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REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

Andrew Neufeld and Andrew Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada: The Life and Times of an Industrial Union*, (Vancouver: IWA Canada/New Star Books, 2000)

IN *THE IWA IN CANADA*, Andrew Neufeld and Andrew Parnaby record the "life and times" of an industrial union that has played a major role in the development of British Columbia (and to a lesser extent Canada) since the 1930s. The union has ensured some redistribution of wealth from the exploitation of Canada's forests; in BC it also has played a role in promoting social justice and combating racism. As former BC premier Dave Barrett puts it (with feeling) in a video I show my BC history students, "[the IWA] set a standard that everybody got the same wage and you didn't get cheated because you were an immigrant."

The IWA in Canada is a well written and illustrated chronicle that deserves a broad audience. Throughout the book, Neufeld and Parnaby place the struggle to establish a union of all woodworkers in the industry, "from the stump to the finished product," at the centre of the story. They locate the union's origins in the early efforts of groups like the Industrial Workers of the World and the One Big Union to organize the West's blanketstiffs and bunkhousemen in a single organization. Following the collapse of the 1919 labour revolt, organization in the forest industry almost disappeared for over a decade. Then, in 1937, "reds" like Harold Pritchett, Ernie Dalskog, and

Nigel Morgan, along with "depression-weary" woodworkers who remained committed to industrial unionism, founded the International Woodworkers of America in Tacoma, Washington, as part of the CIO boom. Neufeld and Parnaby make the important point that the IWA's immediate success in the United States was not matched north of the border in BC where a hostile legal and political climate prevented the great organizational breakthrough until the changes brought by World War II. By 1946, however, the IWA had won a master agreement on "the Coast" of BC and further organizational and contractual gains in the 1950s and 1960s allowed the rank-and-file to participate in the post-war boom and compromise "shaped by big government, big unions, big wages, and big profits." (183) As is well known, during this "golden age," anti-communists allied with the CCF and helped by government pursued the "reds" from the union. Neufeld and Parnaby portray the "reds" sympathetically as effective unionists who were respected by the membership. As IWA historian Clay Perry put it for many of the rank-and-file, "[There was] a sense that since companies, in their heart of hearts, did not believe that there should be unions, it was not a bad thing that they be matched with union reps that did not believe there should be companies." (120)

From the 1970s to the 1990s, government and company attacks on the IWA and a series of deep recessions marked the end of the postwar boom and compromise. Neufeld and Parnaby describe how the union and its members fought back through strikes, support for technological

change to make the industry more efficient and competitive, and the continued promotion of sustainable harvesting practices. During the 1990s, some NDP policies in BC supported woodworkers and their communities. In other cases, government (and not just in BC) sided with environmental groups that wanted large areas of forest lands left in their natural state. As the *Lumber Worker* put it about the "Lands for Life" policy in Ontario: "The result was parks for the preservationists, compensation for companies, and nothing for workers, communities, or First Nations who depend on the forests for their living." (277) Today, the union and its members face a major assault by the neoliberal policies of provincial governments in provinces such as BC, Ontario, and Alberta and the imposition of heavy duties by the US Department of Commerce as part of the softwood lumber dispute. It appears that the IWA and its members will make a great deal of history in the next decade.

The IWA in Canada is popular history which emphasizes the heroic struggle of woodworkers to build "one union in wood." A large portion of the narrative focuses on BC, reflecting the longstanding commitment of the province's forest industry towns to the union. However, Neufeld and Parnaby also trace the union's efforts to expand across Canada. The authors' account of the dramatic and costly struggle to establish the union in Newfoundland in the late 1950s reveals the length to which the membership was prepared to go to expand the IWA and to improve the lives of loggers. The long and bitter 1986 strike against contracting out in BC also reveals "that when the existence of the union is threatened and obvious to the membership there is no limit to the length the membership will go to save it." (231) This is stirring stuff that unionists and other Canadians should know about.

The only failing of the book is that it is written largely from the point-of-view of the leadership and the institutional devel-

opment of the union. There are histories of the locals but not much sense of what it was like to be a member of the union or what the union has meant to its members and communities. There is also little reflection in the latter part of the book on the nature of the leadership and the organization during the era of the postwar compromise and beyond. For example, the authors cite Bryan Palmer's critical analysis in their evenhanded description of the long ago purge of the "reds" but rely heavily on Jack Munro for their discussion of the IWA's more recent role in "stopping" Operation Solidarity in 1983. Interestingly, the current IWA president, Dave Haggard, recognizes past mistakes and the need for change in his "Reflections" at the end of the book: "We need, for instance, to recover some of the social activism and union pride that motivated our founders and predecessors. We need to rekindle the sense that the union is "us," that the union is only as strong as its members. Remember: although history is partly about "leaders," it is even more about the hundreds of thousands of working people who ... dream[ed] of a better future" (305-6) The context for this significant and powerful statement needed more development in the book.

All in all, *The IWA in Canada* is a good and important popular history of the union that its members should be proud of. More books like this one need to be written about the "great" unions of Canada's past and present.

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Andrée Lévesque, *Scènes de la vie en rouge. L'époque de Jeanne Corbin 1906 - 1944* (Montréal: Les Éditions du remue-ménage, 1999)

EN DEHORS DE LA BIOGRAPHIE, on ne trouve guère de genre historique où, face à une apparente insuffisance de sources, il n'est pas de mise de renoncer. Cela tient

probablement au statut encore flottant du genre: ayant connu sa part de turpitudes au 20^e siècle, la biographie est toujours en quête d'une méthode formelle, et par là d'une forme de respectabilité épistémologique.

Il est toutefois heureux que certains historiens n'aient pas perdu le goût du risque. Dans un ouvrage qu'elle hésite elle-même à qualifier de biographie tant sa démarche et sa méthode semblent résister au jeu des étiquettes, Andrée Lévesque nous offre une histoire du mouvement communiste canadien procédant du point de vue des militants, et plus particulièrement de celui d'une jeune femme d'origine française, Jeanne Corbin (1906-1944). Dépourvue en matière de sources documentaires, Corbin ayant très peu écrit, Lévesque ne pouvait certes aspirer à une biographie au sens littéral du terme (écriture d'une vie). Ayant fait le pari d'instrumentaliser la vie de son personnage, elle nous convie plutôt à une étude du communisme de la première moitié du 20^e siècle, une époque marquée notamment par la première génération révolutionnaire, la dépression économique, le Front populaire, le stalinisme, la guerre d'Espagne, la menace hitlérienne, l'antisémitisme. Sous cet aspect — l'instrumentalisation du sujet —, je crois qu'il n'est pas abusif de situer son travail dans la veine historiographique inaugurée il y a quelques années par l'historien français Alain Corbin (*Le monde retrouvé de Louis-François Pinagot. Sur les traces d'un inconnu 1798-1976*, Paris, Flammarion, 1998).

La vie de Jeanne Corbin, qui fut courte mais non moins riche, fournit le principe organisateur de l'ouvrage. Chassée en bas âge avec sa famille d'une région de France devenue inhospitalière, Jeanne aboutit au Canada, en Alberta, sur une terre située près du village de Tofield. Même si les certitudes sont difficiles à atteindre en ce domaine, on peut présumer que la rudesse de ce nouvel environnement n'est pas étrangère à sa future voca-

tion communiste. La jeune femme, en effet, s'est coulée rapidement, et semble-t-il spontanément, dans les milieux communistes. Institutrice de carrière, permanente du parti, son engagement lui aura notamment fait voir du pays: on la voit s'installer successivement à Edmonton, Toronto, Montréal et Timmins. Ses responsabilités de militante furent à la fois lourdes et nombreuses: organisatrice syndicale, agente commerciale des journaux *The Worker*, *L'Ouvrier canadien* et *La Vie ouvrière*, secrétaire de district de la Ligue de défense ouvrière. Son enthousiasme et son dévouement, qui ne se sont jamais démentis au cours des années, lui valurent plus tard la réputation d'«héroïne du parti.» Atteinte de la tuberculose, Jeanne Corbin meurt prématurément en 1944, à l'âge de 37 ans.

Sous une première impression, l'impossibilité pour l'auteure d'approfondir l'étude de son personnage nous fera croire à une perte: celle de la richesse et de l'irréductibilité de l'expérience humaine; celle également de l'individu qui résiste aux structures. En l'absence d'une pensée explicite et un peu significative, il nous faut effectivement postuler que Corbin n'a jamais dévié de la ligne du parti — rien, du reste, ne nous permet d'affirmer le contraire. Cette perte en ce qui concerne la liberté du sujet est toutefois compensée par l'introduction dans le récit d'une figure singulière: le militant. Celui-ci dont c'est justement le propre de croire sans questionner, d'assujettir ses intérêts personnels à la cause. Soumis sur le plan doctrinaire, parfois même jusqu'à l'aveuglement, le militant n'en conserve pas moins une certaine autonomie sur le plan de l'action. De sorte que lorsqu'on daigne bien considérer son point de vue, l'histoire du communisme canadien apparaît comme une vaste lutte contre l'injustice sociale, évidemment, mais aussi contre le centralisme excessif du parti, les maigres ressources matérielles et financières d'un mouvement qui n'a cessé d'évoluer dans la marginalité, les difficultés sur le terrain

à mobiliser les travailleurs, la répression anticommuniste, l'apathie de certains membres. À cet égard, il faut entendre Jeanne Corbin s'indigner du manque d'ardeur de certains de ses «chefs supposément politisés.» (87) Dans la sphère d'intervention qui est la sienne, et bien qu'il lui faille toujours rendre des comptes, le militant livre donc des combats «au quotidien» qui suffisent amplement à le faire accéder au rang d'acteur historique.

L'engagement personnel de Jeanne Corbin envers la cause communiste devient ainsi le prétexte à une échappée vers la «grande histoire.» De chapitre en chapitre, et à partir d'une grande variété de sources, l'auteure parvient à nous entretenir des grandes orientations du Parti communiste, de la réalité qui s'offrait aux immigrants dans le nord de l'Alberta, du chômage pendant la crise, des conditions de travail dans les industries minières et forestières, la vie dans les sanatoriums durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, etc. Dans cette perspective, le chapitre six intitulé «Des femmes dans un parti d'hommes» est l'un des plus réussis. Il illustre bien d'ailleurs cette «instrumentalisation» du personnage à laquelle Andrée Lévesque fut contrainte: même si Corbin eut sans doute été réticente à se définir d'abord en tant que femme, elle qui était sans doute plus encline à faire reposer son identité sur son appartenance de classe, Lévesque s'est inspirée de son engagement politique pour nous livrer une admirable analyse du rôle et de la place des femmes au sein du mouvement communiste.

Le dernier chapitre est toutefois en rupture de ton. Après une plongée dans les structures, il nous faut refaire le contact avec le destin singulier, et tragique, de Jeanne Corbin. Cela dit, l'effort exigé est minime et je ne cacherai pas l'émotion qu'a suscité en moi la description des dernières années de sa vie. Une description qui, il faut le préciser, se trouve cette fois-ci alimentée par sa correspondance personnelle. J'en retiens surtout les

dédalles du sanatorium Queen Alexandra de London (Ontario), les nouvelles des camarades qui se font de plus en plus rares et, surtout, l'optimisme qui habita Jeanne jusqu'à la fin, en dépit d'une maladie qui lui volait progressivement ses forces.

Hardi dans la forme et témoignant d'une connaissance assurée du mouvement et de l'idéologie communistes, l'ouvrage d'Andrée Lévesque comblera le désir de ceux qui, nombreux je le pense, souhaitent parvenir à une compréhension du phénomène communiste sans pour autant sacrifier l'expérience de ceux qui y ont laissé leurs peines et leurs espoirs.

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Errol Black and Tom Mitchell, *A Square Deal For All And No Railroad: Historical Essays on Labour in Brandon* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 2000)

THIS BOOK TAKES its title from an essay by Tom Mitchell that first appeared in *Prairie Forum* in 1990, and which in turn took the phrase from a declaration made by the Brandon Trades and Labour Council in 1917. Such layering of reference is apt, perhaps, for while the essays here are frequently challenging and critical of orthodoxy, there is also a sense that much of what this volume contains is comfortably — and comfortingly — familiar to anyone who has studied western Canadian labour over the past two or three decades.

"The essays in this collection," write historian Tom Mitchell and economist Errol Black in their introduction, "are unabashedly about reconstructing and disclosing aspects of the history of class and class relations in Brandon." (12) Brandon might, at first glance, appear an odd choice for such a study, numbering just 14,000 or so in the tumultuous year of 1919 — less than half of all those who were on strike in Winnipeg — and possessing a modest industrial base. But as

the nine essays here make clear, class and class conflict are not the exclusive preserve of larger urban centres, either in the West or elsewhere. "The experience of small cities has been neglected," Errol and Tom Black note in their essay on civic politics in Brandon, and it would be wrong to assume it simply mirrors developments in larger cities such as Winnipeg or Calgary. Instead, as their piece makes clear, "there are unique aspects in the Brandon experience ... which originated in the peculiarities of local class relations and local politics." (27)

Quoting liberally from Marx, Gramsci, Thompson, and Williams, the book's co-authors set out their position on class. They reject a "simple minded [sic] understanding of the relationship between the material world and the consciousness and actions of workers" in favour of the belief that "individuals make sense of, and respond to, the world they inhabit through a process mediated by material circumstances, culture (including competing social, political, and economic discourses) and human agency." (16) This is setting the bar high, of course, in that the essays that follow have to measure up to this ideal.

All but one of the book's nine essays have appeared previously in various journals. (The single exception is "The Making of the East End Community Club" by Errol and Tom Black, which closes proceedings) Mitchell is author or co-author of five of the pieces here; Black is solely or jointly responsible for the remaining four. The opening four essays appear under the collective heading, "Labour and Politics," the second three under "Collective Bargaining and Industrial Relations," and the final pair under "Shaping a Working-Class Culture." In short, then, they cover well-trodden territory and at first glance might appear less innovative or bold than the book's introduction promises. On closer inspection, however, Mitchell and Black do indeed throw some new light on the nature of class in the West.

The first two essays provide overviews of labour politics in Brandon. "Labour in Brandon Civic Politics: A Long View" is particularly useful, for it covers not only the familiar decades 1900-40, but also the far less explored war years and post-war decades up to the 1970s. As such we get a sense of continuity as well as change in the course of labour's electoral evolution. Mitchell's more focused essay on Brandon labour politics between 1900 and 1920, and his conclusion that "a class conscious labourite ideology had spread to a large proportion of Brandon's working class" (84) should be read and considered against this broader background.

Switching from politics to industrial relations, Mitchell's two essays on the 1919 sympathy strike and the 1922 teachers' conflict underline the depth, breadth, and resonance of class conflict in the small Prairie city. One might quibble with his assertion that Brandon workers staged the "longest and most cohesive sympathetic strike" (145) in 1919 (the essay by Greg Kealey that he cites to support this shows that Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon, and Vancouver all have far greater claim to this title), but his essay remains a valuable addition to the literature on 1919. Even better, perhaps, is Errol Black's account of industrial relations at the A.E. McKenzie Company between 1944 and 1952, both in emphasizing that class tensions did not just "go away" after the defeat of 1919 and in underlining the active role of female workers in Brandon's post-war labour force.

The book's final two essays — one on the Brandon labour movement's educational policies and practices, the other on the East End Community Club — explore the world of working-class culture in the "Wheat City" in the years surrounding World War I. The former is especially thoughtful in bringing together such disparate elements as the local Trades and Labour Council, various labour and socialist parties, the People's Church and the People's Forum into a single analysis.

Whether the uneasy amalgam of accommodative labourism and more revolutionary socialism divided Brandon workers more than it brought them together, however, remains open to question.

Indeed, there is a sense sometimes that the empirical evidence in this collection of essays is unable to live up to the promises of the introduction. While useful and informative in themselves, the pieces on labour politics and industrial relations do not really support the authors' claim that "experience of class emerged as the dominant theme over gender, ethnicity, race, or other social identities in the history of Brandon's workers." (17) There is also a sense at times that Brandon workers's experience of and response to industrial capitalism did indeed mirror those of workers in other western cities, and that while this book adds to our knowledge of western labour it does not necessarily adjust it. The fact that six of the nine essays deal with that well-mined period — 1900-30 — rather compounds this perception.

That said, *A Square Deal For All And No Railroadng* is a welcome addition to western Canadian labour historiography. Taken together, its essays provide a detailed and often nicely nuanced account of class relations in Brandon, a city often overlooked in broader accounts of the West. And two essays in particular — Mitchell's revisionist account of Methodist minister A.E. Smith and Black's study of the revolutionary communist Forkin family — should become essential reading for anyone who thinks they know the history of Western labour.

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Paul De la Riva, *Mine de rien. Les Canadiens français et le travail minier à Sudbury, 1886-1930* (Sudbury: Prise de parole et l'Institut franco-ontarien, 1998)

PAUL DE LA RIVA a réalisé une étude fort intéressante sur la contribution des Canadiens français en tant que travailleurs dans le secteur minier dans le Nord de l'Ontario et plus spécifiquement dans la région de Sudbury de 1886 à 1930. L'historiographie franco-ontarienne et canadienne-anglaise a longtemps maintenu que «les Canadiens français ont été des participants tardifs aux travaux miniers et peu intéressés à ce type de travail.» (7) En effet, plusieurs études prétendent que les Canadiens français se sont tenus à l'écart des mines jusqu'aux années 1940, préférant se consacrer aux secteurs agricole et forestier. De la Riva rejette cette interprétation. Il veut démontrer que la contribution des Canadiens français dans ce secteur remonte à 1886, c'est-à-dire au même moment que s'amorcent les premiers travaux miniers dans la région, et que cette contribution n'est guère négligeable pendant toute la période étudiée soit de 1886 à 1930.

Les recensements nominatifs de 1891 et 1901 pour la région de Sudbury, les livres de caisse de l'International Nickel Company (Inco) et les fiches du personnel, conservées à partir de 1912, lui permettent d'évaluer la place qu'occupent les Canadiens français dans ce secteur de l'économie en plus de suivre l'évolution de cette main-d'oeuvre et des travailleurs des autres ethnies. Après avoir déterminé le nombre de travailleurs canadiens français, il s'intéresse à leur expérience de travail, la division du travail par service et la ségrégation occupationnelle afin de mieux définir leur rôle au sein de l'Inco. L'étude de Paul de la Riva jette aussi un regard sur la mobilité et les antécédents professionnels des travailleurs. Il tente de démontrer que les Canadiens français ne forment pas un groupe de travailleurs très homogène.

Tiré d'un mémoire de maîtrise réalisé en 1995, son ouvrage comprend six chapitres. Dans quelques chapitres, l'auteur a eu la bonne idée d'introduire des cas d'ouvriers qui proviennent des fiches d'embauche. De plus, son ouvrage regorge d'informations statistiques présentées sous forme de tableaux. Dans son premier chapitre, De la Riva fait d'abord un survol de l'historiographie franco-ontarienne et canadienne-anglaise pour ensuite présenter la méthodologie utilisée afin d'analyser la présence des Canadiens français au sein de l'Inco. Près de 48 000 fiches d'embauche existent pour la période de 1912 à 1939. Un échantillonnage s'est donc imposé. De la Riva admet avoir procédé de façon un peu arbitraire. Reconnaisant que les lettres B et L sont fort communes comme première lettre des patronymes français, il a d'abord retenu les fiches dont la première lettre du nom de famille débute avec ces lettres. L'auteur a donc dépouillé 6 674 fiches qui lui ont fourni, maintient-il, «un bon échantillon de la diversité ethnique de la force ouvrière.» (26) L'examen des fiches lui a permis d'analyser l'évolution de la force ouvrière canadienne française dans les installations minières de l'Inco. Les fiches ont révélé des informations sur les dates d'embauche, la mobilité interne, le rôle de chaque travailleur dans les activités minières et l'évolution salariale. Les fiches permettent aussi à l'auteur de comparer la main-d'œuvre canadienne française à la force ouvrière dans son ensemble.

Le chapitre deux se penche sur les Canadiens français et le travail dans la région de Sudbury de 1886 à 1912. Puisque cette période précède la mise en place d'un système de fiches d'embauche à l'Inco, De la Riva consulte les recensements de 1891 et de 1901 ainsi que les livres de caisse de la Canadian Copper Co., le précurseur de l'Inco, pour faire son analyse. Il démontre clairement que les Canadiens français ne sont pas tous des cultivateurs ou des bûcherons durant cette période. Ainsi, selon les recensements de

1891 et 1901, les Canadiens français sont actifs dans l'industrie minière puisqu'ils forment près du quart de la force ouvrière. Les livres comptables révèlent également la présence continue d'ouvriers canadiens français surtout entre 1887 et 1904. Malgré un certain déclin au début du 20^e siècle, les Canadiens français sont bien présents dans l'industrie minière de 1886 à 1912. «Par le fait même,» souligne De la Riva, «les Canadiens français doivent être perçus comme de véritables pionniers de cette industrie et non pas comme des retardataires qui ont attendu les années 1930 pour y participer.» (71)

Dans son chapitre suivant, De la Riva dresse un profil général du mineur canadien français à Sudbury de 1912 à 1930. Il trace d'abord l'évolution de l'embauche des Canadiens français afin de dégager les temps forts de leur intégration dans l'industrie minière. À partir de son échantillon, il a pu identifier 1345 Canadiens français et les quatre années d'embauche les plus importantes sont 1916, 1917, 1920 et 1929. Par la suite, il étudie trois caractéristiques des mineurs canadiens français soit l'âge à l'embauche, l'état matrimonial et l'éducation. Des constantes se dégagent. Ainsi, les mineurs Canadiens français sont jeunes car plus de 50% ont moins de 25 ans. La majorité, plus de 70%, sont célibataires et peu sont instruits puisque plus de 80% ont une formation de niveau primaire. Après avoir établi le profil général de sa force ouvrière canadienne française, l'auteur veut voir si les traits dégagés ont un effet sur la place qu'ils occupent au sein de l'industrie. Son quatrième chapitre se penche donc sur la structure du travail et de la ségrégation ethnique. Les fiches d'embauche révèlent que les Canadiens français sont en grande partie des manoeuvres et des ouvriers semi-qualifiés. Ils sont bien présents dans les différents services de l'Inco, légèrement sous-représentés dans les services miniers et ils ont une plus forte présence dans les services de la fonderie et de la préfonte, et des champs de

fritage. Ils sont peu présents dans des travaux de surface, où l'on retrouve plutôt des Italiens et des Polonais, ainsi que dans les services de bureau et professionnels, «la chasse gardée des Canadiens anglais, des Britanniques et des Américains.» (102) Donc, les postes bien rémunérés et de commande, les postes qui exigent la maîtrise de la langue anglaise, sont occupés par les immigrants britanniques et les Canadiens anglais. Les immigrants «étrangers» occupent, pour leur part, les postes plus épuisants et les moins enviables. Selon De la Riva, «la grille salariale semble témoigner de l'absence d'une politique discriminatoire sur la base ethnique.» Par contre, poursuit-il, «le processus de division du travail montre que certaines ethnies sont plus présentes dans certains secteurs mieux rémunérés et de prestige.» (111)

Dans son cinquième chapitre, De la Riva étudie les antécédents professionnels et la mobilité des travailleurs canadiens français. Il essaie de voir si l'origine ethnique a un lien direct avec les hausses salariales ou si celles-ci relèvent plutôt de la durée du séjour de l'ouvrier. La majorité des ouvriers canadiens français ne sont pas à leur première expérience de travail lorsqu'ils sont embauchés par l'Inco. Plusieurs déclarent avoir occupé des emplois dans le secteur industriel (40%), dans la construction (21,8%), dans les services (7,7%), en agriculture (11,9%) ou dans le domaine forestier (12,1%). Les fiches indiquent que peu de travailleurs font carrière dans le secteur minier. Pour plusieurs ouvriers, travailler à l'Inco est perçu comme un emploi saisonnier. Il faut dire que jusqu'en 1944, les ouvriers miniers de Sudbury ne sont pas syndiqués et ont des conditions de travail assez difficiles. Les fiches révèlent donc que la force ouvrière canadienne française est instable puisque seulement un ouvrier sur quatre travaillera plus de six mois pour l'Inco. D'ailleurs, les Canadiens français constituent le groupe qui séjourne le moins longtemps à l'Inco. Il semble que les départs chez les

Canadiens français tout comme chez les Canadiens anglais, sont pour la plupart des départs volontaires. L'auteur attribue cette situation à la pénibilité du travail minier et aux risques d'accidents. De plus, étant donné qu'ils sont installés plus près des leurs et dans une région qu'ils connaissent, les ouvriers canadiens français et canadiens anglais sont plus aptes que tout autre groupe à quitter sur une base volontaire.

Dans son dernier chapitre, De la Riva se demande si la main-d'œuvre ouvrière canadienne française de l'Inco forme un groupe homogène. Il démontre que les contingents canadiens français ont vécu, au sein de cette compagnie, une expérience industrielle différente en fonction de quelques variables comme l'âge à l'embauche, l'état civil, le lieu et le type d'engagements antérieurs ainsi que le lieu de résidence des parents ou des personnes à charge. Donc, selon l'auteur, on aurait tort de présenter les ouvriers canadiens français comme un groupe très homogène. Leur expérience au sein des activités minières de l'Inco n'est pas uniforme.

L'ouvrage de Paul de la Riva nous fait davantage connaître la contribution des Canadiens français dans le secteur minier dans le Nord de l'Ontario. Dans sa conclusion, il invite les historiens à poursuivre la recherche étant donné la grande accessibilité des archives de l'Inco. Selon lui, il serait possible de mieux définir l'évolution de la main-d'œuvre canadienne française dans l'industrie minière, de mieux comprendre la mobilité canadienne française dans l'ensemble du Nord de l'Ontario, de situer l'expérience canadienne française par rapport à celle de différents groupes tels les Polonais, les Italiens, les Finlandais, etc. afin de broser un portrait plus juste et détaillé de l'histoire ouvrière de cette région.

