3 que le pouvoir occupe une place centrale dans l'étude de la négociation collective. Il fournit un modèle original d'estimation du pouvoir de négociation de chacune des parties en prenant en compte les facteurs financiers, les facteurs économiques, les facteurs psychologiques, les facteurs sociopolitiques et, ce que l'auteur qualifie de facteurs résiduels. Le chapitre 5 passe en revue les stratégies et les tactiques utilisées en négociation collective en présentant plusieurs liens entre ces éléments et la notion de pouvoir. Même si le contenu du chapitre reflète bien la pratique professionnelle, l'auteur aurait eu avantage à y être un peu moins prescriptif en proposant 15 leçons à tirer de son analyse. Le chapitre souffre aussi du fait que l'auteur a omis de puiser dans la littérature américaine récente, pourtant riche sur le sujet des stratégies de négociation.

Le chapitre 4 sur les structures de négociation reprend, quoique de façon beaucoup plus sommaire, l'explication descriptive présentée par Hébert en 1992 mais y ajoute une dimension analytique qui aide à mieux saisir les choix des parties. L'auteur aborde tour à tour la nature, la définition et les composantes des structures formelles de négociation. Puis, il évalue les avantages et inconvénients de quatre formes de structures : étroite et décentralisée, étroite et centralisée, large et décentralisée, large et centralisée. Au chapitre 7, l'auteur décrit, puis analyse l'intervention des tiers dans la gestion des conflits qui se produisent lors des négociations collectives. À juste titre, la médiation et la conciliation sont abordées comme des interventions aidantes ou facilitantes alors que l'analyse montre bien que l'arbitrage agit souvent comme un substitut à la négociation. Cette dernière analyse est particulièrement très bien présentée, forte sans doute de la vaste expérience de l'auteur.

L'auteur rappelle au chapitre 6 que la dynamique même de la négociation collective rend indissociable les questions de pouvoir de négociation, de structures de négociation et de stratégies de négociation. Il décide donc dans un chapitre séparé de traiter des interrelations entre ces trois notions. Même si le

chapitre comporte quelques redondances avec les chapitres précédents et que les sujets sont abordés un peu rapidement, l'effort de synthèse valait la peine et les liens présentés sont tout à fait pertinents.

En guise de conclusion, l'auteur ferme la boucle au chapitre 7 avec ses réflexions sur les limites de la négociation collective et les défis qui lui sont posés. Ces dernières ont trait à l'étendue et à la portée de la négociation, aux droits résiduels de la direction, à l'étroitesse des protections qu'elle offre et aux difficultés inhérentes à la non fluidité de l'information. Quant aux défis, l'auteur se limite à une brève description des éléments contextuels les plus importants qui influencent les objets de négociation collective.

L'ouvrage de Sexton constitue une contribution intéressante à la littérature de langue française sur la négociation collective. Au praticien, l'auteur offre une analyse bien écrite de son métier, lui permettant un certain recul sur son quotidien. À l'étudiant des sciences de la gestion, il suffit pour introduire ce champ d'étude à l'intérieur d'un cours général sur les relations du travail.

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