Labour/Le Travailleur

Reviews / Comptes Rendus

Volume 40, 1997

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/llt40rv01

See table of contents

Publisher(s)

Canadian Committee on Labour History

ISSN

0700-3862 (print)
1911-4842 (digital)

Explore this journal

Cite this review

(1997). Review of [Reviews / Comptes Rendus]. *Labour/Le Travailleur*, *40*, 277–354.

REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Gérard Bouchard, *Quelques arpents d'Amérique. Population, économie, famille au Saguenay, 1838-1971* (Montréal: Boréal Express 1996).

VOICI UN LIVRE mûri pendant de nombreuses années, édifié sur une documentation impressionnante et dont l'argumentation serrée conserve sa force jusqu'à la fin. En effet, à l'origine et au coeur de son analyse, se trouve le concept de *reproduction familiale* appliqué à des colons, issus pour la plupart de Charlevoix, qui vinrent après 1838 coloniser le Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean où ils érigèrent une société qui, en 1971, était répartie entre 65 communautés rurales et 12 villes. Plus de neuf sur dix des 28 656 immigrants arrivés avant 1911 dans cette région étaient venus avec leurs familles. Quatre sur cinq étaient des agriculteurs et plus de la moitié des hommes. Comme ils étaient d'abord, selon Bouchard, «en quête de terres pour leurs enfants» et que celles-ci étaient abondantes, on peut en déduire que leurs motifs étaient plus socioculturels qu'économiques. Mais, étant donné que ces colons étaient peu nombreux et la terre en grande abondance au Saguenay, on peut s'étonner que près d'un tiers de ces migrants en charge de familles aient quitté la région avant 1911. D'ailleurs quatre sur dix des garçons et des filles nés au Saguenay entre 1842 et 1881 firent de même. (44) Sans doute furent-ils attirés, comme la majorité des couples qui avaient quitté Charlevoix entre 1852 et 1861, par des destinations urbaines et rurales plus prometteuses que le Saguenay (M. Hamel, *RHAF*, 1993).

Évidemment, Bouchard s'intéresse surtout à ceux qui persistèrent et, dans cette catégorie, à la paysannerie prolifique, dont le taux de natalité ne s'abaissa au-dessous de 50 pour 1 000 qu'après 1930 (entre 9 et 11 enfants vivants avant 1920, ce qui excédait, dit-il, la fécondité des Huttérites) et dont la priorité était l'établissement des enfants sur des terres. Pour ces paysans, le rapport à la terre et à la famille était essentiel et l'agriculture était «l'axe intégrateur» de son économie. Ainsi, selon Bouchard, le mouvement de prise de possession du terroir se déroula d'Est en Ouest, dicté principalement par les besoins de la famille en terres et son désir d'avoir accès, à chaque étape de la colonisation, à celles qui étaient de meilleure qualité avant d'aller vers les autres. (22, 33)

La *reproduction familiale* était donc le «principal moteur du peuplement» et le mécanisme qui l'assurait était la transmission des biens. Trouver des terres pour ses fils et en établir plusieurs avant le moment de sa retraite et de sa propre donation en faveur de l'un d'eux, prévoyant alors l'indemnisation des enfants qui n'avaient rien reçu, tel était l'objectif égalitaire. La famille saguenayenne était nucléaire mais, à l'étape de la donation, la maison «paternelle» était souvent, pour des années à venir, habitée d'un ou deux couples et de membres célibataires de la famille. Bientôt, avec l'expansion du peuplement et la saturation du terroir, vint le moment où, en nombre croissant, les fils furent obligés d'aller prendre des terres

Table of Contents for Reviews is on pp. 5 and 6.

plus loin. Chose intéressante, selon les chiffres de Bouchard, le pluriétablissement des *fils commença à décliner* longtemps avant que ne se manifestent les premiers signes de saturation généralisée du terroir: 78 pour cent des fils furent établis au début, 50 pour cent vers 1900 et 23 pour cent entre 1922 et 1931. (214) Cet accroissement du pourcentage des fils à compenser ne serait-il pas tout autant le fruit de l'augmentation du coût de la terre et de la pauvreté des habitants que de l'ancienneté des paroisses? Bouchard, tout en indiquant qu'il y avait là une source de différenciation et d'inégalité (279), soutient que la visée égalitaire du système de transmission des biens fut néanmoins respectée même lorsqu'après 1920 *s'accéléra la saturation du terroir*, quand la vente de la terre fut substituée à la donation et qu'un pourcentage croissant des exclus de la transmission, surtout des cadets, rétrogradèrent professionnellement sur place ou en ville. (24, 141-52, 210-9) C'est ainsi que se serait constituée et reproduite une paysannerie égalitaire aux énormes ramifications parentales qui, de co-intégrée qu'elle était avant 1920, éclata au cours des deux décennies suivantes. «La Révolution tranquille: ce rendez-vous collectif, dit-il, où le peuple a sans doute précédé une bonne partie de ses élites.» (472) Pour réhausser le mince degré d'autonomie de l'individu autorisé par cette structure d'une grande pesanteur, Bouchard invoque des stéréotypes anciens relatifs à l'indépendance et à l'entêtement de l'habitant.

Au départ, l'économie paysanne reposait d'abord sur l'agriculture: dans un premier temps, une agriculture mixte, axée sur des pratiques et des équipements traditionnels, voire en régression technologique jusqu'aux changements de la fin du siècle. Vers 1900, elle prit rapidement le tournant de l'industrie laitière et de l'association au marché sans pour autant emprunter la voie du capitalisme agraire. Après avoir signalé les nombreuses possibilités à cet égard et précisé que l'intégration de ces paysans au marché obéissait à une rationalité qui n'était *pas celle du capitalisme*, Bouchard insiste sur la lenteur des changements subséquents, parle du «démarrage raté» de l'industrie laitière et de la résistance au capitalisme en tant que formule étrangère à leurs pratiques de travail, leurs objectifs socioéconomiques et leur mode de vie. (58-99)

Si le paysan avait raté la «coche capitaliste,» c'est que, pour lui, la production du lait ne procurait «qu'un revenu parmi d'autres, plutôt qu'un profit.» (148) En fait, le système à la base de l'activité paysanne, celui qui permettait de prendre avantage du capitalisme sans s'y engager, était la *pluriactivité*, représentée en particulier par le revenu d'appoint tiré de la participation saisonnière à l'exploitation forestière. Non seulement celle-ci était-elle en harmonie avec sa vie matérielle et sociale, mais elle n'entravait aucunement sa capacité «comme groupe et comme acteur collectif.» (101) Il existait donc «un contraste entre un système de production industrielle, possédé et géré de l'extérieur, et un système de reproduction marginalisé relevant de la société locale (*petite bourgeoisie, rapports de patronage, omniprésence cléricale*).» (482) L'éclatement de ce système en faveur d'une intégration finale au capitalisme aurait résulté de facteurs externes ou internes, parmi lesquels la saturation du terroir, la transformation de l'industrie forestière, l'urbanisation, l'alphabétisation et la contraception.

Bouchard résout la question de la reproduction inégale en disant que la paysannerie était passée «d'un égalitarisme à dominance masculine à un égalitarisme plus généralisé» (430) surtout perpétué en milieu urbain et même accentué dans les familles ouvrières. En faisant entrer l'*éducation, facteur de promotion* sociale, parmi les éléments de la transmission, Bouchard se trouve à minimiser jusqu'à un certain point la portée discriminatoire du système. Bien que cela soit justifié en partie, et, ajoutons-le, ra-

tionnalisé après coup par les acteurs eux-mêmes, c'est quand même mettre bien des choses très complexes sur le dos de la transmission. D'autant plus que la proportion des cas où l'instruction faisait partie des obligations des donataires (209) de la terre était très faible (4-5 pour cent). Il n'empêche que les filles et les cadets ne furent pas les seuls partiellement désavantagés par ces pratiques successorales traditionnelles. A ce sujet, Bouchard se sépare ici de Dépatie, Lavallée, Landry et Bates qui soutiennent que les exclus masculins, obligés qu'ils furent de s'établir au loin, de plus en plus sur des terres de moindre qualité, ou de se recycler en nombre croissant dans des occupations inférieures, furent nettement défavorisés. Tout cela, sans compter les indemnisations partielles ou nulles de ces exclus aussi bien que les charges qui, souvent, pesèrent sur le bien paternel à la suite de la donation.

En fait, dans ces pages d'une grande richesse, une collectivité pauvre, dont le système de reproduction ne favorise «guère l'accumulation du capital paysan» (235), trace tortueusement sa voie vers la modernité. Si on y voit bien le cheminement des visées égalitaires, on y voit assez peu spécifié dans quelle mesure les inégalités firent aussi partie de sa substance. De 1871 à 1961, le pourcentage de ceux dont la dimension de la terre était de plus de 100 acres fluctua entre 46 et 58 pour cent, écart substantiel avec les autres que Bouchard explique en grande partie par l'accumulation d'avoirs fonciers pour redistribution aux fils et par la «concentration de type capitaliste.» (228) Mais, étant donné que la proportion des fils établis sur des terres lorsque le mariage des parents durait 20 ans et plus, déclina radicalement, de 53 pour cent qu'elle était de 1842 à 1901, à 27 pour cent entre 1902 et 1931, pour ensuite tomber à 6 pour cent pendant la décennie suivante (217), on peut se demander dans quelle mesure le groupe qui concentrait la terre entre ses mains pour fins de profit, ne s'est pas de plus en plus, dès le XIXe siècle, accru en nombre et éloigné par ses avoirs fonciers du reste du peloton. Dans ce cas, les inégalités qui existaient d'une paroisse à l'autre, d'une sous-région à l'autre et même à l'intérieur de chaque localité quant à la qualité des terres, à la taille des propriétés, au nombre d'animaux et au volume de la production n'auraient fait que s'accroître avec le temps. Si la population agricole ne cessa de diminuer relativement à celle des villages et des villes à partir de 1871, ce n'est pas seulement parce que les campagnards ont cédé à l'attrait de l'industrie et de la ville, mais aussi parce qu'ils furent forcés d'y aller pour des raisons d'exclusion accrue, de pauvreté et, parfois, par besoin de réussir. Il est certain en tout cas que la taille de la paysannerie s'est amincie de 1840 à 1939. Parmi les 6 623 familles complètes recensées par l'auteur et regroupées en cohortes de mariages, les non-cultivateurs constituaient 17 pour cent entre 1840 et 1859, 49 pour cent entre 1910 et 1914 et 78 pour cent entre 1935 et 1939. (180) Et cela, sans compter les disparités entre la partie agricole et le village, qu'on aperçoit à peine dans le livre.

Pour situer cet *Arpent d'Amérique* dans un ensemble plus large, faut-il y inclure tous les lieux nord-américains où proliférait le régime de la petite propriété? Bouchard ne va pas jusque-là mais en donne parfois l'impression. Pourtant, pour celui qui scrute ce vaste espace, qu'il s'agisse d'économie, de démographie, de rapport à la ville et d'alphabétisation, les écarts dans les performances d'une région à l'autre pouvaient le plus souvent défier toute comparaison. Ainsi, en ce qui concerne la production des grains et racines par occupant en 1901, les Saguenayens pouvaient se comparer avantageusement (même très favorablement dans le cas de la Nouvelle-Ecosse) avec les cultivateurs du Nouveau-Brunswick, de l'Est et de l'ensemble du Québec; mais ils étaient surclassés, par une marge énorme, par les producteurs de l'Île-du-Prince-Edouard, de la plaine de Montréal, de l'Ontario et de la Colombie-Britannique. Par exem-

ple, la récolte moyenne du producteur saguenayen de grains et racines s'élevait en 1901 à 404 boisseaux (le minot étant converti en boisseau) par occupant contre 544 pour celui de la région de Montréal, mais, la même année, celle du fermier ontarien était de 1 344 boisseaux dans le Sud-Ouest, de 1 366 dans le Centre, de 692 dans l'Est et de 366 dans le Nord. Qu'en était-il des clivages entre les producteurs individuels à l'intérieur d'ensembles régionaux aussi disparates?

En somme, une oeuvre unique par l'ampleur de ses perspectives, de son encadrement conceptuel et méthodologique et la complexité de ses analyses. A cet égard, elle marque une étape dans l'historiographie canadienne. En effet, de cette démarche rigoureuse émerge la vision d'*une communauté régionale, homogène*, traditionnelle, égalitaire, en paix avec son environnement et avec elle-même, qui se construit pendant trois quarts de siècle et éclate dans les décennies précédant la Révolution tranquille. Cependant, on peut regretter n'y trouver qu' un écho assourdi de la lourdeur de l'institution familiale et à peine davantage sur les tensions suscitées par les crises démographiques et économiques et par les inégalités sociales et autres.

Fernand Ouellet,
York University

Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1995).

THE MOST SUCCINCT and convincing comment I have heard on the historical construction of nature — and the centrality of tourism to this process — did not come from the learned brain of a geographer, historian or sociologist, but from the (fictional) lips of a character in Tom Stoppard's play *Arcadia*. Hannah, a clever journalist (and foil for the pompous male academic, Bernard, who, despite his Oxbridge credentials, gets the historical puzzle at the heart of the play quite smashingly wrong), explains several centuries of the history of English landscape in two snappy lines: "English landscape was invented by gardeners imitating foreign painters who were evoking classical authors. The whole thing was brought home in the luggage from the Grand Tour."

Patricia Jasen's study of two centuries of the history of Ontario landscape provides a suitably ironic Canadian summary: Ontario landscape was invented by American entrepreneurs, for English tourists pretending to flee Western civilization, who mimicked Native warriors while simultaneously re-affirming the superiority of white people and urban industrial life. The whole thing was painted by the Group of Seven and sent home on a postcard from Niagara Falls.

Wild Things visits territory rarely seen in Canadian history and explores parts of Ontario's past historians have neglected: the Niagara Falls of sublime natural majesty, not hydro-electric development; the Northern Ontario of "health giving" canoe trips, not lumber and mining towns. The empirical detail upon which these portraits rest, travellers descriptions, tourist guidebooks and evocative visual illustrations, makes this a rich and rewarding read. Jasen's book also presents us with a cast of characters we have seen before, but in different costumes. The Native people in this study, for example, are not merely "problems" for Canadian industrial and political development; they play leading roles in the pageantry of tourism. They are attractions to be gazed upon with almost as much intensity as the waterfall at Niagara, devilish pilots who navigate enthralled and terrified visitors through the rapids of the St. Lawrence River, and taciturn guides who effortlessly escort city dwelling Anglos in need of a "rest cure in a canoe" through Northern Ontario and the Muskokas. Journalist Charles Gordon once wrote a satirical lament of the passing of

"old timers" in small towns in cottage country, who were fascinating to urban cottagers because they "knew what the Indians knew." These are the original "Indians," who knew all.

One of the strengths of this book is Jasen's analysis of the connection between nature tourism and 19th century colonialism, and especially her formulation of colonial relationships, at least as they pertain to race. Drawing from the work of Mary Louise Pratt (herself indebted to Edward Said), Jasen portrays the wilds of Ontario as a "contact zone" in which the colonizer and the colonized mixed and mingled, in a situation characterized by asymmetrical and unequal relations of power. This is a formulation of imperialism which puts relationships between (as Pratt puts it) "traveller and travellee" at the centre, and has the advantage of explaining the simultaneous fascination and repulsion with which travellers regarded the locals. Rather than taking 19th century imperialists at their word ("we were only trying to help them") or accepting 20th century revisionism ("they were only trying to steal from them") this approach illustrates how Natives (in this instance) might help shape colonial relationships. Colonialism was, of course, about theft, but it was also about imitation, fear and fascination, about the cultural relationships which formed, in other words, to facilitate the processes of theft. As Jasen puts it, "not only places but people became objects of the commodification process when they fell under the tourists' gaze, and the act of defining them, of endowing them with meaning, itself involved a kind of appropriation or assertion of control." (16) For their part, as Jasen suggests, Native people were not merely "passive and put upon hosts," (to uninvited guests, one might add) but rather, as Native economies and the tourist became increasingly intertwined, Natives "found ways of making the best of a situation which they did not create." (81)

Other relationships of power are not as well covered in this study. While Jasen is mindful of a full range of power relationships, (and integrates gender, which she understands applies to men and women, into her story), her analysis of class is, in a certain sense, truncated. She suggests at the beginning of her study that the processes of commodification (of place, image and sign) which are the foundation of the tourist industry "are not unique to capitalist cultures." (13) Anyone who has vacationed in Cuba will agree, but this is an odd statement for a book which is nothing if not an exploration of capitalist culture; the bulk of this study is of 19th-century Ontario. Tourism, of course, is not a steel mill, and certainly the varieties of cultural analysis, semiotics and language theory explored here are necessary tools to determine why certain kinds of tourism work (it is worth remembering that not all tourism is successful). But this points to a larger problem: Jasen's analysis of the class dynamics of tourism is not as precise as her analysis of race. She readily acknowledges that the tourist industry "mainly served the propertied classes in the nineteenth century." (20) But she sidesteps the question of working-class participation in tourism with an insufficiently convincing mention of the "vague boundaries" of class in 19th-century rural Ontario. What about urban Ontario, the escape from which nature tourism is about? She also suggests that Canadian labour history has been unhelpful here, noting the "virtual silence" of labour historians on the question of the working-class holiday. This is true enough, and might hopefully prod labour historians in Canada to follow their British counterparts and more fully consider the leisure activities of their subjects. But it still does not answer the question. I suspect that class differences in the behaviour and destination of tourists were quite central through the 19th and 20th centuries, and, as American labour historian Roy Rosenzwieg has argued in another context, con-

flicts over holiday-making were often fought out "in class ways." Class clearly helped shape the popularity and ill-repute of specific holiday locations in different eras. So when the author of an 1879 guidebook compared the Muskokas to Niagara Falls, writing "here (Muskoka) was quiet, no swearing, no drunkenness ... we worship best before Nature's temple in silence," (123) he was articulating a resolutely non- and indeed anti-working class language of nature, ruefully noting the end of refined middle and upper-class tourism at Niagara since the working class rabble was let in. To tread lightly over class relationships in tourism is also to miss a central paradox of tourist history through the 19th and 20th centuries. The democratization of travel has historically meant commodification, uniformity and ugliness in the extreme. But the "authentic" appreciation of untrammelled nature so glorified by 19th-century tourists was, of necessity, reserved for the elite. While Jasen has gracefully demonstrated that nature tourism involved a set of experiences as highly constructed as a visit to Disneyworld a century later, she does not deconstruct the "refined" versus "mass" problematic quite so deftly.

Furthermore, I finished this book with many unanswered questions about those on the other side of such class relationships, the entrepreneurs, promoters and owners of tourist industries. In most of her case studies, Jasen makes brief reference to those who benefitted economically from tourism. Then, as now, the tourist industry was a tremendously polyglot affair, drawing in Native guides, female souvenir sellers and far more wealthy owners of grand hotels and resorts. When and how did this assortment of people emerge as something we can call a "tourist industry?" How did they understand each other? How did they understand other kinds of commercial or industrial development in their areas — particularly developments which might change the "pristine" version of nature they were purveying? In what ways did the Canadian or Ontario state facilitate and regulate the accumulation of wealth through the ownership, or specialized knowledge of "natural" attractions?

To end a book with more questions, of course, is not necessarily a bad thing. In this instance I think it is a good thing, and indicates that pioneering nature of this study. This is a really good book, and along with two other really good books published recently, Ian McKay's *The Quest of the Folk* and the late Alexander Wilson's magnificent *The Culture of Nature*, we can see, I think, a coming of age in the study of tourism, nature and culture in Canadian history. Take it along on your holiday this summer.

Karen Dubinsky
Queen's University

Robert Comeau et Robert Tremblay, *Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson, un intellectuel de combat* (Hull: Vents d'Ouest 1996).

TREIZE COLLABORATEURS et collaboratrices réunis sous la direction de Robert Comeau et Robert Tremblay ont participé à la réalisation d'un ouvrage remarquable sur l'époque, l'oeuvre et la vie militante et intellectuelle de Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson. On nous convie à lui rendre hommage, à faire connaître aux jeunes générations «le plus important historien marxiste du Canada» et à faire en sorte que sa vie et son oeuvre soient une inspiration. (14-5) À l'image de l'homme, les directeurs ont valorisé une approche transdisciplinaire, interuniversitaire et transculturelle. C'est ainsi que des textes de sociologues, de politologues, d'historien-nes de différentes universités canadiennes, de même que des textes d'auteurs anglo-canadiens s'y côtoient pour former plus qu'un portrait de l'intellectuel de combat qu'est Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson.

En effet, au-delà du portrait, les directeurs de l'ouvrage créent une sorte de chambre noire communautaire où sont possibles de multiples processus de

«révélation dans le sens photographique» évoquée par Andrée Lévesque. À cet égard, le résultat est probant. L'ouvrage présente des portraits se précisant davantage à la lecture de chaque contribution. En outre, Comeau et Tremblay fournissent un lieu de discussion des interprétations historiennes de Ryerson où sont présentés analyses originales et points de vue diversifiés.

L'ouvrage est divisé en quatres parties intitulées: itinéraire, la question nationale, l'oeuvre et le rayonnement. Toutefois ces parties ne sont pas étanches: presque toutes les contributions considèrent la question nationale chez Ryerson, et au moins quatre traitent des groupes marxistes-léninistes québécois des années 1970. En annexe, on trouve une bibliographie et une chronologie pouvant s'avérer des outils de travail valables et utiles pour les chercheur-es.

De plus, avec les travaux de Gregory S. Kealey (1982, 1987, 1995), les chercheur-es disposeront des références indispensables pour qui s'intéresse à la vie et l'oeuvre de Ryerson et à l'histoire du mouvement communiste canadien. Mais plus largement, cet ouvrage collectif s'insère dans une tradition d'histoire intellectuelle bien fréquentée dans le monde anglo-saxon dont les ouvrages de Harvey Kaye *The Marxists British Historians* (1984) et de Kari Polanyi-Levitt, *The Life and Work of Karl Polanyi* (1990) sont de brillants représentants.

Dans la première partie, l'article d'Andrée Lévesque (historienne de l'Université McGill) traitant des années de formation du militant de 1931 à 1938, et celui de Stephen Endicott (historien de Atkinson Collège, York University) couvrant les années torontoises de 1943 à 1969, *proposent des analyses bien documentées* de près de quarante ans de vie militante de Ryerson au sein de la Ligue des Jeunes communistes, du Parti Communiste Canadien (PCC) et du mouvement communiste international. De plus, leurs approches sont adpatées à leur objet en ceci qu'elles articulent les circonstances historiques internationales et nationales à l'action quotidienne du militant, puis du dirigeant national de la formation politique du PCC. Cette approche interactive individu/société permet de comprendre l'engagement du jeune Ryerson étudiant à Paris entre 1931 1934, au moment où la lutte contre le fascisme s'organise en un large Rassemblement populaire. (24-38) Cette approche permet également de comprendre son départ du PCC peu après le coup de Prague, fin 1969. (65) Ce faisant, les auteur-es parviennent à faire revivre l'état d'esprit, les aspirations et l'éthique de cette génération de communistes avec adresse et empathie. La relation du déroulement du Camp d'été du PCC de 1949, à Sudbury, nous éclaire grandement à cet égard. (51-5)

La contribution de Marcel Fournier, sociologue à l'Université de Montréal, quant à elle, est beaucoup moins éclairante. L'auteur rend compte d'abord de ce qu'il appelle la «stratégie d'insertion dans les milieux de la recherche universitaire» de cet «historien atypique,» de ce «symbole,» au moment de son passage du PCC à l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). Il se lance ensuite dans une histoire de la fondation de cette institution glissant rapidement à celle de son département d'histoire. Le travail de Fournier consiste alors essentiellement à établir le degré de qualification du corps professoral. Or, ce degré, qu'il estime très bas en l'occurence, semble déterminé par la provenance des professeurs, par les diplômes obtenus et par les ragots départementaux. Traduits en variables présentées en pourcentages, ces éléments de preuve lui permettent de conclure que le département d'histoire de l'UQAM est à l'image du symbole: atypique. N'est-il pas consternant d'arriver à une conclusion à ce point corporatiste à partir du cadre théorique de Pierre Bourdieu? Ou bien l'auteur ne sait pas «ce que parler veut dire» ou bien il sait faire bon usage du malentendu. En tout les cas, sa rhétorique scientifique ne parvient pas à dis-

simuler que sa démarche n'est en fait qu'une entreprise grossière de discrédit du «symbole» et de l'institution. (78-84)

En contre-partie, Jean-Paul Bernard, professeur d'histoire de l'UQAM, se réjouit de l'engagement de Ryerson comme d'un «bon coup dans le recrutement.» (95) Dans ce très beau texte, Jean-Paul Bernard parle métier. Il caractérise la démarche historienne de Ryerson par la valorisation de la totalisation, de la conceptualisation et de la primauté du présent dans le rapport passé-présent. Ryerson s'intéresse davantage à ce que l'auteur appelle les «problèmes d'architecture» en histoire, ce qui le marginalise dans la profession. En effet, son séjour de plus de trente ans hors de l'Université, son âge, ainsi que le programme ambitieux assigné à l'histoire, auront marginalisé l'historien, estime l'auteur. La volonté de décloisonnement des disciplines et l'approche humaniste de Ryerson le singularisent dans une communauté historienne plutôt frileuse. Toutefois, cette approche large a su s'exercer et se concrétiser dans la préoccupation majeure de Ryerson qui est, sans conteste, la question nationale.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage y est consacrée. Bernard Dansereau, de l'Université de Montréal, examine la crise de 1947 du PCC. Robert Comeau, historien à l'UQAM, étudie la relation entre les positions du PCC et celles de Ryerson entre 1935 et 1965 en regard de la question nationale. Serge Denis, politologue de l'Université d'Ottawa, considère la période contemporaine 1965-1993. Enfin, Lucille Beaudry, politologue de l'UQAM, interroge les positions des groupes marxistes-léninistes des années 1970 au Québec à la lumière de la pensée de Ryerson.

La troisième partie touche également, bien que de façon complémentaire, aux préoccupations majeures de Ryerson: la transition au capitalisme (Jean-Marie Fecteau, historien de l'UQAM), la Confédération (Robert Tremblay, historien et chargé de cours à l'UQAM et l'UQTR) et l'ouvrage *The Open Society. Paradox and Challenge* (1965) (Hervé Fuyet, politologue au John Abbott College). «L'oeuvre» et la «Question nationale,» les parties centrales de l'ouvrage, se concentrent sur l'analyse de la pensée ryersonienne à partir de ses travaux. Parmi ces contributions, nous devons signaler la qualité exceptionnelle que présentent les textes de Jean-Marie Fecteau et de Serge Denis. Ces auteurs développent à travers une argumentation musclée des interprétations novatrices dont l'historiographie sera désormais comptable.

Ces deux parties soulèvent bien d'autres questions. J'en adresse deux à la volée: le texte de 1947 attribué au camarade Ryerson concernant le nationalisme et la conscience de classe les «subordonne»-t-il vraiment l'un à l'autre? (109) Les groupes marxistes-léninistes sont-ils suffisamment représentatifs du mouvement social des années 1970 pour être pris en compte dans une étude portant sur Ryerson? Furent-ils jamais des interlocuteurs?

A notre avis, la quatrième et dernière partie de l'ouvrage nous présente ses interlocuteurs véritables de la génération des années 1970. Les articles de Georges Massé, historien de l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières et de David Frank, de l'Université du Nouveau-Brunswick, abordent respectivement la question de l'apport de l'historien marxiste à l'historiographie ouvrière québécoise et à l'historiographie de la nouvelle gauche anglo-canadienne. L'article de Georges Massé évoque les circonstances entourant la naissance du Regroupement des chercheurs en histoire des travailleurs du Québec (RCHTQ) en 1972. Ryerson en fut l'un des premiers animateurs avec des jeunes chercheurs en histoire ouvrière.

Le texte de David Franck retrace un cheminement semblable du côté du Canada anglais. Toutefois, il est à noter, comme nous l'indique l'auteur, que la nouvelle gauche anglo-canadienne n'avait pas alors de véritable centre intellectuel. Elle s'était donc engagée dans la

voie de la formation autodidacte. C'est dans cette voie que Ryerson pouvait contribuer par son «sens de l'orientation» dans les années 1970. De façon formelle ou informelle, le rayonnement intellectuel de Ryerson auprès de la nouvelle gauche anglo-canadienne ou des chercheurs du RCHTQ a produit de beaux fruits. Les lecteurs et les lectrices se reporteront aux références des textes de Massé et de Frank pour s'en convaincre.