Plusieurs études ont été publiées sur le travail des Acadiens et des Canadiens français dans les domaines de l'agriculture, de la forêt, des pâtes et papiers, et des pêches. De la Riva nous

démontre clairement que le secteur minier mérite qu'on s'y attarde. Son livre fera désormais référence pour les chercheurs et chercheuses qui s'intéressent à l'histoire franco-ontarienne et à l'histoire du travail.

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Charlie Angus and Louie Palu, *Mirrors of Stone: Fragments from the Porcupine Frontier* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2001).

NEAR THE END of *Mirrors of Stone*, a history of the Porcupine mining area, Charlie Angus writes, "Memories ... are not faithful recordings. Rather they are constructions." (117) This comment is revealing: *Mirrors* is a "construct," at once fascinating yet predictable, revealing yet obvious, enlightening yet exasperating, suited to the general audience yet relevant to the academic.

Angus set out to record a history of the Porcupine wherein "the darker clouds of an immigrant and class-oriented frontier [had not] ... been air-brushed from memory." (3) The physical setting is less than precise — the focus varies from Timmins to other mining towns and even entire townships. The historical coverage is equally hit-and-miss. Inspired by family experience in the region, and memories triggered by remembered and continuing visits to local cemeteries, Angus takes us through a meandering survey of some 90 years of Porcupine history. Some major events such as the 1912 fire, mine disasters, and the quite recent Kidd Creek boom are examined fairly well. But do not look here for a steady chronology of events; topics seem idiosyncratically chosen with highly variable coverage. The minor also meshes with the major, and the (relatively well known) death of hockey star Bill Barilko gets more coverage than do some decades. Perhaps that reflects family history. Angus writes that

his father was a good friend and schoolmate of Barilko. (98) Minutiae and family lore in so slim a volume (about 100 pages of text) are often presented with flair; still, one might hope for some more broad analysis.

Yet there is merit in Angus's personal perspective, his exploration of memories. He is clearly fascinated with where he grew up and later returned to live as writer and musician. These personal perspectives give the book a passion often missing in "grounded academic history." Angus has worked hard, as is evident in the text, if less so in rather limited and casual citations. His findings are presented in colourful prose that will entice the casual reader. His considerable reliance on the memories of both men and women (the latter are far more than an afterthought here) should interest more serious students of history. So too the use of notes in the book's generous margins (often quotations from the *Porcupine Advance*) that serve as an interesting if uneven source of information. Oral and newspaper history is complemented by the testimony of the dead: evocative photographs of grave-stones by Louie Palu, with a quality of dark charcoal sketches, provide powerful miniature biographies that pull the reader along as Angus tells his tales.

These images are grim reminders that death was a constant companion in the rough-and-tumble life and workscapes of the Porcupine. But one is struck by the reality that headstone after headstone reveals a short lifespan, while Angus relied on those who had lived long if not always prosperous lives. The writing also takes a relentlessly one-sided perspective. There is no doubt that the various mining firms of the Porcupine drove their workers hard, pushed for profits hard, and made piles of money. But the image here is so relentlessly negative, so convinced of the evils of capitalism that *Mirrors* loses some of its impact. The evils of the employer, the exploitation of men, women, and families, and the consequences are a major part of Porcupine's history. But

Angus is so angered, so filled with righteous indignation, that his retelling of the brutal workplaces, hard-driving bosses, and hideous silica dust becomes predictable rather than provocative, annoying rather than eyebrow-raising. One grows suspicious, too, of the accuracy of some generalizations. Angus writes of miners struggling to get by on 60 dollars a week in the early 1950s. (86) Does he realize that this rate of pay was well above the national average? And when workers confronted workers, for instance in the struggles between Mine Mill and the United Steelworkers, coverage is brief and, for once, rather cautious. (111-113) Perhaps criticizing workers was not something Angus wished to do? One need not be coldly analytical; but a balanced assessment is a requirement of good history.

Even when dealing with "good times," Angus sometimes struggles. Tales of Henry Kelnick performing at the Pav[illion] and as the yet unknown and just barely Stomping Tom Connors at the Maple Leaf Hotel add life to the book. But in describing the bar or the hockey game, stereotypes arise: "miners need a period of depressurization following their labours." (97) All of them? None are happy with their work? None just go home and get on with other things? Similarly, in grimmer tales of confrontation within the local society (over control of co-operatives, in assaults against Italian-Canadians during World War II, or a passing reference to "DPs") Angus favours colour and generalization over detail and accuracy. Citations are frequently sparse even as descriptions are vivid; ethnic groups are depicted in rather stereotypical ways. Finnish immigrants come across in rather simplistic ways. The radical, leftist Finn can be found here, but little of the complexity now known to scholars of the Finnish immigrant experience. The Jewish experience, too, seems naively simplified, with suggestions of success but hardly a word of the anti-Semitism that surely was present. Angus could not, of course, have

covered every aspect in detail; nor could one expect him to be expert on all aspects of the multifaceted Porcupine populations. But one suspects he prefers the straightforward and thus vivid stereotypes to historic complexities that provide a more accurate but often blander tale.

Bland this book is not — from graphic discussion of men plunging to their deaths in a mine cage to the "short unhappy [and murderous] life of Natasia Baldiuck," (22) to the ultimate price paid by some men who "high-graded" gold, there is rarely an everyday moment here. Indeed, the ordinary folk of Timmins and area are hard to find; instead the colourful, the boisterous, the dangerous, the entrepreneur, the hapless get centre stage. Surely, even in mining areas life is often more mundane, more ordinary.

But Angus knows what he wants to accomplish. His goal is not a long-winded, academic compilation of massive amounts of data, carefully cited through hundreds of endnotes. He wants to capture the vitality, the live-for-the-moment, the at-once-present optimism, and depressing reality of life in a single-resource, company-dominated region. Louie Palu's photographs nicely parallel this effort as headstones tell of immigrants and Canadians from far afield drawn to the Porcupine by its promise but crushed by its realities.

In the end, then, Angus and Palu show the value of remembering. These stories, told in word and photograph, incomplete and sometimes almost imagined, are worth the telling. Reading *Mirrors in Stone*, and staring at the dark images, leaves little doubt that there are more stories to tell; a more accurate version awaits. Angus closes by addressing his fear that history has lost its way, lost its "power to haunt, challenge, or inspire." (132) This book, thin and flawed, is testimony that history can still haunt and inspire. A book worth reading and looking at for anyone interested in the

North, in mining, in the capitalist-worker relationship and more.

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Kenneth Michael Sylvester, *The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family, Culture, and Markets in Montcalm, Manitoba, 1870-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001)

FRANKLY, I am uncertain what to make of this book, since it leaves one with a mixed and sometimes confused assessment. On the one hand, somewhat in the tradition of Paul Voisey's *Vulcan*, Sylvester has done a fine community study of Montcalm, the only rural municipality in Manitoba settled almost entirely by francophones from Québec. Tracing three or four generations, Sylvester documents the survival strategies of a unique experiment in Prairie settlement. Providing some contrasts to anglophone settlers, Sylvester explains what was initially different among the settlers of Montcalm: the ties of extended families provided conduits for successive waves of settlement; the larger families furnished considerable amounts of unpaid family labour, affording insulation from too early or too extensive reliance on wage labour; there was a better sex ratio achieved largely as a result of the family-based settlement strategies; family strategies for inheritance and land access allowed for a greater retention of a growing population and slowing down of outmigration; and strong linguistic and cultural barriers provided a solid sense of community. Much of the book subsequently tells the story of how these unique features were gradually gnawed away by an emerging rural capitalism as "their working lives and ambitions became commoditized and costed by the calculus of the market." (4) This is the great strength of the book.

On the other hand, one is overwhelmed by too much detail and sight is lost of the bigger picture. Sylvester never succeeds in weaving these often apparently idiosyncratic local events into either the bigger events in Canadian politics that shaped the Canadian political economy, or the generally well-known fate of the agrarian *petite bourgeoisie* in a modernizing capitalist political economy. From time to time these insights are tangentially mentioned, but only as an aside that the alert reader must grasp.

Further, the general fate of the Québec francophone diaspora in the Prairie West is dealt with only tangentially and often by implication. Yet the story of Montcalm must surely be more centrally and clearly tied to the unconstitutional withdrawal of French language and education rights in the Prairie West, and the related events that made it clear to francophones in Québec (later, the Québécois nation) that they were not welcome to participate as meaningful partners in the development of Canada's West. Again, one can sense this impact in Sylvester's chronicle, but it is never made as explicit or as central as it should be. As events unfolded, it evidently became clear to the francophone Montcalmois, in common with other enclaves of francophone settlers across the Prairies, that they were to be isolated and always a minority. Hence we needed some development of their story around the theme of *La Survivance*, not from the perspective of francophones in Québec, but from the perspective of those abandoned in the diaspora. Again, Sylvester's chronicle touches on these big events but only in passing.

Do not get me wrong. Sylvester's volume is an outstanding piece of meticulous scholarship, but he fails to solve the macro/micro dilemma of the social sciences. How can we do research, writing, and, indeed, theorizing, in such a way that we can move easily and gracefully back and forth between micro and macro levels in order to achieve a dynamic and full un-

derstanding of a community's development?

Part of Sylvester's problem arises from his apparent lack of a clearly defined theoretical perspective. When he says, for example, "the biggest mystery of prairie farming is that ... the western countryside was never truly industrialized" (4), he appears to forget that Prairie agriculture, especially with the Wheat Boom of 1896, was, and remained, industrial and extensive at its most advanced and sophisticated. The author seems to confuse "industrial" with "capitalist," and seems to believe that since there were family barriers or limits to the fullest development of capitalism in Prairie agriculture, therefore Prairie agriculture was somehow something other than capitalist agriculture. The well-documented fact is that what developed in the Prairie West, from the start, was a sophisticated industrial and capitalist agriculture. And what Sylvester has shown in his work is how farm families in Montcalm struggled to negotiate the terms of their incorporation into that political economy, and to defend their agrarian *petite bourgeois* class interests. Again, Sylvester teases one with this understanding implicit in his text, when, for example, though never explicitly adopting a class analysis, he describes how the agrarian *petite bourgeoisie* imposed and maintained its hegemony on local government. (123-29)

Family strategies for survival and well-being, which Sylvester seems to suggest uniquely placed limits on capitalist development in Montcalm, were a common response among all classes to the development of capitalism, not just those lucky enough to own property. As capitalist modernization worked out its sometimes painful and often ugly logic on humanity, destroying whole classes, cultures, and continents, uprooting communities, flinging the propertyless onto the labour market, all families strove to salvage survival and dignity, those dispossessed from the highlands of Scotland no less than those from Quebec seeking a

better future in Montcalm, Manitoba. And, certainly, the agrarian *petite bourgeoisie* of Montcalm, as francophones from Québec, were able to adapt and resist in some unique ways, thanks to large families, a strong extended family network, francophone linguistic and cultural barriers, and family-based patterns of settlement. Sylvester has done a first-rate job in detailing those patterns, but, at the end of the day, as Sylvester himself arguably shows, the fate of the agrarian *petite bourgeoisie* of Montcalm was a common one shared with their comrades across Canada as the capitalist modernization of agriculture continued its relentless and ultimately irresistible course.

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Nancy Knickerbocker, *No Plaster Saint: The Life of Mildred Osterhout Fahrni* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2001)

THE LIFE OF Mildred Osterhout Fahrni, the subject of this biography written by Nancy Knickerbocker, touched upon some of the great social movements and outstanding personalities of the 20th century. It is a case study of the interesting things that can happen to the person who takes the less travelled path. Mildred was born 2 January 1900 in a Methodist parsonage in rural Manitoba, the daughter of Reverend Abram and Hattie Osterhout. When she was fourteen, the family moved to British Columbia, where she attended school and university. In 1921 her mother died and, as the only daughter, she took on the role of housekeeper and caregiver for her father. She arranged one of her frequent escapes from domesticity by winning a scholarship in 1930 for one year of study at Bryn Mawr. There she met Muriel Lester, a British pacifist and social worker, who had embraced voluntary poverty and set up a community center, Kingsley Hall, in the slum district of Bow in East London. On Lester's invitation,

Mildred volunteered for a six-month stint at the center. As luck would have it, her stay coincided with the visit of Mohandas K. Gandhi, who was in London to attend the Round Table Conference on Indian independence. Although the British government had offered him luxurious lodgings, he preferred to stay among the poor at Kingsley Hall. Mildred cooked for him and joined him in his pre-dawn walks. According to Knickerbocker, "meeting Gandhi was the 'accident' that set her [Mildred's] life on a heroic course and freed her from the confines of a conventional western woman's story." (60)

Following a tour of Europe, including the Soviet Union, Mildred returned to Vancouver and resumed the role of housekeeper and dutiful daughter. She obtained a job as a social worker and took up CCF politics, attending the 1933 founding convention in Regina. In November she ran as a CCF candidate in the BC election, losing to Liberal candidate Gerry McGeer, who secured 9,572 votes to her 6,491. She ran in a federal by-election in the spring of 1938, losing again. Later that year she was off to India, where she stayed at Gandhi's ashram. Near the end of the visit, she mentioned to him that she did not want to leave India. "Then why go? You are welcome here. There is free room and board as long as you want to stay," he replied. She said she would feel justified in staying if she had something useful to do. "Well, you are a good little washer!" he answered. (113) Knickerbocker interprets this as a put-down that crushed Mildred's feelings: "One wonders how Mildred's life would have been different if he had taken her hand, looked her in the eye and appealed for her help. What if he had asked her to start a literacy program in his village, asked her to run a school or an orphanage, or to work with women, or seniors? What if? Her future hung on his reply?" (113) Here one starts to lose confidence in the biographer. Why is it up to Gandhi or anybody else to define Mildred's future?

Back in Vancouver, Mildred chafed under the tedium of looking after her increasingly "dependent, possessive, patriarchal, nervous, over-cautious, pessimistic, and devoted" father. (125) He died in July 1940, leaving Mildred free of responsibilities, but also in a precarious financial position, since she had depended upon him for money. In 1941 she married Walter Fahrni, a ship engineer eleven years her senior. The wedding, as described by the *Vancouver Daily Province* society page reporter, had unusual features. The toast to the bride was followed by toasts to the Rural Education Plan of India, the Industrial Cooperative Movement of China, the Seaman's Institute, and the International Student Service Refugee Fund. The marriage was equally unconventional, marked by long separations and unusual living arrangements (such as a cooperative with ten other adults, two teenagers, and four children in the same household).

Mildred kept up her activism in progressive causes. During World War II, she taught school in New Denver, one of the interior BC towns to which Japanese Canadians were relocated. She attended the founding conference of the United Nations in 1945, and in 1948 accepted the post of National Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an international pacifist organization. The job required her to move to Toronto, where she lived until 1953, when she came back to Vancouver to work as the Western Secretary for the Fellowship. In keeping with her knack for being at the right place at the right time, she traveled to Montgomery, Alabama during the famous bus boycott. She interviewed Martin Luther King, whom she admired as a young Mohatma Gandhi. When her husband died in 1958, she rented out rooms to boarders and students, living out her radical peace vision with open-door hospitality to anyone who needed a meal or a place to stay. During a few months of every winter from 1963 to 1979, she worked at *Casa de los Amigos*, a Quaker community center in downtown

Mexico City. Her long, interesting, and courageous life came to an end on 12 April 1992.

The biographer leaves the reader with as many questions as answers. Mildred's relationship with her father was clearly of utmost importance, but no coherent account is given of its dynamics or the impact, positive and negative, on her. We are told that as a young girl she was "eager — perhaps overeager — to please him." (16) We learn that when she was pondering whether or not to accept the invitation to Kingsley Hall, she was "hampered in her decision-making by her devotion to her father, and her feelings of guilt at having left him alone for a year." (45) When she decided to return home after her European travels, the author tells us "not surprisingly, her father played a large role in her dreams, reflecting a daughterly love underscored by guilt and a strong desire to rebel." (69) After Rev. Osterhout died, we are informed that Mildred suffered from an "eating disorder rooted in self-denial and repression." (131) What are we to conclude from all this? Did Mildred's oft-mentioned indecisiveness stem from unresolved conflicts with her father? If she had been able to make a declaration of independence, would her life have been more fulfilling and less scattered?

All through the book, statements are made that cry out for some kind of explanation or follow up. "She was probably eighteen when she experienced her first kiss, which left her feeling quite disgusted." (24) Why was she disgusted? "Rev. Osterhout had a rather difficult relationship with his son." (132) In what respect was it difficult? "The Fahrnis were known to sleep separately ('supposedly because of his snoring') and this fact led some of the co-op residents to wonder whether there was any 'passion in the marriage.'" (p. 166) Why is this significant? By the end of the book, the reader is caught up in the life of Mildred Osterhout, but is somewhat baffled by it. The link between her inner needs and drives and what the author calls her "super-sensitivity to

the sufferings of humanity" is never elucidated. (191) The biographer does not play armchair psychologist or offer an explanation. As a result, the reader must connect the dots as best he or she can.

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Joan Sangster, *Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family, and the Law in Ontario, 1920–1960* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001)

IN 2001, 99 per cent of spousal abuse victims were women and 80 per cent of sexually abused children were young girls (Statistics Canada). As Joan Sangster reveals in *Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family, and the Law in Ontario, 1920–1960*, things were hardly different in mid-20th century Ontario. In this thematic study of incest, wife assault, prostitution, and delinquency, Sangster explores the legal regulation of women, sexuality, and the family. Her purpose is twofold: first, to examine how the legal system, swathed by comforting words like protection, assessed criminality using dominant race, sexuality, class, and gender norms; and, to explore "... the everyday, particular, lived experiences of the law in women's lives." (195)

Sangster uses penal records, Family Court files, reports from reformatories and training schools, social work journals, and government documents. Much as in the scholarship of Steven Maynard, Carolyn Strange, and Marianna Valverde, she applies more than one methodology to answer the questions she poses about women and the law. "Due to feminist proclivities," (3) Sangster remains committed to understanding the gender-specific supervision of girls and women, yet she also draws upon Foucault's triumvirate, power/ knowledge/ body, to explore the construction and deployment of the law between 1920 and 1960 in Ontario.

As a materialist feminist, Sangster must grapple with the issues raised most famously in the Joan Scott-Linda Gordon debate (*Signs*, 1990): how can scholars reconcile a deconstruction of discourse and power with the lived reality of abuse? Siding with Gordon, who asserts that scholars, irrespective of theoretical leanings, can not ignore the emotional and physical scars of violence, Sangster recognizes the actuality of abuse. Rejecting the idea that domination in law, family, and society was ever complete, she emphasizes women's agency. What emerges is a study that provides an empirical reconstruction of women's experiences and highlights the "plurality of meanings" that result from the dynamic relationship between society and the law. (194)

Regulating Girls and Women builds on other feminist studies (most notably, the scholarship of Constance Backhouse, Judith Fingard, and Margaret Hillyard Little) that examine women's resistance to and regulation through governmental and legal systems. However, as Sangster points out, existing scholarship focuses on either the Progressive Era, or late 20th century sociological and criminological issues. This leaves an historiographical gap in the mid-20th century when changes occurred in the relationship between society and the law, that had distinct ramifications for women.

In particular, these decades witnessed the rise of state and professionally run regulatory bodies, including the Toronto Juvenile and Family Court, the Mercer Reformatory for Women, and the Children's Aid Society, which employed social workers, doctors, and psychologists to define and treat behaviour deemed unacceptable. The family is an important prism through which to understand women's experiences of the law. For even as eugenics gave way to Freudian explanations for victimization and deviance, the overall goal of experts persisted: to maintain the strength of the heterosexual family and uplift, mould, and fashion

working-class women into chaste, honest daughters and mothers.

For victims of incest and wife assault, the family was a site of contradiction: it symbolized both violence and redemption. As wives, women used the legal system to stop the abuse of their husbands; as mothers, they were blamed for failing to provide safe home environments for their children; and as defendants, they learned that heralding the heterosexual family encouraged leniency and that returning to one's rightful place as wife or daughter aided recovery.

Ultimately, the law, though designed to protect women, rarely achieved its goal. Rather it regulated incest and assault by normalizing the behaviour of some women and pathologizing the behaviour of others. A gendered analysis reveals that absorbing appropriate feminine attributes, like chastity, legitimized violent responses from women who were defending their honour, while the authoritarian language of masculinity justified male violence. These were contradictory messages that conveyed an unwillingness to recognize the crucial issues of power and control at the heart of incest and wife beating.

In prostitution and delinquency cases women were characterized as perpetrators of crime. The reaction of Ontario's court system, the Children's Aid Society, and the Mercer Reformatory for Women reveals a great deal about the discursive construction of good and bad girls. Women and girls found themselves in conflict with the law for a variety of reasons, but most often because they had not absorbed the proper characteristics of femininity. Using bawdy-house laws, vagrancy provisions, and the Ontario Female Refugees Act, officials claimed prostitutes were abnormal, feeble-minded women who threatened the family by undermining dominant religious and cultural values. Morally charged discourse regulated prostitution informally; a woman guarded her "good" reputation through honest labour and by

embracing middle-class, heterosexual, female attributes. Delinquents also had their family lives scrutinized. For instance, families that were materially deprived, lacked a male breadwinner, or an appropriate religious affiliation, were likely to find themselves targeted as encouraging delinquency.

In her most important chapter, Sangster focuses on the experiences of Native women. Here important differences among women emerge that reveal the centrality of race to women's experiences of the law. Prostitution and delinquency case files suggest that White women of British descent were incarcerated less often and for shorter periods than Native women. Sangster provides an important socio-cultural explanation for the sexual regulation of Native women. She underscores systemic racism, and the colonization of Native peoples by the Canadian state. Moreover, Native women contended with an additional layer of surveillance provided by the insidious power of the Indian agent.

The greatest strength of this study rests in Sangster's commitment to unite questions from social theory about the construction of law and the discursive power of norms rooted in categories of race, class, gender, and sexuality with materialist feminist queries about women's experiences. She demonstrates that these methodologies, though often juxtaposed, can provide important tools for the assessment of regulation and resistance.

Incest, wife assault, prostitution, and delinquency raise difficult issues about surveillance and protection. Certainly, the courtroom statements of incest victims suggest that regulation, however feeble it may be, is important. But, the question of how to protect women is harder to answer. In wife assault cases, women tended to use the law to regulate rather than escape male violence; prostitution continued, as did female delinquency. Sangster suggests that women's resistance, conveyed in their use of the legal system to punish transgressions, their de-

nials and frank quips in the courtroom, their use of family need to explain prostitution, and their defiance of Christian western ideals and cultural continuity, provides an important dimension to our understanding of women's experience of the law.

Indeed, this aspect of Sangster's study is particularly important. Thus, it is surprising that she does not use oral histories. Certainly, Sangster examines highly sensitive issues. But, as Marlene Epp has recently shown, memories can reveal important direct and indirect clues about women's experiences of violence. Moreover, interviews with those who wielded the law, including judges, lawyers, police, and YWCA leaders, might have provided important answers to questions about how historical actors perceived prostitution, incest, and wife abuse. Such queries might also have provided further insight into why poor, working class, and Native women continue to experience greater legal regulation than other women in Canadian society.

Nevertheless, these criticisms are small in comparison with the broader importance of this study. On the anniversary of the 1929 Person's Case, Governor General Adrienne Clarkson observed: "It is appalling that Canadian women are still the most vulnerable in society and face discrimination and violence." (*Toronto Star*, 19 October 2002) There can be no greater indicator of the continued need for sensitive studies like *Regulating Girls and Women*.

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Paul Anisef, Paul Axelrod, Etta Balchman-Anisef, Carl James, Anton Turriffin, *Opportunity and Uncertainty: Life Course Experiences of the Class of '73* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

SOCIAL RESEARCH usually involves taking a snapshot at one time and in one place. The researchers who have written *Opportunity and Uncertainty* have taken several portraits of the same group, capturing this "Class of '73" at various stages of their life course, anticipating graduation, securing a first full-time job, and embarking on the personal project of child-rearing.

Reading about the Class of '73 is reminiscent of attending a class reunion. Not everyone comes to a reunion and it is often the more successful who show up. Similarly, a great deal of attrition occurred in the successive stages of the longitudinal study described in this book, despite the admirable efforts of the research team to trace and contact members of their group. The study was conducted through six phases beginning with 2,555 grade 12 students in 97 secondary schools in Ontario. Five successive follow-ups were done, culminating in 1995, when 30.8 per cent, or 788 from the initial group, returned surveys. While less than a third remained, the final snapshot is still broadly representative of the original graduating class, with some over representation of the more successful and highly educated, and those from rural and small-town Ontario.

Not everyone made it for the original class picture in 1973. Among the missing were the approximately 20 per cent who had dropped out prior to grade 12. They would have been least likely to be conventionally successful and most likely to disappear from successive stages of any study. Typical of studies of school attendees, the rich and powerful at the opposite end of the social spectrum were also conspicuously absent, though five of the re-

spondents reported having more than 150 employees.

In between these extremes the study includes people from a very broad range of employment statuses and affords the researchers the opportunity to compare career and life-course patterns using a number of background and achievement variables. While this single cohort study does not directly allow cross-generational comparisons, it does provide a base from which the experience of other groups may be contrasted. As the authors note, the generation that matured in the 1990s faced a much more negatively structured job market relative to 1973, suggesting a direction for future research.

The majority of the findings reported consist of quantitative data from the various survey phases, though primarily from the last phase. Inevitably, individual respondents disappear in the reports of percentages and overall trends, which require the aggregation of large numbers of respondents to be meaningful. To compensate, the researchers adopted a multi-technique approach that included almost 200 individual interviews or focus group participants. What people mean when they answer questions on a survey is best discovered by asking them directly.

