

## REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

**Robert B. Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism: Craftworkers and Early Industrialization in Hamilton, 1840–1870***  
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2007)

IN *CRAFT CAPITALISM*, Robert Kristofferson offers a revisionist perspective on the effects of early industrialization on craftworkers. Using Hamilton, Ontario, from 1840 to 1872 as a case study, he contends that the combined and uneven nature of early industrialization presented artisans with significant opportunities for employment and self-employment. In their “transmodal position,” between older craft production and emergent factory production, craftworkers constructed “modes of understanding and experience influenced by capitalism but not fully of it or completely determined by its logic.” (242) Craftworkers, argues Kristofferson, were not dispossessed by the early 1870s; nor did the Nine-Hours Movement of 1872 express a new working-class consciousness rooted in their artisanal culture, as Gregory Kealey and Bryan Palmer, among others, have argued. Instead, that movement constituted a generational, rather than class debate within “mutualism” – that is, the commonality of interests and aspirations accepted by masters and journeymen.

The first half of *Craft Capitalism* explores the economic and social structures associated with early industrialization. Not unlike the conditions in many other centres at the time, the limited and variable demand in Hamilton’s mar-

ket for manufactured goods limited the extent to which capital could be profitably invested. Relying heavily, but not exclusively, on the 1871 manuscript census, Kristofferson argues that smaller concerns remained viable, achieved greater productivity in industries where new technologies had not displaced craft production, and presented a “continued expansion of self-employment opportunities.” (57) By the 1870s roughly 85 to 95 per cent of Hamilton’s manufacturers, a proportion varying only slightly with the size of their operations, had risen to that status from artisanal origins. The viability of small concerns and the manufacturers’ humble origins lead Kristofferson to conclude that “many, if not most, wage-earning craftworkers still maintained the hope, perhaps even the expectation, that they would one day move into mastership or some other craft-based form of independence.” (108)

In the second half of the book, the author argues that the background of masters, their close shop-floor contact with and mentoring of their employees, and the ambitions of journeymen for self-employment inspired a culture of “master-man mutualism.” That culture combined residual elements, derived from traditional craft relations, with emergent elements, inspired by mid-nineteenth-century industrial progress. As they had traditionally done, masters and journeymen celebrated their “common craft world” (120) at picnics, testimonials, and parades, and even union events drew participation from employ-

ers. Manufacturers proudly emphasized, and were complimented upon, their self-made success and continuing practical craft knowledge. The public affirmation of the self-made business success possible during early industrialization was just one theme in a broader new culture of self-improvement. Craftworkers more generally pursued self-improvement in practical skill, intellectual knowledge, and moral responsibility as the foundation for a masculine independence.

That the emergent cultural elements did not always rest easily with the residual, Kristofferson maintains, was evident in the Nine-Hours Movement strike of 1872. Rather than the struggle of alienated workers against exploiting employers, the strike revealed that "what some masters and men considered the norms of their mutualistic culture were diverging." (235) Disagreement developed not over the broad objectives of the movement in wanting self-improvement, but rather over the drastic means that a minority of craftworkers took to achieve that goal. The difference was generational and not one of class: an older generation, which understood its success as the result of hard work, had little sympathy for a younger generation's impatience and unwillingness to follow the tried and true way. Younger craftworkers demanded shorter hours as their right, which, they felt, was justified by their contributions to modern industry and necessary for their self-improvement as citizens in a "modern liberal economy and society." (207) In the end, however, "the quick death" (217) of the movement demonstrated the lack of depth of real differences between masters and men and the strength of mutualism.

In one sense, Kristofferson's argument is about timing, since he does concede that later, probably in the aftermath of the depression of 1878 and certainly by the 1890s, the alienating effects of

capitalism did stimulate workers' class awareness. More than that, however, his appreciation of the cultural significance of self-employment warrants serious consideration, especially as presented in one of the country's major industrial cities. In particular, the analysis of the discourse on self-made success and self-improvement does reveal the public context of personal ambitions. Still, there remains much that is overstated or uncritical in this study and much more that we would like to know about the social organization of early industrial capitalism.

First, Kristofferson is probably correct in his contention that the status of master was a hope for many journeymen and attracted many British immigrants to places, like Hamilton, where they believed they could achieve a condition in life they saw passing at home. His proof for that, however, is more inferential than evidential. Rather than critically examining the immigration literature or diaries and correspondence of men following that ambition, or trying to calculate the probabilities of samples of artisans actually attaining that status, his conclusion rests mainly on the detailed investigation of the backgrounds of 233 industrialists listed in the 1871 manuscript census. Their origins are taken as confirmation of the value and the reality of craft mobility. That some might never have been able to secure master status or failed in their attempt is of little consequence for Kristofferson, since "it is likely that the example of most large industrial employers in the city having made the successful transition from journeyman-for-some-one-else to master-of-their-own somewhat clouded this reality." (89) "Likely" and "somewhat" are two slippery qualifiers for a lack of evidence. Regrettably, the success of some does not prove the aspirations or more importantly the accomplishments of others. Indeed, one might argue that the success of some reduced

the chances for others, since opportunities once open had become filled.

Second, we do need to explore more deeply the culture of "mutualism" in mid-nineteenth-century society. Masters and journeymen did assume reciprocal dependence and obligations with one another. However, even though the social difference between the two could be conceived partly as one of age, an employment relationship did bind the two together. Cultural values, social practices, and non-monetary economic responsibilities may have qualified the master's power more – or, differently – than that of the capitalist employer, for whom the wage-labour contract simplified the commitments made in employment. But the master remained master and hired workers within the law of master and servant – a concept unacknowledged in *Craft Capitalism* (The author frequently terms the relationship as one between "master and man," a term that, if used at the time, may have had an ambiguous meaning). Much more needs to be known about the terms and conditions of journeyman employment, and apprenticeship for that matter, another relationship unexamined in this book.

By not appreciating the power in relations, the author takes newspaper reports of the social interaction of masters and journeymen and of self-made success too easily at face value. Language and the tropes of craft culture created, rather than described, a social reality that could be manipulated for individual or group interests. Professions of commonality and mutuality, for example, declared standards against which subsequent, or past, behaviour could be held accountable.

Third, insufficient attention is devoted to the ways in which property structured the mutuality between master and journeyman: the former possessed it; many of the latter, most obviously the itinerant, did not. Without owning or renting prop-

erty of a certain value, not all men could vote until 1885, and even their right to petition was clouded by the reservations of the propertied about their limited stake in the community. Yet, involved in politics they were and journeymen filled the crowds, and mobs, of election campaigns. We need to know more about the political relationships between masters and journeymen and also to reinterpret the claims to rights and citizenship, as in the Nine-Hours Movement, of men who did not fully possess them.

Fourth, *Craft Capitalism* presents mutuality only within its workplace context. Voluntarism, whether in fire brigades or the militia, filled another dimension of the craftworkers' non-work lives and often engaged the propertyless in the protection of the property of others. The responsibility to help one's fellow was rooted in a range of organizations and connections. How did churches and fraternal organizations facilitate the itinerancy of journeymen, offering introductions and support for newcomers? How did various denominations police the relationships among their members? More intensive study is needed of associational life.

Finally, *Craft Capitalism* ignores questions of kinship and family and the contributions of women generally. How might journeyman status, and its implication of not being quite fully independent, affect decisions to marry? How might the savings of brides or gifts from their families help to secure the independence of their husbands? What obligations might a master have to employ or train kin?

(Note: The publisher must be faulted for an error in the book's sub-title printed on the cover: "craftworkers" should be "craftworkers," the term used throughout the study.)

Robert Kristofferson deserves our gratitude for re-visiting an era in capitalist development and leading us to

reconsider mutualism and experiences of self-employment. His analysis replaces the culture in conflict of earlier interpretations with a consensual view, however, that is unappreciative of power dynamics.

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**John Calvert, *Liquid Gold: Energy Privatization in British Columbia*** (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2008)

*LIQUID GOLD* is a lucidly written, compelling book that has the reader wondering, within a few pages, why on earth politicians would so ardently seek to implement electricity policies that are so obviously not in the public interest. His introduction clearly lays out the many ways in which electricity privatization in British Columbia has resulted in extra costs to ratepayers, not only in terms of prices, but also security of supply, and environmental damage.

The reader is not left wondering long. The next chapter explains some of the forces driving privatization including the power of international trends, the lobbying of right-wing think tanks and vested interests, and the ideology of conservative political parties.

Calvert's book covers the earlier nationalization of BC Hydro in the 1960s and shows that it was not a socialist move but a pragmatic one intended to ensure the infrastructure necessary for future industrial growth in the province. For years this provided BC with one of the world's most reliable, secure, and low-cost electricity systems, one that also paid handsome dividends to the government. The public ownership of BC Hydro and the lack of a formal electricity market did not prevent British Columbia from making advantageous electricity trades with the US.

He then shows how this has all changed,

beginning with the need for BC Hydro to purchase electricity from private generators because of a ban on its own expansion of capacity combined with responsibility to meet future energy needs; forecasts of electricity shortages; and the removal of alternative options for meeting demand. BC Hydro has had to commit to expensive purchase contracts for this extra power so as to take on the risks of building electricity infrastructure that private investors might be unwilling to take on.

Calvert devotes a chapter to a detailed examination of why private power costs more and why those costs are likely to escalate. He devotes another to why the restructuring of the electricity system is likely to deliver less security of supply. In the latter, the importance of public control of electricity resources is emphasized. Without it private companies, many of which are likely to be foreign companies, have the right to export electricity to the US, even when this is not in the interests of the residents of BC.

Calvert reinforces his arguments with the examples of Alcan and Cominco, smelting companies given the right to use water resources to generate electricity. Although this was originally for the purpose of supplying their own operations, they have ended up being able to use what many regard as a public resource to make large profits by selling electricity on the cross-border electricity market. In this case, as is so often the case with electricity markets, competition among consumers (including US consumers) has sent prices up rather than competition among suppliers lowering prices. Also the private rights granted to water threaten the waterway environment by depriving it of necessary water.

In another chapter devoted to "Water Resource Giveaway" Calvert shows that the government "has been virtually giving away water rights," often to a small group of ten developers, some of them

foreign companies, so that all potential hydro-electric generating sites have been licensed and the ability of the province to control its own water resources has been compromised.

Calvert examines the way that the government is also virtually giving away land for the private development of wind farms, and heavily subsidizing them, with no guarantee that the electricity generated will be available to BC residents in the future. The opportunity to develop publicly owned wind farms that would stay in public control, and so ensure they are beneficial to locals, has been lost.

The cost to locals of private electricity generation projects goes beyond government subsidies and the loss of public control of natural resources to include loss of environmental amenity and the abandonment of planning processes. This argument is reinforced with two case studies of conflicts between local communities and private power companies.

In a separate chapter, Calvert shows that just because energy is renewable, it does not mean that it is "green," something that seems to have been missed by some of BC's environmental groups which have subscribed to the new energy policies. However, renewable energy projects, large and small, can have many adverse impacts, especially if they are implemented by private companies. Private companies can gain green credentials because they are investing in renewable energy but there are few environmental regulations to restrain how it is done. A major loss in the process of deregulating and privatizing electricity generation has been the incentive to conserve electricity because the market provides a conflicting incentive to promote consumption and thereby increase profits.

British Columbia has not completely privatized its electricity system as governments in some other parts of the world have. BC Hydro is still publicly owned but

it has been emasculated. In his concluding chapter, Calvert outlines just what has been lost in this process. The benefits once provided by BC Hydro included billions of dollars in income to the provincial government; low cost energy – subsidized for disadvantaged residents as well as local industries; public ownership and control of water and land resources; engineering expertise and a commitment to high engineering standards; a repository of technological experience; planning capacity; a large maintenance staff; economies of scale; and control over the transmission system.

While my own book, *Power Play*, covers various cases of electricity privatization from around the world, Calvert's focus is on the case of electricity privatization in British Columbia. However it is a case study that has many of the key elements of privatization found in other parts of the world, and Calvert presents them in a way that makes them relevant far beyond British Columbia. In fact, before I got half way through the introduction, I was already thinking that this was a book that should be read by those currently opposing electricity privatization in my own state of New South Wales in Australia.

Missing from the book, perhaps because of the focus on BC, are a few key aspects of electricity privatization and deregulation that plague consumers, such as price manipulation by private companies in energy markets. A list of abbreviations would be useful. The index is rather rudimentary and unhelpful.

Calvert, an associate professor who teaches public policy at Simon Fraser University, has produced an excellent resource for all those interested in the future of electricity supply, which should mean all of us. It would make an excellent teaching resource. It is very well written and well referenced.

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**Susan Close, *Framing Identity: Social Practices of Photography in Canada (1880–1920)*** (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing 2007)

THE MOST REMARKABLE aspect of *Framing Identity* is clear from the cover. It pictures three women dressed in clothes from the turn of the last century who are “just foolin’ around” [as Cathy Jones would put it]. One straddles a wood stove as if it were a horse while the other two help her keep her precarious balance. All three women are filled with giddy laughter. Looking at this photo by Mattie Gunterman, you feel that you’re sharing a joyful moment in the lives of these women a hundred years ago, and you realize how very rare that feeling is.

The absolute strength of this book is that it offers a female visual perspective on the years 1880 to 1920. It focuses on four individuals from a time when very few women, let alone the working-class women represented here, were able to gain access to the means of producing photographic images. That alone would make the book unique, but Susan Close places these photos in a social frame. “My research examines how Canadian women used photography as a social practice to establish identity.” (x-xi)

The text makes us look again at the images. Close’s varied background, ranging from post-secondary teaching to visual literacy programs for inner-city youth, brings a critical perspective that does not let us stop at the face value of the photos. To return to the book’s cover, her analysis makes you realize that what appears to be a spontaneous image is, in reality, very carefully constructed. At the time, making such a photo inside a log cabin required extensive planning and equipment. Gunterman has gone to extraordinary lengths to catch the moment, and, in seeking to create such an informal image, went against many of

the period’s conventions of portraiture.

Perhaps the photo escapes the strait-jacket of convention because it was created by women working at a lumber camp in British Columbia. Mattie Gunterman at the time made her living as a camp cook. So this image and a number of other companion photos in the book offer a unique glimpse into this little exposed aspect of working life.

Indeed, this is a book that highlights working women. In addition to Mattie Gunterman, two of the women featured, Ruby Gordon Peterkin and Etta Sparks, were nurses during the First World War. They chronicled their on- and off-duty lives while serving overseas. Geraldine Moodie photographed Aboriginal people in the North. Although these images do not locate the subjects in the actual situations of their work, they do offer what is arguably a more authentic set of representations than other male contemporary photographers. Throughout, the publisher, Arbeiter Ring, has ensured that the actual printing of the photos is of high quality and they are carefully annotated so researchers can follow up on any images that are relevant to their work.