Au terme de ce survol incomplet et au bilan, l'ouvrage n'est ni un panygérique, ni une hagiographie. Personne n'a sombré dans ce que Monsieur Ryerson appelle ironiquement la «ryersonmania.» Au contraire, certains auteurs n'hésitent pas à se substituer au juge à la rencontre des acteurs sociaux. Néanmoins, ce livre démontre que le civisme, le respect mutuel et la «passion» n'ont pas déserté la tribu des Savants. Enfin, *Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson, un intellectuel de combat* incarne tout à fait cet esprit de ralliement cher au radical-démocrate et à l'historien.

Cylvie Claveau
Université McGill

Sara Z. Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1996).

SOCIAL WORKERS' efforts to achieve professional status have always been dogged by the social construction of their work as "women's work" with little underlying science or formal skill required. Sara Z. Burke points out that the notion of making social work a legitimate form of paid labour at all was hotly contested at the turn-of-the-century. The controversy was phrased in idealistic and academic terms but underlying it all was a conflict between the ideological defenders of strict patriarchal norms, on the one hand, and the defenders, however cautious, of women's ability and right to assess and remedy problems faced by individuals and families, on the other.

Unsurprisingly the University of Toronto was home to the opponents of a new sphere of professional employment for women. Both the Department of Social Service and University Settlement, a centre for research in the social services and for community outreach, espoused a notion of social work which made it more of a social duty of gentlemanly, well-off males, than a potential source of employment for females or even for males. Burke details the views of U of T president Robert Falconer and of the early leaders of the department and of University Settlement. She suggests that these men — and those with formal leading roles were always men even though lower-level administrators and most of their students were female — subscribed to a "Toronto ideal" in which social work was to be seen as service to the community on behalf of elite males, a way in which they could express their manliness. For the women who were trying to shape social work as a semi-scientific field in which detailed casework was the first step in assessing problems and then determining solutions that would cause deviant individuals and families to re-enter the mainstream, the "Toronto ideal" was a gendered threat which they could not fail to fight. Women-dominated social work organizations tried to pressure the University of Toronto to offer a program with an applied focus that would allow its graduates to claim legitimately that they had specialized knowledge and skills that gave them the right to call their work professional and to demand commensurate salaries and status. Burke suggests that over time they won their point, at least in part, because the supporters of the "Toronto ideal" could not attract many men to social work. Nor could they create in practice the elitist, volunteer organizations that might displace the female-dominated organizations dealing with child welfare, aid to the poor, and other social problems that urban capitalist industrialization ex-

acerbated. Nonetheless agencies shared the university's bias that men made better administrators and planners for social programs. While male graduates of the University of Toronto's program could expect to get well-paying administrative and policy-making jobs, women graduates, despite their numerical dominance within the social work profession, were relegated solely to poorly-paid casework jobs.

The ideas of the Toronto male ideologues who controlled the early years of the University of Toronto's interest in researching social problems dominate *Seeking the Highest Good*. Indeed, a major weakness in this monograph is that while Burke is critical of the patriarchal assumptions that underlie the "Toronto ideal," she is at pains to present the views of its practitioners respectfully. This lack of respect is to the point where their opponents are dealt with only sketchily. Supporters of professional social work are indeed lumped together to make the binary opposition of the "Toronto ideal" — with advocates of professionalism — appear to be the major, even the only, divide among social work educators before World War II. A reader with no background regarding the ideological battles within early Canadian social work could be excused, after reading Burke, with not recognizing that Charlotte Whitton and Harry Cassidy, while both supporting professionalization of social work, were at loggerheads over the causes of social problems and the roles which social work should play in alleviating them.

Indeed, the female social workers in Burke's book, who receive far less attention than the old poops at the U of T, are presented mainly as status seekers interested in extending their credibility within the labour market. By contrast, the ivory-tower fellows are presented as idealists. Burke's sympathies are clearly with the former. But her discussion of their objectives is too superficial and the context in which she discusses the U of T academics is too limited. Patricia Rooke and R.L. Schnell, in their biography of Charlotte Whitton, outline the divisions within the emerging social work profession that pitted conservatives such as Whitton who focused on individual failures to explain social problems against those who focused on social structures. Recent work by Gale Wills and James Struthers is also suggestive along these lines and Linda Gordon's study of social work debates in the United States in *Pitied But Not Entitled* makes plain the ideological battleground that social work became during the 1930s depression. While social workers might be united in wanting to be treated as professionals and paid accordingly, their disputes about the causes and likely solutions for social problems made it difficult for them to define the desirable parameters for their jobs or for educational programs preparing people to become social workers. Because most social workers were women, the divisions within the profession tended to be between women with different ideological positions rather than between women and men.

And what of the old boys at U of T with their fusty notions of social work as part-time and mainly focused on moral elevation? Well, in the first place their moral emphasis was not so different from that of Whitton. But of what value was it? By focusing so much on curricular debates in the university, Burke gives us little insight as to how, if at all, anyone attempted to put the "Toronto ideal" into practice. Indeed, neither the practical significance of either the Toronto ideal or the caseworker model is really analyzed here. Simply put, the social workers' clientele play no role in this book. The result is that the work of the social workers whose efforts to achieve professional status are the backdrop for this work is largely obscured. Equally obscured is the extent to which the high-minded professors of the University of Toronto, whom Burke correctly identifies as supporting patriarchy, were also class-minded and imperialist in their advocacy of a curriculum meant to

shape gentleman scholars rather than trained social workers.

Burke does make a contribution to the history of the University of Toronto and to the development of social work teaching. Unfortunately her book is too limited in its sources and perspectives to suggest the larger context in which changes in curriculum were occurring.

Alvin Finkel
Athabasca University

Andrée Lévesque, *Résistance et transgression. Études en histoire des femmes au Québec* (Montréal: Éditions du remue-ménage 1995).

LES PETITS ESSAIS qu'Andrée Lévesque a remaniés pour cette collection ont en commun d'étudier de concert l'évolution des représentations des femmes, dans le Montréal du premier tiers du vingtième siècle, et l'histoire des conditions matérielles de l'élaboration de ces images. L'identification de cinq thèmes riches de sens, à la rencontre de l'histoire politique et de l'histoire socio-économique, donne aussi à ces pièces détachées une belle unité. L'auteure est bien placée pour aborder ce terrain croisé, maintenant prisé des historiens, grâce à ses études antérieures sur les difficultés exceptionnelles de la gauche québécoises de l'entre-deux-geurres et celles, plus récentes, portant sur les femmes marginales de la même période.

Dans un premier morceau, l'historienne insiste pour montrer que les luttes pour le suffrage féminin au Québec ne peuvent être comprises sans qu'on aborde les demandes de réforme, moins bien connues mais tout aussi importantes, d'un Code civil particulier à la province qui concevait les femmes comme mineures. Elle indique deux pistes fructueuses: d'une part, dans la foulée de l'historiographie féministe de la dernière décennie, elle veut souligner la simultanéité des arguments «égalitaires» et des arguments «maternaliste,» chez les réformateurs comme chez leurs opposants, au détriment des analyses qui ont cherché à utiliser ces notions pour classer mouvements et individus en deux groupes distincts. D'autre part, elle veut mettre en relief la variété des féminismes, en comparant les critiques que Marie Gérin-Lajoie, Idola Saint-Jean et la journaliste de *Monde ouvrier* Éva Circé-Côté ont porté au dispositif légal. Elle replace ces militantes devant leurs auditoires respectifs, inscrit leurs arguments en faveur d'un *accroissement du rôle politique des* femmes au sein de leurs traditions intellectuelles et politiques, pour montrer que toutes ne détenaient pas les mêmes idées sur la hiérarchie et la démocratie, la force des liens maritaux, la nature de l'autorité parentale, la moralité des femmes célibataires, ou encore le rôle du travail salarié et de l'éducation dans l'accès à l'indépendance.

Le second texte s'arrête aux convictions de cette journaliste du *Monde ouvrier* dont Andrée Lévesque veut réhabiliter la contribution. On retrouve ici un amalgame de libéralisme, de féminisme et d'ouvriérisme, qui surprend plus d'une fois quand, par exemple, au début des années trente, Circé-Côté en est arrivée à dénoncer les «petites demoiselles qui travaillent pour se payer des paletots de fourrure.» (50) La troisième étude aborde les actions et les croyances non plus d'un individu mais d'un groupe social, impliqué lui aussi dans les discussions sur la citoyenneté et sur la prostitution (dont l'analyse termine l'ouvrage). Il s'agit des médecins de la province, en tant qu'ils portent trois chapeaux: celui des experts, celui des élites politiques et celui des pères de familles. L'idée de dresser un portrait global de leurs représentations des femmes est éclairante.

Les deux derniers articles portant sur la prostitution sont sans doute les plus fouillés, bien que leur apport analytique soit moindre. Dans les années 1920, un mouvement de réforme sans précédent s'est penché sur la prostitution à Mon-

tréal, avec peu de succès, en définitive, mais qui a mis en branle des experts du continent entier et qui est à l'origine de l'Escouade de la moralité. L'histoire de son échec relève en partie d'une triste ironie: les années trente ont attiré les énergies des réformateurs vers des demandes trop immédiates pour que des problèmes de plus longue durée demeurent à l'ordre du jour; une hypothèse qui, ici comme à plusieurs reprises, rend compte de l'attention constante que porte l'auteur aux aléas de l'histoire économique. Lévesque explore encore avec finesse les contradictions, les tensions et les coalitions surprenantes des élites, entre la tolérance des «règlementaristes» et l'intransigeance des abolitionnistes, obligés par la nature même de leur préoccupation à prendre en compte non seulement les pratique sexuelles des familles pauvres, comme pour la plupart des causes progressistes, mais encore celles des hommes de leurs propres rangs. Entre temps, la nature instable et difficile du travail de prostituée, l'emplacement de ce «commerce» et les pratiques quotidiennes des tenancières et des policiers ne semblent pas avoir beaucoup changé.

Au total, il est intéressant de voir l'auteure esquisser par traits bien choisis la représentation de «la femme» que les discours réformateurs rejettent et celle qu'ils souhaitent pour le futur. Ce processus de révélation s'interrompt souvent trop tôt, cependant, avant que Lévesque ne précise, par exemple, ce que la «protection» du mari, aux termes du Code civil, a pu vouloir dire pour une Marie Gérin-Lagoie en mal de la conserver (alors que Brian Young vient de livrer sur cette notion traditionnelle» du Code un portrait dynamique dans une étude intitulée *The Politics of Codification*). De plus, les images de «l'homme» mériterait un traitement similaire, du buveur violent et lubrique au mari bienveillant que les citations du livre dévoilent déjà, et qui représentent possiblement des pôles équivalents à ceux de la mère et de la prostituée. À l'heure où les coûts sociaux du relâchement des loyautés familiales font couler beaucoup d'encre, un débat qui n'est pas étranger au mouvement de réhabilitation du féminisme maternel, un examen encore plus attentif des idées féministes de la première heure serait bienvenu.

En outre, la dimension de l'ethnie ne reçoit pas autant d'attention que celle des classes et du «genre.» Qu'en est-il, par exemple, de l'influence de la politique et de la culture religieuses et linguistiques sur un mouvement de réforme de la prostitution qui oppose le plus souvent réformistes protestants et autorités (policières, politiques et judiciaires) catholiques? Par ailleurs, que dire des conséquences, pour le réformisme du Québec francophone et irlandais, du rejet de l'eugénisme par le Vatican? Plus largement, la politique nationaliste explique-t-elle en partie que la tolérance de Montréal vis-à-vise de la prostitution soit exceptionnellement élevée à l'échelle de l'Amérique du Nord? Un coup d'oeil du côté des biographies des acteurs que l'auteur met en scène, comme celle du juge Amédée Geoffrion, principal opposant des campagnes pour l'abolition de la prostitution, ou encore un examen plus fin des liens entre les éléments biographiques des féministes et leurs convictions, aiderait déjà à suivre le fil de ces influences idéologiques et culturelles.

On ne peut que reprocher à cet ouvrage de ne pas poursuivre assez loin l'analyse conjuguée des images et des expériences dans les directions mêmes dont il a le mérite de montrer la valeur.

Dominique Marshall
Carleton University

Debra Lindsay, *The Clothes Off Our Back: A History of ACTWU 459* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Labour Education Centre 1995).

IN 1985, THE MANITOBA Labour Education Centre initiated a Labour History Series, which was intended to: "make all

Manitobans more aware of the vital contributions made to the life of this province by the women and men who worked on the farms and in the mines, mills, factories, cities, towns, homes and offices of Manitoba."

Since the series was launched, the Centre has produced a number of book-length studies dealing with particular unions, for example, the Manitoba Government Employees' Union, plus shorter booklets on significant events (the 1960 strike at Brandon Packers) and issues of major importance to working people in Manitoba (the occupational health and safety movement). On balance, these works have fulfilled the Centre's mandate of informing and educating Manitobans about the ways in which working people and the labour movement have enriched life in the province. As well, they constitute a valuable resource which can be used both by trade union activists and members in their on-going struggles and by intellectuals (both inside and outside the labour movement) seeking to advance labour history in Manitoba.

The Clothes Off Our Back is the latest entry in this series. The author, Debra Lindsay, was commissioned by Local 459 of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union to write a history of the local to commemorate its 50th Anniversary. The result is a book appropriate to the occasion and also to its immediate audience, namely, the officers, staff and members of the Local. As such, it exhibits the virtues and flaws typical of these sorts of books. On the one hand, it celebrates Local 459's accomplishments since 1945, highlighting, in detail, its major achievements and its leading personalities. On the other hand, the discussion of incidents and issues which reflect less favourably on Local 459's record tends to be somewhat more circumspect and perfunctory. Despite this imbalance, the book is nonetheless interesting and contains much useful information on Local 459, the garment industry in Winnipeg and the Manitoba labour movement.

The story begins in Chapters One and Two with the success of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) in a 1945 contest with the United Garment Workers Union (GMU) and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) for the loyalty of workers in the men's clothing industry in Winnipeg. When the ILGWU dropped out of the contest, the "all-in" industrial unionism of the ACWA prevailed over the craft unionism of the GMU. The story concludes in Chapters Eight and Nine with the merger of the ACTWU and ILGWU in 1995 to form the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE), a merger necessitated by rapidly changing conditions in the garment industry resulting from free-trade agreements, technological change, industry restructuring and the incipient deregulation of the sellers side of the labour market.

In recounting the history of Local 459, Lindsay draws on archival materials and secondary sources to situate developments in the local and in Winnipeg in the broader context of developments at the international and national levels. This is exemplified, for example, in her accounts of the union label campaign, the struggle by Local 459 members for greater independence from the heavy hand of the international in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and the role of Local 459 in the formation of unified trade union centrals in Canada and Manitoba in 1956.

As well, Lindsay provides valuable information and insights on the membership, structure and the internal dynamics of Local 459, on the nature of collective bargaining in the men's clothing industry and the duplicity of many employers, and on the failure of Manitoba governments to address in a comprehensive way the issue of homework in employment standards legislation. On many of these issues, however, there are gaps in the data and the analysis is incomplete.

In her discussion of union membership in the 1940s and 1950s, for example, Lindsay notes, in Chapter Three, that the

vast majority — 80 to 90 per cent — of members were women, 60 per cent of whom were married. As well, in 1957, 60 per cent of workers in the industry were "new" Canadians — "from the Ukraine, Poland, Germany, and Russia." (26) That is it. Except for the occasional aside, there are few references to the changing composition of the membership after 1960, even though it is evident from the photographs included in the book and Lindsay's discussion of union services and discrimination, that the composition of the membership has changed dramatically. The bulk of members are still women and still "new" Canadians, but now they come not from Europe but from Asia, Africa, and so on. A summary table showing trends in membership over the 50-year life of Local 459 would help to explain and clarify changes in union activities.

Lindsay's discussion of Local 459's gains in collective bargaining is similarly fragmented. Thus, much detail is provided both on the gains made in the initial contract established in 1945 and the controversial negotiations that split the local in 1959 and led eventually to court cases and trusteeship. The one thing Lindsay notes is that wages have always been a central issue in collective bargaining. A summary table showing trends in the wages of ACTWU members both in money terms and relative to other workers in Manitoba would provide a useful benchmark for evaluating the impact of Local 459 in advancing the interests of its members.

There are additional points of a similar nature that could be made, but, given the nature of the book and given its objectives, I am loading too much of a burden on Lindsay. She has done her job and done it well. The questions I have raised would be better addressed through undergraduate and graduate research projects or through a full-blown historical analysis of the garment industry.

In summary, this book is a useful addition to the Manitoba Labour History series and will provide a valuable resource for future work on the garment industry and labour history in Manitoba. I would note, as well, that in addition to Lindsay's text there are many interesting photographs and sidebars containing comments from union members, excerpts from newspaper articles, and brief biographies on ACTWU and Manitoba trade union leaders, and an index.

Errol Black
Brandon University

Herb Colling, *Ninety-Nine Days: The Ford Strike in Windsor, 1945* (Toronto: NC Press Limited 1995).

IN HIS ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS to his account of the 1945 Ford strike in Windsor, Herb Colling provides evidence of his experience as a reporter and an announcer for the CBC in Windsor by indicating that he wishes to tell the story of those involved. Far too often, he says, accounts of labour struggles indulge in abstractions and "dusty" history rather than examine the emotions and lives of those who took part in the event. Colling searched for people who could provide " ... some anecdote, character sketch, or colorful tale" in order to capture the drama of the strike.

Surely no quarrel can be made with the assertion that the strike should be considered within its local context or that this is rarely done. The standard literature on the Windsor strike, for example, acknowledges that it arose partly out of local conditions, but then the focus shifts to the ongoing struggle within the national labour movement, the attempt to control communist influence, and the impact of the Rand formula on the post-war labour scene in Canada. These national concerns were part of the context in which the strike took place but they do not necessarily tell us a great deal about the significance of the strike to the Windsor community and to the workers involved in the strike.

In preparing for his book Colling searched a number of published sources, such as the files of regional newspapers, periodicals, and secondary literature related to the labour movement in the 20th century. He also included in his book a number of photographs from the Walter P. Reuther Labor Archives at Wayne State University in Detroit. He gives no indication, however, that he used any of the extensive files in their archive, nor any other archival collection.

The title of the book, *Ninety-Nine Days*, is reflected in the structure of the book. Colling begins with an account of the events which took place on day one of the strike and progresses day-by-day through each succeeding day. These daily accounts are grouped around specific events, such as the closing of the power house, and make up fifteen of the eighteen chapters of the work. Yet in order to provide a context for the events he describes, the author interrupts his narrative with summaries of past developments or such contemporaneous events as debates in the House of Commons. Thus, this book is not a history of the strike as much as a chronicle because it provides a detailed timetable of events, without accompanying interpretive or analytical material.

Herb Colling undoubtedly has a reporter's eye for detail. However, the purpose behind some of the reporting is unclear. What is to be gained, for example, from learning that the airplane which took photographs of the automobile blockade erected by the strikers to block police intervention was coloured red?

Throughout this book Colling relies on the reporter's common device of dealing with incidents by focusing on participants and describing their reactions to events. He also includes some summaries drawn from newspaper accounts, of speeches and the proceedings of committee meetings. In the process the reader is served up such stereotypical features as the company security guard with a thick Irish brogue and stories in which the strike becomes a catalyst for family discord. Thus, anecdote follows anecdote without any new insight.

In his final chapter Colling comments on the decisions delivered by Justice Ivan C. Rand which finally settled the strike. Colling suggests that these decisions, which helped establish the pattern for labour relations in post-World War II, were a victory for the militant Windsor workers. He adds, however, that it was only a qualified victory because Rand's decisions helped create a bureaucratic labour organization and did not protect workers from economic downturns or from future legislative attacks on their rights.

In a chapter dealing with the role of communism in the strike Colling, however, raises serious questions concerning the impact of radicalism and communism on the course of the strike. Colling suggests that the communist leaders provided first rate leadership but were no more outspoken and radical than many of the workers. Moreover, he proceeds to suggest that the conservative national trade union leadership and the CCF mistook the left-wing radicalism of the workers for communism to the detriment of the Windsor workers. Colling's practise of merely presenting summaries of opinions prevents him from pursuing this point to see if the dissensions within the various labour organizations allowed Liberal politicians such as Paul Martin to seize control of the agenda and impose a settlement with serious limitations for the future.

The author's objective of exploring the experience of the strike undoubtedly has merit, but it should be rooted in some understanding of the community and the nature of the workers themselves. Although Colling notes that some of the strikers did not speak English, he does not explore the ethnic diversity which existed within the workforce nor its implications for the strike itself. Some visual evidence of this ethnic diversity is to be found in the number of churches, including Ukrainian and Russian Orthodox churches, which still exist in the immediate area of the Ford plant. Nor should it

be overlooked that the Roman Catholic Our Lady of the Rosary church was right in the midst of the most militant strike activity. Ethnicity and religion both formed an integral part in the lives of the Ford workers, but Colling finds no place for them in his account.

Some of the anecdotes included in the book do suggest that the strike caused serious problems for workers' families. Yet, to leave the impression that such problems were merely unfortunate byproducts of the strike is to ignore the recent studies which show that the meaning of work must include both the home and the family.

Mr. Colling's basic objective of exploring the impact of the 1945 Ford strike on those involved is certainly worthwhile. In order to know what the strike meant to the participants, however, we need to know much more about the workers themselves and the community in which they lived than is provided by the author. An even more serious problem of this book is that the author's reliance on event reporting provides no context or significance to the mass of material which he presents. The end result is that the book is not even an interesting read.

Ken Pryke
University of Windsor

Daniel Gawthrop, *Highwire Act: Power, Pragmatism, and the Harcourt Legacy* (Vancouver: New Star Books 1996).

STUDENTS OF MODERN British Columbia politics are surprisingly well-supplied with contemporary accounts of the province's often flamboyant political leaders. From a study of W.A.C. Bennett by Paddy Sherman (*Bennett*), written while the sometime Conservative continued his two decades of Social Credit domination, and a history of Dave Barrett's first New Democratic government by Lorne J. Kavic and Garry Nixon (*The 1200 Days: Dave Barrett and the NDP in BC, 1972-75*), through the three volumes by Stan Persky that surveyed the Social Credit governments of Bill Bennett (*Son of Socred* and *Bennett II*) and Bill Vander Zalm (*Fantasy Government: Bill Vander Zalm and the Future of Social Credit*), to the present study of the province's second New Democratic government led by Mike Harcourt, critical observers have reviewed the record and assessed the achievements and failures of each of these leaders.

It should be recognized at the outset that Persky's studies were left-wing critiques that found an obvious target in the Bennett and Vander Zalm governments. Daniel Gawthrop, writing from a similar perspective (after Persky asked him to research a fourth book but was not able to write it), faces a more interesting challenge. He has to assess the record of the "moderate liberal" former mayor of Vancouver and anything-but-flamboyant New Democratic premier of British Columbia, "Mikey Milquetoast" (the title of Chapter Two). Whether as a result of policy (which the author suggests it was on 131-6) or of differing temperaments, Harcourt was often over-shadowed and certainly out-shouted by such members of his cabinet as the "arrogant, ideological and shamelessly partisan" Glen Clark (341) or that avid pursuer of Socred misbehaviour, Moe Sihota, whose "holier-than-thou, 'gotcha' style of investigation" (307) did come back to haunt him. Ironically enough, however, the most colourful politicians of the era were the leaders of a resurrected Liberal party, Gordon Wilson, whose dalliance with his caucus colleague, Judy Tyabji, is pursued in the inevitably-entitled chapter, "Strange Bedfellows," and Wilson's successor, Gordon Campbell, an "instant Liberal" whom Gawthrop also describes as "if anything, ... a Mulroney Conservative" (117) and the heir to Bill Bennett's restraint politics of the early 1980s. (334)

Gawthrop is frank about the fact that "*Highwire Act* was compiled mostly through secondary sources, including hundreds of newspaper articles and gov-

ernment documents." (xi) The latter, which should surely be regarded as primary sources, were supplemented by interviews of various people, including "several hours of questioning" of Harcourt that began while he was still premier. The results of these interviews appear at various points in the narrative, sometimes rather obtrusively, but they do provide a reflection on political activity that might otherwise be difficult to achieve in this contemporary chronicle. The most disappointing interview must have been with Dave Stupich, whose manipulation of the Nanaimo Commonwealth Holding Society is described but hardly explained in a chapter devoted to "Trouble in Hub City." (279-97)

Gawthrop is clearly sympathetic to Harcourt and his New Democratic government. In the Preface, he expresses the hope that, despite polls that then pointed to Gordon Campbell's winning the 1996 British Columbia election, "*Highwire Act* [would offer] some food for thought before voters make that a reality." (x) His concluding assessment is that, judging "the NDP's performance in office purely on the checklist of its 48-point election platform, it hadn't done badly." (344) This typically Canadian compliment reflected particular success in responding to the environmentalists' charge that British Columbia's forest policies made it the "Brazil of the North" and in refining policies to achieve a "Sustainable Province," two central chapters in Gawthrop's study of the Harcourt government. A third chapter on the Harcourt government's recognition of Aboriginal rights, especially through a Treaty Commission established to negotiate with the First Nations of British Columbia, reveals "the NDP [as] the only party with the patience and political will to allow the treaty process to work." (345)

Beside these accomplishments, the Harcourt government's yielding somewhat to the "deficitphobia" of the 1990s appears an inevitable, if unfortunate, aspect of the record. It inspired Harcourt's September 1993 decision to replace the compassionate Joan Smallwood and her "dedication to anti-poverty groups" (142) with the "tough-as-nails former unionist Joy McPhail" (240), who was ready to crack down on welfare fraud as minister of Social Services. Gawthrop's discussion contains some curious shortcomings, as in his suggestion that Finance Minister Glen Clark could "impose high interest rates" in British Columbia (237) and his observation that "welfare premiums [sic] had gone up partly because there were more single parents and more people working part-time and in low-paying jobs." (239) The book is annotated in a rather loose fashion (see 351-61), but there is no reference for Gawthrop's observation that "few economists were fooled by such a manipulative equation of 'client error' with [welfare] fraud." (243) This chapter on "Beancounters of the Left" also includes one of the early tantalizing references to the disastrous 22 February 1995 "town hall meeting" on the economy (246), which receives more attention in a chapter on "Friends and Insiders" (274-8) but is not fully explained until the next-to-last chapter, "Digging for Bones." (310-6) The author has clearly imposed a structure on the Harcourt record that here interferes with his historical survey.

Gawthrop's *Highwire Act* remains a useful account of an important period in British Columbia history. Since this reviewer shares the author's political views, he is pleased to recommend this critical appreciation of how Mike Harcourt's New Democratic government confronted environmental and Aboriginal challenges and led British Columbia into a new era in its economic and social life. A modest bibliography is appended to the book. More usefully, there is an index to names and some events. Although written in the last days of the Harcourt government and prior to the electoral victory that Glen Clark and his New Democrats achieved in the spring of 1996, Gaw-

throp's chronicle may serve until the archives are opened to historians.

A. Ernest Epp
Lakehead University

Thorold J. Tronrud and A. Ernest Epp, eds., *Thunder Bay: From Rivalry to Unity* (Thunder Bay, ON: The Thunder Bay Museum Historical Society 1995).

LOCAL HISTORY has never developed as a mature field of academic historiography in Canada. The finely grained sensitivity to place in all its peculiarities that is the strength of the antiquarian has not often meshed well with the academic pursuit of larger patterns and paradigms of interpretation. Too often, as in the case of Tronrud and Epp's *Thunder Bay*, the well-known and broader contours of national and international history are employed to organize the abundant facts and events of local life. *Thunder Bay* does this very well, and the Museum Historical Society can take pride in publishing a well-researched, effectively written, and generously illustrated compendium of its city's history. Beyond those having some intrinsic interest in the city itself, academic use of this volume will be limited to those wishing to refer to the chronologies of local economic development, labour organization, associational activities, and the boosterist rivalry between Fort William and Port Arthur, Thunder Bay's antecedent municipalities. Those seeking discussions of local social and working conditions, family life and standards of living, gender relations and the experiences of women will be disappointed.