The authors utilize a life-course perspective. Members of a given cohort are likely to approximate an overall, normative set of transitions as they age together, from graduation to retirement. Theoretically, the authors attempt to straddle, if not overcome, the seemingly permanent dichotomy in social science between the structural and choice determinants of life outcomes. In their theoretical model, structure and agency are distinguished, though they mutually condition each other. In turn, these primary determinants affect the objective situation of the respondents as well as their subjective understandings. This complex of factors is further mediated by the "structured individualization" of the stages in the life course determined by age.

This model suggests a way to talk about the factors involved in the individual's construction of her or his life course. A given outcome for any individual is some function of these complex, interacting elements, that include individual choices within the range of alternatives they perceive to be available at many crucial transition points in their life. The model makes intuitive sense in terms of the ways the respondents apparently perceived their lives. It is a pragmatic use of the agency/structure dichotomy that raises a larger, theoretical question about the effect of this individuated action on the social structure as a whole. This is not addressed by the authors. The theoretical model in *Opportunity and Uncertainty* does not imply any macro claims or application to the social formation as a whole.

Structure persists over time, irrespective of the specific individuals who come to occupy the spaces. From the perspective of pure capitalism, who does what is immaterial. Reproducing capitalism has been compatible with a variety of social forms, including a formal mechanism for meritocracy. Once labour was free, the individualized labour market meant precisely that all those born with spoons of base metals were on their own to compete, to achieve or fail, to choose within the structured options determined by the stage of the division of labour. Capitalism created this degree of hyper-agency, or under-determinism. From the perspective of actually existing capitalism, this agency is hindered or accelerated by social structural factors such as gender, class position, and ethnicity.

As *Opportunity and Uncertainty* demonstrates, the educational, employment, and mobility experiences of the Class of '73 were significantly influenced by the structural side of the agency-structure duality. Class and location shaped the unequal use of institutional opportunities (primarily education) even while education, as an agency outlet, has a strong independent effect on individual location. This was especially true

of the Class of '73 since they benefited from an exceptional expansion of formal education, opening opportunities and resources that the Class of '73 consistently utilized. Gender shaped the particular outcomes within broader occupational or educational categories (the choice of programme, the type of work within an occupational category), and also played a key subsequent role structuring family life.

One of the main strengths of the analysis in *Opportunity and Uncertainty* is the incorporation of an historical framework that depicts the changing groves that groups will predictably follow in the aggregate, or individuals will navigate in the construction of their individuated life courses. Structured factors are effective variously in time and space. The class of '73, as late baby boomers, imbibed the expectations of post-war prosperity with their infant formula, weathered the Cold War, and endured school in a period of unprecedented flexibility in curricula. They experienced more *Opportunity* than *Uncertainty*, though there were whispered hints of more limited futures, more underemployment than unemployment. The future was casting a long shadow backwards, especially for social science and teacher-training graduates.

Mobility patterns were, predictably, complex, though mobility is a difficult concept to operationalize. On the crudest scale, while overall the majority remained in their class of origin, the Class of '73 experienced slightly more negative than positive intergenerational social mobility, particularly among middle status occupational groups. (Table 5.1) When a nine-category system was utilized, the norm for the class was considerable upward mobility, though largely into adjacent or nearly adjacent categories. (Table 5.3)

Children of immigrant families tended to do better than the Canadian-born, particularly among men. This illustrates the importance of agency within the structure, as new Canadians entered the coun-

try for the presumed advantages of mobility and then negotiated their new environment to realize their aspirations. The Class of '73 claimed to find their greatest source of satisfaction in their family life — in children and marriage — more than in their work, though most were also subjectively "satisfied" with their employment.

These are merely samplers. There were not many surprising or unexpected findings in the data analysis (although family was subjectively less important for class members in rural and small town areas compared with metro Toronto). The importance of the study is in the details, in the potential for comparison with other cohorts at different times and places. The authors have access to a very rich and detailed data source presented in numerous tables with full discussions of the findings, broken down by numerous background variables. It is not a casual read. Baby boomers will be interested in the book because, characteristically, it is about them. It is, in addition, a landmark study that will be a reference point for researchers profiling future generations. To their credit from the point of view of the average reader, the authors restricted their statistical analysis to percentage tables.

The use of illustrative case interviews is another important strength of the narration. The interview data, by their nature, offer a more complex image of the way individuals negotiate the constraint/agency paradigm. Interviews breathe life into the figures, illustrating the structural tendencies, and highlighting variations. The point of the illustrative material is not that examples "confirm" aggregate tendencies, (193) but to show the "unique ways in which people manage social and political capital," demonstrated in five detailed biographies presented in the penultimate chapter. Every life is, in a sense, unique. As social science practitioners, the authors necessarily abstract from this overwhelming mass of data.

The Class of '73 may be quite familiar to working academics, many of whom are baby boomers approaching retirement. They are unlikely to know any of the people behind the pseudonyms, but they know people like them. More to the point, there are many they do not know. If aggregate data gives you a more objective view of the surrounding reality, interview data allows an appreciation of the life experiences of people you would otherwise never know. They are the class members who do not show up for the reunions.

Anthony Thomson
Acadia University

Ann Hansen, *Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerrilla* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2001)

ALTHOUGH 20TH-CENTURY Canada was hardly Lower's "peaceable kingdom," political violence by non-state actors has been sufficiently rare that this account of a group of self-styled urban guerillas is bound to be of interest to students of social movements and the left. The author and four others comprised a group calling itself "Direct Action" that engaged in a series of politically motivated bombings in 1982. Arrested in January 1983, they received sentences of between ten years and life (Hansen herself); all were out on parole by 1990. Based on her own recollections, police documents made available to defence lawyers, and newspaper articles, the book tells the story of the three years during which Hansen changed from a graffiti-painting revolutionary into a gun-toting urban guerilla.

This does not pretend to be a scholarly book, and the publisher has provided terms for its review as "Politics, True Crime, Autobiography." (back cover) The 160 pages of Part II, "Going Underground," are the most autobiographical, as we learn there about her involvement in prison rights and international solidarity

movements, growing interest in urban guerillas, support work in Paris for Germany's Red Army Faction, and move from Toronto to Vancouver, where she joined a small network of anarchists. We follow the emerging urban guerillas as they acquire the skills and resources of their trade — the skills (of car theft, weapons handling, bomb-making) mainly from books, pamphlets, and magazines such as *Soldier of Fortune* and *Guns and Ammo*; the resources (guns, dynamite, money, vehicles, false identities) mainly through theft, including their first armed robbery. Hansen's motives emerge as a mixture of idealism, a quest to realize a romanticized self-identity as a revolutionary, and an emotional need to feel that she is doing something important and dangerous. This section of the book can be tedious, the level of detail sometimes overwhelming (e.g., two pages on disguising her hairstyle).

As "true crime" the book shines in Part III, "Doing Cheekeye-Dunsmuir and Litton," and Part IV, "Under Surveillance." First, Ann and Doug bomb a substation on the environmentally contentious BC Hydro line under construction between the Sunshine Coast and Vancouver Island. Later she, Brent, Julie, and 550 pounds of dynamite travel to Toronto, where they bomb a building at the Litton Industries factory manufacturing components for American Cruise missiles. Parallel to their own story, Hansen also tells the story of the police investigation, providing a surprisingly sympathetic account of the feelings and actions of the "composite" fictionalized police investigator in Vancouver. Whatever one's opinion of the morality and wisdom of the group's actions, these parts of the book are gripping.

The "politics" of Direct Action occur throughout the book. They can be summed up in what might be called "Ann Hansen's Lessons for Aspiring Urban Guerillas." First, becoming an urban guerilla will isolate you from previous social contacts, including contacts with the radi-

cal community from which you emerged. This will have both political and personal consequences. The political consequence is that, cut off from movements and their constituencies (and disdainful of those who do not share your militancy), your group will become increasingly self-referential, imprisoned by your own ideologies and revolutionary delusions. The personal consequence will be that the interpersonal emotional and sexual dynamics within the group will become very intense. It will become very difficult to quit once you have begun, because so much of your identity will be tied up with your activities and group, and you will find doing "actions" addictively exciting, despite the accompanying anxieties, fear, doubts, and despair. The political consequences of isolation are shown in the generally simplistic quality of political analysis by Direct Action: their strategic goal was to stimulate others to more militant activity, but they displayed little sense of the context and likely effects of their actions. Politically, their most successful action appears to have been the fire-bombing of several Red Hot Video outlets selling violent pornography; the one action undertaken with people outside their group (under the name "Wimmin's Fire Brigade").

Don't underestimate the police, is the second lesson. They have more resources than you do and they are a lot smarter than you think. Furthermore, the police will consider you as frightening and inhuman as you do them (both of you are armed and dangerous, after all). The former is exemplified in an amusing passage where Doug, who unknowingly has been under police surveillance for weeks, and whose room is bugged, states: "The cops really do seem more incompetent than you think." (448) The latter appears most vividly in the opening pages of the book, where Hansen and her friends are arrested on the highway between Vancouver and Squamish: the police fear a gun battle, and Hansen believes she will be killed on the spot.

The third lesson is that actions have unintended and unwanted consequences. Even when you intend only to damage property, you are putting others' lives at risk, and accidents will happen, such as the premature explosion at the Litton factory, injuring ten people. Your actions will also have unintended political effects, including splitting moderate and militant factions of the movements you are hoping to energize. You may blame the moderates for this, (471) but it will happen regardless, and the activists using techniques such as civil disobedience will bear the brunt of "hard" protest policing after your actions. In Germany and Italy, the Red Army Faction and Red Brigades emerged after a wave of protest and high levels of state repression (including violent neo-fascist counter-movements in Italy). In contrast, Direct Action emerged in Canada in a period of heightened mobilization of the peace movement in the face of the war-mongering Reagan presidency. Perhaps because of the underlying political analysis in which all states and corporations are equally oppressive, the book does a remarkably poor job of conveying the threatening political atmosphere of that time. As a result, Hansen overestimates Direct Action's impact (e.g., on growth of the peace movement, (288)), and fails to provide the context that would render her own actions more understandable.

The lessons emerging from Hansen's book (and from academic studies of underground groups) are unlikely to win her endorsement. She is unrepentant, echoing the "diversity of tactics" line of anti-globalization protesters and eschewing responsibility for police repression after her group's actions. Barrington Moore Jr.'s observation from a similar period comes to mind: "The nineteenth-century anarchist whom the desperate young imitate was actually the policeman's best friend. The anarchist managed to do just enough to frighten respectability without being able to cripple any vital social institution. To paraphrase Tallyrand, that is worse

than criminal; it is mistaken." (*Reflections on The Causes of Human Misery and upon Certain Proposals to Eliminate Them*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972, 176-7)

Jim Conley
Trent University

Marc Edge, *Pacific Press: The Unauthorized Story of Vancouver's Newspaper Monopoly* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 2001)

IN A 1998 ARTICLE in *Acadiensis*, William J. Buxton and Catherine McKercher lament the lack of critical journalism scholarship in Canada that links the growth of newspapers to broader technological, economic, and social changes. Unlike the United States, they argue that Canada has been slow to publish credible surveys of the development of newspapers, magazines, and journalism. *Pacific Press: The Unauthorized Story of Vancouver's Newspaper Monopoly* succeeds in addressing their concerns and in doing so makes a definitive addition to the history of the media in Canada. This book is particularly helpful for the painstaking detail that it uses to examine the creation of Pacific Press in 1957 and its entrenchment as a monopoly that had detrimental effects on two major media companies. Author Marc Edge convincingly outlines the interplay of economic, institutional, and labour forces, as well as personalities in the newsrooms of Vancouver's two major daily newspapers and their impact on content, circulation, and the larger media culture.

The literature on the Canadian media is full of memoirs from journalists, editors, and publishers that tell fascinating stories. But this book, which is written by Edge, a former reporter for the *Vancouver Province* from the 1970s who took a buyout in 1993, and completed this study for his dissertation, succeeds where many former journalists have failed in melding

the interesting stories of Pacific Press with its economic and historic context.

The study is a critical one written from a viewpoint that challenges the changes that have taken place at the *Vancouver Sun and Province* since what Edge defines as the genesis of the problem — the mechanical amalgamation between the *Vancouver Sun and Province* into Pacific Press Ltd. in 1957. Edge argues that the joint operating agreement between the two competing dailies similar to partnerships that had proliferated in the United States since the 1930s signaled the beginning of a government-sanctioned monopoly and the end of competition and quality journalism in the Lower Mainland. He calls his work a "case study of the adverse effects of removing competition from the marketplace for ideas." (xxiv)

What makes his book particularly fascinating and worth reading for any media or labour historian is its examination of the bitter labour relations at Pacific Press and how a number of strikes and shutdowns since 1957 and successive mismanagement by absentee corporate owners had a negative impact on circulation and readership, leaving the papers basically rudderless. For instance, Edge outlines in detail five shutdowns that occurred at Pacific Press in an eleven-year period, ending with what would prove to be the "catastrophic strike" in 1978 that then *Sun* publisher Stuart Keate had long feared. At the same time, he places the shutdowns in the context of North American labour and the impact of technological change on the press rooms of daily newspapers.

In his attention to labour history, Edge addresses Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennan's lament in *Newsworkers: A History of the Rank and File*, that the history of journalists as workers has been largely untold. Buxton and McKercher also point out that monographs on journalistic institutions follow general surveys in focusing on elite figures important in their history. In this case, while Edge details the lives of the major players in Vancouver media

history such as Stu Keate and Allan Fotheringham, he also includes anecdotes from rank-and-file journalists. For instance, he outlines in detail how the union launched the strike paper, *The Express*, in 1970 under the editorial direction of Mike Tytherleigh, the night city editor at the *Vancouver Sun*. The paper was a resounding success for the three months that it was in operation, in the ended making money for the unions and situating Tytherleigh for the position of general manager at the end of the shutdown. Edge also spends an entire chapter on the "Cheesecake revolution," a 1989 rebellion of a group of *Vancouver Sun* journalists over cost-cutting and quality concerns at the paper.

His use of sources — both interview and document material is meticulous as is his eye for detail and story — is an obvious remnant of his journalistic experience. As a result *Pacific Press: The Unauthorized Story of Vancouver's Newspaper Monopoly* is not the dull, unimaginative history that some claim is all too often found in the field of journalism and media studies. While the book would be less interesting without the stories behind the scenes, it could also have done with a bit of editing. For instance, Edge tends at times to be easily seduced by anecdotes and sensational details without links to his larger argument. This is particularly evident in the chapter on *Province* columnist Ormand Turner, who in 1965 began making charges of union vote-fixing in aid of candidates in the 1963 federal election under the banner of the New Democratic Party. His claims resulted in a royal commission in 1965 and ended with Turner retiring from the *Province* shortly after his allegations of election price-fixing were nixed. One gets the sense that the section was included for the last line. Turner later "became editor of the monthly magazine "Phenomena," published by the Vancouver Flying Saucer Club, of which he was elected president in 1968." (105)

In the end however Edge's history of Pacific Press from 1957 to 1991 is a must read and his argument that the numerous strikes and shutdowns coupled with the lack of competition in the market have left Vancouver readers unattached and underserved is convincing.

Mary Lynn Young
University of British Columbia

Joe Hermer and Janet Mosher, eds. *Disorderly People: Law and the Politics of Exclusion in Ontario* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2002)

JOE HERMER and Janet Mosher have compiled seven of the presentations from a one-day conference held in April 2000 at the University of Toronto, devoted to discussing the social and legal consequences of Ontario's Safe Streets Act, into a small but exceptionally provocative collection. Hermer and Mosher contend that although the Safe Streets Act remains one of the more visible manifestations of the Ontario government's neo-conservative agenda that assists in excluding groups from the political and geographical landscape, this particular piece of legislation is only the latest in a long list of exclusionary practices that have arisen from the current neo-conservative political climate. This collection aims to illustrate that legislation such as the Safe Streets Act, and other actions by the provincial government of Ontario, have contributed to the construction of a vast array of what the editors term "disorderly people," while at the same time serving to exclude individuals and groups defined and framed as such from public space, public discourse, and public view.

The Safe Streets Act, which came into effect at the end of January 2000, seeks to strictly limit, through criminalization, various acts of public begging, soliciting, or exchanging services for money. The legislation is linked in the minds of many to the crackdown on the so-called "Squee-

gee Kids," yet the parameters of the legislation are wide, and allow for great interpretive powers at all levels of law enforcement, from police on the street to courtrooms. Indeed, this legislation is akin to the vagrancy laws of the late-19th and early-20th centuries, notorious for their arbitrary interpretation and enforcement. Hermer and Mosher note that "the Safe Street Act is both extraordinarily detailed and at the same time vague and sweeping." (12) The Act prohibits soliciting in an "aggressive manner" and soliciting a "captive audience," (12) and the editors comment that "the very notion of a 'captive audience' works to construct the public as vulnerable victims, constantly held hostage in their travels through public by the disorder that anyone begging may embody." (13)

Prior to the enactment of the Safe Streets Act by the Ontario Conservative government, laws against begging remained under the jurisdiction of particular municipalities. By portraying begging or soliciting donations for services performed as potentially hostile and aggressive acts, and therefore potentially threatening to the users of streets and highways, the province has justified its involvement in an area previously understood to be the responsibility of local government. The perceived threat to provincial interest — safety of the Ontario taxpayer on roadways — has allowed for the passage of province-wide laws against begging and various forms of soliciting.

It is this focus on the perceived threat that Hermer and Mosher emphasize in their collection as a discussion of the construction of "disorderly people" surfaces through the various contributions. This collection stresses that the political agenda of the Ontario government, including but not limited to the passage of legislation such as the Safe Streets Act, manifests itself in part through a pervasive discourse that emphasizes the "disorder" and threat created by those who are not self-sufficient — those "disorderly people" perceived and constructed as

bleeding the Ontario taxpayer dry. Residents of Ontario are increasingly categorized dichotomously as either the giver or the taker: the "Ontario taxpayer" or the "Ontario citizen," versus the "welfare cheat," the "squeegee kid/aggressive beggar," the "coddled prisoner," or the "violent youth." There are those who contribute, and those who do not. Those portrayed as not contributing are increasingly perceived as requiring legislation to curtail their demands on contributing members of society. They are constructed as requiring a "get-tough approach" to increasingly aggressive manifestations of their feelings of entitlement. "The underlying logic that has been installed in this politics of exclusion is the forging of an unquestioned linkage between the existence and control of disorderly people and the securing of safety and security." (16)

The collection astutely stresses that this constructed and perceived disorder has been used to justify the neo-conservative policies and legislation of the Ontario government that seek to regulate the "disorderly." Increasingly those most in need of a welfare state are excluded from social space as they are seen as promoting and contributing to this disorder. They are therefore seen as less deserving, and the Ontario taxpayer somehow less responsible for their need: "making up a disorderly set of people has come with an erosion of some of the central principles that have underpinned the democratic and equitable character of our institutions." (17)

The seven contributions themselves serve to illustrate the pervasiveness of the Ontario government's politics of exclusion, for the subjects of focus are diverse. The focus of this collection is far-reaching, yet this diversity is reined tightly and presented with unity of purpose. All the contributions are crafted together in a remarkably succinct presentation.

The first contribution presents interviews with the so-called "Squeegee Kids" whom many associate with the Safe Streets Act, and argues that squeegeeing

provides much needed income for increasingly marginalized street youth whose options have been severely curtailed by the neo-conservative political climate. Mosher, in her contribution to the volume, illustrates changes in our understanding of public and private realms. She argues that, increasingly, access to public space and privacy has been usurped from the poor, effectively excluding them from society. Another contribution calls on Kafka's image of the process of metamorphosis, and the concept of social death, to illustrate how the poor are increasingly constructed as unnecessary and ineffective (non)members of society. Another contributor illustrates how the act of asking strangers for money is a political act, and constitutes a form of political speech — an act the right to which must be protected. Further, a contribution questions the right of the province to have passed such legislation effectively criminalizing behavior, arguing that such jurisdiction resides in the federal realm. Another contributor argues that poverty and homelessness is criminalized as part of a wider neo-conservative political agenda. If poverty is criminalized, then the legislation proclaiming the need to control those acting criminally is more easily perceived as beneficial to the Ontario taxpayer-citizen. The final contribution discusses the climate of change surrounding Ontario's prisons and treatment of criminals, as the Ontario government argues a "get-tough" approach to its so-called "coddled prisoners."

Lest the desire to further marginalize those who have been constructed as "disorderly," and push them further "out of sight," threaten to push them therefore "out of mind" of the current citizen-taxpayer of Ontario, this collection should help to keep the debate surrounding at least one aspect of the neo-conservative agenda of the Ontario government alive. In keeping with the intentions of Hermer and Mosher in compiling this collection, which include "mak[ing] visible the overall geography of the neo-conservative

character of the Ontario government" while provid[ing] footholds for critique and resistance both within the courtroom and out on the street," (17) proceeds from the sale of *Disorderly People* are being donated to the Toronto Disaster Relief Fund.

Joselyn C. Morley
Carleton University

Ellen Anderson, *Judging Bertha Wilson: Law As Large As Life* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001)

ELLEN ANDERSON has produced the first biography of Canada's first woman Supreme Court judge, Bertha (Wernham) Wilson. This is a book that is long overdue, given that Madam Justice Wilson's historic stature as a jurist is arguably unparalleled in Canada. The book is described on the dust-jacket as an "authorized, intellectual biography" drawing upon interviews with Wilson, her husband, friends, relatives, and colleagues. It chronicles many fascinating aspects of Bertha Wilson's life: her childhood and adolescence in Scotland; her study of philosophy at the University of Aberdeen; her courtship with and marriage to John Wilson; her role as the wife of a Church of Scotland minister; migration to Canada; employment as a dental receptionist; her law student days at Dalhousie; articling with Halifax criminal lawyer F.W. Bissett; a legal career with the corporate-commercial Osler law firm in Toronto; her elevation as the first woman on the Ontario Court of Appeal in 1976; her appointment to the Supreme Court in 1982; her work with the Canadian Bar Association Task Force on Gender Equality; and her contribution to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Issues.

In the main, however, this is a book that dissects Wilson's judicial decisions and published writings about law. It emerged out of Anderson's LL.B. research on Wilson's judgments, her LL.M.

thesis on the "historic import of Scottish Enlightenment common-sense philosophies into Canadian universities and their effects on Canadian law and culture," and her doctoral thesis that formed the foundation of the book. She detects a series of influences on Wilson's juridical understanding: academic studies of philosophy, an "unconscious process of acculturation in the doctrines of the Scottish Enlightenment," the influence of the "Church of Scotland ethos," and a "distinctively principled and moral" postmodernism. The synthesis of this rather complex mixture is well-exemplified in the following sentence:

Wilson's provisional process for weighing rights as it related to her highly particularized definition of rights is traceable back to Aristotelian phronesis, the subtle and shifting integration of practical and philosophic wisdoms which we saw re-emerging in David Hume's phenomenological explorations of the fragmented self, linked in term to Hume's cheerful acceptance of the indeterminate epistemology which is all that such necessarily fragmented selves can achieve; it is akin to the writings of the best of the contemporary postmodern theorists who sustain the liberal heritage of meaning-seeking without demanding that meanings be unitary or finally fixed. (267)

Anderson weaves this intricate theoretical framework through more than two hundred pages of legal analysis of the criminal, commercial, family, tort, contract, trust, tax, administrative, international, evidence, employment, property, human rights, immigration, Aboriginal, and constitutional cases that Wilson judged over her career. Graduate students and legally-trained individuals well versed in Supreme Court jurisprudence will find this challenging and interesting.

Many of the potential readers of a Bertha Wilson biography will be feminists, gays and lesbians, Aboriginals, and others who support the various movements to achieve greater equality for disadvantaged groups. For us, her work at the Supreme Court of Canada represented an enormous contribution. Madam Jus-

tice Wilson came to symbolize the finest in humanistic, principled, and creative judging. Her advancement of legal thinking about equality and discrimination constituted a life contribution that outstripped most of the jurists who had gone before. For litigants and litigators seeking access to a hitherto unreceptive, closed legal system, she opened vistas of opportunity, imagination, and hope.

Some of the readers who turn to this biography to learn more about what shaped such an extraordinary judge and her awe-inspiring career, may come away saddened that there is not more focus on this. Nor is there much analysis of the multiple gender barriers that stood in Wilson's way. To be certain, Anderson lists many. Wilson experienced social exclusion as one of Dalhousie's early women law students, none of whom were welcome in the university common room or the local fishermen's tavern where the other students lingered. Dalhousie Law Dean Horace Read told Wilson she should "just go home and take up crocheting," and actively discouraged her from accepting a scholarship to do graduate legal studies at Harvard because there would "never be women academics teaching in law schools." It was difficult for women to find articles, and when she became the first female hired at Osler's, she was warned that she could not stay permanently. She did stay, but Osler's made her wait for nine years before bestowing partnership, in a milieu in which males were often given partnership in five. At first, she was not allowed to travel with male lawyers because of the potential for gossip. A woman who would have made a first-rate courtroom lawyer, she was not allowed to do litigation. Despite sixteen years at the firm, she was never made senior partner or appointed to the senior management committee. Her appointment to the courts sparked serious resistance from several judges and she found herself isolated from informal judicial discussions in ways that marginalized her influence. Fanatic anti-choice proponents

deluged Wilson with hostile letters during her constitutional rulings on abortion, with comments so hateful that her staff at the court were too frightened to open the mail. Anti-feminist responses to the Canadian Bar Association (CBA) Task Force were virulent and directed at Wilson personally, causing her great anxiety and concern. (38-49, 57-64, 87, 94, 128, 150-64, and 346-50)

Anderson mentions these difficulties, but repeatedly discounts them. She stresses that Wilson "did not nurture any feminist resentments," that she had "no desire to assert herself as equal in the sense of being identical with the more prominent male lawyers," and that she was "prepared to accommodate ... and learn from" the male judges who spurned her. In fact, she accepts that Wilson's career "did not illustrate persistent or systemic discrimination," and that it was not until the backlash against the CBA Task Force on Gender Equality that Wilson felt "her first unequivocal and deeply personal experience of gender discrimination." (57, 64, 94, and 349) This may have been Wilson's own assessment, and it is a perspective that was common for women lawyers and judges of her generation to assume. What is odd is that Anderson herself does not go into a deeper analysis of whether this was an accurate reflection of what Wilson experienced, what impact gender discrimination actually had on her life and career, and what we can learn from Wilson's strategies of responding to male exclusion and hostility.