However, this is not a picture book. The images serve as illustration for a number of concepts the author is exploring, and many of these ideas are useful to labour historians. First is a reminder that photographs are not neutral signifiers – they are the result of a series of socially conditioned artistic choices. For example, Close points out that it was a stylistic convention of 19th century photos that portraits of upper-class individuals were made with the subject gazing slightly off camera, while lower-class people were allowed, even encouraged, to look directly into the lens. Today, on television, people are told not to stare at the camera, in order to avoid that deer in the headlights look. Such small details are very important as we attempt to reconstruct working-class

experience with respect. This book helps sensitize us to this layer of meaning.

In addition, Close highlights the extent to which the technical demands of photography a hundred years ago necessitated that each image was in fact an act of theatrical staging. She clearly shows that what was depicted inevitably represented a careful selection of both form and content, the antithesis of today's cell phone snap. This fact suggests a rich vein of visual analysis which filters archival photo collections through the perspective of the photographers. If we can identify which images were created by workers, we can gain a real insight into their worldview.

A parallel concept which Close explores is that of photo albums. As she points out, creating and maintaining the family album was usually a task that fell to women. A close reading of these choices offers a glimpse into the priorities of women in another time. Again, this is potentially a valuable tool – working-class history tends to leave a slimmer trail of written records. The analysis of domestic visual records, such as photo albums, for their insights, can only enrich working-class histories.

The materials on Moodie's work grapple with the issue of white people "documenting" Aboriginal life. To her credit, Close contextualizes this within the colonial frame, noting that Moodie was able to photograph because she was married to a North West Mounted Police officer who was "cataloguing" the inhabitants of the sub-Arctic regions. In a research coup Close uncovers a pair of photos showing a mother and child from Fullerton Harbour. One, created for the Police Archives, shows the child naked. The other, retained originally by the photographer, has a composition which is formally identical except that the child is clothed in garments as decorative as her mother's. Close suggests that the image drew on Julia Mar-

garet Cameron's use of naked children to suggest allegorical innocence. However one chooses to interpret the images, they show that the work was influenced by who commissioned it and by the photographic conventions of the day.

Close also places Moodie's work in contrast with her male contemporaries such as Edward Curtis, who were bound up in a set of imagistic preconceptions, particularly about the "noble savage." Moodie was visibly able to generate a more intimate and natural relationship with her subjects. The care which Close gives to the issues raised by these images does provide some models for historians working outside their own cultures. However, it is here that the book moves furthest outside its historical frame with Close introducing examples of her own photos produced collaboratively with an Aboriginal father and son. While this is relevant to the dialogue around the appropriation of imagery in contemporary Cultural Studies, it does less to advance the book's efforts to provide historical context for images.

This points to the book's major weakness for the *Labour/Le Travail* reader. It is the expansion of a PhD at the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis, so its approach is framed within that discipline's concerns, rather than as history per se. The research overview provided in this work does provide a primer in photographic theory for those who may not be conversant with the area. However, some of the detailed arguments are more geared to those doing Cultural Studies work.

Nonetheless, this is a valuable book which offers direct rewards through the images themselves and through the additional insights that Susan Close provides along with suggested avenues for further exploration.

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**Nancy Janovicek, *No Place to Go: Local Histories of the Battered Women's Shelter Movement* (Vancouver: UBC Press 2007)**

HISTORIAN Nancy Janovicek has undertaken the important task of outlining the history of establishing transitional housing (and services) for battered women in Canadian small towns. Her writing is accessible, combining narrative from shelter activists with her interpretation of the early documents from each of the communities. This is a much needed contribution to the scholarly knowledge about the battered women's shelter movement, documenting the struggles to get services for abused women and to frame domestic violence as a public issue rather than a private one.

The text is divided into chapters that deal with specific geographic locations, examining the inception of services in each area. The first chapter outlines the opening of *Beendigen*, an emergency shelter for Aboriginal women moving to Thunder Bay, Ontario from their home reserves. The chapter focuses on the importance of maintaining Aboriginal culture and heritage in the shelter in order to assist the women without forcing them to assimilate. One tension discussed in this section concerns the root cause of violent behaviour in domestic settings. Non-aboriginal feminists involved with the shelter tended to understand family violence in terms of a power struggle that stemmed from patriarchal relations while Aboriginal feminists insisted on viewing such behaviour through a lens in which the impact of colonial relationships was paramount. Aboriginal feminists tried to show other feminists that for them women's rights could not be separated from Native rights. The disagreements became pivotal and divided the shelter activists.

In chapter two, Janovicek discusses another shelter initiative in Thunder Bay, Community Residences. She explores the issues of jurisdiction and the funding

troubles that accompany regional divisions, including the municipality's refusal to pay for services for women who moved to the Thunder Bay area to escape abuse. The feminist group that started Community Residences believed that they would be advocating for assistance and referring women to existing services, but it became clear that the services did not exist and the group developed programs to fill the void. This became problematic because the women did not always agree about the purpose of the centre. In order to sidestep the local politicians and red tape, an activist bought a house and the group opened Faye Peterson's Transitional House. Janovicek indicates that the women running the services often felt they were taken advantage of because their politics made it impossible to turn away a woman in need. This made it more difficult to exert pressure on local politicians to offer more services or to fund existing ones rather than treating workers in the area of domestic abuse as volunteers or quasi-volunteers.

The third chapter discusses another small northern Ontario town, Kenora. Services there began with a rape crisis line because the group wanted to be of service to the local women. Their slogan was "we're here to help" (61) but they did not identify with the women's movement. The municipal government was not sympathetic to the need for a transitional house, which made it impossible for the group to access federal policies. This chapter outlines the racial tensions, the barriers put in place by local politicians, and the difficulty of having feminist voices heard. In time, a shelter was opened and operated by the local church, which caused tension with the local women's group.

In the fourth chapter, Janovicek focuses on the western town of Nelson, BC. The centre established there was explicitly feminist which caused some strain in the community and made some women



apprehensive about using it. The Nelson centre was initially a good example of people with very different viewpoints about violence and gender being able to work together. Some of the members wanted to focus on consciousness raising and to promote wife battering as a political issue, while other members wanted to offer services but ended up having to volunteer due to lack of funding. In time, the centre members stopped working together because of divergent politics.

The fifth chapter explores the beginning of a shelter in New Brunswick, *Crossroads for Women/Carrefour pour femmes*. One of the major issues confronted in this chapter is the exploitation of frontline service providers who were asked to work for little remuneration. The shelter worked as a collective in keeping with feminist goals and to show the clients that equal relationships were possible and desirable. The living conditions of the shelter were deplorable and the shelter relied on donations to be able to stay open. Clearly the issue of domestic violence was not viewed as a priority for local politicians. This prompted the activists to turn their attention to promoting public awareness and fundraising.

This book works to explain some tensions in the feminist movement. The tension between ideology and desire to give services in a political climate where there was little or no government funding for services became a huge issue for some groups. In each community the issue of identifying as feminist or not comes up in the discussion. Many people had different versions of what it meant to be a feminist, from being an advocate, to an activist, to a volunteer, to a caregiver. These tensions caused trouble when women came asking for help to leave an abusive partner because of the ideological differences that separate advocacy and volunteering services.

Janovicek reminds the reader that prevailing beliefs at the time were that women were to blame for the abuse that

they experienced and therefore did not deserve services, or a homelike atmosphere, and so on. Such attitudes were so consistent across the towns studied that initially there was resistance from local politicians and community members either to fund places or to see wife battering as an issue that people outside the home should be involved in. This extended to the local politicians refusing to fund services, which reinforced the notion that battered women did not deserve aid.

Like any work, *No Place to Go: Local Histories of the Battered Women's Shelter Movement* cannot answer all the possible questions or offer a complete history. The book lacks a sense of the national political context and provides few explicit comparisons with the responses of larger cities to safe houses and transitional houses for battered women. There is also too little analysis of racism here. Janovicek indicates her intention was to let the voices of women who actually used the services shed light on the racism and the shortcomings of the available services. But her interviewees proved reluctant to discuss racism, and Janovicek did not find another way of raising the issue.

That being said, *No Place to Go* provides an excellent history of the battered women's shelter movement. Janovicek illuminates well the struggles of feminist groups both to make supposedly private issues public as well as to analyze the root causes of violence against women and children. This text reminds us of a time when the issue of society's responsibility to end abuse within families was less than pervasive in the media, classroom, or policy agendas. For these reasons, this would be an excellent text for undergraduate courses as an exploration of the way we were and the journey to where we are and hope to move. Hopefully others will build on Janovicek's work to hear the voices of the women accessing these services and to compare the small

town movements with those in the larger metropolis.

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**Rebekkah Adams, *Glass Houses: Saving Feminist Anti-Violence Agencies from Self-Destruction* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2008)**

REBEKKAH ADAMS'S critique of governance and internal conflict in anti-violence agencies is based on twenty years of experience as a front-line worker and manager. Her central argument is that grassroots feminist organizations have been forced to abandon egalitarian and non-hierarchical forms of governance because government funding made them accountable to the state rather than to the women's movement and women and children who are trying to leave abusive relationships. Consequently, board members and managers with more training in business administration than in anti-violence work now run shelters and rape crisis centres, and they have abandoned the feminist principles of the grassroots movement to end violence against women. The book addresses important issues about conflict in anti-violence agencies, but too often Adams makes sweeping generalizations about board members, managers, and front-line workers that ultimately undermine the usefulness of the solutions she offers.

Adams is interested in healthy workplaces, and believes that this is especially important for anti-violence agencies because the nature of the work makes burn-out more prevalent in this career than in any other. The book addresses three aspects of organizational health: structure, operation, and administration. Chapter one is about organizational structure, and is critical of board members and executive directors who are not

feminist, and who have introduced business management techniques to manage anti-violence services. Adams suggests that because there are not enough women in power, there are no alternatives to patriarchal models that would enable feminist groups to maintain consensus-based models of governance, which she believes are necessary to promote egalitarian relationships among managers, staff, and clients. The second chapter addresses organizational operation, and criticizes the practice of hiring managers who have not worked in the agency instead of promoting workers from within the organization. Adams recommends that anti-violence services need to develop succession plans that train front-line workers to move into management positions. Thus, women will be able to develop a career within one organization and anti-violence agencies will not lose women with valuable experience to more lucrative employment. Chapter three discusses organizational administration and makes recommendations for the creation of family-friendly workplaces. These include a pleasant physical environment, emotional care for employees, and methods of communication that do not reproduce unequal power relationships. The final chapter presents solutions to the problems within shelters that range from the organization's obligation to provide for the basic health needs of the employees to the importance of building a feminist community that will support anti-violence agencies. Each of these chapters states that if anti-violence agencies are openly feminist, then they will be able to solve dysfunction within the organization. Indeed, the underlying assumption of the book is that anti-violence agencies should be at the cutting edge of the development of woman-friendly models of organizational health, and that this can only happen if they re-introduce feminist principles.

The intended audience for the book is front-line workers, managers, and boards of transition houses and rape-crisis centres. Adams's goal is to open up a dialogue about the organizational health of anti-violence agencies. Yet each chapter pits boards and managers against front-line workers in a manner that is more likely to prevent than to encourage debate. Board members and managers are uniformly described as authoritarian, anti-feminist, and uninformed about violence against women. Adams does admonish front-line workers who are not feminist, and it seems that these workers are those who have been hired recently. Veteran employees are described as the "soul-centres" (42) of organizations. These "elders of the VAW sector," (87) she argues, are uniquely qualified to lead anti-violence agencies out of internal conflicts because most of them came to this work because of their personal experience with violence. These broad generalizations about the motivations of board members, managers, and front-line workers over-simplify complex relationships among individuals and the backgrounds of those who work at all levels of these services.

Adams does not explain her methodology. Her assessments of anti-violence agencies are based on her own observations, as well as informal interviews with her colleagues. While the insights of front-line workers are valuable, it is not clear how representative they are. The interviews appear to be focused on southern Ontario, where Adams has worked. Thus, she does not provide sufficient analysis of the local contexts that shape women's activism. There is no evidence that Adams sought out advice from workers and managers who did not agree with her evaluation of these services.

Adams acknowledges that the current political climate threatens the survival of anti-violence agencies, but she does

not analyze the systemic reasons for the underfunding of shelters and the reluctance to integrate feminist analysis into management and government policy on violence against women. Without a strong theorization of the relationship between community services and the state, the analysis is riddled with contradictions. She chastizes governments for cutting funding to grassroots groups, but at the same time contends that the anti-violence movement has become depoliticized because it is dependent on this "blood money." (56) She argues that the low wages that front-line workers earn are evidence of the devaluation of women's work, but also believes that the transition "from volunteer, socially conscious women to paid professional" (18) now prevents workers from taking political action. Adams identifies problems that front-line anti-violence workers face, but she rejects unions as an effective way to organize workers to demand better workplaces because they are inherently patriarchal and hierarchical institutions. Even though her focus is on organizational health, the weak theorization of the influence of governments on grassroots services results in analysis that seems to blame boards and managers for the precarious situation of anti-violence agencies.

*Glass Houses* is a passionate argument about the need to maintain feminist analysis in the anti-violence front-line services, and the book offers insights into work conditions in some agencies. Yet Adams's argument that agencies need to go back to the roots of the violence against women movement for solutions suggests that there were no conflicts within feminist services when they were poorly-funded grassroots organizations. This is a romantic depiction of the history of anti-violence services, and it occludes the lessons that can be learned from the

very difficult compromises that shelter organizers made to ensure that the doors of services stayed open.

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**Chris Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms: Political Visions and Family Regulation in British Columbia, 1862–1940* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007)**

IN *DOMESTIC REFORMS*, Chris Clarkson has produced a tightly argued and complex analysis of family and welfare law reform in early British Columbia. These reforms marked a departure from patriarchal norms as the laws eroded husbands' control over property and increased their obligations to kin. Clarkson divides his analysis into three waves of property, inheritance, and maintenance law reforms, focusing on six main legislative acts. He argues that each of these three waves reflects national visions and classificatory regulation schemes, referring to the three periods as "the yeoman dream," "a vision of mutualistic hierarchy," and "the conservation of child-life." Although at first glance these three categories appear as disparate ideals, Clarkson maintains that undergirding these national visions were common themes: the promotion of class and gender interests of its proponents; a dedication to economic development and economic growth; and the belief that liberal-capitalist economic development could be harnessed for the common good. It is in his detailed analysis of the connections between these legislative acts and his articulation of the linkages between legislative reforms and broader political visions that *Domestic Reforms* makes its mark in Canadian historiography.