The subtitle and the titles of several essays — Margaret Frenette and Patricia Jasen's "Community though Culture"; Epp's "The Achievement of Community" — express the dominant theme of the volume's twelve essays and five short "sidebars." Much to the approval of the contributors, a single community has been welded together from two neighbouring urban centres which had competed wastefully for economic advantage. Brian J. Lorch and David A. Jordan effectively describe their separate spatial development, though without evaluating the quality of residential accommodation or urban services. Overlapping articles by James Stafford on population, Bruce Muirhead on commerce and transportation, Tronrud on industrial promotion and production, and Jean Morrison on labour organization provide commendable detail in documenting the Lakehead's economic history. Amalgamation, advocated by local politicians and supported by both organized labour and business, came finally in 1970. But as Tronrud and Anthony W. Rasporich explain in an article on urban politics before union, and Mitchell E. Kosny in one on subsequent developments, it also required the intervention of a Conservative provincial government which felt no need to consult voters about re-organizing municipal institutions at the Lakehead — or elsewhere in the province, for that matter.

The forced marriage, following the failure of earlier initiatives, and opposition to regional government on a larger scale, along with the continuing lukewarm support for such civic projects as a new community auditorium and the need to balance a new facility in one section with some project in the other, raise doubts about whose sense of community had been fulfilled in the new Thunder Bay. The authors, boosters of unity, are unreflective. To Epp, a sense of community has overcome the limiting effects of class, which often took on ethnocultural expressions. Schools in particular endeavoured "to provide the educational opportunities that youth of every background needed" (196) and more recently "services clubs of many sorts became important in providing ethnically-neutral meeting places." (202) Separated from class politics, multiculturalism, with "the richness in dances, songs and cuisine" (202), has come to be appreciated as an

inherent part of community building. Similarly, though he does not mention the place of ethnic clubs or business sponsorships in his study of sports, Ron Lappage does note that educational institutions replaced the YMCA and churches, which may have been culturally offensive to non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, in organizing athletics. In Frenette and Jasen's article, the uncritical reification of a community emerging is complete, as they describe "Thunder Bay's understanding of itself, along with the image it presents." (159) To the authors, culture — the search for good music and good theatre — created a sense of belonging and preserved ties to homelands, which through earlier decades divided Port Arthur and Fort William into ethnic and class fragments. But with government policies promoting a national culture with a multicultural vision and with the establishment of major cultural institutions, including Lakehead University, in recent years "a good number of residents" have come to express "their acceptance of ethnic diversity, and their ... growing respect for indigenous cultures." (159)

Regrettably, despite this "respect for indigenous cultures," Aboriginal people do not appear as members of the community. Much of what is now downtown Thunder Bay, as both Muirhead and Epp note, was part of the Fort William First Nation Reserve until expropriated in 1906 for the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The Reserve remains bounded on two sides by the city. Have Aboriginal people had no connection to the Euro-Canadian part of the Lakehead?

Their history is discussed only as "Beginnings." In their study of early Aboriginal settlement, Brian A.M. Phillips and Bill Ross demonstrate how changes in physical geography occasioned by the retreating ice cover, post-glacial lakes, and changing shore-lines and river mouths influenced the migrations of the ancestors of the First Nations people currently residing at the head of Lake Superior, their economies and material cultures. Victor Lytwyn's article on "The Anishinabeg and the Fur Trade" notes the successive stages in Aboriginal participation in the regional fur trade economy, from producers of furs, to middlemen and guides, to voyageurs and contract labourers, to provisioners and suppliers of various commodities. As well, he recounts the conflict over land and access to resources that accompanied the westward expansion of industrial capitalism from the 1940s and briefly mentions the subsequent seasonal involvement of Aboriginal workers in wage labour in railroad construction and the forestry industry. What might have been a transition to a discussion of Aboriginal people and the urban economy is instead a conclusion.

Regrettably, then, *Thunder Bay: From Unity to Rivalry* does not advance the sort of problematic to which local history seems best suited. Rather than presenting an innocuous and presentist conception of community, it might instead have asked: how has community been defined and redefined over time in a particular place? In whose interests have definitions been advanced, and how have these been contested? From this perspective, the interaction of local conditions and larger patterns set the context within which individuals, groups, and classes have attached meaning to living in a particular place.

David Burley
University of Winnipeg

John David Hamilton, *Arctic Revolution: Social Change in the Northwest Territories 1935-1994* (Toronto and Oxford: Dundurn Press 1994).

JOHN DAVID HAMILTON explains how the Northwest Territories (NWT), one-third of Canada's land mass, moved in half a century from a form of traditional colonialism to self-rule. Hamilton, an internationally award-winning journalist, first came to the Territories to cover the

construction of the CANOL pipeline in 1942-43. On different assignments he returned as a journalist, film-maker, and trainer for CBC Radio and Inuit Broadcasting Corporation television programming. The result is this excellent popular study. Although not footnoted, he has witnessed many of the events described: from CANOL to the achievement of democratic government in the NWT in the 1970s and 1980s.

Divided into three sections, "Before the Revolution," "Revolution Under Way," and "Revolution Culminated," the book begins with a review of Ottawa's indifference to the Territories in the early 20th century. Until 1939 the federal government left the administration of the NWT to the Hudson's Bay Company, Christian missionaries, and the Mounties. Then World War II, and the beginning of the Cold War immediately revealed the Arctic's strategic importance. Also, an expanding southern economy in the late 1940s and early 1950s prompted increased development of the North's mineral resources. Finally, the failure of the caribou migrations in the Barren Lands caused the federal government to intervene in the early 1950s. To help the Native population in the Eastern Arctic the government built instant towns and nursing stations. In 1953 Ottawa began what Hamilton calls the "Arctic Revolution."

The Carrothers Report (1966), named after Fred Carrothers, the head of the advisory commission set up by Ottawa to examine the constitutional future of the NWT, urged the transfer of administrative authority to the Territories. Among its recommendations the Commission suggested that the seat of government for the NWT move from Ottawa to Yellowknife. It was moved in 1967, although Ottawa kept tight control over natural resources, the only revenue-producing sources available. With a journalist's flourish Hamilton describes the physical move: "On 18 September 1967 two DC-7 aircraft landed at Yellowknife. The first one carried seventy-two civil servants and their families; the second thirty tons of files." (103) One could add that the NWT's bureaucratic revolution had also begun — by 1970 there would be more than 1500 civil servants at work in the Territories.

Hamilton superbly introduces the key federal players who worked to deliver social change, and later democracy, in the NWT. He names Gordon Robertson, the Ottawa civil service mandarin who began the process from 1953 to 1963, and Ben Sivertz, a former schoolteacher, merchant marine officer, and navy commander, who followed Robertson as NWT Commissioner (1963-67). After Sivertz came Stuart Hodgson, a flamboyant union leader from Vancouver, an official of the International Woodworkers of America, who served as Commissioner from 1967 to 1979. Under Hodgson power shifted from Ottawa to Yellowknife, from Yellowknife to the regions, and from the regions to the communities. Democracy came closer in 1975 when the entire NWT Council was made an elective body. John Parker, a mining engineer and former mayor of Yellowknife, succeeded Hodgson from 1979 to 1989 and continued the transfer of authority.

The Drury Report of 1980 confirmed the wisdom of the social and economic revolution begun in 1953. It also called for additional devolution from Ottawa to the NWT. Of the document's author, Bud Drury (World War II hero, United Nations relief official in postwar Poland, deputy minister of defence in the 1950s, and former federal cabinet minister), Hamilton writes: "The report itself was not easy to absorb, but it was full of meat and somehow reflected the man who wrote it — elegant, precise, and uncompromising." (237)

Arctic Revolution reviews well how the Aboriginal people in the 1970s and 1980s obtained real power in the NWT. The emergence of a whole new generation of young Aboriginal people who spoke English well, who had graduated from high school, who had travelled and read widely, helped to make this possible.

These articulate and energetic young men and women joined the elders to argue for Native rights. Ottawa and the Christian churches provided funding. In 1969 the first Native political organizations in the NWT were formed — in time to influence the important Berger Commission hearings of the mid-1970s. The Native leaders' decision to enter the NWT election in 1979 led to a Native majority in the Legislative Assembly (as the Council was now called).

Hamilton takes the reader easily through the complicated stories of petroleum economics in the 1970s, the Beaufort Sea oil exploration in the same decade, and the technology of gas pipelines in the Mackenzie River Valley. Tom Berger's eloquent report in the mid-1970s receives a full examination. The pipeline proposal came to a temporary, complete stop after the National Energy Board accepted his recommendation that all Native land claims be settled before a pipeline was built. While generally overwhelmingly favourable to the Berger Report, Hamilton does identify what he sees as one major shortcoming: "The report's readers were given a riveting tale of natives threatened by big government and big industry but heard almost nothing about the aspirations and problems of white southerners who had chosen to live and work in the Territories." (199)

In the 1980s the "Revolution" moved into the next phase: land claim negotiations. Hamilton provides a quick summary of developments in the Eastern Arctic, Mackenzie Delta, and the Mackenzie Valley up to the early 1990s. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the story is Nunavut, a separate political jurisdiction to be created in the Eastern Arctic in 1999, which the Inuit will control. Naturally the one area in which a settlement has not yet been reached, the southern Mackenzie River Valley, is that in which the political balance remains extremely delicate. There the Natives are outnumbered by non-Natives.

Hamilton draws arresting portraits of the Native leaders. We meet Nellie Cournoyea, the daughter of a Norwegian trapper and an Inuvialiut (as the Inuit are called in the Western Arctic) mother, who grew up, as they say in the Delta, "on the ice." She became CBC's first Native woman radio station manager and the co-founder of COPE (the Mackenzie Delta political organization). In 1991 she became the government leader in the NWT Legislative Assembly. Hamilton's description of the rivalry between the moderate Dene leader James Wah Shee and the more radical Georges Erasmus, reveals the complex political divisions among the Mackenzie Valley Indians in the 1970s.

Arctic Revolution provides the general reader with a wonderful introduction to the modern Northwest Territories. It would also be an excellent text for any Canadian history, or Canadian Studies, course on the Canadian North.

Donald B. Smith
University of Calgary

Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, Volume 1: *Racial Oppression and Social Control* (Verso Books: London 1994).

BIOLOGY TELLS us that race is a social construct. Racism, likewise, might be sociogenic rather than phylogenic — "homologous with gender and class oppression." (1) But at the end of the 20th century can we be absolutely certain about the second part of this proposition? Theodore Allen has no doubts whatever. Racism is always and everywhere a function of the need of one class to exert social control over another.

This wide-ranging book — the first of a planned three volume set — develops this proposition by examining an "Irish mirror for insights into the nature of racial oppression ... and ruling class control in the United States." (159) Two thirds of

the book is about Ireland, and while it is based entirely on secondary sources, those sources are impressively numerous, if at times distinctly quirky in the areas I know best. The core idea of the book is intriguing. A comparison of British treatment of the Irish in Ireland, with British and American treatment of Irish and Afro-Americans in the New World shows the malleability of the concept of "race" to the point that in 17th and 18th century Ireland, at least, it had nothing whatever to do with the physical characteristics of the oppressed. Moreover, mass Irish migration in the 19th century resulted in the coopting or "whitening" of the migrants, so that at the prompting of their bourgeois leaders, particularly the Irish-American Roman Catholic establishment, the migrants developed strong anti-black attitudes, despite their previous experience of oppression in the Old World. There is much here on the various strategies of the English elite in Ireland, to the point, indeed, that agency on the part of the Irish people fades from sight for long periods between rebellions.

But the major problem with the argument is the conflation of Irish peasant status, white indentured servitude — often after transportation — and slavery. Implicitly, but repeatedly, the conditions of the Irish in Ireland are equated with the conditions of African slaves in the New World. This simply will not do. First, there was never any doubt among slaves and non-slaves of the differences between slave and non-slave status and treatment, nor of the aspirations of the former to become the latter. No one who has read the primary documents on the shipping of slaves and the shipping of European convicts — to give just one example — can have any doubt on the relatively privileged position of the latter. Second, the Irish were burnt out of their homes, slaughtered, and sold into foreign lands as servants. Cromwell's prisoners were as powerless as any African slave. But they never became chattel slaves to serve for life (and their children after them). Africans, on the other hand, never came to the New World as anything but full chattel slaves. Third, how curious in the age of William Petty, and rampant merchant capital, that none of the English ever carried slaves from Ireland to the Caribbean as an alternative to the colossal expense and time of going to Africa first. Theodore Allen goes to some lengths to show how cheap labour was in Ireland, but never addresses the issue of why, if it was so cheap, not one attempt was ever made to transform it into slave labour in the Americas. This is despite the strong economic determinist underpinnings of his broader argument.

Until these issues are addressed the attempt to interpret racism as a simple function of economic and social control must appear somewhat reductionist. Elite groups do create and foster divisions among the non-elite. But surely workers do more than just respond to pressures from above. Were it otherwise, social reform would be a rather more straightforward process than the 20th century suggests.

David Eltis
Queen's University

Susan L. Porter, ed., *Women of the Commonwealth: Work, Family, and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press 1996).

THE RESULT OF A 1992 symposium on the history of women in Massachusetts, held under the auspices of the Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Susan Porter's collection of essays is somewhat misleadingly titled, as it deals chiefly with the history of the second half of the 19th century and, in some essays, with the early 20th century as well. The selection of essays is interesting and diverse, although there is a clear emphasis on women's paid employment. The diversity is in methods of research and manner of

presentation, and in the kinds of employment considered. In the latter respect, the essays are wide-ranging, covering domestic service, teaching, factory work, journalism and saleswork, as well as social and political work. The editor has divided her volume into two sections: "Women and Work" and "Social Reform and Political Activism." As she points out, the authors involved in the second section have, for the most part, chosen the biographical mode. The volume thus presents, in addition to the essays focusing on particular problems in the history of women's employment, studies of four important and interesting women: the suffragist intellectual, Caroline Healey Dall; the black journalist and reformer, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin; the Irish-American Boston politician, Julia Harrington Duff; and the Wellesley College professor and peace activist, Emily Greene Balch.

I found the biographical studies of particular interest, partly because several of the figures are relatively little known, but also because of the attention paid by all four biographers to the psychological dimensions as well as the social and class contexts of their subjects' lives. Undoubtedly due, in part, to the sources available on Caroline Healey Dall and Emily Greene Balch, the psychological dimensions were particularly well drawn out in the articles by Nancy Bowman and Patricia Palmieri on these two fascinating women. Bowman shows how the disintegration of Dall's marriage and her inability to work well with other strong women led, first, to her involvement with the women's suffrage movement, and, later, to her withdrawal from it as an active participant. She devoted the remainder of her life to educational work through the American Social Science Association and as an ongoing "agitator for women's rights," using the tools, as she put it, of "intellectual insight, cool and calm inquiry." Palmieri is able to demonstrate the sense of personal mission behind Balch's opposition to the United States' entry into World War I and the consequent non-renewal of her teaching position at Wellesley. Ongoing doubts about the appropriate use of her talents, her use of family resources, and her relationship with her father were resolved in taking this stand, which ultimately led to a second career in peace activism. Both Bowman and Palmieri emphasize the ways in which their subjects actively "created" themselves as public figures. The concerns of, and possibly the documentation available to, Rodger Streitmatter and Polly Welts Kaufman led them to focus more on the social, ethnic and class dimensions of their subjects' careers. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin used her elite status and journalistic skills to found the first newspaper directed to African-American women and to bring black and white women reformers together in late 19th-century Boston, while Julia Harrington Duff employed her position as a doctor's wife, her energy, and her political acumen to work on behalf of Irish-American women school teachers as an elected member of the Boston School Board. There were setbacks, but both of these middle-class women experienced considerable success in their careers as reformers.

Of the non-biographical essays, several use quantitative records effectively. Susan Porter examines Boston Female Asylum records to determine the employment choices of four cohorts of young women who left the asylum to go to work between 1800 and 1850. Intriguingly, she is able to show that the orphaned women made work choices which varied from cohort to cohort and can be linked, persuasively, to changes in economic and ideological climates. James Wallace, in turn, relies on Massachusetts school reports to document the feminization of teaching between 1840-41 and 1960-61, concluding that his study corroborates earlier findings but may add nuances to our understanding of causal factors. Paul Dauphinais examines labour statistics derived from census returns for two Massa-

chusetts cities, Worcester and Fitchburg, and is able to demonstrate that French-Canadian immigrant women (and children) were far less likely to be involved in paid employment in diversified economies than in the textile towns that historians have typically studied. He argues, from this finding, that our explanations for work behaviour should not be derived from culture alone, but also from economic context.

Finally, three essays look at education, broadly defined. Henry Bedford explores the collection of the data that Dauphinais and other historians use by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics. Through an examination of the ideas of the bureau's early directors, Bedford reveals the gender as well as the class and racial biases they brought to their statistical documentation of women's labour in 19th-century Massachusetts. Despite the directors' predilection to educate the public according to these biases, the actual statistics collected in fact tell different stories from those that the collectors probably intended and thus remain a valuable source for historians. The essays by Linda Shoemaker and Laurie Crumpacker look at more formal educational programs. Shoemaker's study of the Boston School for Social Work, a joint Harvard-Simmons venture originally designed to provide an inclusive course of study for both women and men, documents the ways in which this institution's approach to social work education was nevertheless gendered from the beginning. Covering the period from 1900 to 1930 and Harvard's eventual withdrawal from the program, the essay analyzes the resulting focus on the training of low-paid, female caseworkers at Simmons, while men were schooled to be policy-makers and directors of social work in the Sociology Department at Harvard. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston, the organization studied by Crumpacker, was also affiliated with Simmons. Crumpacker compares two programs, one directed to domestic servants and the other to saleswomen, and attributes the relative success of the latter to its directors' ability to listen to the sales clerks who, unlike most of the domestics, were native born. The result was a course of study that went some way to meet their clients' needs. While the household science program for servants turned into a professional school for middle-class women, the school for saleswomen continued to attract working-class students with a program that recognized their ambitions and concerns.

Susan Porter's brief introduction outlines the essays and sets them in an American historiographical context. The fact that her introduction does not deal with the international literature in the history of women's employment and political work is symptomatic of the volume as a whole, for her contributors do not make any comparisons with or refer readers to studies of working women in non-American locales. An exception, in a sense, is Paul Dauphinais, who refers to Canadian studies of the French-Canadian diaspora in New England. Otherwise, there are no references to non-American analyses of women's employment in industry, domestic service, saleswork, social reform, politics, social work, journalism or teaching. One especially misses such references in cases where women's work has been extensively studied from a regional perspective, given that a stated purpose of the volume is to demonstrate the value of studying the particularities of the Massachusetts experience. Nor are possible non-American influences on the women subjects of these essays considered. It is intriguing to discover that Caroline Healey Dall, for example, spent the early 1850s in the British North American city of Toronto. One might wish that her biographer had at least queried the impact of this sojourn in another country and political culture on Dall, but the matter is passed over in silence. While these omissions detract somewhat from the collection's value, they do not undermine its intrinsic interest. The editor and the Insti-

tute for Massachusetts Studies are to be congratulated in bringing together this intriguing and diverse body of work.

Alison Prentice
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/
University of Toronto

Paul M. Buhle, *A Dreamer's Paradise Lost: Louis C. Fraina/Lewis Corey (1892-1953) and the Decline of Radicalism in the United States* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press 1995).

LOUIS FRAINA (Lewis Corey), one of the most fascinating characters in the history of American radicalism, has long been lurking on the margins of left scholarship, looking for a suitable biographer. He has finally found one in another fascinating and somewhat comparable character on the American left — Paul Buhle. Drawing on his extensive research files, the Left press, Oral History of the American Left interview transcripts, and Fraina's own papers and publications, Buhle follows Fraina from his impoverished boyhood in New York's Bowery, through his conversion to DeLeonite socialism, his involvement in the cultural Bohemianism of the pre-World War I years, his immersion in Socialist Party factionalism, and his central role in the foundation of American communism, to his career as a radical economist in the 1930s, and beyond to his bitter anti-communism of the Cold War Era. Throughout, Buhle's fluid writing and his efforts to place Fraina in the political and cultural currents of his time render the book vital to students of American radicalism and accessible to interested readers without extensive background.

A Dreamer's Paradise offers particularly penetrating discussion of Fraina's early life, especially the experiential and ideological bases for the radicalism of a brilliant young Italian immigrant, his love affair with Bohemianism, and his ideological evolution toward early Communism. The book's chapter on the second decade of the 20th century which "offered the *possibility* of simultaneous radical change in economies, politics, morals, and art," (32) contains perhaps our best short discussion of the dynamic between the era's vibrant socialist movement and the modernist aesthetic of its jazz, modern dance, and free-verse poetry.

In Buhle's evocation of this world, Fraina moves so easily between Bohemianism and proletarian radicalism that it is possible to underestimate the social and cultural leap involved, one which few radical workers ever achieved and few modernist bourgeois ever attempted. As Buhle reminds us, unlike most of his modernist contemporaries, "Fraina was a working-class socialist ...." Dazzled by the intellectual ferment and the cultural leaps and bounds, "... he struggled to keep economics and class in the equation." (33) His remarkable success in this regard is one of the characteristics that makes Fraina so interesting, but even for Fraina, who embraced both ragtime and psychoanalysis, there was something like a rupture between the two worlds. When he dropped out of the Socialist Labor Party in 1914, he remained politically unaffiliated for more than three years. During this period he developed his cultural critique and established close links with the modernists, working as writer and editor for two pivotal small magazines, the *Modern Review* and *Modern Dance*, before reemerging as a key leader in the Socialist Party's left wing in the wake of the Russian Revolution. The book's middle section involves Fraina's role in the invention of American communism.

Buhle is also very perceptive, as perhaps only a veteran radical can be, regarding the political movement that did not emerge in the decade following the war and the revolution. Buhle places Fraina at the crucial juncture between the Socialist Party's English-speaking revolutionary minority on the one hand, and the rich radical subcultures of the party's lan-

guage federations on the other. For a while, he rode the revolutionary wave, shuttling between these diverse worlds, editing the proto-communist journals *Class Struggle* and *Revolutionary Age*, and finishing as the Left's top candidate on the 1919 Socialist Party executive in the midst of the party's split and the birth of American communism. But the immigrant- and native-based wings of the new communist movement never really fused, nor did they successfully bridge the cultural and political chasms that separated them from the nascent African-American nationalist and burgeoning industrial union movements at the end of World War I, movements that might have provided the communists with a mass base in the 1920s. Like Fraina, the movement remained an outsider.

Fraina's communist career was star-crossed from the outset. After misadventures in Europe and Mexico, he left the movement in the mid-1920s under lingering charges of spying and embezzlement, reemerging in the early 1930s as Lewis Corey, left writer and popular economist. Corey authored two important works during these years, *The Decline of American Capitalism* (1934) and the *Crisis of the Middle Class* (1935), and became a part of the talented group of intellectuals around V.F. Calverton's *Modern Monthly*, an independent journal which aimed to develop a distinctly American version of Marxism. Part of Buhle's achievement lies in his successful analyses of Corey's brilliant and largely neglected works. Buhle plots Corey's gradual intellectual detachment from Marxism over the 1930s and his drift toward a shrill liberal anti-communism by the early 1950s. Although this was a rather well-worn path by the early 1950s, Buhle argues convincingly that Corey had his own political trajectory that owed as much to his long-term ideological development as to the atmosphere of the Cold War years. Ironically, neither Corey's new name nor his change in politics saved him from McCarthyism. He was under deportation order when he died of a cerebral haemorrhage in 1953.

One of the few problems I have with the book is its lack of a conclusion regarding this particularly tortured political and intellectual life. Another is an interesting but under-developed analogy between Fraina/Corey and another of Buhle's left icons, the Trinidadian Marxist writer and cultural critic C.L.R. James. In the first case, having lovingly disentangled Fraina/Corey's political evolution from DeLeonism to Cold War liberalism, why can't Buhle, known for his important work in left culture and politics, help us a bit in determining what all of this says about the American left?

A more developed comparison and contrast with James, something Buhle was clearly itching to do, might have helped with the needed summation. There are clear parallels between the two men — the emphasis on working-class outsiders (unskilled recent immigrants for Fraina/Corey, African-Americans for James) in the creation of a revolutionary movement, for example, or the cultural critique which each of these proletarian intellectuals built into his politics. But Fraina/Corey's political trajectory and even his basic values appear to have been at odds with James'. If he is doing more than dragging James in simply to pay homage, then Buhle needs to more fully develop this analogy.

But the main point here is that Buhle's biography provides both a skilful evocation of a key figure in American politics, and also a badly needed perspective on the worlds of early 20th century political and cultural radicalism. This juncture of politics and culture is one about which Paul Buhle knows a great deal first hand. His affinity for Fraina/Corey and the worlds he inhabited have helped him to provide a richly evocative book.

Jim Barrett
University of Illinois at
Urbana-Champaign

Al Grierson, *Things That Never Added Up To Me: Songs of Love, War, Theology, Golf and the Great American Railroad* (Ashland, OR: Folkin' Records, 4330 Highway 99 South, 1995).

THE POPULARITY of acoustic music, ranging from unplugged concerts to country music to the blues, is refreshing. But all too often "acoustic artists" rely on drums, rhythm guitarists, keyboards, strong sections, and horns to deliver messages of dubious import. In his debut record, *Things That Never Added Up To Me*, Al Grierson bucks the political economy of the music business to sing songs accompanied only with guitar and harmonica. All but one, "The Zephyr," are original works, and unlike most of today's acoustic artists, Grierson has something to say. The topics range from irreverent speculation on the nature of God's vengeance when he misses a birdie putt in "Sunday Way Up Yonder" to the haunting "The Flowers of Auschwitz," where we are reminded that if we do not remember the past we will be doomed to repeat it.

All the songs demonstrate Grierson's talent for combining unadorned truths with nimble turns of phrase and insight. His wide knowledge of folklore and his love of language allow him to re-work classic folk themes such as trains and work and love with fresh images and gripping metaphors. "Fifty Cent Sneakers" evokes "The Big Rock Candy Mountain" with a dream of a world in which a worker won't have to "shiver or slave in the cold or gather up summers as if they were gold." Instead "the landlord and banker will labour like swine" while the "Big Dipper flows with five dollar wine." The lyrics are often playful, as when he reflects on a lover with "that endless fascination that Jesse [James] had for trains," or wonders, child-like, where he can "buy the gun they use to shoot the moon."

Comparisons with Bruce Springsteen's *The Ghost of Tom Joad* are odious but inevitable. If Springsteen can be commended for occasionally leaving his mansion to write powerful songs about contemporary America, his work remains music written from the top down. Grierson writes from the bottom up, as one who shares in the work and dreams and tragedies he sings about. As a result, his politics are clear and ferocious. In vivid words and haunting melodies he describes the execution of Chilean poet Victor Jara in 1973 and calmly admonishes workers to "take it any way you want to — but don't take it back." We might remember that Springsteen crossed a picket line of striking clerical workers and stagehands in Tacoma in 1992. In contrast, Grierson has performed for rallies, demonstrations, and picket lines in Canada and the US for more than twenty years. Sometimes rendering the classics — militants count on him to sing all six verses of "Solidarity Forever" rather than the three tame ones favoured by the labour bureaucracy — sometimes quickly re-writing a labour standard to fit the current circumstances, Grierson has lent his gravelly, honest voice to causes ranging from postal workers' strikes to the campaign to save Canada's passenger rail service. Adept at outlining the anger and despair of workers and their families, he is always careful to show that there is hope, that we must fight back even while we take comfort in family and friends.

The production is spare and tight, focusing attention on the lyrics and ideas of the songs. This is a record meant for listening to rather than serving as politically correct background music. The songs are alternately playful, sardonic, romantic, and fierce. On occasion, such as "The Wild Dogs of Kitwanga," they border on the sentimental, but Grierson's wit and irony keep them far from cliché and convention. The record sparkles with work, play and passion in equal measure. Produced by Grierson and put out on his own label, Folkin' Eh! Records, *Things That Never Added Up to Me* is available by mail order. This is a long-awaited record

by a gifted writer, and fans and initiates alike will be delighted with it.

Mark Leier
Simon Fraser University

Daniel R. Ernst, *Lawyers Against Labor* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1995).

THE HISTORY of American labour law continues to be both fruitful and contested terrain for scholars from a variety of disciplines, who not only focus on different aspects of their subject, but also look at their material through different interpretive lenses. In recent years, Chris Tomlins, William Forbath, Karen Orren and Melvyn Dubofsky, among others, have written very different accounts of the relations between organized labour, law and the state. Despite their many differences, these authors agree on at least one point: the American judiciary's hostility to trade unions was strong and abiding. Daniel Ernst is out to challenge that view in his fascinating, if not entirely successful, monographic study of the history of the American Anti-Boycott Association (AABA) and the rise of liberal pluralism in American labour law. He argues not only that the roots of pluralism significantly predate the New Deal, but that many American judges had begun to accept and inscribe the tenets of this new learning into the jurisprudence governing labour disputes before the 1920s.