Feminists will probably be even more saddened at Anderson's consistently negative attitude towards feminism. The feminism that I and many others aspire to bears little resemblance to Anderson's depiction of it. Anderson finds feminism and feminists to be "confrontational" and "fervent." She describes feminism as given to "simple-minded dichotomies," "self-righteous certainty," and "feminist rant." (xvi, 197, 223, 230, and 231) Feminists are undoubtedly capable of all these things, but the philosophy and the move-

ment that bears its name are profoundly richer than this. It seems, at least to me, a great shame that the woman who chose to write Bertha Wilson's biography believes that feminism is properly characterized in this manner.

And it seems possible that Anderson's negative perspective on feminism has coloured her Wilson biography. She repeatedly recounts that Wilson does not claim to be a feminist. She makes the point on the second page of the preface, and no less than three additional times in the text, noting that Wilson "declines to identify herself as a feminist," does "not consider herself a feminist," was "avowedly not a feminist," and finally that she "most emphatically does not consider herself a feminist." (xiv, 135-6, and 197) Interestingly, none of these statements is in direct quotations, although Madam Justice Wilson writes in the foreword to the book that she is indebted to the author for becoming a "philosophical alter ego" who has presented a true picture of her life; so presumably she took no issue with this characterization. There have been others, however, who have recorded Madam Justice Wilson's politics slightly differently. Sandra Gwyn, a reporter for *Saturday Night*, has written that Madam Justice Wilson considered herself "a moderate feminist" while on the court. ("Sense and Sensibility," July 1985, 13 and 19) And my assessment of her work with the CBA Task Force on Gender Equality suggests that there were certainly times when Wilson spoke as a feminist and for the feminist movement.

If Anderson is indeed correct, and Wilson is "avowedly not a feminist," that is perhaps the saddest of all. How misconceived the movement that has contributed so much to the advancement of equality must be if women such as Bertha Wilson seek to separate themselves from it. The female judge who wrote so distinctly as a woman when she proclaimed the constitutional right to abortion, who brought to Canadian law a distinctly gendered sensitivity to woman-battering, who tried (and

failed) to establish a new tort of discrimination, is someone whom I would have hoped would claim the label of feminism with heart and soul.

Constance Backhouse
University of Ottawa

Colin D. Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001)

THIS IS A LITTLE BOOK with a big title. There are three words to describe Howell's book: vital, topical, and intelligent. It introduces a popular audience, rather than an academic one, to the developments of and critiques in Canadian sport and culture. This is an interesting read of 150 pages organized into 6 chapters: the Field, Blood, Respectability, Money, Cheers, Bodies, and Nation. The book is packed with little known historical facts and a strong thesis showing the interconnectedness of sport and national development. Overall, the book qualifies as an innovative and highly accessible survey text of Canadian sport history.

There is much to like about this book. It is smartly written, rich in description, and provides the reader with a new sport map. Howell gradually unfolds this map and with a gentle prodding of the readers' imaginations, he leads us through some of the high and low points of the last two centuries of Canadian sport.

In the introduction, Howell identifies some of the themes of sport in the land that was to become Canada. By treating sport as one of several commodities within a developing culture, Howell explores sport's purposes as it influences and is influenced by culture. To do this, he addresses not only the relationship of sport to economics and an ever-widening internationalism, but also introduces the complex ties between sport and gender, sport and the relationship among generations of Canadians, sport and urbaniza-

tion, and sport and class. While many of the themes have been covered in other texts, Howell's treatment of the themes by using specific sport examples is a real plus. The style of writing brings each theme alive and leaves the reader with a gift of lasting images of Canada in its earlier times.

In the following chapters, the author follows a roughly chronological pattern. The chapter, "Blood," brings the reader from the time of Confederation, a time of unorganized sport/recreation, to the more organized sport characteristic of the post-World War II period. While necessarily superficial, Howell takes time to look at some of the more obscure sporting activities that accompanied the development of a market economy in Canada. For example, blood sports such as animal baiting and prize fighting come "under the gaze of turn-of-the-century sport reformers," while "defenders of traditional recreation presented their own definitions of 'sportsman.'" (13) By unpacking some of the values in sport that influence, and in turn, are influenced by culture, Howell presents us with a new way of looking at Canada, the nation. This chapter is weakened a little because some sports he covers do not naturally fall into the blood category, sports such as canoeing, boating, aquatics, sailing, snow-shoeing, sled dog racing, and all Aboriginal Games. Still, the overall theme of ascendant organized sport remains strong.

The chapters, "Respectability" and "Money" highlight the explicit move of sport to respectability and financial strength. "In Canada, respectable sports were more likely to involve men rather than women; the English rather than the French, whites rather than Blacks and Native people, Protestants rather than Catholics and middle- rather than working-class athletes." (28) The importance of basketball, baseball, barnstormers, lacrosse, and Canadian football are examined in some detail and the debates over amateurism and professionalism are introduced. As churches and educators be-

came involved in promoting sport, Howell writes that Canadians consciously used sport for both character-building and as a way of introducing newcomers to what it meant to be Canadian. In addition, as sport became an increasingly urban experience, the influence of industrial capitalism and, in particular, consumerism, Howell posits, was responsible for the organization and discipline in sport. Unfortunately, Howell is unclear about what period or periods of time he is writing about, and it was frustrating to see how little attention he pays to women while dealing with themes of respectability and money.

"Cheers" was perhaps the most unsatisfying chapter in this otherwise excellent book. The organizing question is who is supporting sport. The focus is on women more as spectators than performers. For example, in describing the 1928 Olympic experience of the great sprinter Percy Williams, Howell does not even mention how five gold medals won by the Canadian women track stars at the same games captured the nation's attention. He also describes Billie Jean King as "the world's greatest advocate of militant feminism," (98) a description which may quite surprise militant feminists and other women advocates in sport of the day.

In the chapter, "Bodies," Howell calls sport a "contested terrain," (106) and then irreverently says that this is a hackneyed phrase. This quick dismissal suggests that his real understanding of race, sex, class, and sexuality in sport is a somewhat oversimplified and superficial one. He recovers by building a good case for the links between the sporting body, masculinity and femininity, and the overall influence on nation-building. This is the only chapter where women are the primary concern. It is a curious phenomenon in much of the sport literature that historical sporting achievements of women appear in a separate chapter, while those of men are discussed in all the other chapters as if they represent the complete sport picture. It is, what Margrit Eichler calls the "add

women and stir" approach. One would have hoped that Howell would have presented a more integrated analysis.

Overall, he makes his case that sport was and is an experience of both rural and urban Canadians; that sport involved complex struggles in the building of a complex new nation. Despite the critiques I have identified, I found his analysis refreshing. He has come at the development of sport from a new angle and has included many little known facts about sport in the process. He has a good grasp of the literature, though in his efforts to write an accessible book, he has utilized an unusual referencing style. In sum, he has accomplished his goal of writing sport history for a popular audience.

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Sherene H. Razack, ed., *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002)

IT IS HARD TO THINK of space as a concrete entity. Meta theories related to space and peoples' occupation and use of space have often left me with the feeling that we were not talking about issues related to location as if people mattered. In *Race, Space and the Law*, race, space, and law are intertwined, sometimes with chilling results.

The best example comes from Razack herself who contributes a chapter that examines racialized violence and spatialized justice. Razack makes a convincing argument that there is a privilege in place. Take for example, the luxury of Steven Kummerfield and Alex Ternowetsky. University students in Regina, they celebrated the end of a school year by "slumming" — visiting dark hollows, the underside of bridges, and an area of town frequented and inhabited by Aboriginal people. Kummerfield and Ternowetsky are afforded the luxury of locational choice and mobility. In the con-

tinuing dispossession of Aboriginal people, re-location to the inner city is perceived as the result of a lack of choice of location and not about mobility.

The two non-Aboriginal men assaulted and beat Pamela George, who died from those injuries. Pamela George, a Saulteaux woman from the Sakimay First Nation, was taken from the inner city (which afforded her some safety), to a place frequented by people who did not want their activities observed. It would have been interesting to examine these places of illegal activity as spaces that were the primary sites of "border crossings" — where those with wealth and privilege cross over and those without are presumed to be unable to cross over. This race-and-space model is one that the author has obviously given great thought, and to her credit it provides a new way to interpret the vile language of hatred. At the outset, it must be said that "race" is an artificial descriptor that compartmentalizes experience and requires those categorizing or categorized to select one site of oppression as primary in their relations with others. Similarly, there is danger in removing the painful terminology of race and hatred and substituting a frame of reference that fails to name either oppressors or victims. An esoteric discussion about space subsumes the privilege to name and could result in the further cloaking of the actualities of racehate and violence against all of the intersecting groups of people.

In this context, the examination of the judgment in this case is not advanced very far by the race/space/law discussion. I think this is because the privilege and prejudice of the two defendants in this instance is mirrored in the judgement. The author, however, takes great pains to theorize about the assumptions built into the racehate and space occupation of the defendants and does not hold the justice system up for the same thoroughness of examination.

Still, the entire paper is thought-provoking, informed and persuasive. It

should advance dialogue quite significantly.

Space seems an inadequate category for comparing and analyzing dispossession, privilege, and exclusion based upon race, culture, or religion. In fact, to draw a line between race and space (and not culture and space, or religion and space) artificially limits the signifiers that are used to mark certain locations as belonging to "in" groups versus "out" groups. The space critique is valuable in that it marks a subtle shift from victim to dispossessed.

In this work at least, however, it does not allow for the creation of spaces that are occupied and used in meaningful ways by Aboriginal people. Inner-city space is perceived as space that is chosen by Aboriginal people solely as a result of presumptive previous dispossession by non-Aboriginal settlers. This does not address Aboriginal urbanization as an informed choice, Aboriginal reclamation of sacred and traditional spaces, or the perceived ownership of unclaimed spaces (under bridges, in parking lots, or out-of-town rendez-vous locations). Importantly, there is an implicit understanding that non-Aboriginal settlers own and have the right to inhabit universities, cabins, and lodges, as well as "nice neighborhoods," and that they understand that to be their right. There is no room in this discussion for "border crossings" — Aboriginal people who occupy traditional territories, non-Aboriginal people who live in Aboriginal nations, neighborhoods, or homes, the privilege of urban Aboriginal people who "pass" in inner cities.

A few authors in this work identify their privilege (skin colour, academic position, wealth) and identify themselves as occupants of the space from which Other people were dispossessed. This is laudable. Nonetheless, the danger is that in the space metaphor, when we determine that there are the rightful dispossessed and the wrongful owners, it is implicit that this is the understanding that is shared by "right thinking" citizens. There is very little room for the individual in this paradigm

— space is shared or taken. Groups move in or out. In one submission to this work, the author speaks of the privilege that allows students in a cross-cultural class to label, name and critique — with an absolute belief in the righteousness and truth of their right to do so.

Note, for example, the Cree MLA from The Pas, Manitoba, who was asked to leave Manitoba's provincial legislature (and ironically, called a racist by then Premier Gary Filmon) for labeling provincial governmental policy racist. Never is the depiction of settler space more clearly established than within Sheila Dawn Gill's description of the silencing of Oscar Lathlin by the Speaker of the House and the ensuing racially charged response of the premier. In a physical space, the connection between space and the silencing of race is easy to see and the metaphor of the occupation of settler space and the effect of a "border crossing" by a Cree man into a presumed settler space is powerful.

This is also true of Jennifer J. Nelson's discussion of the space of Africville in Halifax and in Engin F. Eisin and Myer Siemiatycki's discussion of space for mosques in Toronto. Both pieces identify the righteous occupation and presumed settler group ownership of public spaces. Both also examine the responses of the communities impacted by the spatial claiming by city planners (as representatives of "rightful" settlers) and the legal tools used to advance the claiming of space from settlers who were perceived not to be rightful ones (presumably, on the basis of their race). In these two pieces there is a direct link between space (claimed by a new settler group), race (the dispossessed not Caucasian) and law (city ordinances will be broken if plans are not followed). They are concrete examples of the theory at work as a tool to reveal the potential harm when space is presumptively owned, private, and protected.

Like all polemics, the space analysis is useful only to the degree that it can reveal all of the underlying factors governing social relations. Contrasting spaces

(Dirty, Dark, Desolate, and Dispossessed versus Clean, White, Privileged, and Empowered) sublimates components that constitute space: wealth, power, and ownership. The discussion of race, space, and law loses its moorings when the intersection of wealth, power, and ownership, is divorced from the discussion of location of groups, whether based on race or some other stratifying factor.

It must be stated that the text uses rather non-problematically the macro descriptor "race." The term does not address the multiplicity of experiences and the layering of traditions, understandings, and perceptions related to culture, spirituality, language, and other group characteristics (particularly in the area of Indigeneity). The homogenous amalgamation of all race related issues leaves little room for specific personal stories, and creates a tendency to homogenize the findings of the research.

The book, however, is a very valuable tool for those studying race, race relations, sociology, gender studies, and the geographies of personhood and history. Several chapters would be useful for law school courses on race and law. Its strengths lie in the new approach to quantifying and researching issues and situations that were previously disregarded as not susceptible to academic analysis and its advancement of scholarship in the area of race relations in Canada. Its weaknesses lie in a varying commitment to the notion of "space" by the authors and the potential for the diminishment of the import of the factors that construct race, space, and law (i.e. relative wealth and power).

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Anne Hayward, *The Alberta Pottery Industry, 1912-1990: A Social and Economic History* (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001)

FOR A SURPRISING number of Canadians, particularly those on the Prairies, the word "Medalta" evokes nostalgic memories of "brown betty" teapots and hefty crocks that did service in their grandmother's kitchen. These pottery pieces are the hallmark of Alberta's once successful pottery industry. Anne Hayward's study provides much insight into the factors that advanced the industry in the small city of Medicine Hat, then steadily brought it to its knees in the post-World War II era. As the first scholarly study of the Alberta pottery industry, Hayward's book establishes a useful foundation on which others can build to explore Canadian, and particularly Alberta's, industrial development. Nevertheless, greater historical context and more attention to differences of class, gender, and ethnicity would have enhanced its value as a labour study.

Drawing on a range of statistical evidence converted into easy-to-read charts, Hayward demonstrates that Alberta's pottery industry dominated Canadian pottery production from the early 1920s until the 1950s. Pottery manufactured in the area was sold across the country and as far away as New Zealand and Australia. By 1929 Medalta Potteries was manufacturing 75 per cent of all pottery produced in Canada. During World War II Medalta and Medicine Hat Potteries, the other major pottery manufacturer in the city, dominated Canada's war production, operating around the clock to fill government contracts. But those were the industry's salad days and after a protracted decline the last pottery closed its doors in 1989. Since then the buildings and artifacts that remain have been designated heritage sites, and two industrial buildings have been partially restored to house an interpretive centre that attracts thousands of visitors each year. Through careful re-

search Hayward has pieced together a detailed history of Medalta Potteries and Medicine Hat Potteries, which were the two largest of thirteen pottery operations in Medicine Hat. Medalta's trials and tribulations tend to dominate the narrative because more extensive records for that company have survived. The study is enlivened by photographs as well as charts, and includes a helpful glossary of terms to offer a level of production and marketing detail that is invaluable to collectors as well as historians. Approaching her subject in the tradition of material studies, Hayward emphasizes the "rivalry and espionage" among pottery entrepreneurs, and the struggles of scientists and craftsmen "to perfect the pottery materials and manufacturing processes." (x-xi) The book provides good insight into the particular challenges posed by an extreme climate, lack of experienced workers in the region, and manufacturing at a distance from markets.

Hayward attributes the initial success of Alberta's pottery industry in large part to an abundance of cheap natural gas in the Medicine Hat area, as well as high quality clays, railway access, and the availability of American capital. Medicine Hat's location atop a major gas field was critical to development of the pottery industry, which required large amounts of natural gas to fire the kilns at high temperatures. Gas was so cheap in the early part of the century that the municipality found it less costly to keep city street lights lit day and night than to hire someone to turn them off at night.

Cheap raw materials and easy access to transportation and capital, however, did not alone ensure the industry's success. Hayward argues convincingly that product development and constant refinement of manufacturing processes helped Medalta and Medicine Hat Potteries adapt to a shifting market and capitalize on technological changes that reduced costs, particularly the cost of labour. One of the book's strengths lies in the painstaking care with which the author has recon-

structed the history of these developments, particularly at Medalta Potteries. Drawing on material artifacts as well as photographs, company records, contemporary publications, and oral histories, the author identifies important management decisions that brought both success and failure.

Hayward highlights the development of artwares at Medalta as an innovation that helped the company survive both the introduction of glass bottles in the late 20s, which hurt the company's stoneware sales, and the constantly shifting tastes of consumers. An exclusively female art department developed during the Depression to perform the labour-intensive work of decorating pottery pieces made from the same moulds to vary them economically at a time when labour was cheap. As a labour shortage developed during the war, pottery owners increasingly turned to technology to achieve cost efficiencies. Assembly-line systems were installed using large conveyor belts to eliminate the employment of "runners," and automatic jiggering machines were purchased to reduce each company's need for jiggermen, the most highly paid workers in the factory.

Hayward argues that Alberta's pottery industry was undermined in the postwar period by lengthy labour disputes, a hike in the cost of clay from Saskatchewan and cheaper imports, as well as poor product-line decisions by management. The series of strikes and walkouts by workers at several clay products factories in 1947, which culminated in a long and bitter strike at Medalta Potteries, is viewed as a crucial turning point in the fortunes of the industry. Yet the labour actions were part of a nation-wide wave of labour unrest that did not devastate all other industries. An influx of cheap pottery imports that undercut Medicine Hat wares was a more compelling reason than labour unrest for the industry's demise. Significantly, the rest of the clay products industry in Alberta, which produced brick and tile, actually expanded in the postwar

period despite rising costs for labour and supplies.

Although ostensibly a "social" history as well as an "economic" history, Hayward's sources and analytic focus provide only limited insight into the identities and perspectives of ordinary men and women who worked in the potteries, and the role of labour in the industry's success. Only two of the twelve individuals interviewed were non-management personnel, and Hayward does not mention that the *Medicine Hat News*, on which she relies heavily, was owned by Harry Yuill, a local industrialist who also owned and operated Medicine Hat Potteries. Reading such sources against the grain and consulting union records and more rank-and-file workers, as well as histories of Cold War labour politics would strengthen the labour analysis and expand our understanding of how thousands of men and women experienced their work in the potteries. One also wonders how "Whiteness" and ethnicity influenced power dynamics in a workplace where the owners and managers were usually of Scottish or English origin and the workers were primarily of German origin.

Hayward provides valuable detail about the gender segregation of labour and working conditions that could also be incorporated more effectively into her analysis. Gender was a key organizing principle that determined most tasks and all wage rates within the pottery industry and played a significant role in its success. Hayward might have noted that the restriction of labour-intensive decorative work in the art department to female employees, who earned roughly 64 per cent of the male wage, helped keep costs low. This practice was common in the American and British pottery industries where Marc Stern has demonstrated that employing a greater percentage of women workers gave the English an advantage over American potteries.

Similarly, the inter-war drought that devastated the agriculture-dependent Medicine Hat region long before the

1930s Depression, played a crucial role in the industry's success. Intense drought combined with gendered property inheritance patterns to generate a large pool of cheap labour upon which the potteries could draw. The young, unmarried daughters of struggling farm families comprised a disproportionate number of those seeking paid work in the city, which helped keep wages low. Linking harsh working conditions and management's cavalier attitude toward its workers to the larger economic and social context makes more explicit the human cost of the industry's inter-war success.

Such comments should not detract, however, from this well-researched and engaging industrial history that establishes the broad outline of a once-important Alberta industry. Material history scholars, pottery collectors, and anyone interested in Alberta's economic development will find Hayward's study rewarding.

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Rowland Lorimer and Mike Gasher, *Mass Communication in Canada*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001)

THE FOURTH EDITION of one of the best textbooks ever written on media and Canadian society, *Mass Communication in Canada*, is out. In it, Lorimer and Gasher have clarified and simplified the third edition and made the following list of changes: updated information in the text; increased the emphasis on public communication (by cutting back the paper treatment of communications history and adding relevant historical URLs to the website); divided the policy chapter in two — one on broadcasting and telecommunications and another on cultural industries; re-written the chapter on journalism; placed all the discussion on technology into one very large chapter;

and altered the discussion on geo-politics to a discussion on globalization.

The various editions of this textbook read like a history of the last fifteen years in Canadian communications. First published in 1987, the text has been repeatedly updated for content and approach in order to reflect the whirlwind of change that has encompassed media and society as a field of study.

In fact, the authors tell us that part of the reason for this fourth edition was their need to address the pace of change in recent times. Whereas they once had a lag time of four or five years in the production of a book, they now have barely a year, especially for a book about communication and society. Lorimer and Gasher feel they have solved this problem to some extent by using the book's website <http://www.masscomm.qc.ca> for updates to the text.

Mass Communication in Canada provides an excellent first look for post-secondary students at the complex societal factors affecting communications in Canada. It presents a multidimensional look at the field, introducing only enough theory to enable the application of theoretical constructs in the real world.

This textbook would make an ideal teaching tool in a college or first-year university class. Each chapter is short (about 30 pages), contains slate blue, restful-to-the-eye, boxed and illustrated material, and offers a list of four or five websites containing further information, a half-dozen references, and as many study questions. The book also includes a well-written glossary, full list of references, and an index for the curious, or engaged reader.

The text begins by defining mass communication as a set of practices; then it makes a quick historical connection between democracy, politics, culture, and the media, before concentrating on the ways in which these forces currently operate in Canada.

The fourth and fifth chapters provide students with a banquet of theoretical pos-

sibilities for the analysis of media content and audience effects. As an introduction to such approaches as literary criticism, structuralism, semiotics, post-structuralism, pragmatics, discourse and conversational analysis, content analysis, political-economic analysis, and media form analysis, Chapter 4 does an excellent job of presenting students with a wide range of research tools for examining communication content. The chapter complements this tool kit with actual analyses of media campaigns and a short discussion of the connection between media content and social issues.

Chapter 5 begins with a banal outline of five academic approaches to audience research: effects research, uses and gratifications, cultural studies, feminist research, and reception analysis. But then the chapter turns its gaze to industrial approaches to audience research, with special emphasis on such crucial areas as reach, share, and viewing time. This practical application is followed by an outline of the importance of formative research (e.g. focus groups) and summative research (e.g. program effectiveness). The chapter concludes with an extended illustration of the research organized by Canada's Print Measurement Bureau, which serves the nation's publishing industry and houses the world's richest print audience database.

Other chapters are dedicated to communication law and policy, the structure and role of media ownership in Canada, and the role of journalists as content producers. The first nine chapters, then, place primary emphasis on the experience of media in Canada.

Not surprisingly to anyone who has read earlier incarnations of this textbook, Lorimer and Gasher use chapters ten through twelve to move outward from the Canadian environment to the global. It is in these final chapters that the authors demonstrate most clearly what concerns them about the context of mass communications in Canada. And it is these concerns that have actually driven the fourth

edition. Taking an approach informed largely by the concerns of political economy, Lorimer and Gasher use these three chapters to deal at length with issues of technology and society (the longest chapter, at 60 pages), corporate globalization, and speculations about the future of communication in the digital age.

A major impetus to the fourth revision came from the changing nature of communication since the advent of the Internet. The authors write that public communication is quickly replacing mass communication because the electronic technologies allow the reader to produce content as well as consume it. The "transmission of messages made by many is far surpassing the production and distribution of a limited set of products made by a few ..." (xi). This sea change in the Canadian communications polysystem has decided implications for the roles played by media organizations, journalists, policy-makers, regulators, teachers, and the public.

The final reason for producing this fourth edition of *Mass Communication in Canada* devolves from the corporate agenda of globalization. Lorimer and Gasher note in particular how the incremental growth of market forces and international trade agreements seriously challenge the ability of nations to produce effective social policy. Their book is, in part, an attempt to critically assess efforts of the Canadian government and its regulatory bodies to ensure that media meet the cultural, social, economic, and political needs of the Canadian people.

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Venus Green, *Race on the Line: Gender, Labor, and Technology in the Bell System, 1880-1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001)

IN 1973 VENUS GREEN started work at the New York Telephone Company as a

switchman, amongst a handful of women just entering that male-dominated field. Spending sixteen years in the industry, Green observed how introduction of new technologies kept redefining the nature of telephone work. She also noted how posts remained segregated by sex and race, with Black women clustered in low-level departments. In this well-written and important book, Green explores the connected history of such patterns in the Bell System between 1876 and 1984, "the convergence of gender, class, race, and technology in the workplace." (1) She particularly details evolution of telephone operators' roles "in the context of debates over the degradation of skills, job loss, worker's control, job segregation and segmentation, and race and labor/management relations." (2) Green contends that management deliberately manipulated the operator workforce for decades, through technological deskilling, overbearing supervision, paternalism, and gender and racial stereotyping.

Green divides telephone labour history into three technologically-defined stages: mechanization (1878-1920), automation (1920-1960), and computerization (1960-1980). During the initial phase, the Bell System recruited female employees after boy clerks proved unruly. 19th-century operators entered a relatively flexible workplace that valued their initiative and gave them a certain authority and control over tasks. To win customers over to a still-unfamiliar technology, head off competition, and meet growing demand, the Bell System emphasized the value of personalized service. Green describes how pioneer operators offered callers individual attention while handling the complex physical chores of making different types of connections. Increasing mechanization promised to help operators juggle growing call volume; Green offers excellent explanations of how switchboard equipment evolved, including photographs to illustrate various designs.