The first wave – the yeoman dream – idealized propertied, independent, and self-determining masculinity. Clarkson

positions the *Deserted Wives Act* (1862) as an expression of this liberal ideal. Men were supposed to be providers; this was essential to nation building. Those males who reneged in this responsibility could be stripped of masculine prerogatives. By removing the aberrant husband of his rights to his wife's property and allowing his wife to assume his patriarchal role, the *Deserted Wives Act* implicitly referenced the ideal husband. Tellingly, under the *Deserted Wives Act*, all white men were equally regulated. No distinction was made between bachelors, fathers, and husbands. Women, however, were essentially named, classified, and regulated according to legislative categories. They were supported wives (basically seen as dependents), adulterous deserted wives (perceived as being deserving of their fate), or virtuous deserted wives (regarded as entitled to the law's protection). Thus, while the first wave of legislation publicly defined white men as independent producers, it defined white women according to their dependence, fidelity, and reproductive capacity, in short by the role they played in relation to their husband or family.

The vision of mutualistic hierarchy replaced the liberal ideal with a sense of obligation, that is, mutual obligation among social classes. The state's role was interventionist and paternalistic, doing by legislation what men were not willingly doing in practice. The state, then, ensured that working men received their wages and that employers fulfilled their obligations. The worst abuses of the impersonal liberal-capitalist order, according to the legislators, were thus ameliorated. Similarly, legal reforms in this era envisioned women as dependents: women and children's needs were assessed by men, and men's control over family property and earnings were revoked only if they neglected their familial obligations. The national vision during this era was based

on corporatism, and reform-minded legislation served as trickle-down apologetics.

The third wave, the conservation of child-life, was rooted in middle class mores and served a national vision, but it represents a reversal of power relations. Whereas the nineteenth century saw male legislators regulate women according to their reproductive roles, in the twentieth century men were legally regulated based on gender according to their reproductive and supportive roles. Like women in the previous century, these classifications – deserting, neglectful, non-supporting – were essentially character appraisals that rationalized their regulation. Male obligation to support dependent kin became entrenched in the law and it did so through the rhetoric of child-saving as nation building. Clarkson is firm on this point. Legislation such as the *Children of Unmarried Parents Act* was supported not because of Canadians' inherently charitable attitudes towards children or because of the purely altruistic nature of the organized women who promoted the legislation, but because children were portrayed as a national resource and the state both owned and parented the children. Clarkson forcefully emphasizes the power of statist discourse through an examination of arguments that were used against specific reformist legislation. In their critiques naysayers employed the same nationalist rhetoric as the promoters; in fact, they upheld it and contributed to it. As Clarkson maintains, the great power of statist discourse is revealed in the broad reluctance to think in any terms other than the fictive community of the nation and its fictive needs.

But this is just to sketch the framework of *Domestic Reforms*. It is so much more. As an example, interspersed with his discussion of the three waves of reform and six main legislative acts, Clarkson traces the often unintended ironic consequences of the legislation. He argues,

for instance, that in the drive for women's equality women agitated for a full and equal array of individual rights for women. In so doing, they succumbed to women's individual aspirations which strengthened liberalism and contributed to the fragmentation and atomization of collective identities, thereby sabotaging the promise of a collective ideal. As well, Clarkson presents the regulated as having agency, as being resistant to legislators' efforts to remould individual identities and reshape society. Individuals used the laws for reasons legislators had not intended. And it is in these examples, of how the law played out and how people responded to legislation, that Clarkson's technical and legalistic renderings come alive. One is struck by the personalities of the legislators and politicians (often one and the same) revealed in his analysis. This linkage of legislators to specific acts and the relationships between bureaucrats, judges, and the populations they sought to regulate is a profoundly interesting component of Clarkson's work. One can imagine dipping into *Domestic Reforms* to study individuals and their connections to the broader community, to examine particular legislative acts, to look at certain time periods, as well as reading it as a narrative whole.

*Domestic Reforms* is fully a British Columbian history. Clarkson's geographic focus is mainly Vancouver, but he sheds light on other BC locales, such as Victoria, New Westminster, Trail, and Quesnel. His is a BC history in another sense. He provides a précis on BC historiography, making ample use of pre-eminent BC historians such as Margaret Ormsby and Jean Barman, and then connecting their works to relevant studies outside of BC, Canadian, American, and international. Clarkson bridges legal history with political, social, and economic history, pulling in from a broad range of works as he sees fit. This is a study that is rich in references

and at times these references threaten to overwhelm. In a similar way, *Domestic Reforms* is, in parts, heavily theoretical. Clarkson wisely picks and chooses various theories, for example state formation theory, and is at pains to discuss not only the pros and cons of any given theory, but also its relevance to his analysis. Again, this theory can become dense and burdensome, and one welcomes the respite provided by other approaches such as individual portfolios. One has a vision of Clarkson energetically juggling all the elements of his broad vision, but at the same time managing to keep absolute control of his intricate analysis.

In *Domestic Reforms* Clarkson challenges us to engage in multifaceted historical analysis, to widen our focus in examining regulatory interactions beyond the courtroom, and to incorporate the findings of political, economic, and social historians. This is an innovative and compelling study, demanding in its complexity, and of interest to a wide multidisciplinary readership.

DIANE PURVEY

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**Jim Warren and Kathleen Carlisle,**  
*On the Side of the People: A History of Labour in Saskatchewan* (Regina: Coteau Books 2005)

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORIES of working people in Canadian provinces are few and far between. This is certainly one of the best, and deservedly won the Saskatchewan Book Award in 2006 for the best scholarly book that year. Researched and written by trade union activists, with funds donated from both unions and progressive individuals, *On the Side of the People* focuses on the evolution of the province's trade union movement and on union struggles. The book is based on interviews with trade union

leaders, extensive archival materials, the labour press, and secondary works. It succeeds very well in demonstrating continuities and changes affecting the labour movement in Saskatchewan throughout the period of non-Aboriginal settlement in the province and in linking provincial labour, political, and social history. But its analyses are limited by a populist approach which, while progressive, downplays debates within the union movement about political and industrial strategies, and ignores discussions about changes in the composition of the labour movement over time and its impact on possible class strategies.

The book begins with a chapter on the fur-trading period which the authors acknowledge is mostly based on the work of the excellent Saskatchewan labour historian and trade union activist Glen Makahonuk, who died in 1997 at age 46 of a brain tumour. Makahonuk's work is reflected in other chapters as well and one cannot help but think that had he lived a little longer that he would have been one of the authors of *On the Side of the People*. This chapter reflects both the strengths and the weaknesses of this book's approach. On the one hand, it details every known strike of fur trade employees in the area that later became the province of Saskatchewan, and denounces the Hudson's Bay Company as an exploiter of workers. There is a short, but reasonable analysis of the Hudson's Bay Company's strategy for organizing its labour force, as well as its labour relations strategies. What is missing is any notion that there is a debate among scholars about the relative success of the Company in dominating its labour force, for example, in debates between geographer Frank Tough, who sees the paucity of documented strikes as evidence of largely uncontested bourgeois power, and historian Edith Burley, who argues the opposite. This is populist history in

which every strike is a people's victory and there is no need to assess the overall balance of social forces.

Excellent chapters follow on the workers who built the CPR and their labour struggles, and then the boom years, followed by a bust, from 1892 to 1914 when Saskatchewan became a major destination for immigrants and a trade union movement, mostly craft-based, expanded quickly. The various political options that unionists chose are discussed but keeping with a general strategy in this book to emphasize labour unity over labour internecine warfare, there is no suggestion of any clashes among those who supported rival ideologies of labourism, socialism, and syndicalism.

The chapter on the early post-war period could hardly escape a discussion of rivalries among movements with very different senses of what the objectives of the working class should be and how to reach them. But it is an anemic discussion. "OBU ideas and Russia's Bolshevik revolution were threatening enough to provoke government repression, and what had looked like a powerful new strategy to meet labour's needs no longer seemed so promising." (71) Nonetheless, the book provides an even-handed account of the OBU's efforts to organize coal miners in the province, and gives a sympathetic biography of P.M. Christophers, the OBU mine organizer from Alberta who made a valiant effort to organize the miners but was ultimately defeated by the murderous violence of the employers abetted by the Saskatchewan provincial police.

The chapter on the Great Depression gives pride of place to leading Communists both from Saskatchewan and from outside the province who led the major strikes of the decade, and organized the unemployed. The authors rightly note that the popularity of many of these leaders had little to do with ideology and much to do with the respect workers had

for their militancy. But the conservative craft unions are simply not discussed in this chapter, creating a false sense of a unified labour movement during the 1930s inspired by radical ideas. Warren and Carlisle do provide evidence that labour radicalism was widespread during this period and that it had an impact on electoral politics, with labour carrying every seat in a Regina council election, and labour playing a key role in the fledgling CCF. One would appreciate however a bit of analysis about how important labour was to the early CCF in Saskatchewan. Was that party indeed labour-friendly in opposition and later in government as some analysts suggest? Or was it a petit-bourgeois party of farmers and small businesspeople, not especially different in most of its policies than Alberta Social Credit, as sociologist John Conway has argued?

Warren and Carlisle are more forthright about the split between craft unionists and industrial unionists that initially led to the break-up of the American Federation of Labor and later the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada than they are about earlier splits in the labour movement. They outline the efforts of the Congress of Canadian Labour to organize workers in the province. They also demonstrate the assistance that the labour movement received in its efforts to increase membership when the CCF government was elected in 1944 and, influenced by David Lewis and other Ontario-based CCF officials, passed progressive trade union legislation that led, among other things, to early unionization relative to other provinces of most provincial government employees. Though the province's labour force was growing at a slower rate than the national average, its rate of unionization increased at almost double the national average between 1946 and 1955. But the authors demonstrate that the CCF government was often

an employer like many others, unwilling to bend to workers' demands and certainly unwilling to involve workers or their unions in company management. Union militancy was often necessary to bring the CCF government to heel in dealings with its employees.

Though the authors' evidence suggests that the CCF government's attitude to workers became less friendly over time, they also make it clear that the unions continued to support the CCF and later the NDP. In part, this was because the unions supported the social agenda of the government, particularly its pioneering efforts in the areas of first hospital insurance and then medicare. But the more important reason was that the other government, on offer, the Liberal Party from the 1940s to mid-1970s, then the Conservatives until the mid-1990s, and now the Saskatchewan Party, has always represented the most anti-union elements of the business and farm communities. As the book makes clear, the lot of workers and the strength of unions suffered during the premierships of Ross Thatcher from 1964 to 1971 and Grant Devine from 1982 to 1991. Over time, in any case, a small number of leading members of the labour movement came to play significant roles in NDP governments and to insure that labour was onside with the NDP at election time even though between elections, large sections of the labour movement were contemptuous of NDP governments that appeared to cower to business demands at labour's expense.

Labour's infatuation with the NDP ebbed in the 1990s because Premier Roy Romanow and his Finance Minister, Janice MacKinnon, followed neo-liberal policies that meant job cuts and service cuts for working people in Saskatchewan. Warren and Carlisle outline a series of mainly public worker strikes and emphasize the unwillingness of workers to

accept their NDP government's new anti-Keynesian, unabashedly pro-capitalist policies. But there is little discussion of what, if any, attempts were made to either establish a political alternative to the NDP or to force that party to accept more progressive policies.

At the end of the book, the authors opine: "...despite organizational or philosophical differences, union people from the right and the left have a fundamental bond in common. They are all on the side of the people." (287) These are fine sentiments and a book that underplays the conflicts of the various elements of left and right in the trade union movement in favour of an approach in which workers are always united against their bosses makes these sentiments seem valid. But the weakness of this otherwise thorough and ambitious book is that it only rarely recognizes that competing groups "on the side of the people" have not historically at all times felt that they should work together or indeed that they should not be at war with each other. Of course, striking a balance between stories of inter-class warfare and intra-class warfare is always necessary in labour history. But I think the book that will likely remain Saskatchewan's chief account of workers' history for many years to come has underplayed the role of the latter in defining the labour movement at various times.

ALVIN FINKEL

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**Roland Penner, *A Glowing Dream: A Memoir*** (Winnipeg: J. Gordon Shillingford Publishing 2007)

ROLAND PENNER is the son of an atypical but quintessentially Manitoban matrimonial match: his communist, ethnically Mennonite father Jacob trained as a land-surveyor in Czarist Russia, and his



Jewish mother Rose was a non-religious and culturally engaged radical. Although they were born 200 kilometers apart in Europe, they first met at a fiery "Red" Emma Goldman lecture – on one of her five visits to Winnipeg – organized by the anarchist branch of the city's Radical Club. Old World events had radicalized both parents; one witnessed a Cossack massacre of over 200 striking metalworkers, the other rallied on Odessa's docks in support of the mutinous sailors on the battleship Potemkin. Father Jacob broke with his conventional religious family and, in 1921, became one of the 22 founders of the then underground Communist Party of Canada. He went on to serve as a popular Winnipeg alderman for a quarter century. His vote totals progressively increased and there is now a city park named for him. The title's "glowing dream" refers to the Penners' inter-generational commitment to social justice and equality.

The Winnipeg of a century ago was a leftist hotbed where Marxist social democrats, anarchists, syndicalists, evolutionary socialists, labourists, Fabians, and other radicals mingled and circulated in solidarity at political demonstrations and events. The Russian Revolution and the Winnipeg General Strike led to a split between the "impossibilists" – many of whom drifted into the CP – and the reformist, parliamentary socialists led by the likes of J. S. Woodsworth and future MLA (elected from his jail cell) and mayor John Queen. Some radicals, like the syndicalists, saw their ideas eclipsed and many eventually gravitated into the social-democratic camp.

What figures like Woodsworth and Queen had in common was their relatively high political cultural status as Anglo-Saxons in a society marked by a distinctive ethnic pecking order. It was one where Ukrainians and Jews – who constituted the overwhelming majority

of the Manitoba CP's membership – could never hope to get employment with any of the banks, department stores, insurance firms, or trust companies. The eastern Europeans, for the most part, were the foot soldiers in the struggles against the established order but some of their children – notably Jews like David Orlikow, Saul Cherniack, and Saul Miller – came to be major CCF-NDP actors. (The Ukrainians, divided between the pro-Soviet communists and the anti-Soviet Liberals, remained largely aloof from the CCF-NDP until after the 1940s.)

Penner's book cover sums up his personal political evolution. In one corner of the front cover and on the back cover are a hammer and sickle – he ran federally for the communist Labour Progressive Party at the height of the Cold War in 1953. Inserted on the cover too is a photo of Penner being sworn into the 1981 NDP cabinet led by Howard Pawley, who penned the book's foreword. The cover's main photo, however, is of young, handsome Penner in his army uniform during the Second World War; the air force, his first choice, wouldn't take communists. Penner, of course, only volunteered after Hitler's 1941 attack on the Soviet Union; before that, he and his communist comrades condemned the war, in accordance with Stalin's line, as an imperialistic enterprise. When father Jacob was interned as a member of the outlawed CP during the war, Roland's 19-year-old brother Norman (author of *The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis* and *Canadian Communism: The Stalin Years and Beyond*) delivered an impassioned speech to city council pleading that the father's council seat not be declared vacant. It appears as one of the book's appendices.