The AABA was founded by two Danbury hatters, Dietrich Loewe and Charles Merritt, in 1902, and grew, under the direction of Daniel Davenport, a local lawyer, to become a major organization of small- to medium-sized proprietary capitalists committed to opposing organized labour through litigation and lobbying. Ernst excavates the intellectual foundations of the AABA's world view through a thoroughly researched and richly drawn portrait of Davenport. The son of a lawyer who could trace his family history back to the earliest years of colonial settlement, Davenport was educated at Yale in the 1870s where he was taught in moral philosophy that the United States was founded on timeless principles. From Charles Sumner he learned classical economics and liberal political philosophy; the laws of supply and demand were unalterable and individual rights of employers, workers and consumers were natural and sacrosanct. These values found resonance with proprietary capitalists who were threatened by the renewed efforts of a rapidly growing craft-union movement at the turn of the century to establish and maintain closed-shop agreements (requiring all specified employees to be union members and be paid union wages) through tactics such as secondary pressure (for example, consumer boycotts or pressure brought against firms that did business with a non-union shop). Although groups of employers in some trades flirted with the idea of regulatory unionism (joint establishment of regional and national labour standards), by the early 1900s a battle with the craft unions was brewing and its main venue was the courts.

This was not the first time the courts had been called upon by employers for assistance in defeating trade unions. During the Great Upheaval of the mid-1880s, workers were charged and prosecuted for criminal conspiracy when they attempted to obtain or enforce closed-shop agreements through nonviolent means such as boycotts. Judges, schooled in what the American legal historian Morton Horwitz has described as classical legal thought and drawing on the same values that Davenport imbibed in the 1870s, had no difficulty finding either that the purposes of the workers' combination or the means that it used were unlawful, being in violation of the natural rights of the individual.

When employers turned to the courts in the early 1900s, it was not to invoke its criminal law powers; rather, they brought civil actions. Perhaps the major tactical reason for this shift was that employers

could expeditiously obtain injunctions from the court, ordering trade unions to end their interference immediately, even before the merits of the dispute were adjudicated. Once an injunction was issued, coercive state power would enforce it. This shift to civil actions, however, required a new jurisprudential foundation in the law of international torts.

It is here that Ernst begins to construct the foundations of his argument for a common law contribution to the development of liberal pluralism. The initiators of this transformation were not judges but a new group of legal experts, full-time law school professors. In their quest to create a scientific jurisprudence, these professors rejected traditional natural law approaches in favour of more "functional" ones. The law was not to be deduced logically from *a priori* moral imperatives, but calculated on the basis of social utility. From this approach, exertions of collective power by labour were not *per se* unlawful; rather, the legality of such action depended on whether it could be justified in relation to the promotion of some broader public purpose.

The adoption of a consequentialist framework, however, no more dictated a particular approach to labour law than did the earlier deontological approach. Both could uphold or condemn collective action by workers. Deontological jurisprudence could have identified and supported a natural right for workers to combine to advance their interests (as Gompers urged), but instead its judicial practitioners chose to protect the competing rights of employers to do business without being interfered with by many forms of collective action by workers. Similarly, a consequentialist approach was capable of reaching a wide range of results, depending on how the person applying it defined the public interest and assessed the benefit-harm ratio of trade union activity.

Ernst recognizes this ambiguity and that the strength and originality of his argument does not lie in identifying the emerging critique of Victorian labour law among legal academics or, for that matter, some politicians. Rather, he wants to demonstrate that common law judges began to accept a consequentialist jurisprudence in which unionized workers gained both greater legitimacy and more privileged space within which they could pursue their collective interests without being liable for the resulting damage to others. He does this by a careful reinterpretation of the test cases brought by the AABA, including some of the most infamous cases of their day (for example, the Danbury Hatters' and the Bucks' Stove litigation).

His argument in this regard is only partially successful. While Ernst demonstrates a shift toward consequentialist jurisprudence (Morton Horwitz and others have previously made this point), he is only able, at best, to support a claim that judicial hostility to trade union actions was not quite as unrelenting as others have portrayed it. On Ernst's reading, the AABA's litigation produced the following results: the demand for a closed shop is not illegal *per se*; distributor-targeted boycotts violate anti-trust laws; trade-union members are personally liable in damages for wrongful trade-union actions even in the absence of their direct participation; the legality of consumer boycotts is highly doubtful; the relief that unions thought they obtained from the Clayton Act (1914) is denied them by judicial interpretation; refusals to handle materials produced by non-union shops are legal in some cases but not in others.

If Ernst is only trying to trace the rise of liberal pluralism, then the serious limitations judges continued to impose on trade union activity may not be significant to his argument. All he has to establish is that judges were beginning to recognize the validity of group claims and were prepared to engage in some sort of balanced approach that tolerated limited trade union activity. This he has done. Ernst has also journeyed into another bastion of individualist thought, the AABA

itself, and shown how, paradoxically, it pioneered the kind of interest-group politics it formally eschewed.

Such an approach, however, leaves important questions unasked and unanswered. What were the consequences of the transformation he describes? Did the vision of responsible unionism promoted by progressive legal academics and instantiated by some judges inhibit even craft unions from pursuing a broader, class-based, more solidaristic labour movement? The fact that Ernst never poses or addresses these questions is surprising given that precisely these concerns have engaged most other historians who explored the relations between labour, law and the state during this period. Instead, he implicitly criticizes two authors, Tomlins and Stone, who previously identified manifestations of liberal-pluralism in pre-New Deal American, for being more interested "in using class analysis to debunk the pretensions of pluralism" than in exploring the "sweeping revision of the law of industrial disputes along liberal-pluralist lines." (3) But he never directly confronts their conclusion that pluralism in American labour law exerted constraining and de-radicalizing effects on the labour movement.

Perhaps the reason Ernst avoids this issue is that, having refused class analysis in favour of some ill-defined "post-pluralist" (post-modernist?) stance in which the diversity of human experience cannot be reduced to class, but must also take into account ethnicity, religion, gender, race and sexual preference (3) (none of which, by the way, make any appearance in Ernst's analysis, suggesting that the primary work performed by his reference to diversity is to justify taking class out rather than to bring these dimensions of experience in), he has no perspective from which to evaluate the pluralists' work, other than their own.

In fact, it is hard to know in what way Ernst's account is "post-pluralist." After all, the central project of the pluralists was to root class conflict out of the industrial relations system through a reconstruction of organized labour and organized capitalists as competing interest groups whose disputes would be regulated by decision-makers who accepted the legitimacy of groups and who were guided by their "independent estimate of their own and the public's interest." (9) Not surprisingly, that estimate only tolerated a highly fragmented trade union movement limited to representing the economic interests of its members in collective bargaining with their employers. Unions who resisted this mould faced state coercion. Ernst may or may not endorse the pluralists' particular vision of responsible unionism, but he does accept their fundamental premise that workers and employers are groups not defined primarily by their class position.

Overall, then, *Lawyers Against Labour* presents a creative and informative historical investigation of the origins and early development of liberal pluralism in legal thought, finding that it had become established in the common law of industrial disputes earlier and stronger than most historians previously recognized. As a history of labour law largely without class, however, the book ultimately fails to consider the consequences or impact of the liberal-pluralist project to make the American labour movement responsible and to incorporate it into a narrow regime of industrial legality.

Eric Tucker
Osgoode Hall Law School
York University

Fred Pfeil, *White Guys: Studies in Postmodern Domination and Difference* (New York and London: Verso 1995).

IN THE LAST 15 years it has become almost routine for any good social and/or historical analysis to address the variables of class, race/ethnicity, gender, and, increasingly, sexuality. Within each of

these categories there is usually an unequal binary opposition: bourgeoisie/working-class; white/people of colour; men/women; heterosexual/homosexual and lesbian. We are becoming increasingly aware of the complexity of the elements of these dualities. Until very recently, however, it has been common to cast a complex and nuanced representation of women and racial/ethnic others against a presumed homogeneous and essentialist white masculinity. The subject position white man is only now beginning to be problematized. *White Guys* provides an engaging contribution to the deconstruction of fixed notions of white masculinity.

The five chapters plus conclusion that constitute the book examine contemporary images of white masculinity through analyses of cinema (chapters one, two and the conclusion), rock video (chapter three), detective fiction (chapter four), and the men's movement (chapter five). Pfeil's overall argument is that white masculinity is a heterogeneous, contradictory, processual phenomenon. Its contemporary substance is, at one and the same time, both reactionary and critical. White masculinity should be read as an effort to defend a status and identity which justifiably has been under attack, particularly from feminism, for a long time and, at the same time, as a product of progressive influences from the 1960s new left counter-cultures and feminism itself. It must be understood in relationship to the changing images of femininity and the women's movement which both influence it and serve as an antithesis against which it defines itself. Thus, at the most general level the major contribution of this volume is that it adds to the growing understanding of the complexity of masculinity, and in this case, specifically white masculinity, and thus helps to destroy the oversimplified and overly essentialist image of the white male.

Pfeil argues that the popularity of the male rampage films of the early 1990s, such as *Die Hard* and *Lethal Weapon*, is the product of their ability to appeal both to the race and sex prejudices of the audience through the way in which women and blacks (the partners or helpers of the white male protagonists) are portrayed and to play on themes of class and status struggles as basically white working-class heroes go up against and put down yuppie-like bad guys and/or corrupt and incompetent institutions. The pleasures they offer are the product of complex articulations of right wing and left wing takes on the current globalized social and economic formation, and the way they celebrate the basically white working-class skills and character that has taken such a hit in the deindustrializing capitalist nations. Nevertheless, "sensitive guy" films can be deconstructed to reveal the way in which they present the discovery of the sensitive side of men as the means by which white middle-class men can reclaim status and power in society. This is also a theme in the discussion of current detective fiction in which the protagonists are, unlike the hard-boiled dicks of Chandler and Hammet, sensitive and cultured and yet even more brutally violent than their noir predecessors. And not surprisingly, it emerges in the literature and actions of the men's movement, where once again getting in touch with one's feelings is a step on the path to a rediscovery of the warrior within you.

The ambivalent social responses to the social and economic decline of the white working class man are also played out through the imagery of rock music and video. The popularity of Bruce Springsteen among a basically older middle-class audience is said to be a product of the way in which he represents a nostalgic view of a now near-extinct and, therefore, no longer dangerous working-class masculinity. Springsteen is juxtaposed to the much more threatening vision of the current non-working and angry white working-class man as represented by Axel Rose.

Pfeil is not out to condemn contemporary white masculinity or the men's

movement simply as a sham or a mask for another play for power, although he is highly critical of both. In his analysis of the men's movement, especially, he is concerned to argue that it is a reaction (in the negative sense) to the women's movement and the gains women have made, and that it shares some of the goals of the women's movement and must be seen as a product of the 1960s counter-culture with its strong view of the personal as political.

The book is a pleasurable read, especially for anyone who is interested in and familiar with the elements of popular culture Pfeil discusses. It is the kind of book which provides one with many insights into possible interpretations of these cultural texts and many points to argue with. The book's major weakness is one common to much cultural studies literature, which, despite its ostensibly interdisciplinary nature, reflects the literary critical end of the spectrum more than the anthropological or sociological. Thus, while many of the interpretations are suggestive there is no support for them derived from outside the objects under analysis. Claims that, for example, Springsteen's primary audience is middle-class rather than working-class is basically speculation. Also, as Pfeil readily admits, in the absence of sociological data regarding the composition of the audiences for the various films he interprets and of research into the audiences' interpretations of these films, we have no way of knowing if they do read these films in anything like the way Pfeil does. Thus, his suggestions as to the pleasures to be found in these popular cultural artifacts again can only count as learned speculation.

To the extent that *White Guys* is an argument about the public reception and reading of various cultural artifacts it has to be read with a critical mind. As a guide to possible interpretations of various pieces of popular culture, and reasons for the way white masculinity is currently represented in popular culture and how this articulates with issues of class, race, and gender, however, this book provides much to think about. For other white males with sympathies for feminist and other critics of white masculinity, I suspect one of the pleasures it offers is the joy of seeing the problems and dilemmas of being white and male at this historical conjuncture dealt with critically but not dismissively.

Thomas Dunk
Lakehead University

Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press 1995).

MORE THAN THIRTY years have passed since the British Marxist historian, E.P. Thompson, introduced readers to the world of working-class culture and politics in his pathbreaking book, *The Making of the English Working Class*. In a brilliant narrative of radical politics, work, religion, and community, Thompson argued for an understanding of "class" not in its strict economic sense, but rather, according to a more capacious vision of a myriad world of life and labour in industrializing England from the turbulent decade of the 1790s to the decade of the 1830s.

A subsequent generation of feminist scholars including Joan Scott, Sheila Rowbotham and Sally Alexander portrayed a world of women and work, which had been a glaring omission in Thompson's narrative. Interrogating elements of sex, class and ideology, Barbara Taylor's study of the intersection of Owenite socialist and feminist ideology in Britain (*Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*, 1983) and Laura Strumingher's fascinating and detailed analysis of the gendered division of labour in 19th-century Lyon (*Women and the Making of the Working Class: Lyon 1830-1870*, 1979) are two outstanding

studies evocative of feminist contributions to women's history and labour history in the decades of the '70s and '80s.

More recently, feminist historians, marked by a linguistic turn, propose gender as a "useful category of analysis" (Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 1988). An ensuing debate over theory and methodology, touched off by the primacy accorded to language in the interpretation of class and gender, has led to a heated exchange over the nature of agency in history. (For the most recent exchange, see Joan Hoff, "Gender as a Postmodern Category of Paralysis," *Women's History Review*, 3, 2 [1994] and Susan K. Kent, "Mistrials and Diatribulations," *WHR* 5, 1 [1996].)

Anna Clark's *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* enters this contested terrain rather subtly, offering a work whose title, by its literary formulation drawn from a longstanding British broadside tradition caricaturing sexual antagonism within marriage as a "struggle for the breeches," suggests a cultural-historical study, while her subtitle denotes a larger ambition — of granting gender a principal if not primary consideration in the historical account of class. Issues of sexuality, reproductive control and sexual definition that underlie the construction of the categories of masculinity and femininity are seen as essential to understanding the politics of gender and class. The title may lead readers to believe that this work is a companion or compensatory volume to E.P. Thompson's work, which it is not. Although there is profuse discussion of "plebeian" culture and community, the concept of "class" and its parameters are not well defined.

Clark's stated aim, following the work of Joan Scott, Leonore Davidoff, Catherine Hall and Sally Alexander, is to "infuse gender — the social construction of manhood and womanhood — into the analysis of class." (2) She makes gender central to her study of a culture of work and the communities of work in the period from 1780 to the 1840s. The book's title reflects the principal direction of her 1987 doctoral thesis, "Womanhood and manhood in the transition from plebeian to working-class culture." She has expanded the geographic and temporal parameters of her doctoral thesis to include useful and well-argued analyses of artisanal and industrial workers in Glasgow, Lancashire and London, compiling an extensive data-base of working-class households in Glasgow around 1841. Evident throughout her work is a familiarity with primary sources — judicial records, newspaper accounts and literary accounts testifying to the range of domestic disputes and violence amongst and between men and women of the working class.

This book is most successful in drawing the lines of a sexual ideology which found form in popular literature as a "struggle for the breeches" — the private sphere of marriage satirized as a bitter contest of the sexes in which wives tried to rob husbands of their manly control and power. Chapters depicting "Men, Women, Together and Apart," and "Plebeian Sexual Morality," portray the world of sex, marriage and the family which engendered the "struggle for the breeches." Linking the personal, domestic contest with the political struggle for citizenship, Clark cogently creates a two-tier argument, demonstrating a contested sexual terrain within household and community and a radical language of politics and the public, couched in terms of manhood and citizenship.

In the second of three parts which comprise the book, "The Search for Solutions," she examines the role of religion, particularly Methodism and communitarian politics in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This is perhaps the least effective argument in her book, particularly when compared to Thompson's earlier dissection of the ideological and psychological impact of Methodism upon diverse sections of the working class.

Her account of "manhood and citizenship" in a chapter of the same name effectively demonstrates the connection between changes in sexual ideology and a changing grammar of politics. It is disappointing, however, in a work so finely tuned to reading gender in history, that the analysis of race and the languages of race and Empire are not given greater consideration. Surely those forces and institutions which fed the construction of Victorian sexual ideology — the notion of "manhood" and citizenship, for example —*were also arms and tropes of colonial conflict and imperial rule.*

Making gender the primary focus of this book, with the "struggle for the breeches" recast from misogynist and patriarchal to a more ambivalent and opportunistic Chartist argument, the book closes with the repressive atmosphere of Victorian sexual ideology dividing and gendering the spheres of domestic and public life. "... What predominated in the second half of the nineteenth century was a concept of working-class consciousness *in which politics was for men alone and* domesticity for women." (264) With its portrait of patriarchy persistent, Clark's book not only casts a "more sorrowful light" upon Thompson's narrative of the making of the working class, but also returns the reader to a principle feminist argument of the 1970s — patriarchy as ideology and force in history.

Ellen Jacobs
Université du Québec à Montréal

Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge 1995).

MANY HISTORIANS will be interested in reading *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* for its cutting-edge methodology and analysis as much as for its subject matter. For one thing, as its title indicates, it is a work of postcolonial studies, a field which has recently encouraged many historians to situate their topics in a broader, more international context. In her acknowledgements, author Anne McClintock lists some leading lights of this field including Homi Bhabha and Edward Said. She wryly admits to the faddishness of postcolonial studies, noting it was known as Commonwealth *Studies until* some knowing academic thought to update its image and partake in "the dazzling marketing success of the term *postmodernism.*" (392)

Equally influential is the related rubric under which publisher Routledge has classified the book: cultural studies. Like cultural historians Dominic La Capra and Catherine Hall, whom she also acknowledges, McClintock explores the question of how meaning — political, economic, and social — is produced in the realm of culture. She also shares with historians in this field her critical questioning of her sources. She treats them as discourses, refusing to believe they are transparent *carriers of reality. As a professor* of English, McClintock's particular focus is on literature, although graphic records figure prominently here too and are analyzed with subtlety and aplomb.

The author asks, as many other postcolonial and cultural studies writers do, how social structures of race, gender and class supported or undermined one another, reproduced or subverted existing political and economic arrangements, and were voiced or resisted by social forces in 19th and 20th-century Britain and Africa. *To answer this important question,* McClintock delves into the rich terrain of interdisciplinarity. This explains chapters with titles "Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising" or "Psychoanalysis, Race and Female Fetishism." Indeed, she indulges in a kind of intellectual imperialism of her own, mining the different disciplines for their most valuable insights or techniques, crossing boundaries (between psychology, literary criticism, and art his-

tory to name a few) as it suits her interest, and exhibiting what she feels is their most precious treasures.

Like any imperial endeavour, *Imperial Leather* organizes its subjects by geography. "Part 1: Empire of the Home" explores cultural aspects of British colonialism in the mother country. The important first chapter analyses imperialism in terms of its discursive work of bringing intellectual order to unknown territory. Maps and photographs are given as examples of representational "technologies" which, by depicting colonized peoples and places in specific ways, crossed the line from portrayal to intellectual possession and control. For McClintock, a key change in this knowledge/power process was signalled by mid-19th century when the representational technologies began operating on an industrial scale. Colonialism then became "commodity racism" (33), a political and economic system turned popular spectacle, voraciously consumed at sites such as the 1851 Great Exhibition, and in magazines and wall-poster advertisements.

McClintock carefully considers the role of women and gender in this new commodity-racism system. Indeed, in her analysis, imperialism involved hierarchies of gender as much as of race. On the one hand, the domestic realm most British women inhabited became saturated with representations of imperialism such as consumer products like Colman's Mustard, found "All over the World." On the other hand, the British patriarchal family ideal was used as a model for the public colonizer-colonized relationship, with the result that the latter hierarchical power system ruled by men was deemed to be "as natural" as the former. She finds evidence for this in popular imagery such as cartoons.

If McClintock's first chapter on imperialism at home complicates her own analytical divisions between home/abroad and private/public, seeing links rather than divisions, the next three chapters of Part I question the traditional split between materialist history and psychology. These chapters explore two psychoanalytic concepts introduced earlier in the book. One is *abjection*, an idea McClintock attributes to Julia Kristeva and which is gaining currency in cultural studies. As McClintock describes it, the abject is that element which constitutes part of a social structure, but which for political reasons is repressed to the point that the resulting structure seems to exist without it. An example she uses is of the British middle class concealing yet depending upon female domestic labour. As her reading of cleaning product advertisements and other records shows, maids for one were kept clean or unseen. They, like the working class more generally, tended to be portrayed as racially less developed. As this cultural act highlighted, they shared with colonized peoples the structural position of being economically essential but politically and socially marginalized.

The second psychoanalytic concept McClintock examines is *fetishism*, the process whereby people and societies transferred anxieties over social contradictions onto objects which then possessed intense emotional allure. She uses the idea of female fetishism to explain the 19th-century love relationship between barrister Arthur Munby and maid Hannah Cullwick. Their shared dirt fetish was a sign of a broadly-felt anxiety: how to cope with the paradoxical situation of working class women who helped run the middle-class man's world, but who were trivialized by it. As McClintock points out, psychoanalysis can enrich key Marxist concepts of labour alienation and commodity fetishism by teasing out some of their complicated cultural manifestations.

Parts 2 and 3 of *Imperial Leather* form the second half of this 449-page book. They are dedicated to the colonial space of Britain and Africa combined, and to South Africa alone. The three chapters of Part 2 concern pro-empire soap advertisements; the British novel set in South Africa entitled *King Solomon's Mines* (1995); and the works of white

South African writer Olive Schreiner (1855-1920). Each of the three chapters in "Part 3: Dismantling the Master's House" address problems of black resistance to white domination in South Africa through cultural activity in the 20th century. They discuss the biography of the woman known as "Poppie Nongena," the Soweto poets, and black versus white nationalist politics. This is a great range of topics, times and places. Some are explored in more depth than others — the discussion of the failure of the ANC to address feminism is frustratingly brief — and together they do not form a satisfying whole. Tying them together, though, is McClintock's steady effort to uncover the less obvious dimensions of sex and class domination in explicitly racist colonial culture. Particularly impressive is her sensitive discussion of how a person aiming to improve the lot of one group could tragically fail to overcome her/his participation in the oppression of other groups. It is in this light, for instance, that the author assesses Schreiner's inability to go beyond portraying black women as objects, even though she was otherwise a fine feminist writer.

This balanced evaluation of Schreiner's views is typical of McClintock's approach to ideas and institutions she thinks are valuable. This prevents the book itself from participating in empire-building. She is equally critical of the contemporary historiography she admires, whether feminist, postcolonialist, or Marxist. As she amply demonstrates, understanding the full impact of imperialism — its abjected groups, fetishes, and other cultural contradictions — would seem to require a more flexible historical analysis than these received disciplines can provide individually. Indeed, McClintock continually reminds us that one of the major cultural acts of colonialism was producing self-serving historiography. Unless we look beyond the boundaries of our separate sub-fields, we risk repeating this fault. She warns against narrating the past as an exclusive story, and spurns the "consoling organizing perspective." (328) In McClintock's perspective, for both history-writing and colonialism, we must reclaim the labour producing the spectacle, and not be dazzled by the show itself.

Lorraine O'Donnell
McGill University

David R. Green, *From Artisans to Paupers: Economic Change and Poverty in London, 1790-1870* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1995).

THE HISTORY of poor relief is a veritable cottage industry in England, and has been for quite some time. No other country has seen so many talented scholars devote their time and energy to this important chapter of social history. Remarkably, however, the study of the formal apparatus of poor relief in London during the late 18th and early 19th centuries remains a relatively uncharted area. Indeed, prior to the interwar period, London's Poor Law authorities remain generally understudied. Perhaps, as John Davis has noted, this is because Gareth Stedman Jones' influential study of outcast London directed scholarly attention toward the last quarter of the 19th century, and toward middle-class philanthropic institutions like the Charity Organisation Society as opposed to formal public relief structures. Although David Green's new book is more a study of changes in economic structures and class relations than a study of poor relief (there is one short chapter on the topic) it makes important contributions to many disciplines: labour history, urban history, economic history, and historical geography. As such, it will lay the groundwork for a comprehensive study of the Poor Law in 19th-century London.

Green argues that by the 1840s, "the map of poverty had been set," that Charles Booth would have recognized the London of the 1840s. (249) Outcast London was born in the first half of the century,

not the second. Green's goal is to redirect our attention toward the second quarter of the 19th century as the formative period of Outcast London and bourgeois concern over it. It was then that unprecedented economic, social, and spatial changes transformed London.

Fundamental changes occurred during the first half of the 19th century which restructured manufacturing and proletarianized London's artisan population. By the 1850s, many trades, such as watchmaking and silk weaving, had "shrivelled to minor proportions," wages cut by more than half. (25) London's skilled artisan trades were threatened by provincial competition (Midlands watchmaking) and by international rivalry too. Some trades, like bookbinding and building, remained competitive only by intensifying the division of labour and by a deliberate deskilling process. Others, like shoemaking, furniture making and clothing, survived only by the imposition of piece work and the spread of subcontracting. Production costs once absorbed by masters in their workshops were now borne by domestic labour at home. The sweated trades were well in place by mid-century, clustered in the East End, which was becoming a socially homogeneous ghetto.

The second chief protagonist in the proletarianization of London's artisanate was the widening of markets as transportation improved and freight costs fell. The freeing of market forces and the unfettering of global capitalism during the first half of the 19th century spelled greater market opportunities as well as greater competition between producers who had hitherto been separated by barriers of distance. The first wave of globalization brought producers into direct competition not only with their provincial counterparts but also with continental competitors. Many employers coped by moving from high-cost west end locations to cheaper districts in eastern London, which widened the spatial gulf between the classes. Employers also stepped up the process of contracting out to sweated labour, and squeezing wages. This book does a good job showing how these structural economic forces impinged upon people's standard of living and threatened artisans' customary work conditions. There is a good balance between statistics and personal vignettes attesting to the rise of economic hardship.

There is, then, a welcome revisionist tone to *From Artisans to Paupers*. The second quarter of the century was a particularly difficult period for London. Most research suggests that the general trend in England was toward higher wages and a broad improvement in the standard of living. Green demonstrates that "from the 1820s, the chill blast of competition blew through the metropolitan trades with greater frequency and rising ferocity." (83) Skilled labourers and craftsmen told Mayhew in 1849 that their standard of living had decreased during the previous decades, and Green is able to document this decline. He challenges Leonard Schwarz' contention that prior to the 1860s, changes in London's manufacturing sector had tended to be gradual. In silk weaving, watchmaking, shoemaking, and furniture making the changes prior to 1850 were quick and in some cases catastrophic. As one cabinet maker complained to Mayhew, "I don't know that we have any great grievances to complain of except one and that's the East End." (176) To many artisans at mid-century, the East End symbolized all that the Third World symbolizes for many workers today: unbridled competition, the end of decent wages (paternalist regulation of wages was officially repealed in 1813), poor working conditions, and the replacement of expensive skilled labour with cheap, often unskilled labour. Desperation drove some to take direct action, like the silk workers, but most labour disputes were "rearguard actions to stem the erosion in wages and the deterioration of conditions." (135) As the price of commodities fell in the second quarter of the century, profit margins were squeezed, and the main thrust of savings fell on labour

costs. Under attack, labour was weak during the second quarter of the century in London. All of this has an eerily contemporary ring to it, and Green does not fail to make these parallels in this fine book.

Timothy B. Smith
Queen's University

Diane K. Drummond, *Crewe: Railway Town, Company and People, 1840-1914* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press 1995).

FEW TOWNS CAME to symbolize the industrial history of 19th-century Britain with quite the clarity of Crewe. Built on a green field site in the 1840s, it was the child of the Grand Junction Railway Company and its successor, the London and North-Western Railway Company. Throughout the century the majority of the population depended directly or indirectly on the company for their livelihood — at any one time many thousands were employed in the steel mills and locomotive engineering workshops. Not surprisingly, the influence of the company towered over the town for the remainder of the century, directing but not necessarily dominating the politics, cultural practices and social behaviour of its inhabitants. This book is a detailed examination of the sometimes strained relationships between the company and its workforce, focusing on the role of skill in mediating between managerial strategies and workers' responses. As such, it is as much about social and political relationships in Victorian Britain as it is an account of Crewe, the archetypal and perhaps the most famous of all railway towns of the period.