As the 20th century began, the expanding scale of telephone communication highlighted problems of efficiency, leading managers to focus on controlling operators and raising productivity. New equipment facilitated monitoring by supervisors, who watched warning lights that signaled waiting calls and "listened in" to double-check that operators followed standardized procedures. Surveillance transformed the workplace into scientifically-managed regimentation; managers divided jobs into simplified, rigid routines, removing operators' discretion to exercise independent judgment. [I]ntroduction of new machines and changes in work organization degraded the job and skills that had been so essential to the early development of the telephone industry," a process that involved "the complete feminization of the occupation, the entrenchment of a clearly defined male-dominated hierarchy ... the dissolution of operators' control over their work pace ... [N]ew technology at first enskilled and offered opportunity to women in the nineteenth century but deskilled and limited that opportunity in the twentieth." (55)

Stress on operators increased with speedups, repetitive routine, and long hours at low pay. Countering that reality, Green maintains, Bell System managers constructed an idealized image of operators as perfect "ladies" who could placate customers. "[T]o ensure the fact that telephone operators resembled nineteenth-century servants or factory workers more than upper-class 'ladies,' managers fostered notions of white privilege by excluding African American and select groups of immigrant women." (53, 55) Publicizing its exclusivity in hiring only proper classes, Green concludes, the company consciously maintained a "racist hiring policy," which reinforced workplace control. (55)

Operators who embraced the "white lady" self-image and valued its status nonetheless refused to become entirely passive, joining early 20th-century

strikes and slowdowns. Middle-class reformers and male union leaders behind such subversive actions, however, spoke patronizingly of protecting female operators from abuses. Focusing on short-term wage and hour demands, organizers "failed to understand the importance of addressing the technological pacing of work" and operators' loss of autonomy. (108) By failing to correct such misplaced assumptions, Green convincingly suggests, female operators lost any chance to challenge management's introduction of mechanization or to reorient working conditions in less-stressful directions.

Ironically, fear of worker militancy and rising wages fed the industry's post-World War I determination to adopt dial-system conversion. Automation expanded management ability to monitor, reorganize, and forcibly accelerate operators' workloads. "With their personal skills diminished in value, ... operators relied more on their white exclusivity to maintain what they perceived to be an elite position." (134) The "ladies" created racially-stereotyped publications and blackface skits (documented in Green's illustrations). Meanwhile, the Bell System set up company unions and paternalistic programs to win operators' gratitude for small concessions. Loyal operators cooperated in their own devastation, since automation ultimately meant technological displacement, a fact that "AT & T deliberately distorted ... for publicity reasons." (167) Management promised that innovation would bring better-paid craft and managerial positions for men, a promise union leaders welcomed. "Low-paying [female] operators' jobs could be sacrificed at the altar of 'progress.'" (169)

Green's final chapters skillfully recount how after decades-long campaigns for fairness, Black women slowly gained access to operators' jobs. By the late 1960s, that workforce had largely been transformed from White to Black women, due to both demographic characteristics of the urban labour market and the Bell

System's profit-driven desire for favourable publicity. Initially excited by new opportunities, Black women failed to recognize they had landed dead-end jobs. The period 1960-1981 witnessed a 40 per cent drop in total operator numbers. "Managers deliberately hired African American women into an occupation that not only paid low wages but was becoming technologically obsolete. An enormous public relations campaign obfuscated this travesty of inclusion." (227)

In turning to Black labour, management necessarily abandoned the "white lady" identity it had constructed for operators and withdrew former benefits. With workplace degradation, Blacks found that "the job did not bring the same prestige and deference as it had for white women." (195) Black operators were harassed by customers, scorned by White colleagues, and made into scapegoats for poor service. Most seriously, Green accuses the industry of deliberately using racism as a dividing force, tricking workers into jockeying for vanishing jobs. Even as AT&T publicly courted praise for equal-opportunity surface measures, Green charges, it manipulated integration to intimidate White workers, spark an anti-affirmative-action backlash, and thus maintain workplace control.

In recent years, "[c]omputerized work measurements and strict supervision combine frequently with racism and sexism to form a virtual hell" for marginalized Black female workers at New York Telephone, Green contends. (241) Modernized equipment sends incoming calls to idle operators within milliseconds and enables supervisors to discipline workers who spend more than a half-minute per customer. "The human telephone operator is almost extinct. The few who still exist work at electronic speeds, under both human and inhuman supervision," risking stress disorders and carpal-tunnel syndrome. (261) Technological displacement and job degradation had relatively less impact on White male workers, Green argues, giving union lead-

ership the excuse to ignore minority women's concerns.

Drawing policy lessons from her case study, Green concludes that "operators' experiences inform us about the obstacles to creating and maintaining avenues of redress in a workplace in which continuity and change occur in relation to the impact of technology." (261-2) She suggests that although "work degradation and deskilling are not inherent in new technologies," unions proved inadequate critics of industry's technical control and workforce manipulations. (7) Green's harsh indictments of unions and of the Bell System may make some readers blink, but her arguments are strongly constructed. Her book represents a beautiful model for how scholars can blend labour history, business history, and history of technology; offering benefits to all perspectives. She provides an unrivalled case for exploring complicated intersections of race and gender, power and control, and technology and employment in the modern workplace. The powerful implications of their analysis make Green's book essential reading for historians of 20th-century labour.

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Hadassa Kosak, *Cultures of Opposition: Jewish Immigrant Workers, New York City, 1881-1905* (Albany: State University of New York, 2000)

THE BEST LABOUR HISTORY recognizes the totality of workers' lives; in the workplace, association, home, markets, church, and diverse community settings. Hadassa Kosak's *Cultures of Opposition: Jewish Immigrant Workers, New York City, 1881-1905* seeks to utilize this breadth of perspective in analyzing the lives of working-class Russian Jewish immigrants in the turn-of-the-century metropolis but in a particularly ambitious manner. Specifically, Kosak uses this his-

torical perspective both to re-emphasize the continuing efficacy of the labour-cultural nexus suggested by E.P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman, and revise traditional labour historiography concerning late-19th-century Jewish working-class immigrants. Kosak's ambitious scope may largely explain the study's few problematic areas, while the author's skillful discussion of historiography, cultural expression, community identity, and ethnic relations makes many of the author's bold assertions appear quite persuasive.

Kosak introduces the study as one specifically describing "the character of labor activism and how it reached new heights in the garment industries of New York in the 1880s and 1890s," (12) which, in itself, is an important contribution but hardly does justice to the following narrative. The six chapters and conclusion that follow a heavily historiographical introduction describe a sequential evolution of the immigrant experience. Kosak's initial chapter on the Russian experience is especially vital since it establishes several of the author's key points: the foundational culture that both mediated and responded to the immigrant experience, experiences with oppression that gave cultural expression to resistance, and the distinctive economic reality of the homeland that proved so radically different from the new country. The following chapters explore in succession the processes of migration, new economic realities, emergence of an ethnic enclave, cultural responses to oppression, and the creation of a new "language" of cultural expression that linked workplace, association, family, identity, and community in an activist working-class consciousness. From the interaction between immigrant culture and American material realities, Kosak concludes that the Russian immigrant experience created new opportunities for democratic participation, transformed traditional ways of life, included women as full participants in the process of historical change, articulated new expressions

of mutuality, and, in short, defined "new political agendas" reflecting the interplay of the several realities emerging from the historical immigrant experience. (160) Fundamentally, the outcome of the Russian Jewish immigrant experience was to create a political consciousness anticipating equality and liberty in material and cultural realities that would contribute significantly to a continuing commitment to social progress and justice in labour organization and left politics.

The thrust of Kosak's interpretation centers upon a politicized working-class culture as evinced through historical political action. Citing both Thompson and Gutman, the latter of whom the author acknowledges as an inspiration for this study, Kosak attributes class-consciousness among the immigrant Russian Jews to the interplay between their cultural heritage and the material and social realities of New World industrial capitalism, which manifested itself in diverse forms of collective behaviours, associations, and rhetoric. This process, according to the author, resulted in the invention of a new language "based on a dynamic reinterpretation of different cultural components." (4) This concept of a "new language" for the Jewish immigrants fits nicely with recent emphases upon rhetoric and symbol in negotiating power relations, and Kosak is quite comfortable employing it as a central focus for the work. One wonders at times whether or not the concept may be a bit amorphous, particularly when linked to perceived immigrant democratic yearnings in a fundamentally undemocratic epoch. Nevertheless, the correspondence, periodicals, and other text-based sources upon which the author relies heavily reflect the significance of language and its evolution from 19th-century Russia to 20th-century New York, at least in this narrative form. Yet, as important as the creation of a new language may have been to these immigrants, the incorporation of symbolic consciousness into specific political actions in the workplace and community in the

latter part of the study proves to be the more gripping analysis and suggests a need for revising traditional labour historiography.

In creating a new political language and putting it into daily practice, the Russian Jewish immigrants of turn-of-the-century New York proved these historical actors to be activists constantly seeking their just due and not victims of oppression. Here, Kosak posits a need for a new historiographical lens for the pre-1905 generation of immigrants since analyses of workplace and labour organization experiences fail to fathom the much more complex nature of immigrant working-class consciousness and class formation. In this aspect of the study, the author weds the experiences of the Russian Jewish immigrants to those of the already established Jewish German Americans, whose relations to the former often reflected patriarchal and/or exploitative patterns, and shows how inherited cultures and differing economic agendas, in fact, divided rather than drew these different immigrant generations together. For Kosak, Russian Jewish orientation toward social justice and even militancy, at least for the pre-1905 generation, who did not experience the material transformations in Russia later generations did, resulted from a communitarian-based struggle for social equity and cultural expression and not primarily from workplace struggles or labour organization. In this regard, non-wage workers, particularly women among the Russian immigrants, appeared as visible agents of community action.

Cultures of Opposition represents a solid piece of scholarship, effectively combining perspectives from labour, ethnic, and urban historiography. Kosak's work contributes to the continuing examination of working-class people as historical actors actively engaged in the shaping of both their individual communities and the broader social milieu. While Kosak's readiness to assign a democratic consciousness to immigrants for whom nei-

ther homeland culture nor American reality evinced such a democratic ethos is, at times, dissatisfying, the author's discussion of immigrant self-empowerment seems more convincing, especially when located in a collectivized sense of community. Also, the author's penchant for downplaying material forces of history as opposed to cultural ones seems belied by the later emphasis of the book, where workplace issues appear as principal factors in promoting political and social activism among the immigrant community. Certainly, material and cultural forces can not be disassociated from one another in the historical experience, but one may argue persuasively for the primacy of industrial relations and forces in shaping class formation and consciousness.

For scholars of the immigrant and working-class experience at the turn of the 20th century, *Cultures of Opposition* is a useful tool in uncovering the dynamics of community networks, class identity and behavior, and inter-ethnic relations. Kosak's inclusion of diverse intellectual sources, including Thompson, Gutman, Werner Sollors, Margaret Somers, and others, evidences the continuing efficacy of the inter-disciplinary basis of social and cultural history. This work succeeds in giving voice to the pre-1905 Russian Jewish immigrant generation, which reinforces the need for scholars to avoid viewing immigrant groups as monolithic entities but instead as discrete communities identified by generation, nationality, class, and the like, and that fed into other diverse immigrant streams. Hadassa Kosak's *Cultures of Oppression* truly recognizes the totality of workers' lives, in the workplace, association, home, markets, religious institutions, and diverse community settings, and serves as a model for not only labour history but immigrant, ethnic, and community history as well.

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Sol Dollinger and Genora Johnson Dollinger, *Not Automatic: Women and the Left in the Forging of the Auto Workers' Union* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000)

THIS VALUABLE WORK is really a collection of extended pieces by Sol Dollinger and Genora Johnson Dollinger. Each in its own way makes an important contribution to our understanding of the formative years of the United Automobile Workers (UAW) and will be of use to both scholars and activists.

Part I is Sol Dollinger's history and participant's account of the left and the UAW from 1934 to 1948. Dollinger stresses the importance of thousands of union-conscious non-party workers in taking on some of America's biggest corporations. Although much of his work deals with the various left groups and faction fighting within the newborn organization, he never loses sight of the many extraordinary leaders thrown up in the heat of battle. He shows that "the auto workers' organizational drive was a great volunteer movement unparalleled in the history of labor." (54) He devotes special attention to Toledo (Auto-Lite and Chevrolet strikes) and Flint (GM Sit-Down). As the UAW began to grow he traces the fight against Homer Martin and then against the No Strike Pledge. Dollinger writes from a Trotskyist perspective and does not claim any evenhandedness. For him the combination of Walter Reuther, the Taft-Hartley Act, and the rise of McCarthyism meant the destruction of a cadre of unionists who had built the union "from the bottom up," and meant that the next generation of unionists would be unable to learn from them. Dollinger also devotes special attention to the beating inflicted on Genora Dollinger by Mafia thugs connected to the Briggs Manufacturing Company. The Reuthers showed little interest in this attack and were thus unprepared for the murderous assaults on Walter and Victor, probably from the same source, in the following years. Part

III is made up of three brief articles on the making of "Babies and Banners," the dispute over who led the Flint Sit-Down strike, and Sol's final comments on the UAW, each valuable in its own way.

Part II is a 37-page reprint of a pamphlet by Genora Johnson Dollinger on her years in the auto workers' union in Flint and Detroit. It contains a wealth of information and insights from that era. She had the ear and eye for the telling detail. She notes how in the pre-union shops workers were never called by their names. They would just be "Whitey" or "Shorty" or some other nickname, working in an environment that stripped them of their personal identity. She also catches the oppressiveness of the GM plants, complete with lip readers who would spy on workers' conversations. These conditions make the resistance by men and women all the more thrilling. At a crucial moment during the Flint Sit-Down strike, when Genora was trying to rally women from the crowd watching the struggle, a lone woman struggled to come forward. "A cop had grabbed her by the back of her coat. She just pulled out of that coat and started walking toward the battle zone." (134) Such was the heroism that won the strike. She is also keen on the changes that victory brought, how "the auto worker became a different human being." (144) She notes the changes in the home as well as the shop floor. Genora also shows the power of workers who are engaged in a culture of solidarity. When she began to play an active role at Briggs in Detroit, after she could no longer work in Flint, the company fired her before she had finished her probation. Eighteen thousand workers promptly walked out and forced the company to rehire her. That was union power.

There are some problems with this book. Sol Dollinger assumes a great deal of knowledge about the 1930s US left. If you did not know the difference between a Lovestonite and the Proletarian Party, he does not tell you. The latter parts of the book need to be read by someone who has

seen the marvelous documentary, "With Babies and Banners." But what a good reason to see the film.

The Dollingers' book bears comparison to two other workers' memoirs that were published at about the same time. Jack Metzgar's *Striking Steel* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000) focuses on his experiences as the son of a steelworker during the 1959 steel strike. Cheri Register's *Packinghouse Daughter* (New York: Perennial, 2001) recalls her life as the daughter of a packinghouse worker during the 1959 Wilson & Company, Albert Lea, Minnesota strike. Each book reminds us of the value of personal accounts. Of course, the Dollingers were mature activists while Register and Metzgar were teenagers. Yet the three works remind us that the 1930s were truly a decade of advances, while by the 1950s unionists were glad to be able to hold on to past gains and enjoy the fruits of their labours. Genora Johnson Dollinger celebrated the fact that workers could begin to send their kids to college in the 1940s and 1950s. Register and Metzgar are those kids.

But if these books portray a tale of working-class victory, Sol Dollinger's grim description of the triumph of the Reuther machine and the crushing of worker democracy tells a different side of the story. Workers' struggles are not like some sort of tide that must inevitably ebb and neap. Their forward gains are not pre-ordained. Had working people been able to withstand the conservative winds of the 1940s, how much further might they have travelled down the road to workers' power, and how much better off might we be in this era of reaction?

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Heather Ann Thompson, *Whose Detroit? Politics, Labor, and Race in a Modern American City* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001)

US LABOUR AND URBAN historians have recently produced a variety of studies focusing on the second half of the 20th century and particularly on the decline of organized labour, racial problems in northern cities, and the fate of liberalism. In this engaging study, Heather Ann Thompson combines all three concerns as she reveals a history of political struggle among conservatives, liberals, and radicals in 1960s and 1970s Detroit that shaped the future of the city. Although Thompson, who grew up in Detroit and is now a professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, offers few explicit comparisons from other cities, she argues that this conflict was replicated elsewhere and that as liberalism declined in national politics it triumphed in inner cities, which had become centers of political power and economic opportunity for the Black middle-class.

Building on the work of other historians of Detroit such as Tom Sugrue and Jeffrey Mirel, Thompson paints a vivid picture of the plight of Blacks in the city that led them to take to the streets in July 1967 in the bloodiest riot the US experienced during that tumultuous decade. After World War II, as more Blacks moved into Detroit, Whites segregated Blacks into overcrowded and inferior housing, underfunded schools, and unskilled work, and Blacks faced higher levels of unemployment than Whites. Black civil rights activists sought to integrate the neighbourhoods, schools, and workplaces, and Jerome Cavanagh, liberal mayor of Detroit from 1962 to 1970, promised to use government money to alleviate the worst ravages of racism, but both were unable to achieve much. While stressing the role that economic factors played in fueling the 1967 riot, Thompson pays particular attention to police brutality. Blacks repeatedly clashed with

an overwhelmingly White racist and violent Detroit police force. Little wonder that a police action against an illegal drinking party led to the riot in the summer of 1967.

After the 1967 riot, White liberal politicians in Detroit faced increasing opposition from Black and White radicals, who wanted a revolutionary overhaul of society, and White conservatives, who opposed the Great Society and the civil rights movement. Between 1967 and 1972, groups of Black nationalists and White leftists organized in opposition to the liberal establishment, which had failed to improve the lot of Blacks. They gained popular support for their opposition to police brutality, their demand for Black control of schools in Black neighborhoods, and their call for economic justice. While Blacks accused Stop the Robberies Enjoy Safe Streets (STRESS), a special unit the police department, of brutality, White conservatives supported their tough stance on crime. White conservatives accused the liberal establishment of appeasing lawbreakers and opposed school integration and bussing.

Throughout the book, Thompson draws links among developments in city hall, on the streets, and in the city's auto plants. As police brutality fueled resentment in Detroit's Black neighbourhoods, racial discrimination, the abuses of White foremen, and deteriorating working conditions angered Black autoworkers. The leadership of the United Automobile Workers (UAWO, long recognized as racial progressives, promised to end racial discrimination in hiring and promotion and stop foreman abuses but, in practice, union officials bowed to the wishes of their conservative White members who wanted to maintain their monopoly on skilled jobs and promotions. In May 1968 Black workers in the Chrysler Assembly Plant (Dodge Main) founded the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), the first of a number of "RUMs" throughout the auto plants, which called for the appointment of more Blacks to po-

sitions of power in the company and the UAW, and protested racist supervisors. Subsequently, the RUMs united and formed the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW), which blended Marxism and Black nationalism by declaring Black workers as the vanguard of a revolution. While Detroit's RUMs and the League had virtually collapsed by 1971 because of opposition from UAW leaders and because they alienated most White workers and some Black workers with their sectarianism, factionalism, and Marxist rhetoric, worker dissent over working conditions and safety continued. In response to a series of wildcat strikes in 1973, however, the UAW leadership not only sided with the car companies but gathered their supporters together and violently attacked the picketing workers, forcing them back to work and ending the rank-and-file rebellion.

While labour leaders set out to destroy the Black radicals, civic liberals gained new respect from the city's growing Black working-class and poor as they appeared more activist and sympathetic to Black demands. In particular, Thompson claims, liberal judges and politicians proved especially adept at dealing with the high-profile court cases involving Blacks who challenged racist practices. She especially focuses on the case of James Johnson Jr., a 35-year-old Black automobile worker at the Chrysler Plant who killed two White foremen and a White fellow worker on 15 July 1970, and used racial discrimination and conditions at the plant as part of his defense in his 1971 trial. Thompson weaves the story of James Johnson throughout the book as a metaphor for the discrimination, hopes, disappointments, and frustrations of all Black Detroiters. When Johnson was found not guilty of murder by reason on insanity, Thompson claims that liberalism and electoral politics gained new credibility and the appeal of radicalism declined.

As many White conservatives left the city and the radical Left waned, the stage was set for the rise of Black liberalism. In 1973 the city elected its first Black mayor, Coleman Young, a UAW organizer in the 1930s and civil rights activist. Subsequently, Young maintained the support of Black Detroiters by employing Blacks in city positions, including the previously all-White police department, and by portraying himself as a defender of Black Detroit against increasingly hostile White suburbs. Because the White population continued to flee the city and the car companies relocated or cut workers' wages, Thompson concluded that Black liberals came to political power in Detroit as the city faced economic crisis and as liberalism declined in national politics.

Thompson's study is a triumph of social and political history. She connects in a most engaging style events on the street, the factory floor, and the courtroom, and convincingly shows the political realignments that have remade Detroit. The book could have been improved, however, if Thompson had spent more time finding out the views of those in the White neighborhoods. She makes extensive use of local archives and oral history collections, but undertook virtually no oral interviews herself. Oral interviews would have helped to uncover in greater detail the ideas of White conservatives who do not get the same coverage as liberals or Black nationalists, and often remain faceless and nameless throughout the book. Thompson also claims that the findings in Detroit on the triumph of city liberalism and the decline of organized labour are applicable elsewhere but offers little evidence for this. Focusing on the UAW leadership's destruction of the rank-and-file rebellion in the 1970s, for example, she argues that the actions of union leaders played a large part in the decline of the US labor movement. To substantiate this claim, however, she needs to make far more comparisons with other cities and other unions. Despite these limitations, this book adds much to our understanding

of the late twentieth century US and is a welcome addition to the literature.

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Janet Lee, *Comrades and Partners: The Shared Lives of Grace Hutchins and Anna Rochester* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000)

GRACE HUTCHINS and Anna Rochester shared a life together for nearly 50 years. For 40 of those years, they were members of the Communist Party: a Party that repeatedly condemned same-sex relationships. Despite the incipient tension between their ideological commitments and their lifestyle, each found the Party a comfortable intellectual home, and, as Janet Lee reveals, in this creatively-conceived biography, each used it as the staging ground for a series of remarkable achievements.

Rochester, born in 1880, and Hutchins, born in 1885, both came from prominent and wealthy families; each attended Bryn Mawr College, though only Hutchins graduated; each migrated through different routes to Christian socialism in the early 1920s, when they settled down together. Rochester worked with and for Denison House (a social settlement), then the National Child Labor Committee, and the US Children's Bureau, associating with the likes of Florence Kelley and Julia Lathrop as she did so. Hutchins went to China as a missionary in 1912, returning after four years to a European world at war that, she claimed, converted her to pacifism. The two settled into a communal household together in 1921, and when it disintegrated three years later, they established a home of their own that they would maintain for the rest of their lives. They became activists for peace — working first for Christian groups like the Fellowship of Reconciliation — and then abandoning Christian socialism to join the Communist Party in

1927. Within the party, they took separate trajectories. Hutchins focused on labour, particularly on women's wage-work; Rochester devoted herself to issues of immigration, and then to economic analysis. Although they largely supported themselves by writing and editing, parental allowances and inheritance expanded their capacity to devote themselves fully to their political lives. Both distinguished themselves as authors and activists; and both remained loyal to the Communist Party throughout their long lives. Rochester died in 1966, and Hutchins three years later.

Lee's strategy in writing this biography is to focus on "the process whereby subjects are formed through historically defined processes." (4-5) "While Hutchins and Rochester were constituted as political actors across widely differing ideological landscapes," she tells us, "these landscapes molded them in particular ways that I explain throughout the book." (5) This search for the creation of the persona poses an exciting challenge to the reader eager to understand the creation of a life (or two lives in this instance); yet it is never fully realized in the book. And the attention Lee pays to the task of constructing the subjective experience seems in the end to be somewhat counter-productive: to detract from her willingness to engage with issues of growth and change, of contradiction and tension.

For example, we are repeatedly reminded that the bourgeois backgrounds of these women, their class privilege, licensed their travels, their exposure, and their capacity to live well. Strong loyalties, Lee writes, "were possible because of their socioeconomic privilege. They lived their faith because they could live their faith." (109) Towards the ends of their lives, when McCarthyism played havoc with the Party apparatus and the lives of its members, their substantial financial means enabled them to campaign on behalf of civil liberties and to bail friends out of jail. But while their re-

sources help us to understand how Hutchins and Rochester survived, they do not offer much in the way of explanation. Many privileged women lived dissolutely, and many unprivileged women found ways to live their faith. If bourgeois privilege helped the pair to retain their economic independence during the difficult McCarthy period, it does not explain why they kept faith with communism long after the Party's bloody purges became public knowledge in 1956.

Lee tells us that Grace and Anna did not see themselves as lesbians (166) at least partly because "they had strong incentives not to do so." This remarkable statement is followed by a discussion of the Communist Party's early and increasing opposition to homosexuality — position that Hutchins and Rochester apparently supported despite their own experiences. Are there not issues here that require exploration? Their companionship, the lifestyle and the relationships that ensued from it are part of an explanatory framework that might help us to understand their politics. We learn of individual friends and friendships; but despite close connections with networks of women around World War I, Hutchins and Rochester do not seem to have maintained many women friends after the disruption of their commune in 1924. Is this connected to their apparent lack of feminism? Lee comments on their lack of feminist insight, and tells us how excited she is when she catches them taking a feminist position she likes. (117, 173). But she has a hard time explaining how their own relationships to women's issues may have served them well both in the Party and among other women of their day. The pair fit comfortably into a social feminism that was not unusual among educated women in the mid-20th century — a position that the author acknowledges in the text yet dismisses as "liberal" in the accompanying box. (116)

Equally troubling is the way Lee inserts herself into the narrative both in the text and in a series of "boxes" sprinkled

throughout the text. Lee uses these boxes to comment on her own thoughts as she engaged with her material. She raises questions about biography as a genre; ruminates about her doubts and decisions; evokes her own subjective experiences in relation to those of her protagonists; and shares her fantasies and wishes about Hutchins and Rochester. The boxes appear on nearly every page, occasionally two to a page, sometimes informative, occasionally insightful, and inevitably distracting the reader from the argument in process. While I appreciate the post modern concern for identifying the subject-position of the writer, I wonder about the effectiveness of a strategy that draws so much attention to the writer at the expense of insight into the subject. At one point, we are told, for example, that Grace and Anna were in India when Lee's mother was born. (136) What are we meant to make of this? At another, Lee interrupts a perceptive analysis of the development of Hutchins' and Rochester's thought to introduce her own concerns about whether she might have constructed herself as a "fictive character" in this book. I would be willing, even eager, to read about that in an introductory essay, but I am irritated when my eye is drawn to it in the midst of something substantive.