Norman inherited more of the father's political genes and Roland was bequeathed more of the mother's cultural passions. One chapter, "My Life in Art," tells of Roland's role as an impresario: he

brought Pete Seeger to Winnipeg for his first Canadian appearance and presented and promoted Miriam Makeba, numerous folk singers including Theodore Bikel, guitarist Carlos Montoya, a Mantovani-led concert, Stars of the Bolshoi Ballet, and the Obratsov Puppets. Penner also worked as the manager of the People's Co-op Bookstore that faded with the CPC's demise.

Penner entered Manitoba's Law School at a time when BC's courts were upholding that province's Law Society's right to refuse to admit into practice law graduates who were Communists. Penner came to practice "poverty law" in partnership with Communist alderman Joe Zuken. Disillusioned by Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin and about the Soviet Union more generally, Penner left the CP in the early 1960s and drifted in self-described political limbo, although he never parted with his socialist ideals. A law partner, seeking a nomination, sold him his first NDP membership in 1977. At the nomination meeting, however, Penner found his partner's opponent more compelling and voted for her! The shift to the NDP among the Penners had been presaged in 1971 when Penner's nephew Steve (whose photo is among others in the extended Penner family, so extended as to occupy 16 pages in the book), contested a riding for the Ontario NDP.

In 1981, Penner ran and won a riding for the NDP. Pawley called on him to serve as Attorney-General and he came to serve as government House Leader, head of the Treasury Board, Minister of Education, and minister responsible for the Liquor Commission and constitutional affairs. During his tenure, he endured Manitoba's turbulent 1983 French-language crisis and participated in three rounds of constitutional conferences devoted to Aboriginal issues as well as the negotiation of the Meech Lake Accord. For his failed efforts, Brian Mulroney sent him

a 1990 thank-you letter that he proudly displays as an appendix.

The book's strengths include its accessibility as a light-hearted, breezy read, full of local colour, some of it scattered through the lengthy notes that, for one chapter, are frustratingly incorrectly numbered. The historical range is impressive, as it should be for the memoirs of an octogenarian who still teaches in Manitoba's Faculty of Law where he had also served as dean. There are some factual errors however, including the dates of Lester Pearson's prime ministership and when Manitoba's first Communist MLA was elected. As the reader turns the pages, she traverses much of twentieth-century Winnipeg's political and cultural history and encounters a who's who of local leftists as well as establishment personalities. Penner has become one of them, appointed as a member of both the Order of Canada and the Order of Manitoba. Students of labour may not be much interested in his labours as a member of the criminal defence bar, but he made an important contribution to social justice as the first chairman of the province's legal aid system. He also offers a chapter titled "Unionism Was in My Blood" where he says his most significant activity was representing the interests of the "lumpen professoriat" at the University of Manitoba.

Penner's political odyssey encapsulates the story of Manitoba's left in the twentieth century. The children of turn-of-the-century, European-born radicals like his parents came eventually to hitch their cart to the social-democratic horses initially ridden by British-born social democrats. With Ed Schreyer's astounding reorientation of provincial politics in 1969, the ILP-CCF-NDP and Manitoba's government had their first non-Anglo-Saxon leader and premier and its first cabinet in which the descendants of continental Europeans were a majority.

Intermarriage, integration, modernization, and cultural assimilation have produced a society where one's continental European ethnic origins no longer convey the stigmas of the past. Penner does not explicitly develop this part of the story but it is there nonetheless, between the lines. The left's electoral victories in Manitoba have contributed mightily to the province being the most successful in stanching the numerical decline of organized labour's ranks.

NELSON WISEMAN

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**Vadim Kukushkin, *From Peasants to Labourers: Ukrainian and Belarusian Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada*** (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2007)

VADIM KUKUSHKIN'S monograph is an intrinsically interesting read and a much appreciated tweaking of the standard historiography of Slavic immigration to Canada prior to World War I. Noting, quite rightly, that virtually nothing is known about Slavic labour immigrants who came to Canada from the Russian Empire before 1914, (3) Kukushkin proceeds to ameliorate this observation with a thorough overview of the 25,000 Ukrainians and 9,000 Belarusians (approximate figures extrapolated by the author from the 1921 census) who emigrated from the Russian Empire to Canada.

The first valuable addition to our knowledge is Kukushkin's identification and analysis of the "mass peasant exodus" from the ethnically diverse western regions of the Tsarist Empire. Thousands of Ukrainians from villages in "Right Bank" Ukraine (which included the provinces of Podolia, Volhynia, Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava, Khar'kov, as well as the Ekaterninoslav and Khotin district of Bessarabia) emigrated "... in pursuit of the

Canadian dollar." (32) Similarly, Belarusians from northwestern and central Belarus (primarily the five imperial provinces of Grodno, Minsk, Vil'na, Vitebsk, and Magilev) were attracted to Canada. In general, Kukushkin argues, that "... the Dnieper River emerged as the geographical divide between the Atlantic and Russo-Siberian migration systems..." (54)

Secondly, Kukushkin makes a convincing case that unlike the selected groups of religious dissenters (Doukhobors and Ukrainian Baptists, for example) and other oppressed minorities who were allowed to leave the Tsarist realm for religious/political reasons, these departing Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants (for the most part) were "... drawn into the vortex of transoceanic labour migrations ..." (29) because of demographic pressures and the perceived economic opportunities abroad. Thus, Kukushkin's assertion that the stream of non-conforming Slavs fleeing the Tsarist Empire were replaced by an increasing flow of ordinary peasant migrants is well taken and does much to undermine the notion that only religious dissenters and political activists were Canada bound.

More contentious perhaps is Kukushkin's lengthy discussion of how the Slavs from Russia's Belarus and Ukrainian-dominated territories west of the Dnieper River in general and Ukrainians in particular differed from the Galicians and Bukovynians of Austria-Hungary. Here, Kukushkin's thesis becomes a bit more problematic – or at least needs to take into account more precisely the timeframe.

At the risk of simplifying Kukushkin's central theme unduly, the main difference between Ukrainian immigrants from Russia and those territories ruled by the Hapsburg monarchy was that the latter were labour migrants, attracted by the employment opportunities in the extractive and manufacturing industries of the Western hemisphere while the former

entered Canada mainly as agriculturalists. (4) This conclusion is based on the approximately 2,800 files of Ukrainian (and Belarusan) migrants to Canada contained in the Likacheff-Ragosine-Mathers (Li-Ra-Ma) Collection (National Library of Canada) created by the Russian consulates in Montreal and Vancouver. However, as these consular records indicate, significant migration from "Right Bank" Ukraine and west-central Belarus began only in 1905 and in this comparative analysis the time period is all important.

In the Canadian context, the year 1905 marks a watershed in Ukrainian (and Slav) immigration history to Canada. Prior to 1905, Ukrainians headed for their allotted homesteads, their role in the labour market being only an extension of agricultural settlement – a source of temporary employment in order that they might procure capital to improve their financial position on the farms. Between 1905 and 1914, however, the pace of Canada's "golden era" quickened dramatically. Canadian entrepreneurs suddenly cried out desperately for cheap, unskilled workers. A response was readily forthcoming from the Department of the Interior – a response which ensured that Ukrainian immigration (whether from the Austro-Hungarian or Russian Empires) would be significantly different in character than earlier immigration.

Although theoretically the official immigration policy adhered to the Siftonian principle of accepting agricultural settlers above all others, the economic boom dictated that a large proportion of Ukrainians/Slavs streaming into Canada be general labourers. Indeed, the decade or so before World War One saw the creation of a Ukrainian/Slavic Canadian proletariat – a proletariat that became evident not only on the Prairies and British Columbia but in the mining and urban regions of Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia.

One major reason for such a state of affairs was precisely the Dominion's need for labour and the preference for Ukrainians and eastern Europeans in general over other ethnic groups when it came to the country's labour requirements. Slavs became the most eligible candidates in a compromise between the industrialists/entrepreneurs who considered Asiatics and southern Europeans (notably Italians) as the ideal navvies, miners, and general workers, and the Department of the Interior which had grave reservations about the "quality" and "cultural acceptability" of Asiatics and southern Europeans.

Wherever labour-intensive industries flourished, Ukrainians could be found. They worked almost exclusively at the lowest levels – as railway navvies, underground miners, miners' helpers, ditch diggers, road builders and general labourers in mills, foundries, and meat-packing houses. The percentage of Ukrainian immigrants entering the industrial labour market rose steadily. In 1901–02, 25% stated occupations other than farming; in 1903–04, this percentage had increased to 40 and by 1914, over 54% were classified as general labourers. To put this in numerical terms, out of a total of 78,899 Ukrainian males (overwhelmingly from the Austro-Hungarian Empire) who arrived at Canadian ports between 1906 and 1914, 44,029 stated their occupation as general labourers while 32,834 were listed as farmers or farm labourers (figures were compiled from Canada, Sessional Papers, "Nationality, Sex, Occupation and Destination of Immigrant Arrivals at Ocean Ports for Fiscal Years 1906–1914").

There was also a significant shift of destinations from the Prairie provinces to eastern Canada. Almost all Ukrainian immigrants entering Canadian ports before 1905 named the Northwest as their destination; however, between 1905 and 1914 only about 58% intended to pro-

ceed to the Prairies. Obviously, eastern Canada (especially Ontario and Quebec) became the new "promised land" for Ukrainians in search of work. Thus, the fact that Ukrainians (and Belarusians) from the Russian Empire were drawn into the unskilled labour market in Canada between 1905–14 is not surprising and does not really differentiate them, as Kukushkin suggests, from those coming from Austria-Hungary during the same time period.

Kukushkin cites other differences between those Ukrainians from the Russian Empire and their counterparts in Austria-Hungary that can be questioned. According to Kukushkin, the former considered themselves part of the "Russian nation" while the latter were more "culturally autonomous" if not exactly nationally self-conscious. And indeed, in this regard, Kukushkin is critical of Ukrainian-Canadian historians for concentrating on the "Ruthenian" immigrant from Galicia and Bukovyna who adopted a nationalist orientation while excluding the "West Bank" Ukrainians as detractors – Russophiles, socialist/communists who disrupted the "nationalist agenda."

This observation, although probably valid to a point, may also be more perception than reality. That greater Russian identity among the peasants was the direct result of the Tsarist policy of Russification carried out in Ukraine (and Belarus) and that these Slavs were generally Russophiles is an assumption that invites more investigation. Arguably, national self-identity (and concomitant national self-determination) was as quick to re-establish itself in "West Bank" Ukraine after the fall of the Romanov monarchy as it had been in Austria-Hungary. Moreover, as Kukushkin points out, thanks to the relaxed passport regime that existed in Russian territories adjacent to the Hapsburg domain, there were "cultural and commercial linkages" between

the southwestern part of Russia and the neighbouring Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna which not only played a role in feeding information about Canada to those living in Russian territories (34) but, one suspects, also in promoting the exchange of fraternal interests, political ideals, and perhaps even patriotic feelings of belonging to a particular nationality with distinctive qualities based on ethnicity, language, shared geographic identities (boundaries notwithstanding), etc. In other words, the mindset of the "West Bank" Ukrainians as a whole may not have been as contrary as Kukushkin depicts to those who lived in Russian territories bordering Austria-Hungary. Until more definitive research and analysis becomes available, the jury is still out – at least for this reviewer.

Finally, a comment on the Russian Empire's porous border is in order that hopefully will not appear overly facetious. If indeed Russia's emigration laws were non-existent and the whole system was rife with "bureaucratic negligence and incompetence" which nullified sanctions against emigrants, (59) why didn't more leave the Empire? Certainly, conditions on Imperial Russia's western frontier were similar to those in Austria-Hungary that engendered mass mobility.

Kukushkin provides a partial answer in Chapter 4 with his discussion of "formalized" attempts to bring Russian labourers to Canada. Thanks to the pressure from Russian steamship lines, that wanted to get in on some of the lucrative human cargo business, St. Petersburg seemed amenable to a certain amount of emigration. Kukushkin notes that in 1906, for example, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company sought to negotiate an arrangement with the Russian government on temporarily bringing 10,000 navvies to Canada. (86) Canadian Pacific was interested in a similar deal. Curiously, these and other endeavours to

place "Russians" in Canada either failed or had very limited success. Kukushkin does not detail the reasons for the failures but suggests that it was more due to the objections from Ottawa than St. Petersburg. True, Canada had a far from "open-door" immigration policy; still, Canadian Captains of Industry did have a fair amount of success in importing a Slavic proletariat despite the Immigration Branch's continuing insistence that only agriculturalists and female domestics need apply. One cannot help but wonder about the objections raised by vigilant officials in the Imperial government who perceived that the Empire's surplus peasants were required for its own Siberian hinterland.

Some critical comments notwithstanding, overall, *From Peasants to Labourers* is a meticulously researched, carefully crafted piece that makes an important contribution to the identification and analysis of Ukrainian and Belarusian immigrants to Canada from the Russian Empire prior to 1914.

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**Dimitrios Roussopoulos, ed., *The New Left: Legacy and Continuity* (Montreal: Black Rose Books 2007)**

IN RECENT YEARS, the Sixties have attracted a great deal of scholarly discussion and debate in Canada. This became clear in the summer of 2007 when a conference on the period held at Queen's University brought together hundreds of academics, former participants, and current activists to discuss the meaning and legacy of this period. The collection edited by Dimitrios Roussopoulos on the New Left contributes in important ways to these debates. While it would benefit significantly from more critical analysis of the history and legacy of the New Left,

it nevertheless brings some interesting articles together into a single work and contributes to the growing literature on the Sixties.

In his introduction, Roussopoulos explains the purpose of this collection: it "is meant to focus and colour the emergence of the New Left during the latter half of the 20th century and into that of our own. In doing so it will analyze the legacy of the New Left of the 1960s and the continuity that exists between the past and today." (7) In this way, the collection is meant not only as a historical study but also as a guide for current and future political activism. Divided into two sections, titled "Legacy" and "Continuity," eleven different contributions comprise this collection. These cover a range of formats, including scholarly articles, interview transcripts, and a list of fugitive radicals from the period. Some of the contributions were written specifically for this collection, but a number have been published previously. On the one hand, this gives scholars access to a number of commentaries on the New Left all in one location. On the other hand, though, some of the pieces are now quite dated and do not adequately address the current political context upon which they are expected to reflect; articles written in the 1990s do not, for example, address the post-9/11 world in which current social and political activism takes place.

In these articles, both new and republished, the authors emphasize the importance of participatory democracy to the legacy and continuity of the New Left. Thus, while the authors suggest a number of different legacies, both positive and negative, they almost unanimously agree that the most important contribution was this notion of participatory democracy. The belief that people should participate directly in making the decisions that affect their lives, the authors explain, formed the basis of the New Left's phi-

losophy and continues to be important in the current social and political movements around the world. This discussion of participatory democracy is incredibly important and contributes to our understanding of the Sixties.