The book is organized in three sections: the first deals with the growth and social structure of the town; the second focuses on the relationships between the company and its workforce, including a detailed discussion of the labour process in the locomotive works; the third examines the culture and politics of the town in the context of debates about paternalism and working-class deference. Indicating its origin as a doctoral thesis, the work is extremely well researched and based largely on primary sources, drawing on a wide range of documentary evidence, including company minutes and letter books as well as local newspapers and trade union reports.

For those readers interested in the minutiae of the workplace, there is much to recommend this book. There are detailed discussions of various aspects of the labour process involved in the manufacture of locomotives. Given that as many as 5000 components were used to construct an engine, the scope for description is enormous and at times overwhelming. In many ways, however, the description of the labour process is merely a prelude to the more interesting issues relating to company paternalism and working-class politics dealt with in later chapters. It was the changing pattern of skill and the social organization of the workplace itself that underpinned and transformed the relationships between workers and the railway company. Despite the overwhelming dominance of the company as an employer, the craft autonomy of specific sets of trades allowed certain groups of workers to retain their own independent culture and freedom of action. Such autonomy, of course, relied on the possession of skill and as such was always open to dilution and change. In the case of the boilermakers, for example, over-specialization and the development of firm-specific skills threatened the autonomy of what was to all intents and purposes one of the most highly skilled sectors of the workforce and it was this factor which tempered resistance to managerial intervention.

One change that had a significant impact on the nature of political relations between the company and its workforce was the enfranchisement in 1884 of a large number of working-class men. Access to electoral power threatened the company's hegemony and Drummond ex-

amines the impact that this new threat posed. Attempts to intimidate employees into supporting the Conservative cause were soundly rebuffed by those workers whose allegiance rested more with nonconformity and Liberalism and whose skill provided them with a basis for resisting the company's tactics. In this discussion of the new electoral situation that emerged late in the century, Drummond succeeds in forging clear links between the wider context of electoral politics, working-class traditions of nonconformity and the specific situation of individual groups at the workplace.

According to the publishers, this book is an important contribution to the "new" urban history. If by "new" what is meant is that social and political relationships cannot be understood without reference to the workplace and labour process, then one can only concur with their view. There is nothing, however, specifically urban about this work other than the fact that the action takes place in a town, albeit a particular type of company town characteristic of several other 19th-century settlements. Rather, it can best be described as a detailed, perceptive contribution to understanding industrial relations and working-class politics in Victorian Britain. That it makes a distinct and valuable contribution in this field, and qualifies our understanding of paternalism and working-class politics, is not in doubt.

David R. Green
King's College, London

Laura Tabili, *"We Ask for British Justice": Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1994).

LAURA TABILI has made a valuable contribution to both British labour history and imperial history. Her book examines the use of racial ideology in the interwar British shipping industry, and its impact on Black and white seamen. Tabili's project is part of a recent trend within British historiography, arguing that imperial themes can not be separated from the history of the metropole, but are integral to the formation of modern British society. Whereas much of the new work focuses on culture and ideology, Tabili seeks to understand "the economic and political processes through which imperial racial inequalities were reconstituted in Britain ...." (3)

In examining how the shipping industry in Britain depended upon racial inequity, Tabili also inserts the hitherto ignored story of Black working men into British labour history. At the same time she disputes the notion that racial conflict was a natural product of Black participation in the workforce, and that the roots of racial tensions are the result of some "natural" racism of the white working class. Instead she argues that it was shipowners, union leaders, and the state that structured racial inequality into the system for the purposes of profit, power, and social control.

Shipping was one of Britain's most important industries, integral to its imperial strength. Its very nature meant that shipowners had access to workers from around the world, and especially from Britain's colonies. Approximately one third of the 200,000 men employed worldwide in Britain's shipping industry were from East or West Africa, India, the Caribbean, and the Arabian peninsula. Most of these Black workers were employed on entirely different terms than white seamen, mainly through a system of labour contracts called "Asiatic" or "Lascar" articles of agreement. The men hired on these contracts were employed on two year terms, could be assigned to any ship, and had no legal way to leave before the two year contract was over. In use on journeys between the tropics, Lascars were a bargain for ship owners who paid them less than white workers and provided them with living conditions poor even by shipping industry standards.

Lascar contracts were not the only way that shipowners profited from racial inequity. Black men were also hired on the same contractual basis as white men, but only to perform the most onerous and poorly paid jobs on board, such as stoking the fire on steam ships. Shipowners justified these inequities with ideas of "hereditary capacity, racial inferiority, and cultural difference" and in doing so were able "to extend colonial racial subordination to the metropole." (51) The racial hierarchy which the industry maintained not only saved shipowners money, but allowed them more control over the white work force, which was prevented from bidding up wages or improving conditions.

Tabili suggests that shipowners might not have been so successful in utilizing imperial ideology if the National Union of Seamen (NFSU/NUS) had organized men of colour and resisted the wage hierarchy. Instead, in the context of union and industry weakness, "underpaid and superexploited Black and Chinese seamen had become the medium of compromise between the union and employers, while their continuing presence in the workforce effectively deterred unionized sailors from militancy." (88) In the 1920s and 1930s the union leaders accommodated the industry's use of cheap Black labour in order to establish and maintain a privileged relationship with the shipowners. At the same time, with anti-Chinese and anti-Arab campaigns, the union leadership exploited racial divisions in order to acquire more power for the union. As for Black members of the NUS, the leaders did nothing to advance their rights. Previously, historians have claimed that NUS activities reflected rank and file racism. Tabili however argues that union members were largely unaware of the extent of their leaders' collaboration and did not in fact benefit from their union's racial policies.

Although the state was instrumental in upholding racial subordination, its interests were not always in line with the shipping industry, nor did all branches of the government share the same priorities. Nonetheless, as Tabili demonstrates, the state acted to support the shipowners' desire for control of their workforce. The 1925 Coloured Alien Seaman Order, for example, mandated that all Black sailors, whether from within the empire or not, register as aliens while in Britain. Through this order and subsequent acts, the government codified a national identity based on race, supplanting workers' customary definitions of Britishness. Indeed, Black seamen tried to resist such codification with assertions of their Britishness deriving from their imperial war service. Moreover, in inter-racial settlements in port cities, ties of kinship, marriage and community were often as important to white and Black working people as were divisions of race.

Tabili's book provides an instructive examination of the inconsistencies and ambiguities of racial ideology. She persuasively demonstrates how, in interwar Britain, neither race nor national identity were fixed categories; rather they were manipulated and contested for various purposes. Tabili also shows how imperial ideology was integral to the structuring of the workforce in Britain as well as in the colonies. Her assertion that racial conflict in Britain was a product of structural inequality, rather than the inherent racism of the white working class is an important one. An examination of how racial ideology permeated British culture and society in late imperial Britain, would enrich her argument, and would help to explain why elites were so successful at employing inequality to their advantage. Nonetheless, this is an important book for historians of labour, of race and of empire. Indeed, Tabili raises issues and questions which might also be of value to those interested in the ways in which the contemporary North American labour market is shaped by world-wide exploitation:

there may be useful comparisons between Black sailors in 1920s Liverpool and Latino workers in 1990s Los Angeles.

Tori Smith
Rutgers University

Winston James and Clyde Harris, eds., *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain* (London and New York: Verso 1993).

THIS VOLUME BRINGS together a series of admirable essays on hitherto underserved aspects of post-1945 British race relations. It should be of interest to any scholar concerned with post-1945 British history, or with the operation of racialized labour systems in the contemporary world. Taken together, the essays reflect the most sophisticated understandings of the mutual construction of race, class, and gender in positioning individuals within social systems, wedded in many cases to a rigorous structural analysis. The result will overturn many misconceptions about global processes of racial formation as well as the nature of post-1945 British politics and society.

Aiming to meet longstanding criticisms of "race relations industry" literature that posited difference rather than racism as the source of conflict and oppression, these essays examine Black workers' structural position in the "industrial reserve army"; state initiatives in immigration legislation; Black women's experiences at the hands of employers, batterers and the police, as well as their political organization; Indo-Caribbeans in Britain; psychiatry and the racialization of madness; the Notting Hill Carnival; and the formation of Black consciousness in Britain.

Clive Harris convincingly rehabilitates the notion of post-1945 Black migrants to Britain as a super-exploitable industrial reserve army, tracing their routing into and through the least stable and profitable sectors of British industry, such as textiles and the public sector, a hidden subsidy to an industrial system newly encumbered by politically mandated social wage provisions. Harris also documents state participation in the racial segmentation of the labour force as a form of class struggle against the labour mobilization reflected in the post-1945 welfare state. The result, unions' and white workers' abandonment of the least desirable and remunerative jobs, as they were simultaneously redefined as "Black jobs," has split potential working-class solidarities on racial lines. In spite of these considerable strengths, the essay at times seems to present these developments deterministically, less as products of historical process and contestation than of conspiracy — and one wonders, "by whom?" (13, 18) Similarly, the notion of "whiteness" — a currently fashionable concept that remains ill-defined — as constitutive of British identity is offered as an explanation with no supporting evidence. (25, 51)

An essay on the Conservative state's construction of Black migration as a "problem" in advance of public opinion is illuminating, but limited. A laudable effort at structural analysis as a corrective to essentializing "race relations" interpretations, the argument at times remains trapped within the same essentialist assumptions. Specifically, the state's role in trying to manipulate public opinion is demonstrated, but evidence of which fragments of the state and their motivations, and of any concrete effects is lacking, as is support for several arguments about racialization on an ideological or discursive plane. (57, 64, 69) The authors fail to explain why Tory politicians themselves were racists to begin with (58-9, 66): consideration of how racism, classism, and imperialism intersect both as systems and/or in individual life histories might have yielded some explanation, but these were not pursued. The essay is also somewhat thinly and carelessly documented, and the authors fail to differentiate their analysis from the work of other

scholars who have covered some of the same ground, among them Kathleen Paul (on citizenship), and Edward Pilkington (on the *Notting Hill white riots*).

Gail Lewis' structural analysis of Black women's racial and gendered positionality within the British industrial system draws on the most advanced recent theorization of the gendering and racialization of work, and offers a model that is potentially generalizable, at least to the US case. Lewis shows how Black women, like Black workers generally, were channelled into "backward, declining" sectors of the industrial system, serving as shock troops for the deskilling, proletarianization and loss of control that are endemic features of increasingly "peripheralizing" economies. As importantly, Lewis argues that in view of women's dual role in reproduction as well as production, "community" organizing to preserve welfare state services and amenities amounts to class struggle at the point of reproduction and is every bit as critical as the point-of-production struggles in which Black women have also taken a significant part. In addition to a somewhat conspiratorial tone (91-2), reliance on figures from the 1970s and the opacity of some of the tables flaws an otherwise excellent analysis.

Amina Mama's articles on the racial dimensions of domestic violence and police abuse of Black women make bleakly illuminating reading, enriched by extensive oral interview material in women's own words. One wonders, however, whether typologizing women's experiences of abuse by their cultural origins, broadly defined —Caribbean, Asian, African — served any purpose when battered women's experiences appear to manifest a depressing uniformity regardless of race or ethnicity. Mama's conclusions, nonetheless, revise racist and Orientalist assumptions about the reasons why Black men batter, and why men batter Black women. Her article on police abuse of Black women reveals their dual vulnerability, as women and as Black women, to the institutions of a patriarchal as well as racist state system. Claudette Williams recounts the growth, strengths and ultimate dissolution of the Organization of Women of Asian and African Descent (OWAAD), and of Black feminists' or womanists' uneasy relations with both Black male activists and the predominantly white Women's Liberation movement. Steven Vertovec documents the little-known experience of Indo-Caribbeans in Britain, while Errol Francis exposes collusion between psychiatry, the schools, and the penal system to define Black people as deviant, dangerous, and mad, to categorize and treat a disproportion of Black schoolchildren as educationally subnormal, and to incarcerate a disproportion of Black suspects in mental institutions. Cecil Gutzmore's entertaining if frankly partisan account of the history of the Notting Hill Carnival and Winston James' account of multigenerational Black identity formation and politicization conclude the volume.

There is not a weak or dismissable essay in the book, although some are underdocumented by historians' standards. As products of racist societies, scholars can find it difficult to remove ourselves from our cultures enough to identify inequality of power as the source of racial difference, rather than accepting difference as the source of inequality and conflict. Although at times falling into this trap themselves, these essays go a long way toward helping to illuminate the structural and discursive processes that have created and continue to reproduce race and racism.

Laura Tabili
University of Arizona

Meredith Veldman, *Fantasy, the Bomb, and the Greening of Britain: Romantic Protest, 1945-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994).

IN SOME WAYS the writing of history could be considered a romantic endeav-

our. It attempts to bridge that unbridgeable chasm between our own era and the past. It takes the blind leap of faith that it is possible for us to understand other human beings we never met who lived in times and places we can never visit. All that does not, however, make writing history necessarily romantic, place it within a "romantic tradition" or constitute social protest. But by the logic used in Meredith Veldman's book, not only the writing of history but a wide variety of activities from the American religious right to the German Red Army Faction could well be considered "romantic protest."

Cultural and intellectual history are slippery mediums. Sometimes it is necessary to accept the impossibility of establishing linear connections between attitudes and ideas and to embrace the complexity of cultural accretions which occur in unpredictable ways. Veldman, in fact, recognizes in her introduction the weaknesses and the contradictions in her assertions that the fantasy fiction of C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and the British environmental movement constitute parts of a tradition of romantic protest directly linked to the romantic poets of the 18th century and the arts and crafts movement of the early 19th.

Veldman has nevertheless fallen into the trap of arguing in a circle. She selects certain characteristic attitudes demonstrated by the groups she has chosen: veneration of the past and of nature, anti-materialism, the affirmation of individual agency, the importance of community, and the primacy of the spiritual realm. Then these same attitudes within the Oxford fantasists' fiction, the CND and the environmental movement supposedly place them within the romantic tradition. Her reference to the very extensive theoretical literature on romanticism only serves to prove that an opinion can be found there for every purpose. The problem with this logic is two-fold. First, the attributes which she has selected in no way encompass the richness and ambiguity of romanticism. Second, the groups depicted consist of far more elements than those which she has selected.

Veldman seems to forget that the members of single-issue groups agree only on a single issue. There were probably as many motives for protesting nuclear weaponry as there were marchers to Aldermaston. Any generalizations about the beliefs of "CNDers" or environmentalists are highly problematic. If they had shared an entire range of attitudes and beliefs, they could have formed a political party — or a religion; but they did not. Similarly, while it is possible to establish the extent of the market for fantasy writing, it is not possible to reach general conclusions about how that material was received by individual readers.

What the Oxford fantasy writers, the CND and the ecology movement really had in common was not their tangential relationships to romanticism at all, but a desire to give individual citizens some input into public life and to invest public life with meaning and a sense of community. Their methods were very different; to the extent that some of these groups pursued their common goals strategically and tactically through public education and mobilization, they were decidedly unromantic. To the extent that others attempted to justify these goals scientifically and intellectually, they were also outside the realm of romantic tradition.

More disturbing than the circularity of the argument, however, is the sub-text to Veldman's study. Although she gives apparently serious and sympathetic attention to the ideas of her subjects, because they are essentially "romantic," they can, by implication, be trivialized and dismissed. Veldman tips her hand when she states that "like Lewis and Tolkien, the anti-bomb protesters sought to present an alternative vision of society (one that, it can be argued, was as much a fantasy as are Narnia and Middle-earth)." (305) The message is that a world in which mankind's very existence is not held hostage to political power plays, in which indi-

viduals can feel some connection to their community and their state, and an environment which can sustain life in the long run and distribute resources equitably is nothing but pure fantasy.

There is more than a touch of condescension in Veldman's work as well. She sees her subjects as the "perennially protesting part of the middle class" (126) and Britons in general as preoccupied with the past and longing for the world-power status they had lost to the Americans. That the ideals of the protesters have not prevailed in their entirety cannot be denied. But what Veldman does deny, in effect, is that they have had any significance for cultural or intellectual development beyond mere curiosity.

Towards the end of her book, Veldman introduces the metaphor of a quilt to represent the complex, multi-layered social phenomena which she is attempting to explain. It is too bad that she had not seized upon the image earlier in her work because her argument would have been much stronger. She has, in fact, admirably established the existence of persistent romantic motifs which ran through three specific manifestations of post-war British culture. In so doing, she has made a thought-provoking contribution to intellectual and cultural history. She has also added to our understanding of the context and the genesis of post-war protest movements in Britain. What she has not done, in spite of frequent assertions to the contrary, however, is to establish the existence of a "tradition of romantic protest" in Britain to which they all belonged.

Jill Mayer
Mount Saint Vincent University

Richard Biernacki, *The Fabrication of Labor: Germany and Britain, 1640-1914* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1995).

THIS IS a formidable, perceptive, and innovative work which examines "the national origins of cultural definitions of labour as a commodity, the installation of these specifications into procedures on the shop floor in Germany and Britain, and the ideological consequences for the labor movements of such culturally structured forms of industrial practice." (4) Using an impressive array of historical sources and a wide-ranging body of cultural and social theory, Biernacki seeks to avoid the pitfalls of economic reductionism and to delineate as precisely as possible culture's independent effects in shaping workplace organization and the conflicts between workers and employers. In the process, few major contributors to the field emerge unscathed. He offers critiques of theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Marshall Sahlins, and Jürgen Habermas and historians E.P. Thompson, William Reddy, Patrick Joyce, Joan Wallach Scott and Gareth Stedman Jones, among others. In addition, he provides revealing insight into the origins of Marx's discovery of the extraction of surplus value in the employment of labour.

Biernacki contends that two contrasting notions of labour as a commodity emerged in Britain and Germany. In the former, both employers and workers viewed labour as "concretized in products." (43) They imagined, in other words, the transfer or the acquisition of labour by employers "as if it were handed over embodied in a product." (41) Workers assumed they were "petty commodity producers." (359) In Germany, the employment relation "comprised the purchase of labor effort and of the disposition over workers' labor activity or, as they termed it, over Arbeitskraft." (43) These differing conceptions were historically created in the divergent transitions to capitalist labour markets in the two countries, but once "incarnated at the point of production" (471) — that is, in the very execution of work — they took on a "causal role" independent of "the immediate economic and technological circumstances in which manufacturing techniques arose." (471) Culture as "a system

of practice with an internal symbolic logic" became "a positive shaper" (475) of factory procedure and labour ideology.

In Part 1, Biernacki compares mechanized woollen factories in Britain and Germany in the 19th and early-20th centuries. In spite of comparable technologies and products, dissimilar assumptions regarding the commodity form of labour led to differences in a "cluster of practices" (474) or a "constellation" (201) of procedures — the calculation of piece-rate wages, methods of fining and discipline, rights of employment, control over time, and even the design of factory buildings. British weavers, on the one hand, were paid by the length and density of the cloth. The value of their labour, then, was measured in terms of the product produced. German weavers, on the other hand, were remunerated for every thousand times the shuttle shot across the warp — on the basis of the time and labour activity expended in producing the piece.

Part 2 seeks to explain the genesis of these contrasting assumptions in Germany and Britain, while developing alternative, albeit tentative, models for France and Northern Italy. The German conception of labour as a commodity in the guise of labour power was fundamentally created by the rise of free markets in both products and labour simultaneously in the early 19th century. In Britain, the discovery of labour power was blocked by the fact that although free commercial exchange in merchandise emerged earlier, a market in labour was suppressed by wage controls. Thus British economic thinkers from William Petty through Smith and Ricardo persisted in "the idea that labor was delivered in the form of a product." (246) German economic thinkers in the first half of the 19th century, however, not only conceived of Arbeitskraft or labour power but realized before Marx that the use of labour in the production process generated surplus value. Biernacki contends that Marx was unacquainted with such German thought. His notion that exploitation derived from the extraction of surplus labour value reproduced "German social experience." (284) Social reality thus informed theory.

Part 3 illustrates how "workers' concepts of the sale of labor shaped the formulation of demands, the execution of strikes, and the ideological horizons of the trade unions." (92) British weavers viewed exploitation as located in the market through the exchange of goods. For German weavers (in conformity with their notion of labour power) the site of exploitation was at the point of production where employers extracted surplus value. Marxist theories received a more sympathetic reception among German workers, as opposed to British, not necessarily because of a direct engagement with Marx's writings but because his ideology resonated "with portions of the conduct of everyday practice" on the shop floor. (422)

Biernacki's analysis, although extremely insightful, nevertheless does raise a number of questions. Why, for example, did the practice of locking out British workers become more widespread only in the two decades before World War I when the conception of labour as embodied in the product clearly prevailed with "uncanny stability ... throughout the nineteenth century?" (471) If concepts of labour's commodity form, moreover, were so "nationally prevalent" (431) how does Biernacki explain exceptions to his general rule? Although the vast majority of German employers, for example, fined late workers instead of locking them out, some (albeit a handful) did exclude latecomers from entry. (116) Later in the analysis, one is informed that of thirty-nine ribbon-weaving firms near Barmen "almost half paid weavers for waiting for materials." (367) The corollary, of course, is that the majority did not. Why, in such cases and others, did the shared culture of the commodity form of labour fail to shape factory practices uniformly?

In addition, Biernacki's explanation regarding the historical conditions under

which differing notions of labour as a commodity arose needs further elaboration. In Britain, he contends, the understanding of labour as concretized in the product arose because a free market in products was not initially accompanied by a free market in the sale of labour. The latter was restricted by statutory wage controls. He makes only fleeting reference, however, to another crucial impediment to a market in labour emphasized by Karl Polanyi long ago — namely, the institution of the Poor Laws which provided income for the unemployed as well as wage supplements. Did not persistence of the Old Poor Law in Britain until 1834 — long after statutory wage controls fell into disuse or were finally abolished — play at least some role in blocking recognition of the concept of labour power?

There are wider conceptual issues which raise concerns. If Biernacki accuses historians such as E.P. Thompson and Patrick Joyce of economic reductionism, is not his own work subject to the charge of cultural reductionism? Can the utilitarian motives of employers be ruled out in all cases? Can culture embodied on the shop floor explain everything Biernacki claims? Unlike Thompson and others, he rules out the influence of culture outside the workplace, whether in the form of community norms or inherited political traditions. Yet such factors, if not always relevant to workers' diagnoses of their exploitation, surely informed their prescriptions for future change. Why, for example, did Christian textile workers' unions in Germany (one-quarter of all unionized textile workers on the eve of World War I) restrict their demands to better conditions and higher wages and not, as did socialist unions, draw Marxist conclusions regarding the exploitation of labour? Since both groups were presumably subject to similar cultural assumptions inside the factory, one must look outside the shop floor for answers to such important questions.

To be sure, some of these issues go beyond the specific purposes of Biernacki's cross-national comparative study. Stressing a main focus of his project, he "challanges rival explanations to account for an equally broad range of details in German and British factory customs" (13) and provokes advocates of utilitarian analysis "to bring their case before the court." (201) *The Fabrication of Labor* will no doubt spark a debate that promises to enliven and inform the field of labour history and enrich our understanding of cultural theory.

James P. Huzel
University of British Columbia

Ulla Wikander, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Jane Lewis, eds., *Protecting Women: Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia, 1880-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1995).

ELEVEN OF THE THIRTEEN essays in *Protecting Women* examine the motivations behind the movement for protective labour legislation for women in individual countries. Although most of these essays consider traditional theses about movements for labour protection as responses to a certain stage of industrialization or to a certain level of female participation in industry, they either qualify the economic thesis or treat it as secondary. For instance, Margarete Grandner argues that special protection for women only gained appeal, in Austria, once female work "threatened to encroach on the domains of male *skilled* work." (reviewer's emphasis) Several authors document how few working women were implicated, because few were employed in industry and because most labour laws either exempted feminine industries or permitted generous exceptions. These essays pay more attention to political discourse, especially the "rhetorical ploys" of advocates of protection, than they do to economic causes or con-

sequences. They stress advocates' concerns about preserving social order or "the race" through reinforcement of the wife-mother role and the domestic patriarchal family. According to this collection of essays, the debates and the laws had a symbolic more than a practical import, in so far as they bolstered the gender system in a period of perceived gender upheaval.

The countries studied and the order in which they are presented are promising yet problematic. *Protecting Women* offers fresh interpretations of the often-studied English and American debates on labour laws without imposing these interpretations on other countries. As the editors note, the collection raises doubts about the new thesis — drawn from Anglo-American and German experience — about the role of women, specifically maternalists, in passing protective legislation. The desire to avoid interpretive imperialism has one negative consequence: Alice Kessler-Harris' chapter on the American campaign for night-work is buried at the end of the book, even though it contains two important insights alluded to but not fully articulated in earlier chapters. These insights are: that the campaign rhetoric defined a new ideal or "universal" woman and that this maternal definition restricted women's citizenship rights.

Protecting Women also offers sophisticated gender analyses of lesser known debates, including, most instructively, the Norwegian one, which culminated in the rejection of gendered laws. Aside from the United States and Australia, only European countries are discussed. Even so, France is omitted, despite frequent references to French feminist resistance to gendered laws. The difficulties involved in getting historians from several countries together may also explain why so few of the contributors engage in systematic international comparisons. The exceptions deal with "the periphery" or later campaigns for labour protection. Renate Howe emphasizes the early introduction, comprehensive nature, and broader industrial and social legislative context of Australian laws. Scandinavian scholars show that pressure to implement international labour conventions and to join other "civilized" nations influenced the outcome in their countries.

Fortunately, the editors provide some directions through the bewildering number and variety of laws. Their introduction accounts, in advance, for the inclusion of theoretically gender neutral but practically gendered laws, such as general bans on night-work specifying liberal exemptions for men. The introduction also signals that maternity leaves and hours limits predominated in Europe, hours and wages standards in the United States, and maternity and wage measures in Australia. Ulla Wikander's study of international congresses detects a gender divide on special protection for women, with "men of different classes and nations" coming to a consensus on its necessity, while women remained divided. Wikander also discerns a shift, among women, from an emphasis on equality before 1900, to arguments about difference, or maternity, after 1900. With a few exceptions, these generalizations hold in the national contexts.

However, one of the strengths of this collection is the absence of easy generalizations. Thus Anna-Birte Ravn's piece on Denmark demonstrates that neither proponents nor opponents of female protection can be neatly divided on class or gender lines. Rather, class was the source of division in the 1901 debates; gender took precedence in the 1911-13 debates. Sabine Schmitt contends (and other authors confirm) that in Germany the hallmark was "the intense investment that socialist women had in distinguishing themselves from the bourgeois women's movement," using protective legislation as the dividing line. Conversely, Lynn Karlsson finds that cooperation between female trade unionists and Social Democrats, was the unusual feature in Sweden (Denmark had a similar alliance). This book does not substantiate common la-

bour history criticisms about a single feminist position against protective legislation that was simply the special pleading of middle class women.

Generally, *Protecting Women* excels in challenging received wisdom. Some of the countries studied conformed to the conventional labour history chronology of regulating the work first of children, then of women, and finally, though not equally, of men; other countries did not. Regina Wecker's study of Switzerland traces the opposite trajectory, from gender neutral hours and safety standards in the first half of the 19th century, to special measures for women in the second half of the century. Wecker attributes this to a transition from the assumption that women belonged in the family wage economy to a middle class ideal about women as primarily wives and mothers — and to a desire to shore up male dominance once rapid industrialization began undermining belief in the value of male labour.

Like many other examples of discourse analysis, these essays do not offer much information on who campaigned for, or against, gendered labour legislation. Almost every political party supported feminine labour laws, though actual alliances reflected national political agendas. Essays on Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands mention new ideas about state responsibility to care for the weak in order to ensure a more "harmonious" society, without any reference to the contemporary and apparently identical ideology of solidarity, which Judith Stone has shown to be a French *republican* response to the socialist threat on the left. Similarly, several studies mention that physicians were active in campaigns for labour protection, without comment on the enhanced role of physicians during the Pasteurian revolution. Only the introduction speculates on a larger crisis of masculinity. After this important and suggestive book, much remains to be done on the subject of motivations for as well as implementation of protective labour legislation.

Mary Lynn Stewart
Simon Fraser University

Gertjan de Groot and Marlou Schrover, eds., *Women Workers and Technological Change in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London and Bristol, PA: Taylor and Francis 1995).

THIS COLLECTION of essays brings a temporal and spatial comparative approach to the relationships among technological change, occupational segregation, and women's wage work. Gertjan de Groot, Marlou Schrover, and their coauthors compare paired cases (most of them quite local) in the 19th and 20th centuries, in early (Britain) and later (Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands) industrializing countries. Most of the articles look at three industries: textiles, pottery, and food production. Two others, both concerning Britain, address the meaning of the typewriter for women's work in the civil service, and women as workers in the wartime munitions industry.