In the end I am left confounded. These lives raise crucial issues that promise to illuminate much about the history of 20th century American politics, including the transformation from religious faith to party loyalty; the contradictions between lifestyles financed by inherited wealth and commitments to ideologies of equality; and the tension between lesbian sensibility and membership in a party apparatus that rigidly espouses heterosexuality. Janet Lee opens all these questions, and more, to examination. For this, as well as for introducing us to two fervent and passionate lives, I am grateful. But in *Comrades and Partners*, she leaves the big questions for others to explore, turning Anna Rochester and Grace Hutchins into effective vehicles for an experiment in

biographical inquiry rather than the centerpoints of a significant historical moment. Readers interested in the project of biography writing will find this attractive, but I confess to disappointment in my search for the larger meaning of these two very important lives.

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Daniel Rothenberg, *With These Hands: The Hidden World of Migrant Farm Workers Today* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)

AT A TIME when consumers are readily enlisted in the "fast-food nation" (the title of a recent bestseller), when bio-technological patents are a significant source of corporate power and profits, and when family farms are relentlessly displaced by industrial production, the work of cultivating a critical mindfulness about what we eat is especially urgent: who produces food, and under what conditions? In that work, Daniel Rothenberg's fine study of migrant farm workers in the United States will be essential reading. It is aimed directly at what he calls a "form of social forgetting" that is reinforced by the geographic isolation of urbanization and class. (326) While North American supermarkets are filled with produce "as if by magic, ... few people realize that virtually every vegetable and piece of fruit we eat was handpicked by a farmworker" (xvii); one of a poorly-paid, poorly-protected caste of at least two million, mostly men, mostly immigrant, mostly invisible, but still essential to a continental food system. For the paradox of large-scale commercial agriculture, capital-intensive, and technologically-advanced, is that it "cannot do without hand labor, people willing to stoop in the fields; climb ladders in orchards; and fill buckets, baskets, bins, and tubs with fruits and vegetables." (326-27) Not only that: migrant workers — often entire families — continue to

bear the costs of travel from job to job, the risks of bad weather, pesticides, and, in the 1990s, the downward pressures on wages and working conditions created by an abundance of recruits from Mexico and Central America.

The story of migrant farmworkers is as old as Steinbeck's fiction and as infused with righteous anger as the grape boycotts organized by Cesar Chavez's union movement a generation ago. To this story Rothenberg makes several distinct contributions. At one level, he documents the changes in fruit and vegetable production, in public policy, and in the demographic composition of the migrant labour sector, partly, no doubt, to dispel a complacent popular assumption since the 1970s that the situation must have continued to improve. Instead, Rothenberg shows readers a world marked by fear, intimidation, and dehumanization, especially in the transition to agribusiness corporations to whom, as one worker puts it, "you're just a machine to get fruit from the tree"; at its extreme are forms of old-fashioned debt slavery.

At another level, this book sketches some of the social and culture consequences of political-economic interdependence in a continental food system. While the US-Mexico border remains a dangerous "symbolic space" — the domain of smugglers and guards — there are subtler, profounder changes at work across it. One is the formation of networks linking Mexican workers to jobs and resources in the US, which for Rothenberg is a more significant factor in increased migration than economic desperation alone. Another is the reconstitution of once insular rural Mexican communities around the cyclical demands of farmwork: absent males, individualism, disparities of wealth, and new patterns of consumption (cars, appliances, satellite dishes) afforded by success in the North. A third is the little-noticed "Latinization" of large parts of the rural US where migrant workers have begun to settle, sometimes overwhelming social agencies and stirring ra-

cial tensions, but also bringing the promise of local revitalization.

Ultimately, what gives *With These Hands* its strength (and, in places, its incongruous beauty) are the extensive field-work interviews that are interspersed throughout each chapter. An activist and anthropologist, Rothenberg may not be an ambitious social theorist, to judge from this book, but he must be a first-rate, tireless, and sometimes fearless interviewer — one for whom intellectual inquiry is a deeply moral undertaking. He successfully invests farmworkers of all kinds with dignity and intelligence. He lets them speak for themselves about their histories and the changes in their industry, about their skills, their aspirations, their need of respect, their sense of obligation, and in some cases the freedom they find in mobility or the peace they find in working the land — so long as "you're getting paid for it." (44) These farmworkers are seldom mere victims. Sometimes they are lifelong union organizers. Sometimes they are children who, more adept at learning a new language, serve as translators and negotiators for their parents, or who, educated in spite of great obstacles, return from university to teach summer school programs in the field. Sometimes they find an entrepreneurial way out, like the woman who used her savings from years of farmwork to buy a small restaurant, feeling she had "finally arrived," but acutely aware of the locals' wariness of migrants and hopeful that through her own business "I could be the one that makes everyone realize, 'Lord, have mercy, those tomatoes I ate yesterday? Somebody picked them with their own hands.'" (204)

Rothenberg's interviews with others in the same food system invest their lives and choices with complexity if nothing else. It would be impossible not to sympathize with some of the small, struggling growers who employ migrants: the pepper farmer who provides year-round contracts, higher wages, medical coverage, and good housing — but quietly, in order

not to offend his neighbours; or the corn-and-soybean producer who works alongside the migrant families that return annually, who speaks of shared family and rural community values, but who worries about the threat to her own livelihood posed by corporate farms. If there is a hint of paternalism here, the mentality nonetheless is vastly different from that expressed by the large operators who extol the virtues of competition and choice against meddling bureaucrats. Rothenberg allows them to speak for themselves too. He gives flesh, blood, and voice to the small-time labour contractors who operate at the edge of transportation, insurance, and labour-standards regulations; to the Mexico-based human smuggler, age 24, who claims to make as much as a doctor; and even to the Washington lobbyist for a growers' association who sees her members as "victims" of "class-war litigation." (213)

In the end, *With These Hands* is not so much a manifesto as it is a richly-drawn documentary of a world that is scarcely known to those who consume its oranges, bell peppers, and tomatoes. The key characteristic of that world, however, is that "[f]armworkers have long been the poorest of America's workers, recruited from among the most powerless among us, historically denied equal protections, and still, after repeated exposes, campaigns, and legislative acts, their poverty and marginalization continues." (325) This is troubling enough, and the requisite structural change in the farm-labour system for which Rothenberg calls is, by his admission, unimaginable in the short term. Rather, if the era of migrant farmworker exceptionalism is passing, he suggests, it is because manual workers in the service and other sectors now increasingly are employed under similar conditions: "uncertain, shifting, temporary jobs" — arranged by contractors and subcontractors — "that provide no benefits and often do not pay enough to keep workers and their families above the poverty line." (325) Contrary to the great weight of modernist

prejudice, the implications of an emerging political-economic order are sometimes still disclosed most clearly in the countryside — all the more reason for this book to have a broad, sustained, and careful reading.

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John C. Rodrigue, *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes: 1862-1880* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001)

SET IN SOUTHERN Louisiana, John C. Rodrigue's *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields* traces the social, political, and economic consequences of emancipation and its role in the creation of a wage-labour system. Before freedom, Rodrigue argues, sugar production "transformed southern Louisiana from a society with slaves into a slave society," which helped create both a slaveholding élite as well as a large slave community that became a Black majority on the eve of the Civil War. (10) After the Union victory, the specialized knowledge, agricultural skills, and work routines that made sugar plantations profitable for planters before the war allowed former slaves to negotiate the meaning of freedom.

Freedpeople "rejected masterism," Rodrigue argues, "but they repudiated neither sugar production nor its plantation regimen." (41) Former slaves who stayed on sugar plantations after freedom understood the realities of sugar production — that a short growing season required careful timing of planting, harvesting, and processing or else the entire crop could be ruined — and used this understanding as a tool to improve their work conditions, drive up wages, and negotiate payment schedules. So long as "planters did not think of and treat them as slaves," freedpeople consented to gang labour, performed arduous tasks, and adhered to

the strict timing needed to produce a good crop of sugar. (41)

Although freedpeople worked within labour structures rooted in slavery, they used their new status as well as the emerging market ideology to repudiate some of slavery's lingering assumptions. For example, freedpeople refused to dig canals and patch levees in the snake-infested cypress swamps, demanded extra pay for chopping the wood that fueled sugar production, and insisted on time off on Saturday afternoon and Sunday. When planters equivocated or refused to honour their demands, freedmen frequently staged work slowdowns and small strikes or simply quit.

Planters adjusted to wage-labour and emancipation reluctantly, yet, according to Rodrigue, with considerable equanimity. "Rather than continue an exercise in futility," Rodrigue points out, planters "reconciled themselves to the new order and determined to make the most of it." (65) This seems hard to believe, considering planters' efforts to reestablish mastery after Emancipation by enacting the Black Codes; and, after Radical Reconstruction, restricting mobility, enforcing labour contracts, withholding wages, and inflicting violence or the very real threat of violence. Freedpeople carved out some autonomy on sugar plantations by forcing planters to deal with them, but planters did not negotiate as "putative equals," as Rodrigue asserts. (69) Planters showed a remarkable willingness to risk losing their crops and even their property rather than negotiate with Black labourers and compromise the status and power rooted in an ideology of White supremacy.

Rodrigue is unsettlingly silent on the planters' use of violence, force, and fraud, and downplays their ability to limit and control freedpeople's lives. While Rodrigue repeatedly argues that "labour" and "capital" met on equal ground and that free Blacks cowed White planters into accepting their demands, he alludes to planters' "scorched earth policies" and "strong-arm tactics." When those failed,

he concedes, "planters and white Louisianans resorted to stronger methods." (38, 95, and 100) Rodrigue admits that White planters sometimes led terror campaigns that "witnessed unparalleled brutality," yet fails to cite detailed examples. (100) Although Rodrigue describes a riot in St. Bernard Parish in 1868 in which "sixty people, mostly freemen, died in politically motivated violence," he says little else, leaving the reader to wonder what actually happened. (101) Did Whites kill the freedmen in an effort to force others to vote Democratic? Did Blacks fight back?

Rodrigue's silences may rest on his sympathy for the planters; he argues that "demands on the planter, if qualitatively different from those placed on slaves (and freedmen) were also exacting." (16) Excuses and exclamations of how hard life was for sugar planters after the Civil War make their way into too many of Rodrigue's arguments. Consider the following: "The perils of sugar production had caused planters enough anxiety before emancipation; now they had to bargain with laborers who were free to leave"; "As if the planters did not face enough challenges, Louisiana Unionists approved a state constitution ... that formally abolished slavery"; "With much of their capital investment wiped out and almost forced to beg for loans, planters faced a bleak future"; and "As though their labor problems were not enough, planters would soon reap an equally bitter political harvest." (50, 53, 60, and 94) Nobody knows the trouble they saw.

Rodrigue's strongest chapter, where he recounts the Thibodaux Massacre, is his last. On 3 November 1887 prominent sugar planters, led by Judge Taylor Beatrice, led a campaign of terror and violence that destroyed one of the largest and best organized strikes by Black cane workers, rescued White Louisiana from Radical Reconstruction, and left over 30 Blacks dead and thousands more homeless. Mary W. Pugh, wife of a prominent Louisiana planter, hoped the "Thibodaux Massacre" would finally "settle the question of who

is to rule: the nigger or the White man for the next fifty years." (Quoted on 183) Rodrigue's account of the Thibodaux Massacre is riveting and is an excellent account of the bitter race and class struggles between Black labourers and White planters during Reconstruction and finally, Redemption.

The Thibodaux Massacre, Rodrigue argues, was an unfortunate yet "all but inevitable ... epilogue to the story of emancipation." (190-91) If the Thibodaux Massacre served as an inevitable ending to the decades of struggle by freedpeople after emancipation, then Rodrigue's main argument — that the exigencies of sugar production in Louisiana provided freedpeople powerful tools used to secure advantages and autonomy within a developing free-labour market — loses its punch. Violence was decisive but not inevitable. In fact, he argues in earlier chapters that Redemption was not foreordained, but only possible after Republicans began to slowly lose their seats to planter-friendly Democrats in the mid-1870's, who bolstered planter power with the coercive power of the state. Inconsistencies like these weaken Rodrigue's argument in the long run and point to areas that ought to be explored more fully.

Ultimately, Rodrigue falls short of his promise to "place slaves and freedmen at the center of the story" by failing to engage sources that speak to the experiences of Black sugar workers. (3) Too often, the author relies on planter diaries and outdated secondary sources that filter Black experiences, motives, and aspirations through White fears and anxieties. Certainly Rodrigue could have utilized the recent scholarship on freedpeople, especially freedwomen — who are virtually invisible in this account — to investigate freedpeople's efforts to carve out their own meaning of freedom. By focusing on planters more than freedpeople, Rodrigue provides an unbalanced and sometimes inconsistent account of the transformation from slavery to free labour in Louisi-

ana's sugar fields. Still, the story Rodrigue tells is important and interesting and ought to expand scholarship that investigates the complex contest between Black freedom and Southern free-labour.

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Carol Polsgrove, *Divided Minds: Intellectuals and the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Norton, 2001)

THE ROLE of the intellectual in politics and in print is often most vexing when the two fields are combined. In *Divided Minds*, Carol Polsgrove studies intellectuals who employed this combination from the early 1950s to the mid-1960s. More specifically, her book is an examination of a select group of mostly male writers, academics, and journalists, beginning with William Faulkner and moving to various others including Robert Penn Warren, James Baldwin, C. Vann Woodward, Ralph Ellison, Richard Wright, Howard Zinn, and Kenneth Clark. Arguing that those with the resources, position, and privilege to call themselves "intellectuals" are inherently engaged in politics, *Divided Minds* depicts the varied engagement of White and Black intellectuals with racial justice, freedom of speech, and the demands of multiple loyalties. While certainly interested in developing the frequently disparate positions that divided Black and White intellectuals, Polsgrove is also at pains to show the differences that could separate those whose similarity (of class, colour, or politics) was sometimes more apparent than real. Perhaps the greatest strength of the book is that it places numerous styles of academic and literary intellectual engagement on view. In this sense, *Divided Minds* is a collective biography for a certain kind of leadership class, as Polsgrove designates them in her prologue.

The White response of Part One, "*Brown v. Board* and the White Resistance, 1954-57," is not the massive resistance of Southern Whites to the Supreme Court's decision: it is the slow and incomplete awakening of White intellectuals to their participation in the nation's racial problems. Barely cognizant of White privilege and the structural presence of racism in the North, White intellectuals' discourse on race in the early 1950s was at best muffled. Any change was to be made only at the infinitesimal rate allowed by the politics of gradualism. William Faulkner was a limit case for this kind of divided and dilatory White intellectual, and Polsgrove's depiction shows him caught among a loyalty toward home, a desire for national change, and a conviction that local change must happen slowly. His 1956 rhetoric of supporting Mississippi interests "even if it meant going out into the street and shooting Negroes," (15) shown here as typical of Faulkner's divided public persona and perhaps the product of unscrupulous reporting by interviewer Russell Warren Howe, dramatically brings out the unwillingness of White intellectuals to consider justice from the point of view of those on the receiving end of segregation.

In addition such major figures as Faulkner, there are many who enter and then depart after brief attempts to mark the debate. Hannah Arendt published, then later recanted, an argument against forced desegregation in the wake of the federal government's 1957 intervention in Little Rock. Norman Mailer published the first parts of what became "The White Negro" at this time, employing shock and sexuality to re-center the debate around what he saw as the true cause of racial conflict: not white fear of desegregation, but of miscegenation. Yet nationally, *Divided Minds* shows that Arendt and Mailer were exceptions, finding some way to place their concerns about race and civil rights on public view, even if their intellectual peers disputed their analysis, or questioned their seriousness. However,

once the protests of the late 1950s and early 1960s began, there was less room for disengagement.

It was also true that there was less room for merely well-intentioned White engagement. In part two, "Gathering Strength, 1957-1963," James Baldwin is the central figure. Already an intellectual and literary force in New York City, with the publication of "Letter from a Region of My Mind" in *The New Yorker* in November 1962, Baldwin moved into the small group of intellectual Black representatives to White America. Baldwin put eloquently into print the despair and contempt for Whites — both those well-meaning and racist — that was common among Black intellectuals and Black Americans more widely, and did so in a national magazine. The effect on his public presence was electric, and Polsgrove, working from Baldwin's essays, other published accounts of his public activities, and some original fieldwork, crafts one of the best narratives yet of this period of his life. Her rendition of the volatile meeting of Baldwin and a varied group of Black and White intellectuals, artists, and political workers with Robert Kennedy in late May 1963 is vivid, and suggestive in its links to the federal government's later civil rights policy. Polsgrove shows Baldwin constantly on the move at this time, adding to our knowledge an account of his activities in Selma, Alabama, in late 1963 and early 1964 in support of civil rights.

For Polsgrove, Baldwin acts as a figure of great contrast to all the others in *Divided Minds*. His lack of a clear political history insulated him from the kind of disappointment with direct action that Wright and Ellison underwent in regard to Communism; in addition, his uncompromising rhetoric toward White America gave him credibility among Black Americans. His status as activist-without-portfolio stands in strong relief to one of Polsgrove's background themes: the conflicts that arose among intellectuals who wrote, the intellectuals who published the

writings, and the intellectuals who received and read them. For Baldwin, freedom of speech was not limited by institutional affiliation, a problem manifested here in academic freedom, particularly in the circumstances surrounding C. Vann Woodward, Lawrence Dunbar Reddick, and other Southern historians who broke scholarly silences about race and the legacy of slavery. Yet this same focus serves as a significant limit for the book, building a definition of "intellectual" around the resources of time to write and access to serious publication venues, and perhaps inadvertently around the male privilege that constituted a right to speak politically in the United States.

Further, while *Divided Minds* occasionally invokes the tension between activism in print and activism through public action, some consideration of these intellectuals in relation to other civil rights era political workers would have served to fulfill Polsgrove's central thesis about engagement. It should be noted that the debates most under her scrutiny are those that were carried out in politically-minded journals, in academic forums, and in a few national publications like *The New Yorker*. *Divided Minds* does show various styles of print-based political work, and the third section, "The Last Campaigns, 1963-1965," does to a degree turn to more direct political action by Baldwin and Howard Zinn. But the vast portion of the discourse on race and civil rights covered here is of the written kind, which at times makes more for an internal history of this select group than a study of their engagement with the civil rights process as such. That the essays and other publications of these writers were read outside of their own circles, especially in the case of Baldwin and the *New Yorker* piece of 1962 (which a year later became the majority of his famous essay *The Fire Next Time*), seems both inarguable and potentially useful to Carol Polsgrove's portrayal of these figures. It must be acknowledged that the process of writing and publication is itself a positive process

of the division of minds, splitting the words of those who write from their own limited context and intentions, and unleashing them for the irritation and inspiration of others.

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C. Fred Alford, *Whistleblowers: Broken Lives and Organization Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001)

C. FRED ALFORD's new book presents a powerful commentary on the professional and material costs of blowing the whistle, or reporting illegal or unethical behavior that occurs at one's workplace. He debunks the stereotypical image of the brave and righteous man or woman whose personal risks are ultimately rewarded by the society his or her actions protected. Instead, most whistleblowers, he argues, lose their career and their savings, many lose their house and family, and ultimately their sense of place in the world. Worse, few whistleblowers succeed in effecting change. Even if whistleblowers are ultimately vindicated, many are unable to continue working in their professional field due to informal blacklists against which there is no protection. The typical whistleblower, Alford says, is a divorced 52-year-old nuclear engineer who lives in a two-bedroom apartment and sells computers at Radio Shack. Most whistleblowers he interviewed claim they would not do it again.

Using narrative, along with moral, ethical, and political theory, Alford delineates the motivation for individuals to act as whistleblowers, for organizations to expel them, and for society to abandon them. Alford begins with a discussion of the moral motivation for whistleblowers, which he calls "narcissism moralized." He argues that whistleblowers are compelled to act out of a fear of disassociation with one's ideal self. They do not have an empathetic association with a sufferer, as

a rescuer might. Instead, whistleblowers feel morally corrupted by association with an aggressor (89), and "blow the whistle because they dread living with a corrupted self more than they dread isolation from others." (90) This is a "selfish motive for people to sacrifice the apparently objective interests of the self." (93) I found this to be a very interesting and thoughtful analysis. However, though he carefully distinguishes narcissism moralized from blatant self-interest, the discussion connotes a blame-the-victim mentality at times. Furthermore, I found his efforts to compare narcissism moralized with other tenets of moral theory confusing and ultimately offering very limited insight.

Alford's presentation of the implications of whistleblower experiences for organizational and political theory was also interesting, and I personally would have liked to see it earlier in the book. He describes organizations as constantly battling to maintain their boundaries in an eat-or-be-eaten competitive environment. Because organizations try to maintain total control over their internal environments, whistleblowers are viewed as "traitors in our midst" who represent external interests that threaten the organization's integrity. In response, the organization "will remove him, not just beyond the margins of the organization, but all the way to the margins of society." (54) Alford offers evidence that most legal protection for whistleblowers is "illusory," since it is "the purpose of law to enshrine existing power differences in society." (111) As such, he presents organizations and society as institutions dedicated to the destruction of moral individualists.

Alford's presentation and interpretation of the retaliation experienced by whistleblowers is powerfully written, even though it tends towards melodrama at times. Despite the gross over-simplification of his Big Brother description of social institutions, I found his point of view refreshingly unconventional. I was troubled, however, by how he selected his

supporting evidence. It seemed biased towards those stories that support his theory in several ways. First, he defines whistleblowers by the *organization's response*, rather than by the individuals' acts. When an employee reports unethical or illegal behavior to her boss, who thanks her for the information and corrects the problem, Alford says, "she has performed an act of whistleblowing, but ... she is not a whistleblower. She becomes a whistleblower only when she experiences retaliation." (18) In statistical terms, he is effectively selecting on his dependent variable.

Second, his data are drawn primarily from observations and interviews with people in a whistleblowers' support group and from highly publicized accounts in the media. The people who are in support groups and whose stories get publicized are those whistleblowers who have had the most extreme negative experiences. Someone who blows the whistle and is supported, vindicated, and rewarded has no need of a support group and the media never shows up to interview them. The reader, therefore, can not tell if Alford is representing typical whistleblower experiences, or drawing from the tail end of the population. Thus, in addition to defining whistleblowing according to his dependent variable, he seems to select his sample from a segment of the population that is most likely to have had experiences that support his theory.

Finally, even within this already biased sample, Alford excludes contradictory data. He tells a story about a member of the support group, Ted, who says, "I'm a new man. Every day I learn something good about myself." Alford goes on to say, "Ted protests too much. For that reason I distrust his account." (39) This is the *only* example of a positive interpretation by his interview subjects, and he rejects it. He exacerbates the problem by failing to offer any counter-examples when, for example, he describes the unwillingness of professional organizations to support whistleblowers' actions. (166)

These methodological decisions unfortunately undermine Alford's theoretical arguments, which rest on the universality of the whistleblower's experience as he presents it. His version of organizational and social theory depends on the collective assertively squelching the moral voice of the individual whistleblower. The implications he presents for moral theory rely on the prevalence of narcissistically moral behavior. Because he failed to offer the reader sufficient information to evaluate the representativeness of the whistleblowers' stories he does tell, I found that many of his assertions ultimately lacked credibility.

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Adam R. Nelson, *Education and Democracy: The Meaning of Alexander Meiklejohn* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001)

FROM HIS UNDERGRADUATE years in philosophy at Brown University in the 1890s, to his defence of an absolute definition of the freedom of speech after World War II, the Scottish-born American philosopher and educator Alexander Meiklejohn pursued one idea: to promote institutions that would put into practice the ideal of free and democratic citizenship. Meiklejohn chose higher education as the main field of his activity, moving from Brown to Amherst, Madison, and Berkeley, mainly as an administrator, always as a scholar, in a tireless effort to create a "liberal college." At the centre of his work, historian Adam R. Nelson insists, was the paradox of Socratic teaching: how can one instructor transmit the desire to be free, how can one at once command the authority to teach the practice of self-government without impeding the student's own practice of freedom?

The author has followed Meiklejohn's action, thoughts, and vast influence in a thoroughly research essay, identifying,

for each period, a surprising variety of intellectual and political contexts. The clarity of his introduction to Meiklejohn's philosophical education and development pays justice to the faith the man himself had in making available complex ideas of the past to all who wished to study. Meiklejohn reflected on the meaning of social life in a secular world. His group of idealist colleagues and students opposed the dominant pragmatists of their time, chiefly John Dewey, for the danger they risked in their uncritical assumptions regarding the values of democracy. In time, he came to be weary of their emphasis on activity at the expense of meaning. In the zeal with which young university-educated Americans curtailed liberties in the name of war, in 1917-1918, for instance, he recognized the relativism of their philosophy and their lack of reflection on the nature of authority in education.

Meiklejohn believed that the preservation of democracy resided in strong discussions around agreed terms, which would not only be transmitted, but had to be re-examined by each generation. His conviction that common standards would allow bearers of different opinions to collaborate, brought him in close contact with an exceptional variety of intellectuals, reformers, and philanthropists, of many social backgrounds and political allegiances. The gathering of their hopes around his projects, such as the Experimental College in Madison, Wisconsin, between 1925 and 1932, reveals the remarkable scope of contemporary possibilities, as well as the practical limits of free deliberation in American society.