Former participants in the New Left movement of the Sixties wrote the vast majority of pieces that are included in this collection. This is an interesting strategy. It allows former participants to reflect upon their experiences and consider through the lens of the present what they hoped to accomplish and what they actually achieved. The best contribution of this sort is the article by Tom Hayden, a founding member of the Students for a Democratic Society. At the same time, however, it is often difficult for participants in past events to achieve the perspective necessary to fully analyze the history and legacy of their activities. The three articles written by academics and activists who did not live through the period provide a counter to these personal reflections, but the collection would benefit from a more balanced approach. In addition, all of the former participants who contributed to this collection are men, while the three non-participants are women. This overlooks the important contributions of women participants in the New Left; a much better gender balance is required.

This gender imbalance also reflects one of the major shortcomings of the collection, namely a general failure on the part of the authors to sufficiently explain the New Left. The editor's introduction defines the New Left as "an inclusive politics including analyses and propositions derived from or inspiring the various movements and bearing a specific reference to social, political and cultural change." (8) As well as being rather vague, this definition does not adequately reflect the usage of the term "New Left" in the articles that follow. Most of the authors

unproblematically equate the New Left with the student movements of the 1960s, therefore privileging a primarily white, middle-class, male story of the period. Recent scholarship has challenged this definition and seeks to provide a more inclusive understanding of the New Left. According to Van Gosse, in *Rethinking the New Left* (2005), for example, the New Left includes movements such as the Civil Rights Movement, the early ban-the-bomb movement, the student movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the Black Power movement, the Aboriginal and Chicano movements, second-wave feminism, and the gay liberation struggle. This perspective, he argues, provides a more inclusive history of the period rather than unnecessarily elevating one particular wing of the New Left. This collection would benefit from a discussion of this new scholarship and further consideration of what the New Left actually entails.

Another area where further critical analysis would be beneficial is in the discussion of identity politics, which many authors in the collection argue was among the (unfortunate) legacies of the New Left. Their argument is that the political and social movements of the 1960s were rooted in something other than identity, namely in a unified critique of "the system." It is only in the 1970s, they insist, that the movement splintered into fragments embedded in particular and separate identities. This is by no means a new position, but recent scholarship has challenged the notion of a unified movement during the Sixties and the paucity of differing identities in the New Left itself. Leerom Medevoi, for example, argues in his book, *Rebels: Youth and the Cold War Origins of Identity* (2005) that identity politics actually developed during the 1950s when youth became, for the first time, a separate and powerful political category. Furthermore, Stuart Hall and

others have argued for decades, drawing inspiration from the theories of Antonio Gramsci, that identity is often central to the development of social movements. Thus, rather than repeating a common assumption, which invariably privileges the Sixties movements over the social and political movements that followed, this collection could offer more critical engagement with the notion of identity politics and its role in the New Left.

These assumptions regarding the unity of the New Left and the divisive identity politics that followed also find their way into the discussions of continuity in this collection. Many of the authors argue that the New Left connected a variety of issues into a cohesive critique of society, which collapsed when various identities arose by the 1970s. Yet, many of the authors argue that this unity has been restored in the current anti-globalization movement, which, they explain, is also rooted in a wider analysis of society. While there is no doubt a connection between the Sixties movements and the current social activism, as many authors in this collection successfully point out, this analysis overlooks the divisive nature of both the New Left and of the new protest movements. While many participants in both movements attempted to present cohesive critiques of society, there was rarely unanimity or agreement and such positions were subject to continued discussion and debate. In order to avoid mythologizing the Sixties as a period of united activism, much more could be done to analyze the continued attempts to create agreement in the face of diverse and sophisticated positions.

Overall, this collection contributes to current discussions and debates surrounding the Sixties in important ways. In particular, the in-depth analysis of participatory democracy provides tremendous insight into the political and social movements both of that period and

at the present time. While much more critical engagement with the current literature on the Sixties would strengthen this collection, it is nevertheless a useful work for scholars of the period and social movements more generally.

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**Steven High and David W. Lewis,**  
*Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization*  
(Toronto: Between the Lines Press 2007)

MORE MULTIMEDIA menagerie than monograph, *Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization* builds upon Steven High's already impressive and extensive contributions to the subfields of deindustrialization, transnational history, and public memory. This book pushes the boundaries of a traditional study in dynamic new ways and furthers High's reputation as one of Canada's most innovative historians. Instead of focusing upon political economy and protest, as he did in his award-winning *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt* (Toronto 2004), High, along with photographer David W. Lewis, wants us to look at the meaning of deindustrialization more broadly.

Paradoxically, this goal is to be achieved by "interrogating the cultural meaning of industrial ruins themselves." High and Lewis offer a unique, cross-border examination of how crumbling buildings—the profoundly haunting and bizarrely beautiful remnants of North America's great postwar industrial age—have taken on new meanings, new uses, and new forms in the twenty-first century. In so doing, High and Lewis utilize an engaging interdisciplinary approach, bringing together textual arguments, oral histories, imagery, and an interesting dose of cultural anthropology. In *Corporate Wasteland*,



the historian and the photographer take us on a dizzying journey, from the illicit adventures of "urban explorers" to the wrenching stories of "I-95" auto worker refugees to the backwoods of franco-phone Ontario mill towns, weaving together these disparate people, places, and images into a whole that is not always coherent, but certainly provides an eclectic and eye-opening tour of North America's post-industrial mindscapes.

The book is broadly divided into two parts. Part One, "The Deindustrial Sublime," is the text-heavy section of the book. Broken into three chapters of interpretive essay, it begins with an essay on industrial demolition that is a particular strong point of the book. High's way of looking at how the "secular ritual" of demolition has become a reflection of transforming "place" and postindustrial mores and discourses is succinct and penetrating. Abandoned buildings, tilting smokestacks, and crumbling grain elevators take on whole new meanings, as High illustrates how these "contested symbols" can be seen not only as a channel from the past, but also as an explosive exposition of contemporary North Americans' ambiguous connection to their industrial heritage.

From here High quickly takes us to the shadowy underworld of the "urban explorer" phenomenon, the "UE" life. Modern-day non-treasure hunters, whose solitary professed goal is to "take only photographs, leave only footprints" as they surreptitiously invade abandoned sites in search of adventure and experience, UEs have somehow become the quiet custodians of deindustrialization. In unraveling their stories, and particularly that of the original urban explorer, Torontonians "Ninjalicious" (a.k.a. Jeff Chapman), High explores how sites of deindustrialization become a new kind of target – that of the dark tourist. This rumination unexpectedly becomes an analytical lens by which to explore issues

of class and race and the meanings of history in a post-industrial, post-modern world, a result that has, interestingly, garnered High some sharp criticism from a few in the UE world, who (we can see why) dislike his take on their activities.

The third chapter returns the book to more familiar ground: the politics of memory and meaning in Youngstown, Ohio, the quintessential Rust Belt city. In another strong chapter, High uses literature, music, art, and the clash over the memorialization of Youngstown's descent into deindustrialization to help us understand this wrenching transformation. In charting the community's story from one of "defiance and resistance, to one of victimization and loss," the book makes a solid contribution to the burgeoning field of commemoration studies and public history.

The second part of the book is devoted to alternative media and ways of looking at the issue of deindustrialization. Oral histories are interspersed with Lewis's photos, creating a panorama of voices and images. These pages provide a unique exploration of a topic that breaks from the usual academic methodology, and are a refreshing departure. In taking this chance, this section of *Corporate Wasteland* is a little more uneven in its approach: The fascinating story of the paper mill at Sturgeon Falls, with all of its linguistic, class, social, and continental cleavages, is significant enough to be an interpretive essay on its own, one that could easily fit into part one. The next four chapterettes, "Gabriel's Detroit," "Deindustrial Fragments," "King Coal," and "A Vanishing Landmark" are shorter pieces, the first two a collection of oral snippets, the last two brief pictorial essays. The range of locales covered in these essays – Northern Ontario, Detroit and the I-95 corridor, Cobalt, Hamilton, and Windsor, Ontario, West Virginia, and Kalamazoo – are indeed fragments,

certainly stretching High's and Lewis's canvass. Still, the testimonies are succinct and sad, the images desperate yet evocative.

Both words and pictures in these chapters leave the reader wishing for more, either a bigger dose of the oral histories, or a grander tableau for more of the haunting images. This is particularly true of the imagery. We can tell that Lewis's images are stunning, deserving of their own exhibition. Fortunately, those interested can be satisfied on both counts. High's oral histories can be accessed through the various archives he has helpfully listed in the book, while Lewis's images have been displayed from Windsor to Kalamazoo, and continue to be exhibited on both sides of the border.

In the end, notwithstanding its fragmentary moments, the book is wholly successful. *Corporate Wasteland* accomplishes what it set out to do – to expand our understanding of deindustrialization by delving through analysis, testimony, and picture, into the very meanings of the remnants of this ongoing process. High and Lewis have captured the essence of deindustrialization, and have highlighted one of deindustrialization's most profound contradictions, that in city or country, on either side of the continental border, we are surrounded by, and very much the product of, deindustrialization. Yet we rarely really see or understand the complications of our industrial/deindustrial heritage, though it contextualizes and shapes our world, and though it is always in our midst. As such, *Corporate Wasteland* is an important and unorthodox look at one of the great transformative events of the post-Second World War period in North America, and fascinating reading to boot.

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**Sheldon Stromquist, ed., *Labor's Cold War: Local Politics in a Global Context*** (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2008)

*LABOR'S COLD WAR* provides a valuable and timely historical reinterpretation that goes to the roots of the Cold War as it affected the American labour movement and its allies. The case studies on which its chapters are based tell about a concerted anti-communist crusade that began to take shape across the U.S. during the closing years of World War II, and in a few short years, was able to transform the political cultures in the work and community lives of the American working class. Although what happened north of the border did not match the dedication and nastiness with which this war was waged, aspects of these case studies would certainly be familiar to trade union and community activists who survived the Cold War years in Canada.

A good number of studies in recent years have examined the McCarthyism and Cold War that played out at the national level and in us foreign policy. *Labor's Cold War* marks a significant departure from these, in that it is one of the first (Robert Cheney et al., *American Labor and the Cold War* is another) to explore the manner in which this "anti-communist crusade" attacked trade unions and social activists at the local level to turn back reforms they had been building since the New Deal and the early years of World War II. There are the inevitable references to the junior senator from Wisconsin and national crusaders, to be sure, but throughout, the book emphasizes the importance of local battles, which inevitably shaped the character of the national war.

In another significant departure from established historiography, this book takes the focus of the Cold War away from the conservative anti-reform forces

that ran rampant in McCarthy's America. There can be no doubt of the enormous influence this well-organized and financed coalition exerted; in many ways, it sponsored and supported the local crusades. However, the reader is left with the clear impression that the closest and perhaps most telling blows were dealt, not by the avowed conservatives, but by liberals in the trade unions and reform movements who only a few years before worked hand-in-hand with Communists and left-leaning activists.

The book describes, in fascinating detail, not only how labour leaders and other liberals were fully incorporated into the Cold War agenda but also how their successes made the conservative onslaught possible. Leaving no stone unturned in their local organizations and communities, the combined liberal and conservative forces split the fabric of the American labour and social reform movement just when it was at the pinnacle of its strength. A vibrant, well-organized movement with deep roots in workplace and community was transformed in a few short years.

Former activists became more than enemies; they became active participants in campaigns to destroy or neutralize the movements they helped to build. This is perhaps best illustrated by David Lewis-Coleman whose case study describes the conversion of Shelton Tappes from one of the most active and respected organizers of the "black caucuses" in the early 1940s into a star witness for House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) inquiries in 1952. Tappes became part of a crusade which transferred the leadership for race equality from trade unionists and workers to middle-class leaders who emphasized integration over social and economic justice. The "black caucuses" he had worked so hard to build were replaced by a "colour-blind" civil rights movement.

This episode is also one of several to illustrate the extent to which liberal labour leaders would distance themselves from a rank-and-file activism they believed was too easily subverted by communists. In all this, Walter Reuther emerges as a prominent figure with a single-minded commitment to fighting communism, firstly in the UAW and then in the CIO. At the same time as he spared no effort to rid the CIO of its Communist and progressive leadership, he became known as a leading advocate for civil and labour rights, expanding the UAW's Fair Practices Department and hiring new staff, and revealing an important trait in the liberal anti-communist agenda: this was the best way to counteract the social justice propaganda of the Communists.

James Lorence's essay on the destruction of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in the Southwest is another such episode. The Union had become a primary vehicle for Mexican Americans' struggle for social and economic equality in both the workplace and for such social causes as desegregated housing. However, both became the object of a hostile campaign by employers and other conservative forces in which AFL- and CIO-affiliated unions participated. Much the same pattern also appears in Kenneth Burt's case study of Latinos in California, whose fight for fair employment and fair housing laws was also lost when the "race card" was seized by anti-communist factions that succeeded in fracturing the movement.

In his study of anti-communist networks on the Pacific Coast in the 1930s, Martin Cherney draws on a massive base of research material that grew out of the legal and propaganda wars that erupted over efforts to deport Harry Bridges, Western Regional Director of the CIO, on charges of Communist conspiracy. Probably most shocking about Cherney's account is his description of

the expansive and overlapping espionage networks that operated from Portland to Los Angeles, with informers from the American Legion's 'Red Squad,' the Military Intelligence Division, local Chambers of Commerce, and the Associated Farmers of California. Even these elaborate spy networks could not have worked, however, without the 'insiders' in the CIO and AFL unions who made 'pragmatic choices' to preserve their organizations and movements.

While the stated intent of *Labor's Cold War* was to focus and explain the transformations that took place at the local level during the Cold War, it doesn't always succeed in maintaining this perspective. In part, an account of national developments is needed to explain local happenings. Even at that, however, more could have been done to describe and analyze the day-to-day political culture of the local union and to show how liberal anti-communism (and the not-so-liberal sort) played out on the shop floor or in the community.

Christopher Gereis's chapter on "Labor and the Cold War in Occupied Japan" is a case in point. It provides an eye-opening account of the process through which women workers, who were prime builders of a militant, class-conscious labour movement in post-war Japan became marginalized, and were finally transformed into objects of a male-dominated campaign that depicted the Americanization of Japan as a "Culture of Whores." Although provocative and insightful, this account is nevertheless more national than local in scope.

Some of the more dramatic local activities stand out. Seth Wigderson's chilling accounts of the "Time of the Toad" describes gangs of anti-communist workers who roamed UAW plants across the US, attacking and physically evicting suspected communists, peace activists, and social reformers. The Korean War

provided the banner for a witch-hunt in which local loyalty oaths patterned after those embedded in the Taft-Hartley Act were demanded of suspected radicals, and inquisitorial tactics were employed to root out communists and others whose causes might have been tainted by them. What is lacking, however, are the less dramatic accounts of the way officers were elected, grievances contested, and bargaining mandates set. Local union culture includes social and athletic events, local awards banquets, and such, and the effects of the liberal anti-communist crusade must certainly have been evident in these.