Schrover and de Groot introduce the volume with a historiographic review (rather tentatively concluding that the effect of technological change is obviously "complicated"), and an overview of the organization of the book. Most of the authors share a definition of technology as labour-saving mechanization. The editors add that "Technology as such does not determine anything but its introduction, and the social setting in which it is introduced, do." (1) Indeed, the impact of labour-saving mechanization on social relations in a specific time and place cannot be separated from when, in what way, and by whom it is implemented in that setting. Schrover and de Groot also point out that because production processes and machines have historically been assigned by sex, new machines are often designed with the sex of future workers in mind;

further, once a machine exists and is assigned by sex in one setting, that sex-designation may travel with it when it is adopted across national borders. The editors note as well that the authors conceive of language as "not simply an innocent instrument through which we express our ideas. It does not express our pre-existing thought, but shapes it." (6)

The textile industry is discussed in chapters by Harriet Bradley on the East Midlands hosiery industry from about 1812 to the first third of the 20th century; Marianne Rostgard examines the establishment of a gendered division of labour in mechanized Danish textile production (a local study of the city of Odense) from its establishment in the 1850s to about 1910, when the division of labour became relatively stable; and Gertjan de Groot explores the adoption of British technology in Dutch cotton spinning, and the contemporaneous establishment of a gender division of labour.

Meta Zimmeck devotes her chapter to demonstrating that the adoption of the typewriter in the British civil service was, contrary to earlier interpretations, a protracted and discontinuous process, contested by male hand copyists and department heads, and involved degrading rather than deskilling the job and those who performed it. Deborah Thom debunks the notion that technological change (in its narrowest definition as increased labour-saving mechanization) was a powerful force affecting labour in the British munitions industry during the World War I. She argues instead that the new development was managing large groups of women workers in the processes of substitution (substituting women for men in the same jobs, contractually obligated to end with the war emergency) and dilution (introducing less-skilled workers to do jobs in which the components were rearranged or simplified); the outcome was little durable change for most women workers.

The pottery industry is discussed by Jacqueline Sarsby (on North Staffordshire from the early 1880s to the present) and Ulla Wikander (on one firm in Gustavsberg, Sweden over 100 years, starting in 1880), both focusing primarily on the earthenware and china dinnerware branches of the industry. The English industry early on developed a finely tuned division of labour, permitting rapid, high quality production, in which women and children served as attendants to the skilled craftsmen, or as china painters. The introduction of new machinery and passage of new protective legislation eliminating child labour later in the century, led to adult women becoming a majority of pottery workers until the 1980s, this despite a societal ideology prescribing an adult male family wage and women's place in the home. In Sweden, the timetable of the shifting sex division of labour was quite different. There was a stable 60 per cent majority of male workers with women doing some relatively skilled jobs in the period up to 1920; the latter lost their positions when new design-printing technology was introduced after that date. The possibility of gender integration opened up again in the 1950s, but it was again rapidly followed by renewed gender segregation. Wikander concludes that timing was important to the outcome, because of the mix of available labour, the historical moment in the organization of production, and the type of ideologies available to those concerned about gender and work. In Sweden, the dominant maternalist ideology of the women's suffrage movement (exemplified by Ellen Key) was highly conservative about women's and men's relationship in the labour market.

The last two chapters address food industries: Lena Sommestad looks systematically at the evolution of the Swedish dairy industry. In brief, it is a story of declining participation by women, who were originally associated as dairy maids with milk and the simple technology used in household or other small scale production, and increased participation by men who after 1920 came to dominate dairy-

ing. Sommestad attributes this development to increased scale in the industry, unevenly shaped by local factors. In discussing the spatial distribution by countries of "surplus" or "deficit" male workers in the industry in relation to the level of industrialization (scale and mechanization), Sommestad neglects some possibly important factors — migration resulting in imbalanced sex ratios — which should have been accounted for. In short, she has not considered the availability of labour of each sex in interpreting what she calls the "recoding of the gender of skilled dairy work from a feminine milk-related task to a masculine, scientific, machinery-related task." (165)

Marlou Schrover compares changes in the sex division of labour in four Dutch food industries — dairying, brewing, cocoa and chocolate, and margarine — from 1889 to 1960. Only in cocoa and chocolate production were women consistently a high proportion of workers. As in Sweden, the proportion of women employed in dairying declined in the 20th century; Schrover sees protective legislation and increasing scale as operative here. Women had long been a rather small proportion of workers in brewing, but their presence declined even further with the introduction of Bavarian style beer, German machinery, and German designation of jobs as male. In the chocolate industry, management favoured youth among male and female workers and encouraged turnover, compulsory for those who did not leave when opportunities elsewhere or marriage beckoned. Finally, margarine (a new industry) expanded rapidly in the 1920s, introducing machine-wrapping and the hiring of young girls and women. Further mechanization, however, reduced the number of women's jobs.

As the editors conclude in their introduction, the effect of technological change on the gender division of labour is complicated. Nevertheless, most of the chapters demonstrate clearly that the sex-designation of jobs depends on a variety of factors: the availability of workers of a given age and sex; workplace organizational strength of different groups of workers; employers' perceived needs for workers who possess specific characteristics such as cheapness; longterm commitment; and reliability (all subjectively determined). The importance of population dynamics, labour markets, organization of production, and power relations is linked to the local social and political implementation of technology rather than its content. The contingencies of history such as wars, economic cycles, and international competition further undermine the possibility of universalistic explanations. The authors' introduction of language and ideology, despite the emphasis in the introduction, often seems to be linked to contemporary trends in historical explanation, rather then intrinsically important to their argument. This is not surprising, because as constructs, language and ideology are diffused over large populations, and the authors are correctly focused, I believe, on local studies of particular industries and on specific time periods. The forms and content of gender segregation should be expected to vary at this level of analysis, rendering the more generalized ideology and language of gender less important as explanations. The universals of gender ideology, like the universals of modernization, decline in usefulness the closer one gets to case studies of localities or industries. I would not use the word "complicated" to describe this dilemma, which recurs constantly in seeking historical explanation. A complex reality underlies history which universalistic generalizations level and simplify; the question is whether such explanations can ever fully capture historical processes. I believe not. This book shows how fruitful looking at relationships at the local scale can be, and how much we can learn from studying micro processes and the groups involved in creating and living them.

Louise A. Tilly
New School for Social Research

Michel Dreyfus, Claude Pennetier, et Nathalie Viet-Depaule, dir., *La part des militants. Biographies et mouvement ouvrier* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier 1996).

CET OUVRAGE, consacré à l'apport des militants au mouvement ouvrier français s'organise autour de l'aventure de Jean Maitron (1910-1987), de Claude Pennetier, et de quelques 400 chercheurs qui ont réalisé le *Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier français*, appelé couramment *Le Maitron*. Récemment, l'équipe du *Maitron* —Michel Dreyfus, Claude Pennetier, et Nathalie Viet-Depaule — ont organisé un colloque international sur «Les Dictionnaires biographiques du mouvement ouvrier.» Les communications de ce colloque, portant notamment sur les différentes lectures possibles, les méthodes d'exploitation, et les apports à l'historiographie du *Maitron*, sont repris dans cet ouvrage. Au-delà du *Maitron*, de son usage et de sa richesse, il s'agit d'une réflexion sur la biographie et l'histoire.

Comme le souligne Claude Pennetier, «par sa durée, par son ampleur comme par sa nature, le *Maitron* occupe une place particulière dans la production historique française.» (333) Il rappelle dans cette postface intitulée «Le Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier entre passé et avenir,» l'apport du *Maitron* à la mémoire et à l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier, à l'écriture biographique; il insiste aussi sur l'intérêt du *Maitron* comme outil de référence et comme base de données.

La part des historiens est grande dans cet ouvrage, mais beaucoup des travaux ouvrent sur l'interdisciplinarité. Tous rappellent à notre mémoire les grandes figures de l'histoire que sont les «obscurs» et les «sans-grade,» les militants qui ont vécu un engagement pour la défense des opprimés et des exploités.

La première partie porte sur *Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier français*. Pour Michelle Perrot, *Le Maitron* «est à la fois un instrument de travail et une vision du monde ....» (19) C'est un «lieu de mémoire exemplaire» à un double titre: sur les militants du mouvement ouvrier, et sur ceux qui l'ont produit. La lecture plus «sociologique» de Michel Verrot porte sur la place de la biographie dans l'historiographie et sur le grand intérêt des dictionnaires biographiques — et notamment *Le Maitron* — pour faire l'histoire de la «militance.» Dans une perspective beaucoup plus critique, Michel Hastings soulève plusieurs problèmes pour l'avenir du *Maitron*. Pour lui, les dangers de l'utilisation patrimoniale sont nombreux, car «tout concourt ... à muséifier le *Maitron*» et engage «le militantisme ouvrier dans l'impasse de la folklorisation.» (39, 43)

Dans la deuxième partie Claude Pennetier, Christophe Charles, Rémi Skoutelsky, et Serge Wolikow abordent la biographie comparée et la prosopographie. Dans son analyse des maires de la banlieue rouge, Claude Pennetier nous rappelle que «la prosopographie est une mise en parallèle de biographies individuelles pour fair apparaître les facteurs discriminants qui éclairent les positionnements hiérarchiques, les choix politiques ... ou encore les formes de l'engagement ....» (78) Christophe Charles parle de la spécificité des prosopographies modernes, des problèmes méthodologiques de la biographie collective, et de l'usage de la prosopographie comparée. Les études de Rémi Skoutelsky, sur les volontaires français des Brigades Internationales, et de Serge Wolikow, sur «les militants et dirigeants communistes face à l'emprisonnement politique» dans l'entre-deux-guerres, sont des exemples stimulants de l'apport de la prosopographie à la recherche historique. Mais il ne faudrait pas parler de la biographie collective au singulier, car il y a des approches et des genres différents: les biographies parallèles ou croisées, la biographie de groupe ou multiple, et, naturellement, la prosopographie. Voilà des variations sur

un thème que nous retrouvons avec bonheur dans cet ouvrage collectif.

La biographie et le syndicalisme est le thème de la troisième partie. Ici nous voyons à l'oeuvre l'utilisation scientifique du *Maitron* pour faire l'histoire de militants syndicalistes. Jean-Louis Robert nous démontre les multiples liens et les nombreuses convergences entre les militants syndicalistes parisiens pendant la période de la Grande Guerre. Georges Ribeille élabore une véritable typologie du militant cheminot d'avant 1914 et pendant l'entre-deux-guerres. La contribution de Stéphane Sirot trace les origines et les trajectoires des syndicalistes du bâtiment entre les deux guerres. Finalement, deux groups inégalement traités dans l'historiographie font l'objet de deux contributions: Jeanne Siwek-Pouydesseau sur les «fonctionnaires et employés» et Michel Dreyfus sur les «mutualistes.»

La quatrième partie nous offre un large éventail d'études sur le rapport entre la biographie et le politique. René Bianco expose avec rigueur et conviction la position des anarchistes dans *Le Maitron*, qui demeure pour lui une base de départ incontournable. Il plaide, néanmoins, pour un «Dictionnaire des anarchistes.» Jean-Louis Panné dresse un portrait des signataires de «La Lettre des 150,» qui, le 25 octobre 1925, remettait en cause la «bolchévisation» du Parti communiste français. Le thème des «paysans et responsables du travail paysan dans la direction du parti communiste,» qu'analyse Jean Vigreux, nous permet de mieux comprendre comment le Parti Communiste s'implante dans les campagnes. Ceux qui prennent le chemin de Moscou de 1917 à 1944 font l'objet d'une analyse à partir de 800 fiches du *Maitron*: qui voyage? et pourquoi?

Avec l'article de Christine Bard nous passons de l'histoire des militants à celles des militantes. Elle propose un portrait très complet des «diversités féministes» dans *Le Maitron*; et elle interroge la commune histoire du féminisme et du mouvement ouvrier. Dans l'autre article qui porte sur les femmes, Dominique Loiseau regarde du côté des femmes des militants, ces «militantes de l'ombre.» Quelles sont pour les épouses les implications et les exigences du militantisme de leurs maris? Comment deviennent-elles des militantes?

La cinquième et dernière partie traite des militants chrétiens dans *Le Maitron*. Jean Nizey nous explique qui sont ces militants et militantes de la J.O.C. Quelles sont les origines et les itinéraires des Jocistes? Par un autre angle d'approche, René Lemarquis montre comment des croyants ont pu être amenés à l'engagement révolutionnaire depuis 1848 jusqu'à un passé récent. Puis il y a Joceline Chabot qui nous fait découvrir les «femmes syndicalistes chrétiennes» par un usage stimulant de la biographie collective et de la biographie individuelle. Ainsi, elle présente les grands traits du portrait des militantes syndicalistes pour la période de l'entre-deux-guerres. Son analyse de trois cas exemplaires (Marguerite Lafeuille, Marie-Louise Danguy, et Maria Bardot) permet de compléter et d'enrichir notre compréhension de l'itinéraire militant.

Cet ouvrage nous ouvre des lectures multiples ainsi qu'une lecture riche en enseignement. Il nous montre de nombreuses pistes de recherche à partir de l'impressionnante matière première réunie dans *Le Maitron*. C'est aussi une contribution importante à l'histoire des hommes et des femmes qui ont fait le mouvement ouvrier au quotidien: des militants et militantes de la liberté.

Marc Lagana
Université du Québec à Montréal

Leonard Weinberg, *The Transformation of Italian Communism* (New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Transaction Publishers 1995).

THE ITALIAN Communist Party's (PCI) decision to reconstitute itself as the Democratic Party of the Left in 1991 was indeed a major event in the history of the working-class movement. In becoming the PDS (Partito Democratico della Sinistra), the PCI took a further step in a long process of social-democratization, broke decisively with its Communist heritage both in ideology and in organization, and tried to present itself as a "modern" party of the broad left. These developments deserve a much better, more sympathetic, and more penetrating analysis than they receive in this book.

Leonard Weinberg's *leitmotiv* is the influence of international factors on political parties and party systems, and he assumes that these factors — principally, of course, the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 — played a major role in the transformation of the PCI. His conclusion is that they were a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for the party's metamorphasis. The book gives many examples, more or less relevant, of international influences on parties, from American support for the Italian Social Democrats to the effect of the Allied victory in World War II in discrediting fascist parties. Yet its central part is principally an account of the events of 1989-91 leading up to the Rimini Congress, where the PCI became the PDS and the dissident left-wing minority left to form Communist Refoundation (RC); there is little in the way of analysis, evidence, or consideration of competing hypotheses to support the view that international factors were crucial.

Of course, the link between the fall of the Wall and the party's transformation is the explanation most popular with foreign journalists, as it invokes a cause with which they and their readers are already familiar. It utilizes the stereotypical image of "Communism," as it assumes the Italian Communists were somehow committed to the East European regimes. It also, however, seems to be suggested strongly by the sequence of events: three days after the destruction of the Wall, the PCI's Secretary-General, Achille Occhetto, delivered his famous Bolognina speech advocating that it change its name and transform itself into a new type of party.

Nevertheless, 1989-91 events in the PCI were widely foreseen and expected even before the fall of the Wall. Changes in Italy's culture and ideology, its class structure, and the balance of class forces had been in train for several years. Traditional sub-cultures — both Catholic and Marxist — were subject to erosion by modern mass entertainment, and the 1980s saw a sustained ideological offensive by capital, based on international models, against the working-class advances of the 1960s and 1970s. This offensive was facilitated by the ultimate frustration of the hopes of the left during the "historical compromise" period of the late 1970s, when the PCI supported Christian Democratic cabinets and received little in exchange. Not only had the traditional industrial working class begun to contract by the mid-1970s in Italy (later than in most advanced capitalist countries), but austerity policies and employers' strategies had put the union movement and the left in general on the defensive. In many ways the transformation of the PCI was a result of Italian capital's campaign for hegemony, and paralleled the rightward shift of many other working-class parties in the capitalist world.

Weinberg notes these broader trends with the briefest of passing references. He does point out that the PCI's electoral strength was declining in the 1980s, but fails to lay out the strategic dilemmas this created for the party, in particular the issue of relations with the Socialists (ironically, the Socialist Party virtually disappeared under the weight of scandals three years after the PCI transformed itself

to try to become a more acceptable Socialist ally). Nor does he trace the history of factional division in the PCI, or note the changes in class background and outlook of its leading cadres, who were increasingly drawn from the professional middle classes and petty bourgeoisie and furthermore had as party bureaucrats developed a world-view of their own. Weinberg does describe Occhetto's drive to "refound" the party, much along the lines adopted at Rimini, which began the year before the Wall fell, and culminated in the 18th Congress in early 1989, but this still does not lead him to question the importance of international factors. This is not to deny they had any relevance, but a more complete analysis might well lead us to conclude that their impact was mainly on the timing of changes.

As a simple account of key events, this book (or at least its central chapter) is useful, if lacking in depth, but even here there are a few superficial and misleading characterizations: for instance, Cossutta, one of the leaders of RC, is called a "Stalinist," a label that fits the stereotyped categories of some readers but is quite inaccurate (for example, Cossutta welcomed Gorbachev's advent as proof that the USSR could reform itself). In general, Weinberg, while not adopting an overtly anti-communist tone, accepts uncritically far too much of the traditional Cold War stereotype. For instance, he devotes an entire chapter to the impact of the end of the PCI on individual members, drawing on psychoanalytic concepts — for example, reactions to the "failure of prophecy" — to analyze political positions that should be assessed on their own merits. RC, for example, deserves to be treated more seriously than as simply a "form of denial." (119)

While the central chapter (3) may therefore be of some value, most of the rest of the book is marred by inappropriate frameworks of this sort, and contains little new information. And in the broader perspective, the transformation of the PCI is still waiting for a thorough and intellectually challenging analysis.

Grant Amyot
Queen's University

Peter Ranis, *Class, Democracy & Labor in Contemporary Argentina* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers 1995).

READERS FAMILIAR with Peter Ranis' work will recognize this as a repackaged version of his *Argentine Workers: Peronism and Contemporary Class Consciousness* (1992). With the exception of a substantial new introduction, nothing has changed. Drawn on interviews with 110 workers from seven unions in greater Buenos Aires, this is a survey-based study of worker opinion in 1985-1986. From his data, Ranis reaches conclusions about workers and work in 1980s Argentina. He is principally concerned with disarming Marxist formulations on dialectics and relations of production, though Marxist thought is presented here as an unconvincing continuum from Engels to Marcuse. Ranis argues effectively that Argentina is historically distinct from several Latin American countries with traditions of strong, independent Socialist and Trotskyist labour movements. In conceiving of worker culture as "beyond class," however, he mistakenly adopts a tenet of Peronist doctrine: trade union members are "workers" (whether middle or working class) and all workers can be identified within the Peronist union hierarchy. Ranis' survey data is simply too limited, eliminating the views of hundreds of thousands of non-unionized and informal sector workers.

Ranis finds that workers' key aspirations in 1980s Argentina were to own a home and give their children better educational opportunities — two of several personal objectives that suggest to the author the antithesis of working class consciousness. But the author's understanding of the Argentine working class

is too narrow; "workers" includes groups as varied as automobile factory employees, teachers, and bank tellers. But there is no discussion, for example, of the implications on his model of a longstanding and significant labour aristocracy and an expanding *lumpenbourgeoisie*. Ranis offers to "give space" to the views of workers, this in putative contrast to the writings of structuralist scholars. Yet while he demonstrates a skilled application of Marxist theory to his writing, Ranis is selective in how he introduces different forms of class analysis. For example, in laying the groundwork for a challenge to early Marxist definitions of class, he cites Gramsci's view that "there exists in the totality of the working class many distinct wills." At the same time, when considering the failure of Argentine workers to "behave" in class terms, he ignores the writings of Gramsci, Lukacs, and others that find no inherent contradiction between so-called individual behaviour and class-based struggle.

The data indicate that workers held their employers in high esteem and that there was a more tangible level of contentment among private sector workers than among public sector employees. Almost 70 per cent of workers in the survey did not view themselves as exploited (the observation that women felt much more exploited than men is one of few gendered references to work culture). Other aspects of the survey are less convincing. They highlight Ranis' limited attention to evidence beyond his survey sample, including a handful of recent Argentine studies on Peronism. The data reveal that Argentine workers have a high degree of identity with the cultural values of urban bourgeois society. Rather than reflecting, as Ranis believes, the absence of class consciousness among Argentine workers, this conclusion may suggest to readers that the author has drawn his class divisions incorrectly in planning and executing the survey.

Ranis also finds strong support among workers for democracy. But the reasons for that support are vague. Ranis believes that workers' views on democracy confirm their rejection of authoritarianism of the left and right. But he does not explore the nuance of recent democratic rule in Argentina, particularly rampant political corruption, anti-democratic tendencies in the governments of the 1980s, and the extent to which workers have resigned themselves to abuses of political authority. On the basis of worker "support" for democracy, Ranis dismisses notions of so-called working class authoritarianism in the Argentine literature. Yet no survey question posed elucidates whether that support represented no more than disapproval for brutal suppression by military dictatorship. As one interview subject stated simply, democracy means "I walk where I want. I speak what I feel."

The survey sample's composition of 55 per cent industrial labourers and 45 per cent white collar workers emphasizes that despite having conducted an exceptionally thorough study of his sample group, Ranis seems to miss an important point about the history of Peronism and the labour movement it shaped: Perón and those who succeeded him in the movement thrived not by building class consciousness — even in the context of a nationalist resistance to socialism that Ranis explores — but by undermining it. Ranis also misses this crucial component of Peronism in the 1990s. In his new introduction, the author describes the government of Peronist President Carlos Menem as the first in "modern times to explicitly choose its economic direction from ideological/philosophical positions distinct from its own historical trajectory." This is correct for the most part. But Ranis disagrees with the findings of Jeremy Adelman and other scholars that the current neoliberal agenda in Buenos Aires has exacted a harsh toll on working Argentines.

David Sheinin
Trent University

O. Nigel Bolland, *On the March: Labour Rebellions in the British Caribbean, 1934-39* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle 1995).

THIS IS A wonderful piece of historical sociology. Bolland brings together the story of the wave of labour strikes and riots that swept the British West Indies during the 1930s, and the ways in which they led, and led to, nascent anti-colonial and nationalistic movements during this period. In the historiography of the region, these stories have always been told as "national" ones, with the rebelling workers being imbued with something essentially Jamaican, or Trinidadian, or Barbadian, with their class membership being merely referred to and not theorized. The historiography meets politics in an act of alchemy when workers are turned into exemplars of the *Volk* and the leaders of these rebellions become lionized by the post-colonial state complete with nationalistic draping. This is most notable in the case of Jamaica, with Alexander Bustamante and Norman Washington Manley now installed as "national heroes," an act which, ironically, precludes discussions of the legacy of class inequalities and their continuation in the post-colonial era. What Bolland does, and he does so consciously, is to place these rebellions in the wider context of the world movement of capital, class formation, the nature of colonial empires, international ideas of "race," and the specific histories of British colonies in the Caribbean area. (3-4)

The first conscious break Bolland makes is with the accepted chronology of events, where the St. Kitts strike of sugar workers at the beginning of 1935 is taken to be the first domino. Instead, in Part 1, Bolland brings together the early history of labour and trades union formation, dating from the end of the 19th century. At least sixteen serious disturbances occurred between 1884 and 1905, and these continued on through the early years of this century. This valuable exercise reminds us that Caribbean workers and their allies showed themselves ideologically and organizationally capable of conceiving of their predicament and acting to transform their bleak situations. And this is even before the aftermath of World War I could be said — as it often is by those who tacitly insist that colonized people's actions are always derivative — to provide a model.

The second conscious break with the received wisdom occurs in Part 2, where Bolland shows that the series of major strikes in the 1930s actually started with seemingly isolated smaller strikes and labour protests, and then, that it was in British Honduras (now Belize) in 1934 where the first mass protest action occurred. He also provides convincing evidence to prove that this strike influenced the later rebellions, in St. Kitts, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia in 1935, which, in turn, influenced later ones leading up to the two best-known, Trinidad in 1937 and Jamaica in 1938. There was even an exchange of personnel between territories as activists migrated and took up class-based causes outside their homelands. He also, consciously again, incorporates British Guiana (now Guyana) and the Bahamas into his scope — territories often neglected when this story is told. In Part 2, there is a chapter devoted to each rebellion, ten in all, and Bolland uses secondary sources as well as British Colonial Office documents to reconstruct the minute-by-minute chain of events. There is excellent, gripping writing in these chapters. One might think one is reading a novel or a work of fiction. But the sad terror of capitalistic and colonial repression was all too true.

The strengths of this work are rather easy to enumerate. Bolland shows how racism and class ideology on the part of capitalists in league with political officials melded to create and reinforce structures of oppression, what he calls evocatively "class law and a racist order." (32) He also shows the ways blacks used "race" to inspire class-based agitation and

how, for example, they drew inspiration from (and causal linkages to) the Italian fascist invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, which they followed with fervent interest. This further suggests how class and "race" are mutually constructed. Many members of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, for example, were also involved as strike laders throughout the region. Perhaps more impressively, Bolland is attuned to the many contradictions evident in the historical material. There were contradictions in colonialism. Rather than a monolithic force and edifice (the popular way of viewing the question these days, across the academic disciplines), Bolland reveals colonial policy — and the officials themselves — to be rife with inconsistencies. Sir Murchison Fletcher and Howard Nankivell, respectively Trinidad's Governor and Colonial Secretary during the 1937 strikes there, used repressive measures against labour protestors but were regarded as liberals and ultimately removed by colonial authorities. There were conflicts between "race men" (my term) over class ideology: Garvey, for example, refused to work with Surinamese communist Otto Huiswood in an early Jamaican labour organization. The labour movements of the 1930s were riven with and crippled by ethnic divisions, especially between East Indians and blacks in Trinidad and in British Guiana, although there were equally a number of instances of inter-ethnic cooperation and solidarity. And there were ideological contradictions within even apparently homogeneous groups of workers and their supporters. In Barbados, for instance, conservative lawyer Grantley Adams effectively co-opted more radical elements. In Trinidad, early labour leader A.A. Cipriani placed his Fabian faith in the British Labour Party only to have a Labour Government do little to alleviate the colonial workers' condition and its trades union arm steered local organizations toward "respectability" (read a non-revolutionary stance). In Trinidad, also, T.U.B. Butler, a messianic orator, preacher, and Anglophile pushed the movement away from Marxism, but was himself harassed and imprisoned by the colonial state.

Yet, this story is part of a larger one. Its telling makes me look forward to Bolland's forthcoming book *The Social Origins of Authoritarianism and Democracy in the British Caribbean 1934-1954* which promises to further skillfully historicize this crucial era.

Kevin A. Yelvington
University of South Florida

Vinay Bahl, *The Making of the Indian Working Class: The Case of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, 1880-1946* (New Delhi & London: Sage Publications 1995).

VINAY BAHL offers a wide and refreshing discussion of the trials of colonial capitalism and, most particularly, the national industrial bourgeoisie's attempt to develop an industrial sector. Her specific case study is the Tata Iron and Steel Company located in Bihar, India. The Indian bourgeoisie, unlike the Chinese, was able to negotiate with a hostile colonial state and foreign capital (which itself only entered the country in productive areas with a low organic composition of capital or else into non-productive areas like finance, insurance and trade) and produce an industrial base as well as a resilience which transformed revolutionary energies into mass mobilization to produce a bourgeois state. Bahl explains adroitly the geo-political reasons for the colonial state's accession to the national bourgeoisie (notably, the decline in British industrial productivity in comparison to the American, Belgian and German concerns) as well as the national bourgeoisie's push towards a renegotiation of the naturalized ideas of "comparative advantage" (which was itself an *ex post facto* justification of imperialism after the deindustrialization of India). Bahl's book is a

salutary reminder that too much economic imperial history is wont to forget the racist-political ideologies at work alongside the profit-motives of capitalism. Just for this, her book is a worthwhile read.