He met many setbacks, as he pondered why the very democratic institutions he promoted decided to curtail freedom: the promotion of professional sport by assemblies of students against his own ideal of amateurship; the decision by his colleagues at Brown to enlist campuses in "military preparedness" during World War I; and the opinion of the closest of his colleagues that Communist propaganda and extreme right opinions had no place

in a free public world and their subsequent failure to defend from imprisonment citizens who refused to answer the questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

With experience and a changing context, Meiklejohn's practical propositions evolved. Initially, he sought material support for his endeavours amongst philanthropists by appealing to the sense of their social position. With the Depression, he came to rely on the state as the necessary provider of the support for education. In doing so, he developed a demanding understanding of the conditions of existence of a democratic state. Initially, also, he believed in setting the college apart from society, a haven of excellence untouched by the pressing demands of the material and political world; only with this distance could scholars and students make sense of their world, with the help of their intellectual forebears. With time, he envisaged institutions of learning in closer relation to their world, a position that asked for different ways to maintain the intellectual integrity of the college, especially the protection of the First Amendment.

His belief in a dynamic search for meaning took the form of a permanent quest for a unified understanding of society, a philosophical synthesis that should at once make sense of the modern world and pay justice to past thinkers. To this end, Meiklejohn promoted unified curricula in the early years of the college. Open programs represented an abandonment of the responsibility of teaching. Vocational courses, he further believed, had no place in the modern college. Typically, he proposed a year or two of study of the institutions of Greek democracy. To this ever-present core, he added years on the enlightenment, on modern America, or on the social problems of industrialization. Around carefully selected lists of books, his method remained the same: a vast amount of personal readings followed by open discussions led by demanding tutors. To register in his program of adult

education in the 1940s in San Francisco, all one had to promise was to participate in discussions and be open-minded.

The history of the many institutions of Meiklejohn's making is also marred with the problems of idealism: the importance of charisma in his teaching and his relations with colleagues often made for uneasy relations with older faculties; the inordinate amount of authority and proximity vested in tutors' prerogatives worried parents and students; his own uneasy relation with the truth in the face of colleagues' opposition; and excessive spending at the institution's expense jeopardized academic solidarity. While Nelson provides many insights into the joys and excesses of Meiklejohn's family life, he could have discussed further his thoughts about the role of families in the education of citizens.

Concerning the history of labour and of the working class, Meiklejohn attempted to make higher education eligible for all who wished to study. Aware of the extraordinary discrepancy of incomes and privileges, partly thanks to his own working-class origins, he sought to find fair and dignified ways of helping struggling students. His various colleges were typically more open to a variety of classes, ethnic, and religious groups than their contemporaries. He also established institutions of adult and workers' education related to universities, with the conviction that the practice of democracy was a constant exercise. His efforts culminated in 1934 and 1940, with the San Francisco School of Social Studies and its branch, the Pacific Coast School for Workers, which taught hundreds of people organized in rigorous discussion groups "not only in the methods of critical deliberation and democratic debate but also in the practical methods of labor organization, from bookkeeping and arbitration to wage contracts and collective bargaining." (211). Curiously, Nelson explains, such institutions bloomed in the 1930s because of unemployment. Meiklejohn's second wife, Helen Everett

Meiklejohn, a reformer and adult educator in her own right, collaborated with many trade unions and contributed to various institutions of workers' education, such as the Summer Institute for Social Progress offered to women workers by Wellesley College, (Massachusetts) in the 1930s.

His defence of free deliberation led to involvement in many sectors of America's public life. His theoretical elucidation of the First Amendment exerted a considerable influence in the defence of the Hollywood Ten, and in the struggle of lecturers against university administrations that asked them to sign statements of political belief during the McCarthy era. His reflection on the central place of education in democracy helped to lay the intellectual parameters of UNESCO.

Nelson's biography represents a journey through more than half a century of American educational, social, and political reform through the eyes of a man who never ceased to believe in the promises of the use of reason. At the time of his death, in 1964, he counted colleagues, former students, and close friends amongst the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement and he witnessed with them the violent repression that had just followed the early victories of the movement.

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John McIlroy, Kevin Morgan and Alan Campbell, ed. *Party People, Communist Lives: Explorations in Biography* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2001)

THE STORY of the Communist Party of Great Britain has exercised a surprising fascination on historians. Compared to the mass Communist Parties of France, Italy or Greece, the British organization was weak, ill rooted, and insecure. In the 70 years of the party's existence, its membership peaked at just 50,000. Three of its five MPs belonged to the 1920s, a period

of political flux, and only one of these remained with the party for more than a few years. The Communists did, however, play a role. In the 1940s and 1950s, they represented a substantial ramp of working-class sentiment. Left-wing frustration at the slow progress of parliamentary socialism was most easily expressed through the trade unions. Where there were unofficial strikes, or confident shop stewards willing to speak out against government 'austerity,' then active (or former) Communists were rarely far behind.

While the historiography has grown to such a point that there are now four full-length histories of the party from its birth in 1920 to its demise 70 years later, there are still few biographies of leading British Communists. Even those accounts that do exist have too often relied on a style of "exemplary" writing. The "good Communist" dedicated his or her life to the political struggle, leaving all other personal or domestic considerations behind. Any admission of weakness, by the memoirist or the loyal biographer, could only diminish the cause. The results were criticized, in one telling review, by the labour historian Sidney Pollard of a biography of the Sheffield Communist, George Fletcher. "Did George Fletcher never have doubts himself, one wonders? ... Here was no party hack, no 'professional' ... was there ever a dilemma in his mind? ... Was he happy about purges in Russia, the sectarian position of the CPGB, the absence of democracy in the Third International, which he once attended as a delegate? ... Are good Communists really never assailed by doubts? And if they are, do their biographers really perform a service to the Party by hiding them?" (Sidney Pollard, "Leaven of Life: The Story of George Henry Fletcher, *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, 4 (1962), 56-7).

The authors of this collection employ the insights of the biographer in a different fashion, to explore a subjective world of experience and emotion, normally concealed from both official party biogra-

phies and conventional political history. As the editors suggest, "writing biography can be an exciting and rigorous way of writing history, one which restores the flesh and blood, the inspiration and perspiration to Communist lives; it is also a form which gives proper weight to human agency as well as its constraints." (5-6) The main contents of this book are eight biographical accounts of the lives of prominent British Communists. The first is devoted to Dora Montefiore, one of the best-known women Communists at the party's foundation. The second and third chapters record Arthur Reade, aesthete and 1920s student activist, and William Rust, full-time party officer and editor of the *Daily Worker*. The fourth and fifth biographical chapters describe Rose Smith, another party full-timer, and Arthur Horner, the President of the South Wales Miners' Federation. The sixth is devoted to three Scottish Communists, also prominent among the mineworkers, Willie Allan, David Proudfoot, and Abe Moffat. The remaining biographical chapters belong to Randall Swingler, Communist poet, and Jack Gaster, a late recruit from the left wing of the Independent Labour Party to the Communist bureaucracy. These substantive chapters follow a general, historiographical introduction. The penultimate chapter, "Visitors and Victims," records the experience of British citizens in the USSR after 1930. There is then a short afterword.

This is a thoroughly compelling and enjoyable book. It breathes the air of real lives spent in struggle. Although it is the product of eleven different contributors, the book coheres around common episodes and themes. Indeed a variety of perspectives is positively revealing, when different chapters cover similar ground. Nina Fishman's study of Arthur Horner tends if anything to play down the drama of Horner's clashes with the British Communist hierarchy. Horner was one of the best, independent leaders of the miners' unions. Unlike other leading Communists, he was unwilling to submit to the ul-

tra-left politics of the late 1920s Comintern, and the claim that "right-wing" parliamentary socialism was the twin of fascism. Persuaded by his comrades to visit the Soviet Union in 1931, Arthur Horner then published a series of recantations, and returned to the party fold. Fishman's conciliatory account of this sinister process contrasts with Campbell and McIlroy's lives of Allan, Proudfoot, and Moffat, which bring out the sheer stupidity of the Communist desire to establish separate "left-wing" unions at this time. It also sits oddly beside Barry McLoughlin's chapters, which list the several British victims of Stalin's mass purges. What might have happened to Horner, we might ask, had he arrived in Russia not in 1931, but in 1934?

The conventional criticisms that historians have made of biography describe its tendency to sensationalize, the over-concentration on famous personalities to the exclusion of more mundane but generally felt realities, a tendency to provide pseudo-psychological explanations of longer-term historical processes. This collection is admirably free from most such flaws, but not the middle one. The most typical British Communist was a man or woman working in a skilled working-class or lower-middle-class profession. Where, in this book, are the engineers who dominated party conferences, when the CP was at its height? The party was able to sustain meetings not just in London and the capitals, but also in provincial cities, and in many small British towns. What kept such people going, even when their branches were rootless, marginal, and small? How indeed did the nature of their commitment change between the heady, frightening days of the 1930s, and the slow, dull world of the 1950s? The political activity of such ordinary Communists consisted mainly of paper selling, electioneering (especially after 1951), or work around just one or two approved party "fronts." Unless we can gain access to the minds of the party rank-and-file, we will never answer the great

question of Communist historiography. Why did so many Communist Party members accept so loyally the twists and turns of Moscow-originated policy, when these changes committed them to making outrageous intellectual somersaults, and even though the Party leadership lacked the organizational means to impose such views on its members?

If any writers are well equipped to answer this question in the future, then it is the editors of this book. For *Party People, Communist Lives* is but the first fruit of a major project of Communist biography, based on the work of a group of scholars at Manchester University. The authors have been engaged in constructing a large database of several thousand life-histories, which when complete, should tell us more than anything about the lives of the Communist rank-and-file. The publishers deserve our thanks for bringing out this first volume, but it will also be interesting to see what discoveries lie ahead.

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Robert Cosbey, *Watching China Change* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2001)

WATCHING CHINA CHANGE aims to sketch in broad outline the historical transition from socialism to a market economy, demonstrating the impact of social, economic and cultural changes for the people of China. Spanning some twenty years from 1972 as part of Mao Zedong's "Cultural Revolution," and lasting until the death of Deng Xiaoping in 1997, the book presents the reader with an opportunity to reflect on how ideologies and policies play a role in informal social interactions that permeate Chinese daily life. Although a political idealist, Robert Cosbey sees a need to move out of the world of ideas and into the world of Realpolitik. Thus ordinary life becomes a focal site rather than a neglected domain of investigation. At first blush, the read is

similar to Jan Wong's *Red China Blues* (1996) and Jan Wong's *China* (1999) as well as Michael Dutton's *Street Life in China* (1998). However, Cosbey utilizes a more comprehensive approach in attempting to integrate the lives of people within the sweeping changes of political economy.

Cosbey's text is neither doctrinaire nor polemic; indeed, he does not use the self-descriptor "socialist." In a way he elaborates Herbert Marcuse's argument that "social change needs to begin at home;" if it does not do so, then it merely replaces one authoritarian order with another. Although strongly supportive of many aspects of Chinese culture, Cosbey works arduously to create a sense of balance in the text. He is as critical of the excesses of the Mao era and the "Gang of Four" as he is of what Karl Polanyi refers to as a "market mentality," characterized by free-agent workers and the inclination to view human life in terms of an exchange of commodities. He has come to understand the moral dimensions of political commitment — to engage a shared vision of equality and justice when confronted with expansive changes in social conditions. Cosbey's pragmatic socialism causes him, therefore, to focus on the extent to which Chinese society "produces high-quality goods at a profit, but also to make a good life for the people." (xvi)

Chapter Four unfolds Cosbey's most substantive analysis of the benefits of a socialist state. He is at his best highlighting socialism's "iron rice bowl" features including guaranteed jobs, housing, medical care, free schools, and the provision of old-age pensions through the factory system. He draws interesting contrasts between older economic policies "to serve the people," and Xiaoping's "socialism with Chinese characteristics," in which, as a throwback to 19th century unregulated capitalism, the rallying cry is "to get rich is glorious." (xxii) Two political visions are differentiated — the former, doctrinaire, and associated with

"brutal excesses" that purged the country of intellectuals, and sent "tens of thousands of young people to learn from the peasants in the countryside," and demolished all things artistic such as the flowering gardens of Nankai, in the name of a future "of self-interest and production for profit through the 'Four Modernizations'" of agriculture, industry, the army, and science and technology. (99) Thus, the slogan, "Black cat, white cat, what does it matter so long as it catches mice" became exceedingly popular as economic changes were initiated by post-Mao governments. (203)

Cosbey points out that as a result of the introduction of market forces, surplus value is being squeezed out of labour by "new managers," and 100,000,000 people have become unemployed and largely unqualified for emerging jobs in the new economy. It is argued that concentrating on reforming agriculture through collectives and building the country's infrastructure (including heavy industry and hydroelectric dams) during the Great Leap Forward provided the material base upon which the current consumer-oriented society rests. While Cosbey admires changes taking place in the new economic zone of Xiamen that have produced higher wages, upgraded plant assembly lines, and provided numerous consumer goods in modern, free-enterprise stores, he is also cognizant that throughout the country many people no longer enjoy job security, social inequities have increased, and the noise and pollution of traffic has replaced hand-pulled carts, as the entire region is transformed into a marketplace. It is suggested that combining economic liberalism with political and social repression (an adaptation of the Singapore model), almost inevitably led to the 1989 protests in Tiananmen Square. Despite the provocation of the demonstrators, Cosbey makes it clear that no government is ever justified in utilizing the army against its people in such a heinous fashion. A lament is heard for the passing of the spirit

of communalism, as evidenced in the campaign to eliminate flies in which each individual was assigned a daily kill quota. Equally regrettable are cultural shifts in the national opera company's political performances of *"Going to the Fields,"* transformed to vacuous presentations that suggest more traditional feminine roles and social divisions along ethnic lines.

Cosbey wants the reader to appreciate the fact that starvation, high infant mortality, massive illegal trading in smuggling opium, and waves of conquerors characterized the period prior to 1949. In telling the tale of what socialism has achieved for China, he points out as well the internal strife between the Nationalists headed by Chiang Kaishek and the Communists led by Mao Zedong. Given that the Chinese government is currently encouraging investment by foreigners "who intend to take out profits for their companies back home," Cosbey is incredulous that "this time the Chinese are making the rules." (89) Neither is the paradox lost on Cosbey of Mao replacing a hierarchical caste system based on personal authority with a collegial system, only to be worshiped as an emperor (a role rejected by Xiaoping). Nor does he shrink from criticizing the heavy hand of Mao bureaucracy that forced people into factories and on farms against their will. Nonetheless, some of his strongest criticism is reserved for the rampant corruption, drugs, and prostitution that permeate the culture of new China. In contrast to Mao's commitment to an interventionist state, Xiaoping's "Responsibility System of Farming" swept away the commune system. Although more individual initiative emerged, plots of land were often too small to cultivate, a few farmers became wealthy at the expense of others, and there was a growing tendency to keep children (and especially girls) out of school to work in the fields.

The analysis in *Watching China Change* stands in sharp contrast to discourses of liberal democracies that stress that generating employment and wealth is

the only purpose of political life. Cosbey argues against engaging in competition in a global Darwinian contest that will further polarize Chinese society. While advocating for a society that is less bound to uncritical notions of progress and fixed dogma, he has not given up on the great socialist experiment. Private enterprise and the free market based on unhindered, competitive individualism are inimical to Cosbey's hope of creating economic systems that enable people to take control over their lives and seek a politics of justice. Even Adam Smith, the foremost thinker in the hagiography of neoliberalism, advocated the principle of self-interest with limitations, and only insofar as it promoted the common good.

The chapter on Ningxia offers an analysis of inequities, since this Muslim area is one of the poorest in all of China. Despite the fact that Mao's minority policies were some of the most progressive in the world, the unleashing of the Red Guards (to eradicate local customs and cultures that served as an extension of centuries of discriminatory legislation favouring the Hans) is deplored by Cosbey in a "classless society." He utilizes small vignettes such as the change in diet from sea slugs and snakes to fast food, and the disappearance of the old teahouses with traditional storytellers to illustrate changes that have both unintended and somewhat welcomed consequences. Transformations in Chinese political economy have necessitated for example, that parents pay for their children's schooling and have resulted in the disappearance of "barefoot doctors."

Cosbey is well aware that universities were the first target of the Cultural Revolution. Nonetheless, a quote from Mao, "if you want to be the people's teacher, first be the people's student," reveals the approach to education that he favours. Grappling with issues of power embedded in teacher/student relations, he concludes that the Chinese system of Mao's vintage, devoid of examinations

and degrees, was less elitist and more relevant to the needs of society. Upon retiring from the University of Regina and taking up a teaching position at Nankai University, he faced, however, the contemporary situation in which his students memorized enormous amounts of material and looked to their teachers to provide opinions and ideas rather than developing their own powers of reasoning and analysis.

The text ends with a brief section titled "Women: Holding Up Half the Sky," widening the focus to include gender. The myth that Cosbey seeks to dispel is that women have made substantial progress in the new economy. Yet another irony of his work deals with one of the significant goals of the Cultural Revolution — to allow women to achieve equality with men. Practices such as foot binding and concubinage of the old China have been eliminated and women's status improved as a result of the contributions they made to the revolution of 1949. Cosbey demonstrates, nonetheless, that women when compared to men have not obtained jobs in equivalent numbers in the business sector, and he underscores the paradox of female employment in which sex segregation in the labour force has served to devalue the nonmonetary contributions of female domestic labour. His skepticism about the possibility of improving the future status of women is well founded but unfortunately he offers few suggestions that address women's oppression.

The descriptions offered in *Watching China Change* are largely based on personal experience and anecdotal evidence, and for the most part do not move below the surface to explore the theoretical underpinnings of analysis George Lin takes up in *Red Capitalism in South China* (1997) or Charles Trenck's treatment of China's growing dependency on the global economy in *Red Chips and Globalization*. (1999) Nonetheless, Cosbey's well-written, thoughtful overview deserves a wide readership for providing an

exemplary study of China's changing political economy.

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Elisabeth Prügl, *The Global Construction of Gender: Home-Based Work in the Political Economy of the 20th Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999)

IN A FINELY NUANCED, and perhaps the first serious study of homework, Elisabeth Prügl unravels the gendered economy of those who "sew garments, embroider, make lace, roll cigarettes, weave carpets, peel shrimp, prepare food, polish plastic, process insurance claims, edit manuscripts, and assemble artificial flowers, umbrellas, and jewelry." (1) On a presumed path of social progress, however, homework emerges as an anomaly. After all, we are all made to expect a change away from "traditional" to "modern" ways of life where the realms of home and work were neatly separated. Economic theory had long predicted that progressive industrialization would move all production into factories. With its failure to disappear from the modern landscape, homework became an anathema to modern work practices, a problem to be solved, and a setback to global expectations of modernity. It was not until the 1980s that homework received some legitimation, ironically enough, under the flexible economy of temporary labour that has valorized forms of production previously considered marginal.

In order to uncover the highly contested terrain of home-based work, I will discuss three major faultlines along which Prügl's analysis moves simultaneously: gender, labour, and language. Along the dimension of gender, Prügl shows how feminism itself has not been an unbroken unity or a single movement in its response to an emergence of industrial patriarchy that progressively excluded women from paid work. The au-

thor unravels discourses of domesticity and true womanhood that revolved around the idea of the male breadwinner. The notion of motherhood as a defining aspect of womanhood reinforced a new gender order centered on the home-work separation. In the first half of the 20th century, the issue of special protective legislation for women created a split within the global women's movement. While equal-right feminists condemned such legislation for its discriminatory effects, union women defended protective legislation, arguing women's work conditions were at times objectively different from those of men. Curiously, those favouring protective legislation also favoured a ban on homework, leading in the late 1920s to a split in the International Alliance of Women.

Although both defenders and enemies of protective legislation preferred equal employment status for women, those who favoured protective legislation regarded women and actual and potential mothers, recognizing motherhood as a disadvantage in the labour market. Equal-rights feminists, on the contrary, defined women as free individuals in the liberal sense, and thus contested the association of womanhood with weakness and dependence. Confining womanhood to motherhood legitimized inequality; indeed, national bureaucracies used pay rates 50 to 65 per cent lower for women in Britain and Germany in the 1920s and 30s. At the time, both the International Labour Organization and International Labour Office opposed equal pay and equal protection for women. After the 1950s, another rift occurred in the feminist space between Western feminists and feminist nationals from newly independent countries from Asia and Africa. The symbolic and economic value of home-based craft for these nations cast doubt on the efforts of women in the Roosevelt administration who had discussed industrial homework as a place of exploitation and inefficiency. It was not until the 1980s and 1990s that feminist activ-

ists from the South, for example, the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India, attempted a synthesis between crafts production and industrial homework, and gained acceptance in global debates. Within Western feminism too, the language of maternalism was accepted without giving up demands for equal rights. With the development of the post-Fordist flexible mode of production, however, homework was no longer a problem but an opportunity for the employers to cut costs and gain flexibility. The rhetoric of flexible labour "de-feminized home-based work and created an androgynous worker flexibly integrated into a new technologically enabled circuit of production." (106)

The author notes that homework came into increasing conflict with organized labour by the early 20th century. As unions turned to the state for protection from the effects of the capitalist mode of production, they saw homework as undermining factory legislation and thus the male breadwinner role that was vital to the industrial-era patriarchy. Some worker representatives at the International Labour Conference supported equal pay for homeworkers, as they feared that women's lower wages were a serious threat to men's employment. Such thinking, Prügl maintains, was based on the presumption that under equal-wage conditions, men would emerge victorious because of their inherent superiority. With the rise of a post-Fordist regime of flexible accumulation, however, the International Labour Organization adopted a convention on homework in the 1990s, adopting a guiding principle of the equality of treatment between homeworkers and other wage earners. "Home-based workers became ideal workers in a restructured global economy, providing flexibility and costing little.... Home-based work and microenterprises no longer provided a romantic alternative to global capitalism, but became an integral part of domestic and global production chains." (102) Increasingly, Western

employers stopped viewing domestic commitments as impediments to income earning.

The linguistic dimension of homework is no less important. Language is not a mere passive bearer of existing power relations, it also actively structures perceptions about what counts as legitimate. The exclusivity of categories enables particular power relations, as reflected in Fordist class categories of "employer" and "employed." The author documents battles around the categorization of home workers as "self-employed," as it has important consequences. When defined as "self-employed," homeworkers are inserted into the "employer" category, which, despite sounding nice, is a losing proposition. In this way, homeworkers lose labour rights, protections, and access to benefits that arise from the rules that defined worker and employer relationships under Fordism, in which workers' acquiescence to their own subordination was often forthcoming because it came with protection. One of the major battles for the feminist activists under post-Fordism has been to destabilize clear hierarchies of employer and employee, and thereby open the definitions of home-based work to include both *self-employed* and *dependent workers*. There are some minor issues that are not clearly addressed in this otherwise sophisticated analysis of home-based work. The author at times tends to combine all subcontracted, temporary, and other contingent workers in her image of homeworkers. (E.g., 121) But, where, for example do we fit in workers who are permanent employees of a firm that supplies, for example, programmers to other companies on a temporary project-based basis. Obviously, such workers do not have much in common with home-based manual workers, in contrast to "self-employed" home-based programmers with whom they do. Second, the idea of the global as a social space, which is constituted by "a specific set of influential agents, through practices that reach

beyond state boundaries," is not very clear. (15) How does such a global space achieve its unity in order to be called "a" space? What discourses or episteme form its basis? Is this space infinite and all-encompassing? Where are its boundaries? I do not think this concept is necessary to "the global construction of gender," which can easily be seen as crystallizing from institutional encounters of different discursive practices around the globe. Finally, the constant use of Nicholas Onuf's awkward terminology of instruction-rules, directive-rules and commitment-rules, appears tired and forced in an otherwise clear and lucid analysis. In short, Elisabeth Prügl deserves applause for bringing the long-neglected practices of homework to our attention, a job she has done with aplomb.

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Bruce Spencer, ed. *Unions and Learning in a Global Economy: International and Comparative Perspectives* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 2002)

FOR THOSE INTERESTED in labour education an important book has just been released. Its importance is rooted in the fact that, until now, no comparative, international collection of labour education writing has existed. In *Unions and Learning in a Global Economy* Bruce Spencer has drawn together a rare and useful collection of voices to provide a solid introduction to the area, building on related work that Spencer has published since the early 90s. It has the rare quality of being able to satisfy the needs of a diverse readership, including those uninitiated to the field of labour education, those only familiar with their own national context, as well as labour educators themselves and, to some degree, labour education scholars who wish to delve into the comparative nuances across countries.

The coverage of the book is impressive; it is productively broken into well thought out sections including Perspectives on Provision, Learning at the Local Level, Building the Union, Current Challenges, and Reflections on the Future. There are three types of gems to be found in the book. First, there are deeply engaged pieces of straightforward reporting that give an intimate feel for engaged campaigns (e.g. Wong's Chapter 6) and the complexities of political context (e.g. Cooper's Chapter 3; Laurendeau and Martin's Chapter 10). A standout that goes beyond mere reporting is a piece on the use of research circles as an alternative method of knowledge production by Härnsten and Holmstrand (Chapter 7). It provides actual analysis and it is unusual in the collection in that it takes up the issue of learning itself (as opposed to educational programming) to be the object of inquiry. A second type of gem to be found within, is the densely informative comparative chapters (e.g. Sterling's Chapter 2; Miller Chapter 12). Here there is a balance of literatures assembled to paint a useful comparative picture of labour education. And finally, there is even a far-reaching, partly sociological, partly educational, account of the role of unions and education in regards to civil society (Newman's Chapter 15). Standing on their own, each of these pieces provides important information that is otherwise unavailable or else scattered through obscure sources.