Probably the most successful, in this regard, is Lisa Kannenberg's chapter in which she describes in some detail how a progressive local of the United Electrical Workers in GE's Schenectady plant became a target of the Cold War crusaders when it began to challenge the leading role its company was taking in American business's attempt to stop the extension of wartime government planning into peacetime production, and to arrest the growth of reforms that had their roots in the New Deal. The business lobby was able to convince a large cross-section of the American workers that the route to liberty and the American dream was through free enterprise, and that planning led by democratically elected representatives could only lead to tyranny. In the process, UE Local 301 became the target of a coalition led by a newly-elected Republican Congress, the FBI, the courts, the press, the Catholic Church, and of course, corporate America. The cruelest cut, once again, came from the local's former allies in the CIO, who engaged in a left-wing purge that decapitated the American labour movement by eliminating some of the best organizers and issues at the very moment the CIO was positioning itself to organize in the South and among white-collar workers.

A local focus is also retained by Rose-

mary Feurer in her account of the post-war campaign around the Missouri Valley Authority (MVA). Closely tied to the Communist-led United Electrical Workers (UE) District Eight, whose President Bill Sentner was a giant among union leaders, the campaign insisted that unemployment, labour supply, and housing availability be considered whenever wartime contracts were awarded, reflecting the widespread expectation that labour would play an integral role in planning for mobilization as well as in the conversion to peace-time production. The "Murray Plan," for example, called for a national tripartite planning board on which labour would be represented as an equal partner.

Of course, business and their friends in government had no intention of allowing this, but in the extended fight to defeat the Murray Plan, and the MVA, it took the CIO representative Sidney Hillman, among others, to pave the way for the near-total exclusion of labour. Hillman devoted his efforts to a fight against the UE and other factions "tinged with red." Once again, while the MVA campaign is outlined at length as a regional issue, it would have been interesting to see what sort of discussions dominated local union relations in these extraordinary times.

What about the Communist Party itself? There is surprisingly little discussion of its activities, even though it was the focal point of the liberal anti-communist attack. In a curious way, we are left with little more than the Cold War characterization of the CP subverting, dividing, and generally manipulating the movements they joined – there are, after all, a few dark references to reports made to the CRSU by American leaders after successful organizing efforts. Although many of the most progressive trade union leaders were Communists, very little is revealed about what role the Party actually played at the local level.

"The Wages of Anti-Communism" is perhaps the saddest chapter in the book, as it shows how little regard the ruling class actually had for the labour and reform leaders it co-opted. It is clear that the liberal anticommunists actually hoped to win (or preserve) acceptance from their new allies and the American public, as well as economic benefits for union members in the areas of wages, hours of work, and security in return for their role in the Cold War. They achieved some of these gains, as Wigderson and others show; however, these gains were short-lived. It is truly remarkable how quickly the tide turned against the mainstream American labour movement in the late 40s, with only a few of the more progressive and powerful locals holding out until the early 50s. The death knell may very well have been sounded by the Taft-Harley Bill in 1947, passed by the Republican majority that had been elected to Congress in 1946 in spite of the best efforts of the labour movement and its many community allies.

In the end, *Labor's Cold War* leaves us with a sobering realization of the lengths to which the economic and political elite in the US and elsewhere are willing to go to beat back gains and destroy whatever popular alliances workers are able to build. During and immediately after the Second World War, trade unionists, community activists, communists, social democrats, civil rights leaders, and housing advocates were building on a vision of a more worker-friendly American society that could arise from the depths of the Great Depression and ashes of a world war. The seeds of popular labour-community organizing were laid to rest in the late 40s, only to be revived in the civil rights, anti-war, and democratic movements of the 60s and 70s. Unfortunately, the American labour movement did not revive with them. The virulence – and success – of the liberal anti-communist

movement in writing this chapter of history should never be forgotten by trade unions or reform leaders anywhere.

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**Peter Cole, *Wobblies on the Waterfront: Interracial Unionism in Progressive-Era Philadelphia*** (Urbana-Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2007)

PETER COLE'S *Wobblies on the Waterfront* explores the rise and fall of Local 8, Philadelphia's predominantly black dockworkers' union from the 1880s to the 1920s. Cole successfully delves into the complicated and at times vexing world of longshoremen, and the bosses who ultimately won the battle against unionization. *Wobblies on the Waterfront* makes the credible case that as a functioning unit and an interracial union, Philadelphia's Local 8 developed into an anomaly along the Atlantic seaboard but also across the United States. Whereas New Orleans experimented with interracial unionization, internal and external pressures caused Louisiana longshoremen to fall prey to Jim Crow conventions, eventually souring even those most dedicated to interracial union ideals.

But where others buckled, Philadelphians stood their ground. Cole posits that because black longshoremen made up from 40–60% of workers, white workers, whatever their misgivings could neither shut out black workers nor ignore their will. The fact that African Americans climbed their way up the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) leadership, earning the respect of members white and black, helped solidify the voice and strength of unionized black longshoremen. Cole makes the compelling argument that in the case of Philadelphia docks, where men – recent immigrants, American-born, and Southern African

Americans – wrestled over gritty jobs, especially in winter when fewer were available, frustrations could easily have led to racialized reactions. But they did not, despite employers' transparent attempts at undermining Local 8's demands that work be doled out fairly. Astonishingly, Wobblies, renowned for their erratic management of both labour matters and membership grievances, thrived in Philadelphia during the Progressive Era. They stuck – and struck – together, throughout the Great War years, refusing to back down against federal strong-arming or employer intimidation.

Cole effectively presses the point that what worked – what paid the greatest returns in Philadelphia throughout the IWW's presence on the docks – was racial cohesion. African Americans formed the majority of Local 8's membership; accordingly, they held great influence over the union's direction and the industrial actions that it advanced. For Cole, black longshoremen, first Northerners, followed by West Indians and Southerners by the turn of the twentieth century, avoided racialized resentment from Eastern Europeans and Anglo-Americans who worked alongside them. Cole asserts that Local 8 Wobblies' insistence on racial harmony spared turmoil on Philadelphia's docks. While this is true to a certain degree, perhaps he overlooks the impact of rising wages and safer working conditions on maintaining peaceful relations among Local 8 longshoremen. In other words, so long as the Wobblies' actions delivered – higher wages, balanced job allocation, shorter working hours, less hazardous work – there appeared no need to fan the flames of hate.

Cole's central argument would have packed greater punch if he had told us more about the workers themselves. We know that by the turn of the twentieth century, ever more black longshoremen arrived from the South, driven to Phila-

delphia by the promise of job diversity and higher wages. We can also infer that given their experiences with Southern segregation, these new dockworkers would have harboured a robust and well-founded mistrust of whites. Longshoremen also hailed from Ireland and various parts of Eastern Europe, though mostly Poland and Lithuania. Cole presumes a level of racial ignorance from these migrants, arguing that they would not have sealed their disdain for blacks until spending time in the United States and no doubt rubbing up against that constituency when competing for work or affordable housing. But the truth is that immigrants knew about race relations before arriving; they would have witnessed Jim Crow rules on the very ships that brought them to America. Even if European migrants were not well versed on the intricacies of American-style racial discrimination, they were seasoned in ethnic warfare, as in the case in Ireland or Poles' disregard for Germans. At its core, ethnic tension is rooted in the same conflicts: competition over land, work, religion, love, all easily transferable concerns. So Cole's claim that they only learned about racism once they were in America is not persuasive. They knew about race – and white privilege, however limited their access to it – but only had to invest in Jim Crow ideology if and when it translated into measurable reward. On Philadelphia's docks, it did not; in New York and Baltimore, it did. And so long as upholding an interracial picket line drove wages up and the hours of work down, black and white longshoremen kept themselves in check, frustrating their bosses' cabal with federal agents in the process.

I wanted to know more, care more, be more invested in Ben Fletcher and other black operatives. For me, Cole stayed too close to a traditional model of labour history, moving from one labour action to another. The cumulative effect of that

tactic is sometimes a disengagement from the actual people on the line, the men and women affected by the consequences of both the union and the bosses' resolve. We know that the lives of workers fuelled the urgency of their demands. It is precisely because they could not survive on the meager wages earned on the docks that white and black workers bucked social convention, joined forces, and walked off the job, bravely sporting their union badge, an emblem that in itself could bring serious reprisal.

Cole's study would have been even more satisfying if it had also told us what workers did with their newly earned rights. He tells us that Philadelphia Wobblies remained committed to an interracial vision; did that hold true off the job as well? What does it mean to fight for your rights citing interracial cooperation but then break off to segregated neighbourhoods, pubs, and clubs? Put differently, how did Philadelphia Wobblies translate their interracial cooperative vision into other aspects of their lives? Belonging to a union, especially the IWW, was an all-consuming identity, lived out in the way a "union man" spent his wages, did his shopping, cast his ballot. The Progressive Era is, after all, a period of heightened consumer activism, with African Americans acutely aware of Jim Crow's impact on their lives, thanks to Garvey's economic nationalism model and "don't buy where you can't work" protests. Where did Local 8 make its social impact on Philadelphia, especially during the high watermark of *de facto* segregation in the North? If they did not, does it undercut Cole's contention that Philadelphia Wobblies left their Jim Crow caps at the proverbial union hall door?

Telling the story of Wobblies is so often like watching a train wreck in painfully slow motion. But not here. Philadelphia's Local 8 was organized and moved by a vision that singled them out both from

their times and their fellow industrial unionists. Local 8 pulled off what even bigger cities and larger unions could not deliver during the Progressive Era: they adopted a radical interracial philosophy, squeezed higher wages from their employers, and increased their membership into the thousands during the heyday of union – but especially IWW – repression. They avoided the seductive appeal of racialized union wrangling and trusted the white and black men elected to guide Local 8; even with those men jailed, the union's strength grew further still. It should not be forgotten that white men held the line on racial equality within the union's ranks and went to jail for their convictions. And when blacks and whites lead effectively separate lives and viewed access to work as license to war under the banner of "white manhood rights," Local 8 charted its own model of how working against Jim Crow – at least on the job – returned its own guerdon. Black, white, American, and foreign born found a middle ground on Philadelphia's imposing docks just as elsewhere in the country an ever greater divide kept blacks and whites at each other's throats, much to the profit of anti-labour bosses and governmental agencies. Quite simply, Philadelphia's Wobblies stuck to their guns, demanded better wages, and for the most part delivered on their promises to members. All of this makes the story of Philadelphia's Local 8, a motley and international crew of longshoremen who worked together against the rising tide of racial intolerance, one worth telling and one told well in Peter Cole's *Wobblies on the Waterfront*.

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**Paul Frymer, *Black and Blue: African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party*** (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2008)

LABOUR HISTORIANS have confronted the issue of racism within the labour movement in a variety of ways. Some look at racism as the product of capitalism, serving the best interest of employers. Scholars of whiteness theory explore white workers' engagement in racist activity and how they benefited in many ways from racism. Paul Frymer looks at racism from the realm of institutions. Frymer examines the New Deal administrative state, the labour movement from the 1930s through the 1960s, the civil rights movement during that same time period, and the federal court system. In doing so he shows that institutions, rather than being neutral on the issue of race, promote racism and the separation of labour rights and civil rights.

*Black and Blue* blames the failure to produce a labour movement devoted to racial equality not on leaders of unions or civil rights groups, or the rank-and-file, but on the political system. He finds that this failure is "the outcome of a political system that, in its efforts to appeal to civil rights opponents, developed a bifurcated system of power that assigned race and class problems to different spheres of government." (2) The separation of these two issues during the New Deal lead to different strategies for labour and civil rights activists and made it difficult to combine the two movements.

Frymer is a legal scholar and the strength of his book is his analysis of not just court cases, but also why the legal system took on such importance for activists, and how the federal court system was shaped. Frymer notes that the legal community often focuses on individual rights, rather than systemic inequality,



and he wants to challenge that bifurcation. He also notes that "courts continue to be narrowly construed as consisting only of judges and their decisions, rather than seen as a broader network of political actors, structures, and rules that comprise its organizational power." (130) Frymer continually drives the point home that racism cannot be blamed solely on individuals, whether they be judges or racist employers, because it is the institutions that frame their actions and give these individuals power to behave in certain ways.

Frymer begins by analyzing the New Deal administrative state, specifically the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). While it is well-known among labour historians that the Wagner Act excluded domestic and agricultural workers – who were predominantly minorities – Frymer takes his analysis of the shortcomings of the National Labor Relations Act a step farther. He argues that the critical fault in the NLRA is that it did not include any civil rights measures, leaving legislation involving civil rights to evolve from institutions outside of the NLRB. He points out that politicians and civil rights groups were well aware of this discrepancy, citing letters from civil rights leaders to Robert Wagner protesting how the exclusion of African Americans and of any racially inclusive language in the Wagner Act could lead to the threat of unions operating all-white closed shops.

Frymer also includes a chapter on the relationship between the NAACP and the labour movement. He focuses on Herbert Hill and proves that he tried to work with unions, and only when that failed, the NAACP headed to the courts. Frymer argues that "legal strategies, for better or worse, were necessary to integrate the labor movement." (46) The NAACP made efforts to try to integrate unions for thirty years before turning to legal action. These legal efforts have been suc-

cessful in integrating unions, but it has also antagonized the labour movement and weakened the power of unions, especially by imposing heavy financial damages. Frymer uses this point to make the argument that focusing on courts, rather than politics, should be the main goal of activists today.

Frymer's chapter on "Labour Law and Institutional Racism" is really the focus of the book. Here again Frymer discusses theories of "whiteness." He sees the importance of whiteness as a category in that it holds workers accountable. But "it takes a powerful and historical force that is deeply rooted in our nation's ideologies, institutions, and realities of power, and discards it as something separate from the 'democratic' functions of politics." (102) He also finds fault in courts and activists who present racism as irrational, which makes it easier to pretend it resides within individuals and not institutions. "By treating race and racism merely as an evil deriving from individual sickness, it makes it difficult, if not impossible, for politics to regulate race and racism, and denies the ways that our political institutions are active in not just enabling but creating racist thought and behaviour." (103) He argues against a focus on the individual psychology of racism in favour of analysis that includes how institutions themselves can be racist and promote systematic inequality. How institutions, such as unions or courts, promote or punish racist behaviour is critical if you want to understand individual psychological motivations. Understanding the failures of the democratic process is essential to understanding the role that the federal court system plays in securing civil rights.

Frymer makes four main points about institutional racism. The first is that institutions can encourage racism by rewarding racist actions, rather than simply being impartial avenues for action

that just may happen to be racist. The second is that institutions give some people power, and those in power can in turn shape the behaviours of the institution. Thirdly, institutional factors help control when racism is expressed and when it is silent. Finally, not all racism is equal, but must be looked at in an institutional framework to see how it is important or meaningful. (106)

*Black and Blue* provides a brief introduction to institutional racism and how it has affected politics, civil rights, the legal system, and the labour movement in the twentieth century. At 139 pages, there is not much room to look at local circumstances or the actions of members of civil rights groups or labour unions. Instead Frymer focuses on major players like Robert Wagner, Herbert Hill, and A. Philip Randolph. Frymer clearly announces his intentions and arguments, while giving a few examples to back them up. It is clear that he has read widely on African Americans and the labour movement. My biggest problem with Frymer's book comes from the title: *African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party* does not accurately reflect the scope of this brief examination of institutions in the mid-twentieth century. "The decline of the New Deal Democratic Coalition" may be closer to the mark regarding the book's target, but even that topic is not adequately dealt with in the book. Frymer speaks more to the problems inherent to the democratic process, rather than problems of the Democratic Party.