On the terrain of proletarian consciousness, Bahl is less useful. Eager to demonstrate that the proletariat dispenses with ties of ethnicity, religion and gender, Bahl writes that "caste had little relevance with respect to the outcome" of the workers' struggle (109) or elsewhere, and that "during their struggle these workers were not engrossed in community or ethnic identities all the time." (303) Lapsed European Marxists (such as Melluci and Laclau) promote certain social identities (race, gender, ethnicity and sexuality) in order to delegitimize proletarian identity and consciousness; their form of post-Marxism leads to an erroneous naturalization of social identities. To combat them by saying that social identities do not matter and that proletarian struggles are able to continue despite social differences is to lose the organizational tension inherent in the workers' movement. Bahl's polemics against the "subalternists" overshadow the nuanced dialectics of organization which have once more entered the framework of labour history-writing, notably since the publication of Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Rethinking Working-Class History* (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1989). Rajnarayan Chandavarkar's monumental study of the Bombay workers, *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India* (Cambridge: CUP 1994) and Dilip Simeon's *The Politics of Labour in Late Colonial India* (Delhi: Manohar 1994) lead us into a fundamental reconceptualization of the story of the construction and struggles of the industrial workers of India. These books, supported by articles from Chitra Joshi among others, offer us a novel way to approach the question of working-class organization and consciousness: the argument which joins these books follows from the orthodox Marxist position that the production process affects the consciousness of workers and that the workers themselves enter the workplace along with the histories and ideologies from their various pasts. If Marx, in the *Holy Family*, sketched out a model of imputed class consciousness (*zugerechnetes Klassenbewusstein*) or one which is logically appropriate to the workers' context, he was also cautious to inform us not to "regard the proletarians as *gods*." Rather, the proletariat, he wrote, "go through the stern but steeling school of *labour*" in order to clarify their world-historic role which is not in what they believe, but "*what the proletariat is*," as the sufficient contradiction of capitalism in their very being.

Simeon, for instance, argues that the workers articulated their proletarian identity through ethnicity; at many points in her book, Bahl shows the same thing. The "subalternists," notably Chakrabarty, do not quite argue that the "cultures of workers" are the only determinant for working-class history (18): in my understanding, Chakrabarty emphasized the "experience" of the workers in order not to leave out what Thompson in *The Poverty of Theory* (171) called the "affective or moral consciousness, "that part of the worker's being which is often abstracted out by those who believe that imputed class consciousness is the necessary and natural ideology of the proletariat." Chakrabarty's book has its failings, but it cannot be dismissed in the service of the false dyads put in place by new social movement theory.

Despite the forays into a misleading debate against the "subalternists," Bahl's book should be highly recommended for those interested in imperial history, in the dynamics of global capitalism and in South Asian history. We need debate on consciousness, but before it begins we might dispense with the binary of certainty (this is how it is) and cynicism (who cares?): it's about time intellectual labour went about its own exercise with a measure of doubt. The salvation of the Left will be our capacity to damage the

naturalization of the Right from our own measured dialectical capacity to doubt our own standpoints.

Vijay Prashad
Trinity College

Gary Teeple, *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform* (Toronto: Garamond 1995).

IN SIX CHAPTERS, Gary Teeple provides a useful overview of the post-World War II rise and decline of social democratic reformism and the welfare state in "Western nations" on the one hand, and the rapid rise to relatively uncontested global hegemony of rapacious neo-liberal capitalism, on the other. *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform* has already taken its well deserved place as a required text in numerous undergraduate courses in the social sciences. Indeed, it has already infiltrated a number of less academic, more transformative working-class circles in Canada.

One strength of Teeple's text is his critical deconstruction of the severe limitations of social democratic reformism and its welfare state project. In this respect, his central argument is straightforward: "Reforms do not make capitalism other than what it is; they represent the imposed amelioration of the worst effects, but they do not transform or fundamentally change the principles or contradictions in operation. They merely temper them over a period of time." (23)

Even in its heyday, the welfare state notably failed to alter inequalities of condition by class, sex, gender, race, and age, and was, in fact, more successful in redistributing dependence among the broadly defined working class than it ever was in socially redistributing the wealth extracted by the capitalist class. Most tellingly, social democracy utterly failed to "decommodify" social relations, even between the state and the populace. The real limitations of the social democratic project in the "Western nations" has clearly facilitated, for Teeple, the rapid rise to political-economic and ideological hegemony of an alternative, globalizing neo-liberal reform project since the 1970s; and Teeple argues cogently why it is actually incapable of offering a serious response to globalizing neo-liberalism.

A second strength of *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform* is its cogent demonstration that the capitalist class' neo-liberal project is based on the institutionalization of *laissez-faire* freedoms for capitalists to profit, circulate, and control, and the dismantling of existing, already limited state powers to monitor them. The resulting "'capitalization' of the world" and "the end of the industrial nation-state," coupled with the "end of socialism as state capitalism" and the "end of the Third World," has led to a "global labour market" and an environmentally "unsustainable," "self-governing capitalism" that threatens to eradicate whatever human rights workers and other oppressed people have managed to claim and attain.

The book concludes with a warning: "Here, largely unfettered by political considerations, is a tyranny unfolding — an economic regime of unaccountable rulers, a totalitarianism not of the political sphere but of the economic." (151) On the one hand, Teeple's relative hopelessness is properly rooted in the demise of both the social democratic and the anti-democratic socialist projects. On the other hand, his hopelessness is rooted in some specific deficiencies in his analysis, and not just in the fact that he was writing prior to the most recent upsurge of working-class protests in such places as Canada.

Teeple's discussion of both the social democratic and neo-liberal projects from the perspective of the "Western nations" is as one-sided as much of the so called "development" literature's one-sided focus on the "the others." His "Western" focus blinds him to a critique of the imperialist roots of social democracy and to

the anti-imperialist and socialist struggles that accompanied that social democracy in its post-World War II heyday. This blindness allows him to too easily forget that neo-liberalism as a project was first introduced and honed by the transnational capitalist class and its central states in those "other" places like Chile since 1973, and that, in such places, it has often required immense military/state might to introduce and sustain.

As well, the rapid extension of neo-liberal capitalism into the former state socialist, formerly "Second World," "East" has generally occurred with tremendous military and other state intervention. It has been, after all, in those "other" places, the non-"Western nations," that unions and full-time work have been and are being most literally and undemocratically smashed in favour of the rapid expansion of unorganized part-time, seasonal, casual and own-account forms of proletarianized labour.

And it is in these fundamentally class transformations, occurring throughout the world and actually situated in concerted class struggles, that Marxists, at least, can and should find hope and a recommitment to democratic socialism within our nation-states and internationally. It was after all a person called Karl who discovered, in the necessary conditions of global working-class impoverishment through capital accumulation, the possible means of increasingly globalized class struggles for the actual abolition of rapacious capitalism through the self-emancipation of the working class in the development of global socialism.

Of course, it is not up to one person in one brief text to work out the real, class-rooted possibilities of working-class self-emancipation. This is a much larger project that can, however, be greatly abetted by the somewhat critical use of contributions to an actually democratic and actually socialist world, such as this small book.

R. James Sacouman
Acadia University

Kathryn Kopinak, *Desert Capitalism: Maquiladoras in North America's Western Industrial Corridor* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press 1996).

THE BLOSSOMING of the maquila industry in the middle of the Arizona-Sonora desert — a region that had previously supported only saguaro cactus, a customs house and a railroad junction — is the focus of Kathryn Kopinak's study of a new form of industrial capitalism. Once the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was put in place in 1994, it promised (or threatened) to reproduce elsewhere in Mexico and Latin America the pattern of maquiladora assembly production and trade that is currently concentrated on the US-Mexican border. Kopinak's very thorough and timely research provides an acute look at the relations of production that characterize that industry, both in its early labour-intensive phase and its more recent, high-tech, automated version. As such, she is able to show what the future is likely to hold as foreign-owned and managed, low-wage industrial production spreads across the face of Mexico and on into Central and South America and the Caribbean. As Kopinak notes, the interpretation of her findings "will help predict whether increased investment under NAFTA will transform this area from the third world to the first, or reinforce its specialized role as a supplier of low-waged labor." (6)

In her analysis of the application of post-Fordist principles of flexible specialization or lean production to an industry that previously relied on cheap labour supplied by unskilled, usually female workers, Kopinak is able to illustrate the key developments that mark the transformation from the old to the new maquilas, or from the old "assembler and manufacturers" to the new "flexible producers." In the process, she demonstrates that the maquila industry that has emerged is characterized by forms of industrial organization and relations of production that are far more heterogeneous than is

suggested by the oft-cited model of "dual technology" that theorizes a backward, third world and an advanced capitalist sector connected by a symbiotic relationship.

Focusing on the industrial zone of the two cities of Nogales that straddle the border between Sonora and Arizona, Kopinak examines the dominant industry of the region, the transport-equipment maquilas. In this region, where maquilas employ more than half the economically active population (a higher proportion than anywhere else in the border zone), she considers how the labour market is formed and how workers negotiate their way through it. At the same time she looks at the characteristics and composition of the labour force, the level of skill required of workers, the organization of work, the sophistication of the technology employed, the level of unionization, and the wages and other conditions of employment offered in the plants.

Kopinak's method enables her to offer insights that are not available in any other study in this burgeoning field. Her fieldwork, conducted in 1991, included household surveys in the workers' quarters as well as interviews with workers conducted both inside and outside the factory. On the basis of this fieldwork, Kopinak developed a sociodemographic profile of workers, stratified by size of plant and gender, that included their labour force experience, migratory history, activities performed on the job, workplace organization; and attitudes toward unions and work. She also provides data on gender relations in the factory and the household that makes for interesting comparisons with the research of Susan Tiano and Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, both of whom have written on women in the border industries.

To better understand the construction and development of the industrial labour market and the recruitment process, Kopinak collected and analyzed job advertisements. To complete the picture, Kopinak also carried out in-depth interviews of managers in seven of the ten transport-equipment factories she studied.

Her research reveals that in the Nogales region, the simple assembly plant has been largely replaced by a more technologically advanced form of production employing greater numbers of male workers at higher levels of skill. She also identifies a pattern of movement of factories away from the border zone, which is seriously overpopulated in relation to its water resources and urban infrastructure, and toward the interior of Mexico.

With respect to the "crisis" of recruitment and turnover often noted by maquila managers in Nogales and elsewhere along the border, Kopinak finds that management will do just about anything to recruit and retain workers except offer them higher wages or better conditions. In fact, real wages in the sector declined steadily throughout the 1980s, and productivity gains have not translated into higher wages for the more skilled workers who have replaced the unskilled maquila worker of the past. The absence of unions in the Nogales area that are genuinely independent of state and employer control has meant that workers "who are dissatisfied with their wages, working conditions or lack of decision-making power have few alternatives except to quit their jobs and find work at other maquilas with better conditions." (177)

Kopinak's perceptive study is the product of a novel approach and rigorous fieldwork and analysis. Under the circumstances, she is able to shed light on the process by which "post-Fordist" or "peripheral-Fordist" forms of industrial organization have spread to third world countries like Mexico. She is also able to offer some stimulating counter-intuitive insights into the relationship among skills, productivity, and wages for the peripheral partners in the new international division of labour.

Judith Adler Hellman
York University

Edmond Malinvaud, Diagnosing Unemployment (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994).

JOHN RALSON SAUL in the 1995 Massey Lectures writes: "Economics as a prescriptive science is actually a very minor area of speculative investigation. Econometrics, the statistical narrow, unthinking, lower form of economics, is passive tinkering, less reliable and less useful than car mechanics." This is perhaps an odd quotation to introduce a review of *Diagnosing Unemployment*, a collection of essays by French econometrician Edmond Malinvaud. The first part of this rather slim volume is dedicated to exploring the limits of economic analysis and diagnosis and the role of economists as advisors in formulating public policy. It includes the two Memorial Lectures Malinvaud gave in Rome in 1990 in honour of the late Italian economist and policy advisor, Federico Caffe. The last four essays, comprising the second half of the book, discuss issues in the formal econometric modelling of the European macroeconomy. The purpose of this modelling is to diagnose the underlying causes of the rising levels of European unemployment and to forecast future trends in order to devise policies to counter them.

If one were to accept, without qualification, Saul's remonstrations against econometrics then one would automatically conclude that *Diagnosing Unemployment* is of very little significance indeed. Saul no doubt overstates his case, however, and in any case Malinvaud is very careful to stress the limits both of the theoretical foundations on which labour market models are based, and the practical difficulties in modelling even that which we think we know. For instance, on analysis and forecasting, he writes: "Most of the time .... [t]he system is imperfectly known and imperfectly mastered. In general, the theory about the phenomenon under study only indicates the broad structure of the system governing it without clarifying the details. Even if one assumed that this theory was well established and little contested, which is clearly not always the case, there is still a long way to go before a model is built which can be used for forecasting." (40)

Nevertheless, he does proceed to defend forecasting as a necessary precondition of policy formation. This, however, leads to a logical contradiction — if policy is devised on the basis of forecasts and that policy is designed to avert the result predicted, and is effective, then the forecasts of necessity will prove wrong. In other words, successful diagnosis of the causes of rising unemployment leading to policy innovations to counter these causes, will, if successful, result in stable or falling unemployment. The forecast, therefore, will prove wrong. Should that be the case, we have no way of knowing whether the underlying model was correct, leading to effective countermeasures; or incorrect and the policy irrelevant, because in either case the projected rise in unemployment would not occur. Either conclusion could be legitimately held. What this conundrum does, however, is point to the absolute importance of the validity of the theoretical underpinnings of economic forecasting.

Here, I think Malinvaud begins to tread on shaky ground. As he notes, in his models the projection of macroeconomic variables depends critically on the aggregation of microeconomic, real, variables. Post-Keynesian economists would immediately protest. Macroeconomics, they hold, is not the aggregation of microeconomics based on neoclassical foundations; nor is decision-making based on real values but on nominal values as modified by uncertain expectations.

This neoclassical micro-foundation is based on conventional supply and demand assumptions and conclusions. Malinvaud's analysis is firmly based on the Phillips curve interpretation of unemployment as modelled by Beveridge and Lipsey. Class and institutions matter, but they are exogenous. He writes: "Certainly

social attitudes and norms matter, but one does not know how to find for them independent characterizations that could be helpful in forecasting." (70)

The problem is, the microfoundations of supply and demand analysis, including those of the Phillips curve, have recently been severely undermined by two major empirical (econometric) investigations conducted by conventional labour economists, published in 1994 and 1995: David Card and Alan Krueger, *Myth and Measurement: The New Economics of the Minimum Wage* and David Blanchflower and Andrew Oswald, *The Wage Curve*. In both cases the association of high and rising wages with unemployment, the conventional supply and demand conclusion of neoclassical theory, was found not to be consistent with the facts. From an economic theory standpoint, their unambiguous conclusion is that there is something seriously wrong with the conventional labour market model, the model which underlies Malinvaud's diagnosis.

Malinvaud is not especially doctrinaire in his market-based approach, despite his reliance on conventional models. (One would be surprised if he were after four decades of experience in policy analysis.) But if this new econometric work on labour market outcomes is correct, it suggests that the basic model is wrong and, therefore, so is the diagnosis of unemployment and the forecasts and policy initiatives that rely on it. Judicious use and sophisticated manipulation of models is of little import if the basic theory is flawed. If one accepts this to be the case, Malinvaud's volume does not shed much light on the causes of unemployment or on contemporary policy analysis.

Returning to the relevance of the opening quote from Saul, it must be remembered that econometrics is a tool of economists, not a branch of economic theory. It is a tool of limited use in institutional and radical analysis, but as the work of Card, Krueger, Blanchflower and Oswald shows, it can be a useful tool in debunking conventional neoclassical analysis. And for this we all should be thankful.

Paul Phillips
University of Manitoba

Lars Osberg and Pierre Fortin, eds., *Unnecessary Debts* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company 1996).

THE ANXIETY generated by Canada's debt threat has subsided — the Canadian public resigned to the argument that we can no longer afford the luxury of publicly-funded social programs. Hospitals must be closed, funding for education cut and welfare support scaled back.

Lars Osberg and Pierre Fortin combat this socially destructive view with a collection of papers that critically analyze Canada's public debt problem — its historical context, its origins and how to reduce it. The nine papers by eight economists present a variety of critical viewpoints of mixed quality accessible to the non-specialist. There is incomplete consensus among the authors on most issues — not least on the issue of the preferred solution. There is, however, unanimity in opposing the popular and politically expedient explanation that Canada's debt problem is the result of a profligate government and near unanimity in pointing the finger at the Bank of Canada instead. Even Gillespie's argument that the 1981-82 recession was a major contributor to the rising ratio of debt to national income is not inconsistent with the more direct accusations that the Bank's high interest rate, anti-inflation policy of the 1980s and 1990s is the real root cause. And this is the principal message of the book.

Irwin Gillespie places the current debt debate in historical context, providing the reader with a brief but informative account of Canada's federal finances from Confederation through 1990. The most notable element of Gillespie's essay, for the purpose at hand, is the declaration that any recent growth in govern-

ment spending was never more than a minor contributor to the 1980s deficits; the rising ratio of debt to national income was caused, instead, by the federal tax policies of the 1970s as well as the recession of 1981-82. Interesting facts for all concerned with reality instead of rhetoric.

Pierre Fortin examines the debt problem from a macroeconomic perspective, concluding that the primary cause of the recent federal fiscal destabilization was tight monetary policy from 1982 through 1994. To combat the current debt problem, a combination of macroeconomic expansion (read a central bank-induced low interest rate policy) and fiscal restraint (with a preference for a social program spending freeze) Fortin claims, is both "necessary and sufficient to return Canada to full employment and fiscal order."

Ronald Kneebone profiles the provincial as well as federal governments' fiscal choices from 1961 through 1995 and in so doing complements Gillespie's paper. Kneebone traces out briefly for each province a thirty plus year history of deficits, debt-to-GDP ratios and debt ratings and identifies the Bank's high interest rate policies as the principal contributor to the deterioration of the public sector's fiscal condition. The lessons learned from this experience include recognition that price stability comes at a greater cost than heretofore appreciated, and some other rather familiar, if not obvious, ones.

Michael McCracken's analysis of the source of the debt problem takes the form of a few "what if" scenarios. Drawing on his substantial quantitative resources, McCracken simulates the path of Canadian output, unemployment and the federal government's fiscal position under the assumption that Canadian interest rates remained closer to those in the US between 1989 and 1995. The actual widened gap between Canada and US rates in 1989 and after, McCracken accepts as *prima facie* evidence of a tight money policy. The simulated lower unemployment levels, higher output and substantially reduced fiscal strain are then all indications of the "cost" of that policy. He admittedly abstracts from other potentially depressing influences such as weaker world markets, Free Trade Agreements and the like.

Gideon Rosenbluth reiterates Gillespie's message that federal spending has not been the principal cause of the debt problem, forcefully joining others in identifying high Canadian interest rates created by the Bank of Canada as the culprit. Seeking an efficient and equitable means of reducing government deficits, Rosenbluth calls passionately for lower interest rates and "other government measures" (hinting at increased government spending on programs aiding the needy) designed to combat unemployment and raise the growth rate of the economy.

Marc van Audenrode attacks some popular myths about monetary policy. His message is simple and simply that (moderate) inflation is not the evil we have been told it is, the benefits of price stability are not guaranteed, financial market skittishness should not inhibit monetary policy debates, and if the Bank of Canada influences interest rates well enough to control inflation then it controls them well enough to affect the cost of servicing the debt. In concluding, Audenrode recommends that Canada peg the Canadian dollar to the US dollar. The suggestion that the substitution of one fixed price target with another will alleviate many of Canada's ills, including the debt problem, is curious and moot.

Lars Osberg calls for a full employment objective as the preeminent macroeconomic policy goal. He argues that for retraining and other such labour policies to work, the retrained must have jobs to move into. The microeconomic and macroeconomic policies have to be coordinated and full employment — not price stability — should be the goal. The problem here, as elsewhere, is that those advocating price stability now argue that even better employment conditions will fol-

low. And then we are back to the trade-off debate.

James Tobin's essay addresses explicitly the traditional Keynesian framework underlying the majority of arguments and proposed solutions that appear in the essays in this book. Tobin reviews the traditional Keynesian story of effective demand and reiterates the need for counter-cyclical fiscal and monetary policies in today's economy.

To conclude the book, Lars Osberg and Pierre Fortin invite the reader to imagine unemployment visible in the form of a "credibility mountain" — a mountain of sand that might be built with the otherwise idle labour and capital. How big would it be? How much would it cost to built? For Osberg and Fortin, this mountain would represent the nation's willingness to tolerate unemployment in the hope that inflation will disappear; the suggestion being that if unemployment were visible it would be less acceptable. Current damage control requires, they argue, a growth strategy and the key to that (no surprises at this late stage) is a low interest rate monetary policy.

This book contributes to the debt debate insofar as it demonstrates that the popular wasteful-spending explanation of the debt's origins is untenable and proposes we look elsewhere —notably to the Bank — for the villain. Pointing the finger is useful at this point in time only if it suggests a solution. For some of the contributors, and certainly for the editors, it does. Reorienting monetary policy toward a full employment objective is the singularly most important prescription offered. Whether lowering interest rates now would be sufficient to reverse the damage done and to restore full employment is debatable, as readers of these essays see. But one critically important fact remains. If there are ways to reduce public sector deficits other than by cutting funding to programs aiding the needy, then we have a moral obligation to consider these alternatives. This book encourages us to do just that.

Brenda Spotton
York University

Alison L. Booth, *The Economics of the Trade Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995).

PARADOXICALLY, as British trade unions have declined in strength they have become the focus of an expanding body of research by labour economists. Booth, a foremost expert of this field, provides an authoritative survey of this work, supplemented by a review of parallel research from the United States. It will serve as a key point of reference for students of British trade unionism for some time to come and, though it is written primarily for an economist audience, is reasonably accessible to those, like this reviewer, who come from less-numerate disciplines.

Booth is aware of the paradoxical nature of the expansion of research on unions and her book opens with a justification for continued inquiry in this area. Partly this is based on the still substantial scale of the union sector and its influence on employment practice in the non-union sector. It is also based on a theoretical argument, however, that models developed for the analysis of collective bargaining agreements have relevance for a much wider class of situations where workers are not represented by unions but nevertheless are possessed of a degree of bargaining power. The analysis of union effects, therefore, can serve as an entry into the more general analysis of the imperfectly competitive labour market which exists in the real world.

After lucid and concise accounts of the institutions of industrial relations in Britain and the US, Booth's review proceeds through two main stages. In the first, she examines economic theories of trade union behaviour and effects. There

is a critical review of the orthodox account of unions as inefficiency-generating monopolists, followed by a discussion of models of union objectives and decision-making and attempts to model union bargaining behaviour. Her account is marked by a questioning of the assumptions (for example, competitive labour and product markets, employers as passive receivers of union wage rates) which underlie much economic theory in this field and an attempt to identify models which approximate more closely to conditions in the real economy. Her central conclusion is that for unions to raise wages two conditions must apply: a surplus must be generated, possibly through the efficiency-enhancing activities of unions themselves, and unions must possess bargaining power which may be secured through a closed shop, the typical assumption of economists, but which may also arise through the non-substitutability of incumbent workers or the inelasticity of demand for labour.

The second stage of Booth's review is concerned with empirical estimates of union effects on earnings, productivity and other economic indices and with how these have altered over time. There has been a great deal of interest in this kind of research in Britain because it provides a basis for evaluating the effectiveness of the trade union reforms of the Thatcher and Major governments. The value of Booth's review is that it is more extensive than others which are available, embracing a wider range of topics and research, and that it pays considerable attention to questions of measurement and methodology. For example, she demonstrates the weakness of early, exaggerated and politically influential estimates of the union mark-up and shows how more robust studies indicate a more modest effect and one which is highly variable by context and employee characteristics.

Booth's summary of available evidence is a might overcautious and is liberally sprinkled with appeals for further research. Like other summarizers, however, she points to mixed union effects and the balancing of union-induced inefficiencies by reductions in inequality, a stimulus to training and lower turnover. She also argues forcefully that union effects are specific to the institutional context in which they occur, which could be taken as a rare admission by an economist that there is value to be found in the industrial relations tradition of institutional research.

Labour economics has exercised a growing influence over the field of industrial relations in Britain over the past decade. For some it has been an unwelcome intruder. Labour economics has been variously attacked for its methodological reductionism, reliance on secondary analysis, restrictive assumptions and the support it lends to perversity arguments to counter progressive labour market reform. Booth's book, however, attests to what is positive about the current wave of labour economics. It is questioning, theoretically rigorous, methodologically sophisticated and focused on practical questions which matter to governments, employers and workers. It provides an excellent insight into a rich vein of inquiry.

Edmund Heery
Cardiff University

Louise Moser Illes, *Sizing Down: Chronicle of a Plant Closing: With Lessons for Understanding and Survival* (Ithaca: ILR/Cornell University Press 1996).

WHO IN THE United States now cares about "downsizing?" In the 1970s and early 1980s, massive layoffs and their devastating ripple effects for workers and communities were widely regarded as tragedies. Youngstown, Gary, Detroit — tragic. By 1989, Michael Moore's popular documentary film "Roger & Me" distinguished itself with tragicomedy. Reagan, Flint, AutoWorld! — tragicomic. Today, however, the daily news seems as

nonchalant as the layoffs are relentless: 10,000 jobs, 2,000 jobs, 40,000 jobs; blue collar positions evaporate in what seemed only yesterday the shiny new growth industries located in the various high-tech regions, corridors, and valleys. Indeed, today's public interest and concern appears inversely related to the sheer ubiquity of the downsizing buzzword, such that it matters not if news magazines give national prominence to a few unlucky CEO's, who must play the role of cold-hearted rapacious capitalists, or if the *New York Times* adds its special news-of-record voice to a sober, seven-part front-page look at "The Downsizing of America." Mixing theoretical metaphors, the hyperreality of the American one-dimensional society continues to contain the political significance of economic dislocation for all but perhaps those directly sacrificed and otherwise immediately effected by massive layoffs. Who now cares about downsizing?

Louise Moser Illes provides one answer, which is an exception to my rule just stated, and which also gives reason for pause: human resource managers care about downsizing. Illes' chronicle of the 1993 closing of the Signetics semiconductor plant in Orem, Utah, is indeed written by and for human resource managers. Simply put, Illes came to see her position as the plant human resources manager as an opportunity "make a real contribution to those who were in my position, a victim of downsizing and yet charged with its orchestration." (viii) While Illes imagined that work on the book might prove a "release for my own anxieties and frustrations," her ultimate goal would be to "advocate a better way of managing this pervasive phenomenon" by providing "lessons to those who may someday find themselves dealing with plant closures or sizable reductions-in-force." (viii, ix) *Sizing Down* is thus Illes serving up her own experience as well as that of her Signetics employee and management colleagues for the betterment of the human resources management profession.

Given her intended audience, it is not surprising that Illes treats her year-long downsizing experience at Signetics in primarily psycho-social terms, that is, as parallel to "the experience of dealing with a family death or major illness." (ix) Arranged in separate chapters that correspond to the passing months of 1992, Illes presents a seven-stage, Kubler-Ross-like theory of the downsizing "adaptive and adjustment process." (ix) These stages are: (1) initial shock, (2) anger and denial, (3) bargaining and negotiations, (4) distancing and alienation, (5) regeneration and renewal, (6) transitions, and (7) winding down. For each "stage," Illes provides separate recommendations for employees, management, and policymakers. For example, employees in the distancing and alienation stage should "resist [the] tendency to withdraw," while policymakers in the "transitions" stage should "provide adequate outplacement services" (192), and so forth. Boxed in by her *a priori* commitment to the professional ideology of human resource management, Illes' analysis and recommendations will be of little interest to the free-floating social scientist.

Still, the details provided in Illes' well-written and well-organized chronicle are often interesting. Consider the nuances of shifting a corporate name and identity in the midst of an extended plant closure, as the Signetics plant had to do in mid-1992 when it was publicly absorbed by its Dutch parent company, or the sticky public and employee relations surrounding a company donation to a local government group formed to explore the possibilities of securing an outside buyer or an employee ownership option for the plant, which some, including members of the local press, regarded as a company pay-off to ensure local government cooperation in the closure process. Description at this level of detail will likely interest labour studies specialists.

Furthermore, a close reading of Illes' own situation and perceptions may reveal something of interest about the entire class of middle-level functionaries who, like Illes, could be seen as occupying a strategic position in what Jurgen Habermas has dubbed the "seam" between system and lifeworld. Here, we might read Illes-the-orchestrator-of-Signetics' downsizing for her furtive recognition of an unhappy capitalist reality, as when, for example, she notes: "It is amazing how a plant closure announcement draws other businesses, like hungry predators circling around a fresh kill." (22) As herself part of this kill, Illes faces in her own experience the inexorable contradiction of, on the one hand, the pain and suffering of economic dislocation, and, on the other, the mandate to execute the microprocesses of the dislocation itself. What else could she do? It may be, as Peter Sloterdijk has argued in his *Critique of Cynical Reason*, that this type of consciousness is the dominant social-psychological orientation of late capitalism, where "the objective situation and the instinct for self-preservation speak the same language," as in "Others would do it anyway, perhaps worse." Thus, in addition to consideration of its ethnographic accounts, one might also profitably read *Sizing Down* as a study in the social psychology of late capitalism.