This book, as I have indicated, is really the first of its kind, and therefore any critique must be taken with a grain of salt. But before proceeding, take a glance back at the title. This is probably based on a marketing decision rather than on an understanding of the material. Nevertheless, given a title such as this, there are some significant gaps. In the first place, the collection does not quite deliver on its promise of comparative international analysis. Beyond a few individual chapters, there is actually very little overall analysis across the various national contexts. Looking to-

ward the introductory and closing chapters, we find they are descriptive rather than analytical. How has a global economy affected the character of education in unions internationally? This is still a question mark at the end of the book.

An important missed opportunity for comparative analysis involved the issue of professionalization of labour education. Some authors suggest that the professionalization and formalization of "union learning" is positive and necessary (e.g. Nesbit Chapter 4). Others, such as Cooper (Chapter 3), and to some degree Härnsten and Holmstrand (Chapter 7), seem to indicate this formalization and professionalization may be a barrier for future development of the labour movement. Do levels of formalized training co-vary with the success of the labour movement historically? Who knows? The point here is that this seemingly central issue (perhaps even the defining issue for labour education scholars within the context of labour studies more broadly) is for all intents and purposes unaddressed in terms of solid comparative analysis.

Another key critique deals with the book's claims about "union learning" and "union education." The title suggests we're going to read about learning when, in fact, with a notable exception, the book is about educational programming. Although Spencer provides a nice list of alternative topics that could be used to look beyond educational programming, including involvement of mass media, joint programs, museums, and cultural festivals to name a few (17-22), there is little indication he has actually taken the idea to heart. A book with "union learning" in the title could and should cover the full range of learning activity that workers engage in, and not limit itself to educational programming. Indeed, the book is at its weakest when it simply provides, or worse, simply decries the lack of program delivery statistics. The significance of an emphasis on educational programs to the exclusion of analyses of members' learning more broadly, to my mind, is actually

quite serious. It belies a faith in members' capacities, not simply to learn and develop, but to also guide their own learning and development. This emphasis, despite the most progressive pedagogical technique, affirms a mantra that's pounded into members' heads from school through to work: working people do not understand, they do not know, they can not lead themselves, and they must be led. Not paying serious attention to how members learn individually and collectively outside of courses (and the ways that unions can and do facilitate this learning) makes an important instrumental error (in that this is where members actually *do* most of their learning), and a fundamental political one as well.

Nevertheless, Spencer's *Unions and Learning* delivers a rich, deeply informed overview of the state of program delivery across an impressive array of national contexts. It is, in my view, inappropriately titled, but otherwise fills an important gap in our understanding of labour education internationally. It can not be ignored by those interested in labour education.

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Andrew Herod, *Labor Geographies: Workers and the Landscape of Capitalism* (New York: Guilford Press, 2001)

AT THE CONCLUSION of his book, Andrew Herod states "that social praxis cannot be understood without an appreciation of the spatial context within which it takes place. Put more bluntly, the triumvirate of 'race, class, and gender' should really be a quadrumvirate of 'space, race, class, and gender.'" (269) Herod's study is a thoughtful scholarly effort to prod geographers to look closely at those four factors, and especially to consider workers seriously as conscious actors in the production of physical landscape within the system of global capital-

ism. His work is also an appeal to labour historians to see space as a source of power and an object of social struggle, not merely a flat stage for historical actors to play out the drama of class conflict.

Drawing on the seminal work of Marxist geographer David Harvey, Herod argues that workers and labour organizations need their "spatial fix" — "certain configurations of the landscape ... in order for them to reproduce themselves (socially and biologically) from day to day and from generation to generation." (Xiii) Establishing such fixed points in a physical place and at a historical moment in time will always be a process contested between labour and capital. Therefore, "molding the geography of capitalism is a key aspect of class struggle"; likewise, "the process(es) of class formation and class politics are fundamentally geographic at heart." (2) Moreover, social actors organize their "spatial activities at particular geographic resolutions;" that is, labour and capital are also in conflict over the physical size and context of landscape, the "scalar fixes" that will define the terms of negotiation. (xiii)

Herod structures his book around a particular "scalar logic." The early chapters look at local and regional dimensions, the later chapters encompass a more global canvas. But before turning to specific conflicts over space and scale, Herod begins his monograph with a theoretical framework that he hopes will move his discipline from a "geography of labour" to a "labour geography." This paradigm shift entails seeing workers not as inert factors to be calculated into an ideal resource mix at an optimal physical location, but as active geographic agents who shape the landscape differently than the demands of capital. When workers debate local economic development policy, or unions struggle for national contracts, Herod believes these are deliberate acts for creating a labour geography. Such a labour-centered geographical model can be potentially more radical and empowering for workers as they not only think globally

and act locally but also move decisively on the world stage.

The following chapters highlight a series of struggles where workers, in various organizational forms, shape regional and global forms of capitalist development. Herod begins by looking at the efforts of the garment workers' union (ILGWU) in New York City to preserve a mid-town Manhattan manufacturing district during the 1980s real estate boom. Using the authority of new zoning ordinances, the union succeeded in its local challenge to the power of global businesses to amass more territory in the post-industrial city. The next two chapters look at the challenges faced by longshoremen during the post-war shift to containerized cargo handling. Herod asserts that these workers engaged in forms of "spatial sabotage" as they negotiated work rules to control the dissemination of new technology across the nation's ports. Eventually, the unions went far beyond their accustomed local interests to create broader scales of collective bargaining agreements covering larger regions and the entire nation.

The second half of the book shifts its focus to "unions' international activities and their shaping of the global political economy of capitalism" Herod argues that workers are often not "impotent in the face of global capital." Rather, "they have frequently been actively involved in the very processes that are bringing about an (apparently) globalizing world economic system." (10) Thus, Herod looks closely at how organized labour has functioned as both a "global agent" and an "agent of globalization" throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. One chapter recounts the history of international labour federations and American unions' foreign policy. The following chapters are a rather eclectic mix of essays on US unions underwriting the construction of cooperative worker housing in Latin America and the Caribbean in an effort to encourage local development and undermine the appeal of communism in the region, the

steelworkers' international campaign to bring pressure on the financier Marc Rich during a bitter strike at an aluminum processing plant in Ravenswood, West Virginia, and the work of international trade unions to reshape the post-Communist eastern European economic landscape.

This is a book that often ranges between new theoretical models of geography, basic ideas about physical space and scale in economic development, and historical narratives of union contracts and strikes. Its empirical and analytical breadth is both a great strength and weakness — some chapters contain provocative insights, others seem more prosaic. In particular, Chapter Five becomes a detailed account of longshoremen negotiating master contracts with little to say about labour geography except some obvious references to the location of various ports and the distances between them. Chapter 6 is a historical overview of the links between US unions, foreign policy, international trade federations, and the global economy. But there are few precise connections drawn between organized labour and the physical geography of international capitalist development. And Chapter 8 is often a ripping good story of how a union local used innovative tactics and international connections to outflank a rich corporate raider. There is certainly a geographic dimension to this story, but much of the account has a more familiar David-versus-Goliath ring to it. Labour historians may actually be more at home in these chapters, rather than the more theoretical critiques of economic geography, but there is not all that much fresh material here for experts in either field.

Taken as a whole, Herod's book displays some intellectual coherence with each chapter providing empirical evidence for his larger arguments about the importance of space and scale in workers' efforts to actively shape the landscape of global capitalism. Yet, at the same time, the work lacks a clear narrative or chronological framework. Thus, the book often reads more like a collection of individual

essays based on a common theme, rather than a completely formed and completed text (at least in the way that most historians construct their accounts of the past). Despite such structural limitations, Herod's work does succeed in prodding geographers, historians, economists, sociologists, political scientists, and others to take this concept of labour geography seriously and apply it to a variety of worker and labour organizations across the globe. The idea of analyzing working-class people as active agents shaping the physical and economic structures of global capitalism is a potentially radical concept in both intellectual and political terms. Labour geography can be a methodology to liberate scholars from static ways of thinking about space and workers' role in the historical creation of the built environment, and embolden organizers to explore new ways for labour to reshape a world where spatial and temporal barriers are changing rapidly.

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George Rigakos, *The New Parapolice: Risk Markets and Commodified Social Control* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002)

GEORGE RIGAKOS' *The New Parapolice* is a timely addition to the growing debate concerning the governance and function of private policing. His analysis amply demonstrates the tension between public and private policing and the ease with which the boundaries of law enforcement are blurred. Rigakos provides a rare empirical analysis of the private contract security industry evolving in Canada. More specifically, he offers a detailed ethnographic study of the Toronto-based "law enforcement company," Intelligarde. This ethnographic snapshot is the strength of this book. Rigakos' study has opened a door on, what has been until recently, a guarded and suspicious

industry, but more importantly he has deftly captured the cultural nuances of this evolving trend of security operative. It is within this cultural analysis that Rigakos illustrates the distinct differences between public and private policing. Oddly, however, one of Rigakos' central arguments is that these differences are minimal and that private policing agencies are no different from public policing. In order to make this argument he compares specific, but basic functions that both public and private policing achieve. Unfortunately, the basis of this analysis is simplistic and excludes variables of governance, training, mechanisms of accountability, range of enforcement tasks and prevention/deterrence functions.

Rigakos' analysis begins with an interesting overview of the theoretical framework from which private security and social control have historically been examined. He leads the reader through both Marxian and Foucauldian approaches, settling finally on what might be considered a Neo-Marxian analysis. While I am in agreement with his critique of the various approaches, I find his quickness to discount the Foucauldian approach somewhat disconcerting. As no one theory aptly explains the phenomenon of private policing, I found his dismissal of the rich governmentality analysis problematic. Rigakos' critique of the governmentality scholarship ignores the need to build bridges to the various theoretical perspectives in an effort to grasp the complexity and hybridity of forms of rule. I would suggest Rigakos' efforts to understand private policing in the "context of its existence, as a profit-making enterprise under the capitalist mode of production" (25) risks reproducing the myopia he claims is evident in the governmentality research agenda.

The remaining chapters build on Rigakos' rich empirical analysis of Intelligarde operations. His detailed recounting of interviews and participant observation does not gloss over the warts

and blemishes but illustrates the gritty environment of private policing. Moreover, Rigakos does not merely recount stories; he takes great effort to critically assess his findings in the context of evolving risk markets and the commodification of security. His analysis ensures that the reader is drawn back to the original objective of locating private policing as a "profit making enterprise under the capitalist mode of production." Disappointingly, his assessment lacks reference to broad political and economic factors driving the commodification of security. Given the impact of budget reductions, decentralization, and neo-liberal governance agendas, Rigakos' analysis would certainly benefit from a closer acknowledgment of the current political/economic environment in which both public and private policing are evolving.

Regardless, Rigakos' *The New Parapolice* is an important volume in the growing scholarship of private policing and risk markets. This book's contribution to the policing literature can not be underestimated. Its Canadian context is a distinct asset, particularly when current police related research is frequently derived from examples in the United States or Britain. Moreover, Rigakos offers an opportunity to examine the inner workings of a unique and hybrid form of policing, a glimpse that should be of interest to all policing scholars and policymakers.

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Simon Tormey, *Agnes Heller: Socialism, Autonomy and the Postmodern* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001)

AGNES HELLER, a Hungarian-born philosopher and political theorist now resident in the United States, has produced an enormous body of work over the last four decades concerned with the great questions of socialism and social transforma-

tion, the moral foundations of political action and, latterly, the nature of modernity. The same age as Jurgen Habermas (whose development in important respects she parallels), Heller first came to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s as a member of the Budapest School. This was a loosely affiliated group of Marxist intellectuals that formed around the great Hungarian Marxist philosopher, Georg Lukacs, and sought to develop an alternative reading of Marxism that challenged the stifling orthodoxy of official Communist doctrine. The School was committed to a philosophical and cultural reading of Marxism and socialism that owed a considerable debt to Marx's early writings, with their emphasis on alienation and cultural transformation as the heart of the socialist project. This interpretation emphasized subjectivity and self-transformation, and hence *praxis*, in socialist theory and practice, in contrast to the objectivist, scientific and bureaucratic thrust of official Communism. Socialist revolution was about realizing fundamental human species needs, not achieving the supposed objective interests of the proletariat. It thus required a radical transformation of the entire social situation, and not simply the elimination of economic class relations. Heller's best-known contribution to this "humanist" Marxism, *The Theory of Need in Marx*, published in English in 1976, remains a compelling expression of the position staked out by the School.

Since then, Heller's philosophical and political commitments have undergone substantial and complex transformations, which have seen her abandon Marxism and, more recently, embrace liberal democratic and postmodern themes. Her intellectual trajectory provides interesting insights into the vicissitudes of Marxist and radical thought played out against the backdrop of the global political, social, and economic changes of the last quarter century.

Simon Tormey has done an outstanding job in charting this trajectory. An ac-

count of the ideas of a complex and demanding thinker often brings forth from the reader the jibe Lord Byron hurled at Samuel Coleridge: "Explaining Metaphysics to the nation — I wish he would explain his Explanation." Happily, this is not the case here. In what is likely to be the dominant, English-language account of her work for some time to come, Tormey offers a carefully detailed and clearly argued treatment of Heller's ideas. He does so evenhandedly and frequently with penetrating insight. He identifies four phases through which Heller's thought has evolved from the late 1960s up to the late 1990s: humanist Marxism, critical or neo-Marxism, "post-Marxism" and finally postmodernism. In the course of exploring and assessing each phase, he discusses key works and relates Heller's position to the intellectual and, to a lesser extent, political, context in which she wrote. Thus, the emergence of the New Left in the 1960s provided the setting for her humanist Marxist period, which drew creatively not only on the ideas of Marx, but also on phenomenological and existential currents of thought. With his emphasis on the public sphere and communicative interaction, Habermas emerges as a key figure in the transition to neo-Marxism. The post-Marxist current and the increasing turn to liberalism and actually existing liberal democracy reflects the concern with questions of justice associated with the rise to prominence of John Rawls and Robert Nozick as key figures in mainstream (primarily American) political philosophy. And as might be imagined, the postmodern phase exhibits for Tormey more diffuse influences, especially in view of the fact that, in contrast to others, Heller's version of it "designates a stance on the modern, not a different place, and certainly not a *non*-modern world." (167) Nonetheless, Tormey identifies Foucault, Mouffe, and Laclau with their emphasis on contingency and difference, as thinkers with whom Heller shares affinities.

For Tormey, Heller has remained committed throughout to several key themes: "the stress on the individual as agent; the hostility to the justification of states of affairs by reference to non-moral or non-ethical criteria; the belief in 'human substance' as the origin of everything that is good or worthwhile; and the hostility to forms of theorising and political practice that deny equality, rationality and the possibility of self-determination in the name of 'our' interests or needs, however defined." (18) Marxist influences remained central throughout most of her evolution as a thinker — until roughly the mid 1980s Heller held to socialism as a fundamental political value and identified this with "the continued stress on the control over the conditions of existence even *within* generalised commodity production, the emphasis on an ethic of solidarity, and the degree to which all issues to do with motivation and incentive are waved away as part of the rotten world to be got rid of in the course of the 'social revolution.'" (121)

But according to Tormey's account, the final phase of Heller's development represents a more fundamental shift. The break with Marxism is now complete, and gone with it is any emphasis on a totalizing conception of social transformation, now condemned as expressing a redemptive philosophy of history that violates the contingency and value pluralism of the modern experience, and hence the conditions of individuality and freedom. Gone, too, is politics as "the expression of the collective will of parties and movements," replaced by "a politics based on the ethical and moral imperatives accepted by radically contingent individuals." (175) This is a politics of decency and civility premised on a concern for others rooted in the Platonic maxim that it is better to suffer than to do wrong. Heller denies this rules out radical critique of the status quo, or even radical change. But her commitment to liberalism as the only ideology with "contingency awareness" (182) coupled with her view

that capitalism is part of the essential logic of modernity calls this into question. Certainly what Heller calls the "general orientative principle" of individuals, that "persons with self-esteem respect the person-hood of other persons with self-esteem" (177) seems a flimsy basis for a politics critical of liberal capitalism.

A generous critic, Tormey is prepared to give Heller the benefit of the doubt here, suggesting there are potentially radical implications in her view that what she identifies as the three fundamental dimensions of the modern experience — technology, a functional division of labour and statecraft — could conceivably be concretely enacted in different kinds of institutions, including non-capitalist ones.

But in a nicely crafted and lucidly argued critical conclusion, he wonders whether Heller's work, with its shift from normative political theory to an "ethics of personality," (206) any longer offers the kind of critical potential he evidently thinks is needed to deal with the injustices of "the liberal-capitalist status quo." (195) Respectful of her willingness to reconsider and even when necessary to jettison long-held positions, and sympathetic to her concerns about the need for an ethical or moral politics, rooted as that is in her wrenching experience as a dissident in a repressive, Soviet-style regime (after writing *The Theory of Need in Marx*, she was virtually forced to emigrate to Australia because of her apostasy), Tormey nevertheless wonders if in the end what he sees as the two-sided character of Heller's political thinking — her utopianism and her realism — constantly contesting with one another, proves paralyzing, the basis of a peculiarly anti-political politics.

Heller viewed political theorizing as both a cure and a poison. It can orient us to the world as it is and should be, even offering a 'crutch' to those unsettled by the radical contingency of modernity. But these same qualities can make it a way of harming others, of justifying arbitrary power and treating people as means, not

ends. In Tormey's apt conclusion, it is unclear from Heller which of utopianism and realism is the cure and which the poison. Whatever the limits of Heller's thought or her specific political positions (she has recently offered an account of 11 September as a clash between barbarism and civilization that would not be out of place in George Bush's White House), this is a dilemma worth pondering by those committed to radical thought and fundamental social change.

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Hans A. Baer, *Biomedicine and Alternative Healing Systems in America: Issues of Class, Race, Ethnicity, and Gender* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001)

NORTH AMERICANS have increasingly turned to a wide range of healthcare providers, and as they have done so, scholarly interest in "alternative" and "complementary" care has grown. That scholarship is deeply divided. Among some historians, medical doctors, and sociologists, osteopathy, homeopathy, naturopathy, and an increasingly wide array of alternative health systems, are precursors to scientifically grounded biomedicine (also known as allopathic medicine). Anthropologists, advocates, and others have attempted to understand why North Americans are dissatisfied with allopathic medicine, and they have promoted the virtues of natural alternatives.

Most of the scholarship is limited in its lack of attention to issues of race, class, ethnicity, and gender among providers and users of the wide range of "alternative" health systems that North Americans have used for many centuries. Written for, and from the perspective of, middle-class consumers, most books and articles are for a popular audience, and they focus on issues of choice, scientific validity, and lifestyle. They overlook the

ways in which many of the types of healing that North Americans classify as alternative are traditional and fundamental to significant populations of immigrants and indigenous people. They overlook such issues as the cultural appropriation of healing that occurs when, for example, middle-class North Americans recast themselves as shamans.

Hans Baer's up-front acknowledgment of race, class, gender, and ethnicity promises a welcome relief. Baer, a professor of anthropology, became interested in osteopathy and chiropractic — systems of healing based primarily in the skeletal structure — almost twenty years ago. He describes *Biomedicine and Alternative Healing Systems* as the culmination of two decades of work and the outgrowth of his distinct but converging interests in alternative health professions, spiritualism and healing, and medical dominance as a reflection of social relations in American society. He has now published books in each of these areas.

The book's lengthy genesis and disparate roots have both positive and negative implications. Baer introduces *Biomedicine and Alternative Healing* as an "historical and socio-political overview of medical pluralism in the United States." Drawing on Vincente Navarro, he argues that "in capitalist societies, people in different class, racial, ethnic and gender categories tend to have different ideologies, which are reflected in cultural differences." Baer's book, an impressive summary of and synthesis of studies of alternative health, shows "how these groups have constructed distinctive medical systems to coincide with their diverse views of reality."⁽³⁾

The promise is only partly realized. Baer begins the book with two theoretical chapters. The first outlines the history of alternative healing. The second, derived from an earlier essay, explores "the rise of the American dominative medical system under corporate capitalism." These chapters set the stage for the rest of the work in more ways than one. Both are comprehen-

sive reviews of the literature, but neither introduces much new or primary material. Baer's synthetic approach is both the great strength and primary weakness of the book. *Biomedicine and Alternative Healing* reads like a lengthy review essay, or literature review. It is thoughtful, if sometimes not entirely up to date, and raises interesting questions for further analysis. But this reader felt the absence of primary research and independent findings. Baer's approach made it difficult to discern any clear method. Was he writing as an anthropologist? If so, where was the ethnographic component? Had he been a participant-observant and if so where and when? Was he writing as an historian? If so, where was the archival research? Baer's open references to other studies and writers are refreshing in that they place this book squarely in the context of other studies of alternative medicine, but the result is that Baer's original contributions are sometimes lost. Too many paragraphs begin with sentences like, "A study by the Stanford Research Institute concluded that ..." (74); too few begin with a bold statement of Baer's own observations and research.

The greatest virtue of Baer's synthetic approach is that it allows him to take on the ambitious task of examining the history and evolution of multiple forms (otherwise known as modalities) of healing. While Baer clearly knows most about, and pays greatest attention to, chiropractic and osteopathy, he also explores the development and prevalence of acupuncture, naturopathy, holistic health, and folk medicine. Culling varied studies, Baer explores the internal structure and composition of these healing systems, and he compares and contrasts their professional memberships and structures to those of dominant biomedicine. However, the reliance on secondary sources and the comparative framework limits Baer's analysis. Inadvertently (and perhaps because this is the lens of the authors he relies on) Baer turns the dominant biomedical model into the norm. His analysis

presents the other professions as either fighting against or emulating the professional and corporate structures of biomedicine, so that lay midwives and other alternative providers are seen as struggling to obtain a kind of professional status, akin to that of allopathic MDs.

Moreover, despite the place of gender in the title, Baer undertakes very little gender analysis of healing professions. The book captures sex differences in the composition of the healers, but there is little here of the varied ways in which "values" and practices developed by men structured healthcare. Despite his concern for ideologies and diverse realities, Baer fails to acknowledge the ways in which chiropractic and osteopathy grew from very male and medical models of care. Nor does his review of the literature encompass feminist critiques of healing. This reviewer is not an advocate of the literature that argues for women's special and distinctive modes of healing; nonetheless, a rich and varied literature exists that anyone who argues for diverse gendered ideologies must contend with.

Biomedicine and Alternative Healing Systems is consequently a very useful overview of the social science literatures on alternative healing systems in the United States. It provides a much needed first step to further research and analysis. However the absence of primary case studies and research leave the conclusions and analysis both vulnerable and wanting.

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Gary C. Bryner, *Gaia's Wager: Environmental Movements and the Challenge of Sustainability* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001)

SHOULD CANADA SIGN the Kyoto protocol and thereby commit itself to what is actually only a modest reduction in its emission of greenhouse gases? This is an

issue that is generating considerable debate in the mainstream media these days. Typically, supporters of this accord cite scientific evidence indicating the need to cut back on fossil fuel consumption in order to halt global warming. Critics, questioning the reliability of such evidence and, indeed, the very existence of global warming, talk instead about how cutbacks in consumption would lead to an economic slowdown. For political scientist and law professor Gary Bryner, Blaise Pascal's famous wager on the existence of God — believing saves us from eternal damnation if God exists and costs us nothing if he does not — provides a relevant model for responding to the opposing positions taken on the Kyoto Accord. Because the stakes associated with global warming are potentially as damning, we should pursue a similar precautionary approach. Focusing on climate change as the preeminent global environmental issue and one that is closely related to the inherently and strategically ambiguous concept of ecological sustainability, Bryner views the signing of this international legal agreement as a key step in an orderly transition to an ecologically sustainable society. Although he acknowledges that the shift to renewable energy will entail costly upfront investments for some economic interests, he insists that it will open up compensatory opportunities for others. Bryner, however, is pessimistic that the eminently attainable reduction in greenhouse gases mandated by Kyoto is likely to be undertaken by the United States in the near future. His pessimism is rooted in a whole host of reasons having to do with what he considers to be the limitations inherent in contemporary American liberalism, but not in liberalism *per se*.

In order to understand Bryner's analysis of why the US is unlikely to ratify the Kyoto Accord, it is useful to look at his notion of what constitutes "thick" sustainability and how it might be attained. For Bryner, a "thin" sustainable development attempts to balance economic growth with ecological sensitivity

without introducing any fundamental changes in either technology or lifestyle. In contrast, a "thick" sustainability prioritizes ecological survival over economic growth by allowing only economic activity that is consistent with maintaining "critical natural capital." Acknowledging the need to address how poverty promotes environmentally-damaging ways of eking out one's living and, beyond this, the necessity of inculcating a sense of individual responsibility, "thick" sustainability fosters social justice measures entailing a more equitable local and global distribution of resources as well as "strong" democracy. While he links the "thin" version to the Rio "Earth Summit's" Agenda 21 recommendations, Bryner sees the binding reductions in greenhouse gas emissions outlined in the Kyoto agreement as shifting debate toward a "thick" sustainability. Hence, attaining "thick" sustainability becomes a matter of implementing effective public policies, establishing standards and regulations, and ensuring compliance with these policies by promoting cultural practices, and thus private behaviours that are rooted in post-materialist values. Such public policies and personal behaviours, however, fly in the face of a liberalism emphasizing liberties and rights — especially the liberty of unrestricted consumption and the right to private property — in contrast to one that is oriented instead around responsibilities and obligations. In essence, what Bryner is calling for is a shift from the American tradition of Lockean liberalism, oriented around negative liberty, to a Rawlsian form of liberalism rooted in justice. Hence, his call for a "thick" for "strong" sustainability — like the "strong" democracy advocated by American democratic theorist Benjamin Barber, which seeks to constrain the excesses of capitalism by enclosing it in an "envelope" of laws and welfare measures — is ultimately just a call for the greening of capitalism.

Bryner's book provides a clearly written, comprehensively researched,