For labour historians, the value of *Black and Blue* lies in Frymer's understanding that labour issues cannot be treated separately from other systems of inequality based on race, gender, sexuality, citizenship, etc. When race and class have been treated as separate issues, the result has been legal institutions such as the NLRB and/or laws like the Civil Rights Act,

which promote the mistaken view that civil rights and labour rights are distinct. The failure of representative democracy to adequately protect minorities makes judicial action necessary. While providing labour historians with a new take on the problems of labour rights and civil rights, *Black and Blue* also challenges activists to spend less energy on politics and more on using courts to make concrete changes towards equality.

HEATHER MAYER

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**Randi Storch, *Red Chicago: American Communism At Its Grassroots, 1928–1935***  
(Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2007)

IN THE EXPERIENCE of the revolutionary left there are those who have thought it possible, indeed preferable, to create socialism in one country, a stand that has nothing to do, ultimately, with the undeniable waging of revolutionary struggle within national borders and their particular political economies and cultural settings. Others, of course, have disagreed, arguing forcefully that just as capitalism is a global order, so too is socialism inevitably sustained, in the long run, not in isolation, but through extending the reach of revolutionary transformation internationally. Historians, too, have grappled with this issue, writing their histories of communist possibility on canvases large and small. But few have stated the case as forthrightly as the historian of Chicago's communists in the tumultuous 'Third Period' years of 1928–1935. Randi Storch concludes her study of the pivotal proletarian metropolis of United States revolutionaries with an unambiguous assertion that, "regardless of the historic period, the story of America's Communists is best understood when it is framed in a local context." (230)

A reading of Storch's book confirms what can be gained with such a perspective. She tells us a great deal about where Chicago's communists lived and came together in political meetings and social circles. Particularly valuable are her accounts of African American communists, and their struggles against racism, both inside the Party and outside of it; as well as the outline of communist protest movements associated with the unemployed and rent evictions in the dreary early years of the Great Depression. Storch has researched assiduously in the Russian Archives to find hitherto unappreciated evidence of Chicago communists, their ways of handling internal disagreements, and how they negotiated the challenges of organizing the unemployed, the dispossessed, idealistic and anti-war youth, and industrial workers. In the pages of this book we find much insight into how communists failed to adequately address women's oppression in the neighbourhood-and-family bound circumstances most working-class women existed within. We also confront Party figureheads' mechanical treatment of writers – Chicago was home in this period to aspiring literary talents such as Richard Wright and Nelson Algren, both of whom traveled in circles highly sympathetic to if not aligned with the CP – seeking to turn their art to revolutionary purpose.

Extolling the virtues of a 'community study,' which is designated a methodology, Storch presents Chicago's communists as a complex and diverse body of dissidents nevertheless convinced, in her words, that "revolutionary change was surely right around the corner." (30) She suggests that alongside reverence for the Soviet Union and adherence to the 'party line,' Chicago's communists also brokered their own spaces of defiance and difference, whereby orders could be ignored and outcomes achieved that

departed from the aims of the Communist International (Comintern/C1). Even within the seeming sectarianism of the Third Period, she claims, communists offered visions of alternatives that looked forward to the Popular Front, especially in their practical activities in the anything-but-red American Federation of Labor unions. All of this convinces Storch that American communism cannot be entirely explained by an overarching emphasis on Stalinism, let alone the insistence of Theodore Draper and his contemporary advocates, Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes, that communism in the United States was one-sidedly a made-in-Moscow affair.

One of the questions that Storch poses at the outset of her study relates to precisely this point. How did the ranks of Chicago communists "understand the party line?" (4) Yet it must be said that this question is never adequately addressed. On the one hand, it must be appreciated that this is an immensely difficult question to grapple with. On the other, it is never going to be even tentatively answered if historians do not seriously engage with the complicated interplay of Comintern degeneration and the ways this was handled in particular national sections, and how that was, in turn, translated into thought and practice at the local level. And this means, I would suggest, addressing Stalinism as something more than merely a particularly brutal kind of Leninism.

For all the strengths of this study, and they are many, this interplay of what Storch refers to as 'the grassroots' and the significance of powerful structures of directive influence, the ultimate authority of which was the Communist International, remains underappreciated in this book. One source of this may be the extent to which Storch accents specific kinds of local evidence, highlighting issues of everyday activity and proce-

dures of internal communist governance, rather than other kinds of printed sources – such as the extensive pamphlet literature and agitational material described so well in Laswell's and Blumenstock's *World Revolutionary Propaganda: A Chicago Study* (1939) – that might provide an entrée into the Communist Party's program, policies, and principles. My point is not to privilege one source over another, nor is it to denigrate Storch's rich use of specific and previously unavailable archival material relevant to Chicago, but to stress that all kinds of evidence should be marshaled if we are to achieve a rounded appreciation of communists in the past.

Beyond the kinds of evidence that should be considered, there should also be weight given to historical experiences already chronicled and subject to useful, if often counterposed, discussion. Current debates, for instance, over the impact of the Lenin School (which one of her major African America figures, Harry Haywood, attended) in the making of communist cadre do not concern Storch, even though evidence she presents indicates that some Chicago communists gestured toward its importance. Thus, an African American communist, David Poindexter, brought up by Haywood on charges of following Party directives inadequately, replied: "If I soiled Communist principles while leading the unemployed, while fighting for relief, while standing at the citadel of power and demanding justice for the working class – while [voice rising] comrade Haywood was studying at the Lenin School, so be it, so be it." Poindexter, a black activist who was willing to participate in this 'show trial' and acknowledge the errors of his ways ("Comrades, I am guilty of all the charges, all of them"), remained in the Party.

This confirms, for Storch, "Communist principles" and a "unifying culture of beliefs and behaviours." (64–65) But it is also possible to interpret all of this very

differently than she does, and in the process raise questions that probe the content of communist policies and the meaning of the specific ways in which grassroots activism and Party dogma and doctrine came together, rather than stressing, as Storch tends to do, their separation.

When this is done, it is perhaps the case that Storch's presentation of the history of the revolutionary ranks will look rather different. One measure of this is *Red Chicago's* brief allusions to Trotskyism and the emergence of a late 1928 Left Opposition among the city's revolutionary ranks. Not surprisingly, Storch's understanding suggests that in the give-and-take of the activist street and communist sociability circles pressures to ostracize the much-denigrated, deviant "Trots" met with a kind of benign nonchalance. But this view, once again, privileges particular sources and quite specific timeframes (late 1928/early 1929), managing to avoid some rather obvious evidence/events that would have inevitably cast the discussion in a very different light. It invariably relies on and alludes to local control commissions, rank-and-file "decisions," and ambiguities, rather than the hard-nosed, resolute power plays that were played out, first and foremost, in New York's Political Committee, from which came the expulsions of national leaders such as James P. Cannon as well as his Windy City allies, youth leader Albert Glotzer and Chicago Federation of Labor mainstay, Arne Swabeck. One of their most active comrades in the post-1930 Communist League of America (Opposition), Chicago Trade Union Unity League/International Labor Defense activist, Joe Giganti, was recruited to Trotskyism precisely because of this heavy-handedness. What Storch says about all of this is understated, to say the least. A forceful argument could be made that she avoids the complex interplay of local, national, and international developments, which included consider-

able violence against Trotskyists and an extreme rhetoric of denunciation and demonization that it is crucial to address if the politics of the Third Period are to be understood adequately.

In her vivid reconstruction of the social, then, Storch sometimes loses sight of dimensions of the political. Whereas most New Left scholarship has gravitated to the period of the Popular Front, Storch, who is drawn to this history of "mass" communist influence and alignment with broad left/liberal forces of "progressive" politics, studies the class-against-class Third Period, rife with seeming sectarianism. She reads back into this ultraleft moment of the Communist Party the seeds of what she sees as Popular Front successes. Yet she never really gapples with the extent to which both the Third Period and the Popular Front were mirror images of the Stalinist defeat of Lenin's and Trotsky's Comintern, with its program of world revolution. Once Stalinism raised the banner of "socialism in one country" as the programmatic maxim of international communism, much changed, not only in the Soviet Union, but around the world.

Choosing to see the history of communism through the prism of locale, Storch limits our view of the kaleidoscopic complexity that encompassed the particular and the general, the specificity of place and the wider body of experience that defined the modern revolutionary left from the moment that it emerged out of the crucible of war and revolution in 1917. Her research, offering so much, could only have been enhanced and deepened had she wrestled a little more rigorously with what a larger interpretive framework could have brought to her study. For the local, the national, and the international can, should, and indeed must be brought together in any analysis of communism and the people who made it what it was even if their actions were never entirely

what they would have chosen them to be.

Communists in Chicago, like advocates of proletarian revolution anywhere, are best studied and appreciated, then, as they saw themselves: they were men and women located in particular places and battles, but linked, invariably, to wider networks of cities, countries, and continents, all of which were galvanized by class struggle and the need for the leadership, direction, and inspiration that were inextricably entwined in their beliefs, commitments, and activities. Their meetings and gathering places sang out with the cry that "A better world's in birth." Local contexts are indeed important. But so too are these trees of particular experience always situated within a larger forest. The communist chorus did not denigrate locale, but its refrain surely echoed the need for a grand vision that reached past the limitations of specificity.

*'Tis the final conflict,  
Let each stand in his place,  
The International Soviet  
Shall be the human race.*

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**Susan Gelfand Malka, *Daring to Care: American Nursing and Second-Wave Feminism*** (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007)

THREE NO-NONSENSE women are featured on the cover of Susan Gelfand Malka's *Daring to Care: American Nursing and Second-Wave Feminism*. Dressed in lab coats and gazing directly out at the reader, this image of nurses is intended to diverge from conventional historical representations of nurses in wasp-wasted uniforms and white nursing caps. Malka's book, similarly, aims to show that nursing has undergone a transformation in the past six decades. She claims this

transformation was driven by a "veritable tsunami of feminism" that changed the education, work, and identities of nurses in the United States by the end of the twentieth century.

The nursing-feminist relationship is divided into two historical periods. The first, from the mid-1960s to mid-1980s, was characterized by "equality feminism" that sought social, political, and economic equality for women but sometimes denigrated traditionally feminine occupations like nursing. This lack of respect for the profession is summed up for Malka by a poster distributed by Pittsburgh feminists asking, "Why a nurse and not a doctor?" Despite feminists' apparent ambivalence toward nursing, Malka finds that feminist analyses were being used by academic nurses to push for greater professional authority and autonomy in the 1960s and 1970s. In the second period, from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s, nurses' engagement with feminism shifted and became more explicit. Malka argues that Carol Gilligan's *In a Different Voice* (1982) provided a "bridge to feminism" for working nurses because it revalued feminine traits like nurturing and intimacy. The idea that nursing was a "moral activity" appealed to nurses who were increasingly "daring to care" on their own terms. Malka concludes that nursing identity underwent a critical shift in the post-war era that paralleled changing ideas about women and women's work.

Nursing education and hospital practice are Malka's key sites of analysis. Following Susan Reverby's notion of a "great transformation" that saw nursing shift from home-based care to hospital care in the twentieth century, Malka describes as the "second great transformation" the move of nursing education out of hospitals and into colleges and universities. Prior to this time nursing education consisted primarily of three-year courses

undertaken at hospital-affiliated schools where students learned through on-the-job training that was supplemented with occasional lectures. Students often lived on-site in a dormitory, which fostered a sense of community. This sense of community and nursing identity began to break down in the 1960s as student nurses increasingly found the curfews and discipline of hospital-affiliated schools restrictive. One particularly irksome ritual was "weigh-day" where students were subject to review of their physical appearance by supervisors.

Nursing began to open up to "under-represented populations" in the 1960s with the introduction of two-year Associate Diploma Nursing (ADN) programs in junior colleges. Up until this time approximately 97 percent of nursing graduates were white and 99 percent were female. ADN programs exacerbated a hierarchy within nursing, in which more skilled work was performed by Registered Nurses (RN), who were left to supervise entry-level ADNs and Licensed Practical Nurses (LPN). Some RNs felt that ADNs and LPNs threatened their professional status and autonomy and local nursing associations began to call for more university-based training for all nurses. The ADN/LPN/RN division and the diploma/degree debate raise questions of accessibility to nursing education. Malka tends to skim over such cases of discord and difference. Two cases, one concerning segregation of black students at a nursing school in the south and the second, involving an incident that saw a lesbian-interest group banned from American Nurses Association conferences, require further analysis. The author seems reluctant to criticize her subjects, and as a result fails to consider the role that nurses may themselves have played in gate-keeping their profession.

Ultimately, the push for more university-based training was successful and

hospital diploma programs were gradually closed. Nursing programs flourished within universities and led to the development of Masters and Doctoral programs in nursing. Malka argues that such specialization is evidence of the success of feminism because nurses were able to shed the image of "domestic servility" and develop a more patient-centred nursing theory. This new "nursing model focused on health not disease, the patient as a person, and the relationships promoted by caring and cooperation." (84)

The shift away from hospital-based education was accompanied by an increasingly open struggle for autonomy by working nurses. In the immediate post-war era many nurses had been trained to participate in what Leonard Stein called the "doctor-nurse game." The "game" was that "nurses provided help, information, recommendations, and even criticism, but in a covert manner that never challenged physicians' authority." (94) The development of nursing as an academic discipline had also opened the door for specialized nursing jobs, including "Nurse Practitioners" who took on tasks like monitoring blood pressure and heart rate in order to give doctors more time for diagnostics. Malka documents an ongoing power struggle over such designations, with doctors sometimes attempting to limit, or retain the right to supervise, nursing work. Here again, the author finds in nurses' willingness to be more aggressive and militant in staking out their ground, an indication of feminist influence.

Though power struggles between nurses and doctors continued to occur in the post-1985 period, Malka believes that nurses were less willing to play "the game." Citing a second Stein study, Malka argues that a growing emphasis on nursing autonomy and expertise in hospitals had put an end to the notion that nurses should be subservient to doctors. In the

post-1985 period nurses and doctors were also united by a common foe, managed care and Health Maintenance Organizations [HMOs]. Nurses argued that HMOs shifted hospitals' priorities away from caring for patients toward managing patients. While many nurses felt disillusioned by the new economics of caring, others benefited from changing hospital structures that saw nurses take leading roles in patient care. HMOs encouraged a "clinical pathways approach" in which nurses were responsible for following a patient through their hospital stay. This approach saw nurses taking on more autonomous roles as administrators, managers, and patient advocates. The discussion of managed care is the most compelling section of the book because it explores the complexities and contradictions encountered by working nurses.