If instead of viewing Louise Moser Illes' *Sizing Down* as an interesting fieldwork source or as an unintended glimpse into the contradiction- and conflict-filled world of the middle-level functionary, one chooses to read the book only as it is intended, then let this reader have a professional or otherwise vested interest in managing the nuts and bolts of the downsizing process. There is little else of compelling interest in this work, except perhaps that on balance it contributes in a small way to the further de-politicization, normalization, and sanitation of systemic political-economic catastrophe.

Steven P. Dandaneau
University of Dayton

Jack Quarter, *Crossing The Line: Unionized Employee Ownership and Investment Funds* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company 1995).

THIS BOOK ATTEMPTS to describe and analyze certain aspects of the changing relationship between labour and capital since the 1970s. The author uses six case studies drawn from different parts of Canada to illustrate how unionized labour has started to cross the line in its traditional relationship with capital. This crossing of the line is exemplified, according to the author, by employee buyouts of corporations in financial trouble, by employee share-ownership plans and finally by labour investment funds. In each of these three cases, the attempt to redefine the traditional relationship has forced employees and unions to cope with new contradictions. The author utilizes interviews with workers, union and company officials, financial documents, newspaper articles, books, and various types of reports and official documents to describe and analyze these different cases.

Since the buyout of the Canadian International Paper pulp mill in Témiscaming, Québec by a coalition of managers, community members, and workers of Local 233 of the Canadian Paperworkers' Union in 1974 (the new company became Tembec), labour has had to invent new strategies to preserve jobs in certain communities where the owners of capital decided to close shop or downsize. "In the Tembec buyout, the workers crossed a line that has been traditionally reserved for capital ... At that time the Tembec buyout represented unfamiliar terrain for labour." (1) This unfamiliar terrain has meant abandoning its traditional oppositional role and taking on the contradictory position of being both employee and owner.

In each of the case studies, the author presents a historical perspective on the company and its workers, a brief analysis of the company's financial situation, the role of the union before, during and after

the process of crossing the line, and finally the structure of decision-making once the transition had been completed.

The first case study is of Pioneer Chain Saw in Peterborough, which announced the closing of its plant in 1977. The reaction of the community and the plant's employees led to the establishment of a numbered company for the purpose of buying out the plant. The president of Tembec, Joe Mason, became involved in the buyout process with encouragement from the federal government. He proposed a management-controlled company with minority employee ownership modelled after Tembec. The employees bought a minority share of the company (24 per cent) through the Pioneer Employee Shareholding Company, structured on the basis of one member, one vote. The Mason Group held 51 per cent of equity and the Federal Business Development Bank the remaining 25 per cent. The nine member board consisted of only two workers' representatives but this feature along with the creation of various labour-management committees represented a new form of industrial democracy at the plant. In the beginning the Steelworkers which represented the workers at Pioneer were skeptical of the employees' participation in the buyout but then became more involved in the negotiations leading to the buyout. Two years after the buyout, which also brought about a salary reduction for the employees, the company was acquired by Electrolux. Even though the employee-shareholders refused Electrolux's offer to buy, the Mason Group, which held effective control, went along with the acquisition. In 1984, Electrolux decided to close the plant, leaving 250 employees without a job.

The second case is also an intriguing one. Unlike most situations where workers buy out a company or invest in it, the case of Nelco Mechanical, a construction contractor in Kitchener, Ontario, is one where the owner, Mike Knell, decided to convert the family enterprise into a worker co-operative in the early 1980s. As a result of his concern with the confrontational nature of labour relations in the construction industry, Mike Knell became familiar with the Mondragon Group of worker co-operatives in the Basque region of Spain and decided to transform his company into a similar co-operative. The employees, some of whom were members of four different international unions while others were non-unionized, were at first skeptical because many did not want to lose their affiliation to a union. The unions were also apprehensive about the conversion. But Knell was determined not only "to change the ownership of the company but to convert Nelco to a model of industrial democracy." (42) At first only Knell and a few of the managers became members of the co-operative and by the end of 1990 the enterprise only counted 24 members, 12 of whom were employees. The fact that so few trades people decided to join the co-operative limited the implementation of a democratic decision-making structure as envisaged by Knell but attempts were made in this area. Since the conversion, the profitability of the company has decreased and the future of the co-operative is uncertain, mostly because the employees felt threatened by it and furthermore felt no need for it.

Mainroad Contracting, the third case study, is the result of the privatization initiatives of the British Colombia government led by Bill Vander Zalm in 1987. It is a company established by former public service workers who invested in the new enterprise but also decided to maintain their union affiliation. At first the British Columbia Government Employees' Union (BCGEU), which represented the 30,000 employees of the provincial government, and the New Democratic Party of BC, were opposed to the move towards privatization. Once it became clear that the government would not change its mind, a group of employees as well as some supervisory staff decided to establish a company and bid for road and

bridge maintenance contracts for one of the 28 regions the government had set up. Mainroad is a limited company whose only shareholders are its employees who bought 107 shares at $10 each. Three senior management employees hold 6,500 shares each. Mainroad has obtained a contract with the government but also does some outside work. The employees receive wages and benefits negotiated with their union but also share profits and receive share payouts. The board has nine members, seven of whom are shareholders and two recruited from outside. The number of worker representatives on the board has yet to be negotiated by the union; management saw that number as being in the best interests of the company. After each meeting of the board, two of its members inform workers of decisions taken and invite feedback. This structure and the decentralization of decision-making have created a good working environment, say the workers. The union is still active, mostly in the areas of employee problems, grievances, and collective bargaining. Because the maintenance contracts were broken up into 28 different units, the BCGEU feels that the government attempted to weaken it. The employees, however, feel satisfied, mostly because of higher salaries and a better sense of identification with the employer (mostly themselves).

CETAM is a true worker co-operative established by ambulance technicians on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River. It began in 1983 when ambulance workers, toiling for private companies, decided to organize themselves under the auspices of the Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN). Having lost the battle against unionization, the private operators decided to sell first to other private owners. When that failed, the workers, with the help of the CSN, decided to establish a workers' co-op and buy the ambulance service. The *caisse populaires* helped with financing and the CSN provided financial and technical expertise with the help of its Groupe de consultation. CETAM has been a trendsetter in Québec in the area of ambulance worker co-operatives. It has been financially successful partly because of a relatively guaranteed flow of revenues from the State. Its decision-making structure is built on the co-operative model of one person, one vote. The general assembly of shareholders, all workers, is the supreme decision-making body. Its board has nine members, all workers, who appoint a general manager and a president (in this case the same person). The GM can be recalled by the members of the co-operative. Each ambulance station within CETAM has its own budget. All the workers are unionized and the union acts mainly as a "chien de garde" (watchdog). Since the workers are part of a larger union (RETAQ) which represents province-wide ambulance technicians, the CETAM members have shown dissatisfaction with this type of arrangement. This dissatisfaction has led to a secessionist movement within CETAM which the CSN is trying to appease by appointing a vice-president responsible only for worker co-operatives. The success of this co-operative is due in no small measure to the fact that the CSN has pushed an alternative economic vision resembling that of the Knights of Labor. It is also due to a better recognition, in Québec, of the role of co-operatives.

Algoma Steel, in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, is the last case study of a company bought out by its employees. They did so in 1992 after Dofasco, its owner, announced plans for downsizing its work force and reducing wages by up to 20 per cent. The Steelworkers, along with the community and with the assistance of the Ontario NDP government, led an initiative to buy out the company. It also proposed wage cuts but these would be transformed into shares within five years. The union's plan would also reduce costs but maintain all product lines. An agreement to buy the enterprise was reached in January 1992 and after the signing of a new collective agreement, the new Algoma Steel opened

in June 1992. "Essentially, the New Algoma had thrust a worker co-operative eventually owning up to 60 per cent of the company into the midst of a conventional corporation, a structure that was similar to the worker shareholder co-operative in Quebec." (133) This political arm of the employees entered into a shareholders' agreement with the other stakeholders under which the workers had four representatives on the board of thirteen governors. This workers' co-operative was interconnected with the union structure. The new collective agreement provided plans for extensive workplace democracy whereby workers would have greater control, accountability and responsibility for the day-to-day operations of the corporation. Since its inception, the New Algoma has significantly improved its financial situation.

Labour investment funds constitute the last example of crossing the line between labour and capital. The first fund, le Fonds de solidarité des travailleurs du Québec, was launched in Québec in 1984 by the Federation of Labor after an economic summit organized by the Parti Québécois. By the end of 1994, labour investment funds constituted one-third of the total venture capital in Canada. The sponsoring unions are a diverse group, mostly situated in Ontario. They have been accused of being part of the conservative agenda ("worker capitalism") and have been tagged as "rent a union" schemes set up by capital to benefit from tax breaks. There is no doubt, according to the author, that these funds are becoming the dominant mechanism for venture capital in Canada. There is a great variety of these funds. Some, like the Cape Breton Labourers' Fund, have a specific social objective, that is to provide housing at cost to its members. Others are huge pension funds, such as the Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan and the Caisse de dépôt et de placement du Québec which invest into a variety of enterprises (for instance the Ontario Teachers' Plan has invested in Maple Leaf Gardens). The author carefully analyzes the differences in structure and investment objectives of all these funds. For instance, some have established social and ethical screens in order to aid them in making investment decisions.

In the final chapter, the author provides an analysis of these various types of involvement by labour into capitalist ventures. According to the author, these pragmatic capital and investment policies are now key components of labour's agenda. These policies raise numerous questions on the part of labour, financial, ethical, and social. One of the major questions is that of the traditional relationship between labour and capital. With these new ventures, the line is becoming blurred. By crossing this line, is labour being co-opted into the conservative agenda? How do workers and unions resolve the fact that by crossing the line, they become owners as well as workers? How is it possible to distinguish between those workers who invest and those who do not? Is this creating two classes of workers within an enterprise? By investing in capitalistic enterprises through their investment funds, will workers continue their support for labour? These are abstract questions posed by the author (but not necessarily answered) to indicate that the relationship between labour and capital is changing.

In the final part of this chapter, the author analyzes these new ventures through the screen of what he calls four "elements of capitalism": net income or profit, equity, control of workplace, and culture of capitalism (entrepreneurship).

This is a very informative book. It is well-written, well-researched and well-documented. The interviews with workers and the quotes from these interviews demonstrate the dilemma posed by crossing the line.

It is difficult to evaluate, however, how important these departures are in the overall scheme of labour-capital relationships. It would have been useful to set these initiatives within a broader picture

of the relations of production in Canadian society. One is left with the impression that these case studies are indeed significant departures but without the broader setting the reader is unable to grasp their true significance. In fairness to the author, this would no doubt have been an arduous undertaking. Within the parameters established, the author has succeeded in providing an interesting and valuable picture of these different new initiatives by labour and the dilemma they pose to workers. He has thus shown how crossing the line between capital and labour has created powerful new contradictions in the ongoing restucturing of the capitalist mode of production.

Donald Dennie
Laurentian University

Rosemarie Schade and Keith J. Lowther, eds., *Gender Balancing History: Towards an inclusive curriculum*, Volumes One to Seven (Montréal: Institut Simon de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University 1993).

THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY came out of a context of undergraduate curriculum revision with the aim of encouraging the development of a more diverse history program. The editors hope that the bibliography, directed at students and teachers, will assist in the integration of women's history into the mainstream of Canadian universities. The geographic scope covered in the seven-volume collection reflects the particular offerings of the Concordia University History department and hence it attempts to cover "the world" with the important exceptions of Eastern Europe, the region of the former Soviet Union and Australia/New Zealand. Each of the seven volumes was compiled by a different author or group of authors and, as a result, each is irregular in scope, categorization, approach and style with dates, language, and the inclusion of published and unpublished sources varying with each volume. One of the few similarities across all seven volumes is the uniform absence of attention to class.

The bibliographies offer both more and less than the title suggests. This is a case where the use of the word gender is code for women. Rosemarie Schade explains in her introduction that the focus of the bibliography is women "because women are part of every other minority and are found in every society at every time period — an assertion which may be more problematic when talking about other groups." In a seemingly contradictory statement, she then goes on to state that other diversity issues such as race or sexual orientation are no "less important than 'gender': but for purely practical reasons we had to start somewhere." (I, 11-2) This ambiguity around the subject matter and its relationship to other categories of analysis is evident in the two largest volumes, covering American and Canadian material, where a focus on women is combined with entries for race, ethnicity and sexual orientation.

The first volume includes an introduction by Rosemarie Schade on the merits of a more diversified curriculum. As a historian of Germany, it is not surprising most of the examples she draws on are from Europe. The introduction is followed by a very short general bibliography on "Gender and Feminist Theory" and a catalogue of audio-visual material listed by title. While all seven volumes are plagued by numerous typographical errors (a problem which seems particularly serious in a bibliography) the problems of the audio-visual section are compounded since many of the entries are incomplete.

Volume Two covers publications in African, Middle Eastern and Indian women's history between 1970 and 1993. The entries are divided by region and contemporary nation (except in the case of Bangladesh and Pakistan) and then further divided by chronological periods and themes. The compilers of this section explain that this is not a comprehensive bib-

liography of these regions but a "representative sample of scholarship." One suspects that the bibliographers were outside their historical field in the gathering of this section as articles on Northern Rhodesia are listed under Zimbabwe not Zambia.

The third volume introduces readers to English-language titles in American women's history published between 1986 and 1993 and is organized chronologically, thematically and by subject. This section, like the Canadian volume, includes some unpublished dissertations. Minority women and work are included as categories, but there is little explicit mention of race or class. This volume is the only one that includes listings under "Gender History" and includes some work on masculinity. Creating a bibliography is extremely difficult and perfect categorization next to impossible, but readers of this journal will be perplexed by the section on employment work which includes the subcategories of "athletes and sports" and "women and humor."

Volume Four, which examines work on Canada which appeared between 1982 and 1993, is completely different again from the earlier or later volumes. Here the bibliographer helpfully explains the databases and journals he consulted in the development of his work. (It is worth noting that he consulted every major Canadian scholarly historical journal except *Acadiensis* — the journal of Atlantic Canada.) Also a serious attempt is made to include work in both English and French. Before one gets to listings concerning "women," bibliographies on indigenous peoples, racial and ethnic groups (in one place ethnic is replaced by the word immigrant!) and Lesbian and Gays are presented with women as an important subcategory within each of the above groupings. I am concerned that this form of categorization in a bibliography on women reinforces the intellectual structures which construct white, heterosexual women as "normal women" who do not require any special classification. Labour issues are introduced in the subcategory of "Employment" which is then further divided into the themes of "general," affirmative action and pay equity, discrimination, harassment, labour activism and unions, leave, and mobility.

Scholarship on Western European women, 1985-1993 is the topic of Volume Five. Citations are drawn from both English and French published literature and listed chronologically with broad thematic divisions. Although "Economics and Work" is listed, references are very limited. The sixth volume draws only on English-language published material on "Chinese, Japanese and Korean History, 1970-91." Chronological divisions are made within these three national histories, but there are few entries under the sub-group of "Economics and Employment." The form of this volume is similar to the final volume on "Latin American, Caribbean and Spanish History, 1970-1993."

The volumes of the bibliography work better individually than as a set because of their frustrating lack of consistency. While I doubt it will succeed in converting opponents to curriculum diversification, and despite its organizational problems, the collection forms a useful tool for undergraduates and should be welcomed in most libraries. It is too bad that the conception of diversity within the curriculum did not extend to class.

Suzanne Morton
McGill University

Tania Das Gupta, *Racism and Paid Work* (Toronto: Garamond Press 1996).

RECENT ATTACKS on affirmative action and other policies and programs advocating employment equity and opportunity makes the discussion of racism and paid work particularly timely. Tania Das Gupta's book is a welcome addition to the

growing literature on racism and anti-racism, particularly because of its focus on everyday racism in the labour force. Students of labour studies will find a provocative overview of conceptual frameworks and recommended action for collective resistance. Her analysis of women of colour, namely Chinese and Black women, brings a class-based and gendered analysis to our understanding of how racism shapes paid work.

The discussion of racism and paid work begins with a critique of theoretical frameworks addressing both race relations and labour. The overview of labour theory points to the uneven attention to how racism shapes the work experiences of people of colour in comparison to how class or gender shapes the realities of workers. Macro-level theories have been limited by their use of an "add-on" approach to the incorporation of racial ethnic minorities and immigrants to their analysis. Which is to say that we still lack a theory that begins by placing the "other" at the centre of the analysis. The consequence of simply "adding" gender or race to existing theories is that it places white women, and women and men of colour, in analytical categories that do not explain their experiences in the labour market. A structural example offered by the author is that small labour-intensive industries are classified as peripheral to the economy; thus the garment industry (a major employer of women and workers of colour) is placed at the periphery, even though the industry is the third largest manufacturing sector in Canada. Similarly, micro-level theories, relying heavily on socio-psychological approaches to race relations, fail to make the connection to the global economy and state policies. Das Gupta attempts to bridge micro and macro approaches by showing the relationship between the ideologies of racism and sexism and the economy. She examines managerial strategies, their impact on workers of colour and their relationship to White workers. Drawing examples from the garment industry and nursing, she analyzes the political economy of each alongside the everyday culture of the workplace as shaped by management.

Building on the existing research on everyday racism, Das Gupta's locus of analysis is management practices that stem from perceiving workers of colour as a "threat." This unconscious stereotype serves to divide workers and to dilute and reduce worker solidarity. When workers are perceived as a threat to management they are singled out for differential and undesirable treatment and are scapegoated as the source of a problem, they frequently become victims of excessive monitoring, and are marginalized within the workplace. Racist assumptions made about workers of colour may result in management reacting to ethnic friendship and solidarity as if it were a direct threat to managerial authority. Many times they treat workers of colour as incompetent and child-like, and consider them to be the source of their own misfortune. This results in the allocation of biased work loads and in limiting job opportunities and in assuming the worse motivations behind employee requests or complaints. Das Gupta also highlights common management practices aimed at eliminating collective action, such as the racial and ethnic segregation of workers, the co-opting of selected workers, and the strategic placement of token supervisors.

The data for the case study on racism in the garment industry is based on Das Gupta's past research on workers in Toronto. Without having read her previous writings on this research, the finer points of deskilling and other reorganization processes, as well as the details of the shopfloor, remain unclear. Furthermore, important distinctions made about citizenship and immigration status get lost without knowing the identity of workers' status in the study and having some context within which to place the data. The discussion of the role of the Canadian State and immigration policies, however, does provide a useful analysis to tie the macro-and micro-levels of the economy,

and demonstrates how a segregated cheap labour force dominated by racial ethnic minorities and immigrants is shaped. The Canadian government emerges as a major player, defining homeworkers in the industry as "self employed" rather than as individuals with workers' rights. This policy effectively conceals employer-employee relationships. The historical overview of the garment industry reveals an important relationship between Canadian immigration policy and racial composition of the various job classifications within the industry.

Das Gupta, like other feminist scholars, notes the implications of immigration policies and practices that are based on the assumption that sponsored immigrants (usually women and other family members) are not future workers. The lack of opportunity for training relegates immigrant women to the low-wage dead-end jobs that are so frequently assigned as "women's work." Ironically, even occupations that recognize women immigrants as "ideal" workers, such as the Live-in Caregiver Program, have implemented more restrictive and exclusive criteria that exclude working-class women from Third World countries.

"Racism in Nursing" analyzes data collected on Black nurses in Ontario, emphasizing the cases of human rights violation occurring in the profession. The case study concentrates on how inter-racial relationships between nurses and nursing management are affected by the restructuring/downsizing occurring in the health care system. Increased management and hierarchy in the profession is paralleled by the rise in staff conflicts. The nursing profession offers another relationship in which to analyze everyday racism in the workplace: the relationship with the patient. Nurses of colour are frequently subject to harassment through allegations of abuse and incompetence by patients who want only to be treated by White nurses. Nurses of colour are particularly vulnerable to scapegoating and belittling, and are targeted for differential treatment in workplaces where they are marginalized and isolated from other Black nurses. The differential application of guidelines and rules as a source of everyday racism is highlighted. The degree of subjectivity and discretion in management behaviour in the professions demonstrates the difficulty of creating anti-harassment policies and complaint procedures that address racism. Incidents described in the chapter are similar to situations reported by many other professionals of colour who find themselves isolated and marginalized.

The final chapter is one that many of us doing research on racism and work forget to write — how to engage in collective resistance. Racial harassment and anti-discrimination clauses accompanied by supportive grievance procedures in collective agreements are essential in the fight against racism. We need to recognize the activities of community organizations and advocates in assuring the regulation and progress of the human rights commissions and the Employment Equity Act. Community unionism, or coalition building among workers, and anti-racism education are also essential ingredients in developing collective resistance.

Mary Romero
Arizona State University

Wenona Giles and Sedef Arat-Koc, eds., *Maid in the Market: Women's Paid Domestic Labour* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing 1994).

THIS COLLECTION of essays represents a nice addition to the growing literature on women's positions in paid work. In addition to the editors, the contributors are Jane Bertrand, Audrey Macklin, Patricia McDermott, Rusty Neal, Ester Reiter and Mary Romero. The easy-to-read book contains a blend of descriptive narratives from women engaged in low-paid jobs and some structural analyses of the enduring ghettoization of female-dominated,

often racialized and unregulated occupations.

The broadened scope of discussions, linking conditions common to a variety of female-dominated jobs through related strands of analyses, makes the work unique. Previous approaches isolated the work of domestics and nannies, analysing it separately from more regulated paid occupations. Giles and Arat-Koc, however, include contributions which examine department store clerks, child-care workers, and fast-food workers to show that a broader conceptualization of female exploitation arises from examining a number of occupations. In addition, they explore through various levels of analyses and descriptions the occupations and female experiences of live-out or day domestic workers, office cleaners, and chambermaids.

The analyses utilized in the volume are not new. But far from the uni-directional conflict theory in other studies of women in exploitative working situations, this volume shows that women in the more undesirable occupations can influence their working conditions in a number of ways. Mary Romero, for example, examines Chicanas and domestic work, presenting a refreshing departure from the focus on the victimization of lower class women by higher-income, class-elevated women. In snippets of narratives by female Chicana live-out domestic workers these women are seen as resisting exploitative working relations and negotiating working conditions, allowing them to maximize control of their lived experiences. Romero's essay shows that women engaged in working-class occupations have a developed an understanding of their positions within class struggles.

Chapters six and seven, on the fast-food and retail sectors respectively, offer interesting comparisons of "housework" done for pay in the public domain. Reiter's analysis of the fast-food industry goes further than most analyses, weaving family behaviours, corporate agendas and international market exploitation into one analysis. She shows that the simple Canadian family outing for "hamburgers" is linked by market relations to the reproduction of exploitative relations for workers in less developed nations and workers in Canada. This essay accomplishes a neat convergence of macro and micro market dynamics.

The book of essays is useful introductory reading for undergraduate students in a number of disciplines, especially those in Women's Studies. It could serve as the basis for the development of critical analysis.

Patricia M. Daenzer
McMaster University

Paul Hallam, *The Book of Sodom* (London: Verso 1993).

RECENT SCHOLARSHIP on the history of sexuality has shifted away from the medical and legal codification of sexuality and the sexual acts of persons to a focus on the geographical and social terrain of sexual experience. Examinations of the sexual landscape of Victorian London, Paris between the wars, and early 20th century New York have complicated our understanding of illicit sexual relations, gender roles and the supposedly fixed categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality. Of central importance in this scholastic trend are the patterns of everyday life and the dynamics of public culture in the modern city. Paul Hallam's *The Book of Sodom* shares the tendency of recent scholarship to explore the contours of a city, the activities of its people and their search for sexual pleasure. Unlike Judith Walkowitz's, Adrian Rifkin's and George Chauncey's, Hallam's city is not a modern metropolis but the ancient city of Sodom. Moreover, his study is not an investigation of a historical place but of an excavation of an idea — a metaphoric city which is evoked, invented and found

at the intersection of same-sex sexuality, time, space, and texts.

Hallam's book is an anthology of historical and contemporary writings which touch on Sodom or more often on those acts which were ascribed to its biblical inhabitants. These selections are prefaced by a thoughtful essay which attempts to situate the various selections and Hallam's own experience in finding and collecting these references to Sodom. Hallam's ambition is not merely to analyze the assorted representations of Sodom but to try to recognize Sodom itself, to find the city in the glance of a stranger or on the shelves of a bookstore.

The synthetic introductory essay "Sodom: A Circuit Walk" is Hallam's most successful attempt to get at the everyday experience of being a citizen of the imagined city of same-sex carnality. Instead of contemplating "identity" or sexual subjectivity Hallam attempts to understand how same-sex sexuality is experienced in physical and cognitive realms. Because Sodom is the metaphoric city of sin, of vice, of transgressive sexuality it serves as the protean urban site for same-sex cultural production. As Hallam informs us "Any city worth its salt has been called, at one time or another Sodom." Indeed it is in the supposedly low and sinful urban sites that Sodom can be encountered and apprehended.

Hallam's notion of a circuit-walk is a particularly interesting and playful approach to the literature dealing with Sodom and for considering the dynamics of same-sex sexual desire. He compares his search through used bookstores and libraries for references to Sodom to those of men cruising the parks and the public spaces of modern cities. Hallam cruises the texts while also cruising the spaces in which these texts can be read for the expression and the reciprocation of desire.

It is easy to dismiss Hallam's book as an ahistorical appropriation of a variety of texts dealing with same-sex sexuality in divergent times and places. He is guilty of such an appropriation. What Hallam fails to do in what is otherwise an interesting introduction is explore the particularly modern aspect of his historical project. This is especially so with his evocation of that seminal concept of post-Enlightenment liberal humanism —that of citizenship. Hallam's "Anthology of Sodom" is not a guide to the ancient Biblical habitus of Lot but of a more contemporary public sphere. Moreover, if as Hallam asserts "There is no Sodom. Just Sodom texts," then citizenship is the provence of the literate. Those persons circulating in the night searching of sexual encounters remain mere objects to Sodom's subjects.

Being a citizen of Sodom, according to Hallam, is a particularly contingent and chance form of existence. So much of everyday life, he argues, is made up of what Proust terms "falsehood and perjury" that one has to pay close attention to those transient moments which represent coming into the fraternal embrace of citizenship. He states, "I, a citizen, look eagerly, but find the city at once ubiquitous and elusive." Sodom for Hallam is to be found in reports about 18th century London "molly houses," in the fiction of his friend Sue Golding and in the journalism of a queer reporter exploring the Dead Sea Valley.

Much of the book is made up of a variety of texts ranging from the Bible, various literary selections, and 17th century court reports, to more contemporary writings. Hallam offers these for our own literary circuit-walks but is unable to provide us with the sensual pleasure of discovery, of reading these texts in social spaces which are charged with the types of erotic possibility he describes in his introductory essay. Instead, everything is provided for us; we can read each passage and document with full knowledge that they refer to Sodom and to same-sex sexuality. In a sense no walking needs to be done when travelling this circuit. Hallam's anthology frames all these texts within the context of same-sex sexuality. As a reader one does not wonder if a

certain text is "queer" because Hallam has provided us with that certainty. Ironically we are deprived of the "falsity and perjury" which Hallam deems so essential in the process of apprehending Sodom. The author renders our circuit-walk devoid of the all important doubt, anxiety and risk. Instead of experiencing Sodom's illicit pleasures one is mired in reading representations of the city.

As a historian I was predictably frustrated reading many of the Sodom "texts." It is important to understand, for example, that for Reformation Christians attempting to build a new Jerusalem, Sodom was a powerful image of a distopic society, even a characterization of the society they found about them. Many of the Sodom texts seek to evoke an image of a physical place, of a dangerous locale which tolerates the practice of deviant sexuality. The spatial aspect of the metaphor seems particularly important to thinking about the utility and the popularity of references to Sodom. Just as capitalism is commonly conceived of in terms of the "market," or politics is thought of as the activity of the "polis" or the "public sphere," sexual relations have often been negotiated with reference to Sodom. Like exchange in the market, being a citizen of Sodom is metaphoric and actual, a referent and a social practice with consequence. Hallam's book is a reminder that social relations take place both in discourse and lived spaces; language may construct Sodom but being its citizen is something that can only be experienced.

David S. Churchill
University of Chicago