Malka's challenge is to demonstrate how feminism impacted nursing when nurses didn't necessarily embrace feminism. Often her observations don't go beyond noting that an individual person was a feminist or acknowledged the influence of feminism. A more in-depth analysis might have considered the parallels between feminist activism and nursing more explicitly. Differences within feminism are also sometimes under-theorized. Does "difference feminism" alone encompass the nursing-feminist relationship? It is also unclear if and how nurses related to women's health movement initiatives such as *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, self-help culture, and abortion debates. Malka's claim that, after the 1980s, nurses practiced "caring feminism" is not convincing because it is not clear how feminism informed everyday nursing work and identities, other than in "spirit."

Some of the lingering questions about the nursing-feminist relationship relate to the authors' lack of reflexivity about her sources. Malka's rich source base includes academic nursing journals, oral histories,

"listserv" discussions, and school newsletters, but she does not explain to the reader how she used these documents. The reader must peruse the footnotes herself to discover which sources are being used in any given section, and no framework is offered to help the reader to understand their importance. Where *Daring to Care* does succeed is in its articulation of critical shifts in the work and education of nurses. Malka demonstrates that nurses themselves drove developments in nursing theory and practice in the past fifty years. Nursing's identity changed, from being a "temporary training program for motherhood," to a career requiring specialized skills and education. In this way, *Daring to Care* provides a useful introduction to American nursing since the 1960s, a period about which there is more to be written.

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**Kathleen M. Barry, *Femininity in Flight: A History of Flight Attendants* (Durham, NC : Duke University Press 2007)**

KATHLEEN BARRY'S fascinating study of the history of flight attendants offers another chapter in the story of women and job-typing, a story that follows in the footsteps laid by Dorothy Sue Cobble, Alice Kessler-Harris, Arlie Hochschild, Ruth Milkman, Barbara Melosh, Nancy Gabin, and other historians who have examined the ways in which women negotiated the prescribed gender roles in which the "manly" goal was earning a reasonable wage. All of these historians argue that women had to transgress what were decidedly "feminine" boundaries to gain economically. Barry's work on flight attendants demonstrates that this negotiation process was particularly difficult for women whose very jobs were created around "feminine" characteristics like

glamour, allure, care, service, and, by the 1970s, sex appeal, so that stewardesses' skill, drive, ambition, and sweat had to be hidden in order for them to be considered good at these "feminine" jobs.

When passenger flights first began in the late 1920s, airline executives had to decide who would attend to their new customers. Barry describes the ways in which airline executives' gendered and raced assumptions played a large part, if not the only part, in determining who would be best qualified for this new job. Black men, Barry argues, were the most obvious choice. Traveling by air was not that much different than traveling by rail. The job of "porter" had been created in the Jim Crow era when luxury meant, for white passengers, being served by black men. Despite the similarities, airline executives decided against hiring porters because they thought black men would not be able to inspire the calm authoritativeness crucial to winning over the first generation of largely white and male air travelers. Instead, airline executives thought young, white, military-esque "stewards" would inspire the confidence black men could not. In the late 1920s, a fleet of young, white men dressed in garb reminiscent of the military staffed the first commercial flights. They failed for several reasons, not the least of which was that they posed too much of a threat to pilots who wanted to make clear who was superior on the aircraft.

If not black men or young, white military-like men, then who? Barry uses industry publications, newspapers, journals, the *Literary Digest*, the *New York Times*, and other sources to demonstrate the ways in which the gendered expectations of the 1930s structured the new job "stewardess." The airlines turned to young, unmarried nurses. Who better, they thought, to instill calm in passengers than women trained to take care of ill patients, serve them, and show the



proper deference to doctors? The idea took off! The original position was built around the combination of professionalism inspired by nurses and the nurturing, deferential, care-oriented qualities inspired by ideas about femininity in the 1930s.

The professional status granted the position was fleeting. By the end of World War II, Barry explains, airlines dropped the nursing degree requirement and were subsequently flooded with applications from young women across the country. By the mid-1940s, airline stewardesses had helped define a kind of youthful, adventure-bound femininity that was steeped in daring but still remained within the bounds of acceptable femininity. What the job lacked in pay it was made up for with what Barry calls the "wages of glamour," a concept she links to David Roediger's use of the "wages of whiteness" to explain the appeal of low-paid "whites only" jobs. Stewardesses were additionally compensated by the relatively high status associated with the job's image and by the spill-over effect of serving passengers who were themselves high status businessmen. By the advent of the jet age, however, glamour and status could not make up for longer hours, a strictly enforced age ceiling and weight requirement, and the increased sexualization of the job. Stewardesses no longer felt it glamorous to serve over 100 passengers several rounds of drinks and two meals, walk an average of eight miles per shift, and attend to each businessman's unique needs, all while maintaining the image of a playboy bunny. In the years after World War II, some stewardesses turned to union organizing to improve their work lives.

Union-oriented stewardesses considered the AFL-CIO and its affiliates too blue collar, Barry explains, especially given the wage of glamour that was central to a stewardess's identity. By 1949, several

upstart locals, most chartered by pilots' unions, merged under the umbrella of the Airline Stewards and Stewardesses' Association (ALSSA) representing 3500 workers (there were a small number of stewards employed by the airlines, many of whom took on leadership roles within their locals). ALSSA hoped to re-install the professional status that was granted the first generation of nurse-stewardesses by demanding that the airlines and the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) require stewardesses and stewards to obtain the same safety clearance pilots, co-pilots, dispatchers, flight engineers, radio operators, and navigators received under the category "airmen." The FAA responded that certifying stewardesses would be an unnecessary burden, especially given the job's high turnover, and the airlines refused to acknowledge stewardesses' safety role. ALSSA, as Barry deftly describes, by fighting for professionalization, was taking on the inherently discriminatory ways in which the skill, prestige, and high pay associated with "professionals" were gendered male.

By the 1960s, the jet age had resulted in the further degradation of the job. Not only were stewardesses required to serve twice as many passengers, the airlines exploited the glamorous image the job stewardess had attained by adding a new twist in the context of the sexual revolution: stewardess as sex object. As the competition for passengers increased among the major and regional carriers, each airline tried to one up the other in terms of what its stewardesses had to offer. With slogans like, "Hi, I'm Cheryl, Come Fly Me," to the fashion shows stewardesses were required to stage in flight, each airline cashed in on sexual liberation by offering businessmen playboy bunnies for their pleasure. The mostly white stewardesses Barry describes challenged discrimination in stages. In the early to mid-1960s, stewardesses employed what

Barry calls the "politics of glamour" to challenge the airline industry's age limits. In a widely publicized "Hey, Look Us Over," campaign, Colleen Boland, the president of ALSSA, argued that age was irrelevant, that "older" stewardesses could do their jobs well and still look good. Barry argues that the successful campaign allowed men and women to "uphold equality in principle, while not necessarily questioning familiar notions of femininity."

By the 1970s and in the wake of the passage of Title VII, stewardesses turned to the court system to dismantle systemic gender discrimination. Within the context of the women's movement, stewardesses organized Stewardesses for Women's Rights (SFWR) and, working with sympathetic lawyers, proceeded on a case-by-case basis to gradually change the ways in which US courts and the American public defined discrimination. It was their skillful use of the courts, aided in the fight by the National Organization for Women, that finally resulted in the legal recognition of objectification as sex discrimination rather than a simple business tactic designed to improve sales.

Barry tells a fascinating story about the history of flight attendants and their success challenging deeply rooted gendered stereotypes that were largely invented by the airline industry to maximize profit and then exploited by air travelers and the public at large. Due to their success using Title VII to challenge these practices, we use the term "flight attendant" now rather than "stewardess," flight attendants are various heights and weights, are young and old, work on crews composed of women and men of all colours, and are not objectified for profit. These are not small accomplishments. One wonders, however, if the current conception of "flight attendant" is palatable to the airline industry and the flying public not only because of the valiant efforts of

flight attendants to break down those stereotypes but also because of the change in the customer base. The one shortcoming of Barry's otherwise fascinating and comprehensive study is the lack of a sustained analysis of the concurrent changes within the airline industry that may have moved executives to give up the fight. To be sure, the SFWR constituted a movement within the airline industry that, in conjunction with the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s, helped to change our very conception of femininity. By the mid-to-late 1970s, however, white businessmen, while still a large proportion of the flying public, were no longer the airlines' only customers. Offering businesswomen, fathers, mothers, and grandparents the opportunity to fly with a playboy bunny did not sell tickets; offering them a less sexualized flight attendant did and appealed to an increasingly socially conservative American public.

*Femininity in Flight* is well written and well researched. Kathleen Barry's work furthers our understanding of the ways in which gendered assumptions structured the workplace and how counter-assumptions helped, in this case, to restructure the workplace in less sexually exploitive ways. Barry's analysis of that restructuring helps us better understand the reactions by male trade unionists, pilots, airline executives, and female stewardesses as they worked to remake the very feminine identity around which the job stewardess was created. The book is essential reading for historians and students of the twentieth century in general and especially those interested in labour, gender, and/or women's history.

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**Jamie L. Bronstein, *Caught in the Machinery: Workplace Accidents and Injured Workers in Nineteenth-Century Britain*** (Stanford: Stanford University Press 2008)

IN THIS SHORT but ambitious book Jamie Bronstein explores multiple facets of workers' experience of workplace injuries in nineteenth-century England, including their access to compensation through both legal and non-legal means, the cultural meaning of accidents, the relation between work injury and the ideal of free labour, and the politics of legislated protection and employer liability. In addition, she compares the English experience with that of American workers, focusing on differences that she roots both in the timing of industrial development and the greater role that the discourse of free labour played in shaping regulatory developments in the United States. As is to be expected in any book with such broad ambitions, Bronstein succeeds better in some areas than others.

The first chapter provides a general overview of the hazards associated with the industrial revolution, focusing on the dangerous conditions workers faced on the railways and in coal mines and textile factories. While it is impossible to prove that industrialization quantitatively increased the level of risk to which workers were exposed or the incidence of work injuries, drawing on a wide range of primary and secondary sources Bronstein confirms the conclusion that other studies have reached: "the [nineteenth-century] workplace posed large and predictable dangers to its inhabitants." (8) Moreover, she also finds that there was little thought given to questions of worker safety in the design of production. (17)

The financial implications of work-related injuries and deaths were substantial for surviving workers and dependent family members, especially in an era

when compensation was anything but automatic. Bronstein's exploration of this aspect of workers' experience makes a major contribution by going beyond the question of legal liability and delving into the other options potentially available to disabled workers and their families. While it has been well known that some workers obtained charitable assistance from their employers, the public, or co-workers, to my knowledge this is the first study that systematically examines the full range of options.

The legal liability of employers for injuries to their employees is a well-worked field that continues to stimulate debate among scholars. The basic picture is clear. When faced with the unprecedented phenomenon of injured workers suing their employers for compensation, nineteenth-century judges in England and the United States constructed a trilogy of employer defenses that severely limited employers' liability: voluntary assumption of risk, the fellow-servant rule, and contributory negligence. Bronstein's primary focus is on the development of the fellow-servant rule, but she would have been better served by putting voluntary assumption of risk at the center of her discussion. The decision of Lemuel Shaw in the *Farwell* case, which firmly established the fellow-servant rule, made it clear that the reason why workers could not sue their employers for the negligence of fellow servants was that workers were presumed in law to have assumed the risk of being injured by their co-workers. Thus it was the principle of voluntary assumption of risk which became the lynchpin of the common law of employers' liability, the fellow-servant rule being one application of it.

The centrality of voluntary assumption of risk was firmly rooted in the *laissez-faire*, free-labour ideology that was supplanting older paternalistic conceptions of employment. Within this emerging framework, workers were constructed

as free agents who negotiated over risk and wages, and so the fact that they were working in hazardous workplaces gave rise to the legal presumption that they had agreed to assume the risk of being injured in exchange for the wage they received. Thus Shaw did not have to, and did not explicitly reject the older idea that employers owed a duty of care to their workers when they were injured, as Bronstein implies that he did. (23) For him, the more important question was how those duties were re-allocated by the contract of employment, the implied terms of which were to be derived from political economists' idealized conception of the operation of labour markets. As a result, since in principle the legal substratum of employer duties remained, employer liability could be and was revived by judicial or legislative narrowing or exclusion of the common-law defenses; new duties of care did not need to be imposed.

Bronstein's exploration of non-legal paths to compensation is less cluttered with the residue of scholarly debates since this subject has not received nearly the same attention as employer-liability law, making her contribution all the more welcome and valuable. While there have been numerous references to employer provision of compensation to injured workers, Bronstein provides the fullest survey of the practice, emphasizing the combination of Christian zeal and utilitarian calculus that supported employer paternalism both in England and the United States, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although Bronstein notes that later in the century corporate employers were less likely to provide voluntary compensation to injured workers, (34) she does not actually explore employer practices during this time period and consider whether they were affected by the growth of trade unions and the threat of legislative reform to employer-liability laws. Her

examination of the practices of public subscriptions in the aftermath of disasters and worker mutualism are similarly focused on the first half of the nineteenth century. Although Bronstein is fully cognizant of the limits of the "cold hand of charity," (32) and by no means romanticizes its practice, in the conclusion to her book she nevertheless wistfully notes the decline of "the idea that one should then send something to the families of the workers left behind..." (175)

Bronstein's most original contribution is in chapter three, which inquires into the cultural meanings of workplace accidents through a study of press reports, diaries, memoirs, sermons, and testimonies. Mainstream accident narratives reflected dominant cultural norms regarding appropriate gender behaviour in the face of tragedy, the necessity of sacrifice, and the role of providence. As a result, notwithstanding the extensive coverage of workplace accidents and especially disasters, and the vivid depiction of the physical, psychological, and financial suffering they caused to workers and their families, these narratives did not produce widespread demand for either legislative reform to reduce hazardous working conditions or for fairer compensation laws. Bronstein finds, however, evidence that an alternative narrative was being constructed in the nascent labour press and in workers' memoirs and testimony before government inquiries. For male workers, disablement deprived them not just of the full use of their bodies, but of their social identity as breadwinners, so it was no wonder that the financial implications of work accidents loomed large in their accounts. Notably, Bronstein presents no evidence on white working women's experience of work injuries. Perhaps this is because the evidentiary record is silent, but it would be helpful to explain why women only appear in this discussion as wives and mothers.

A recurring theme in the book is the paradox of free labour. The construction of workers as the juridical equals of their employers and the legal presumption that workers voluntarily assumed the risk of injuries from dangers in the workplace that they knew or ought reasonably to have known was premised on their status as free labourers who make rational decisions about the trade-offs between pay and risk. But as Bronstein points out, not all workers fit this model, particularly children, women and, in the United States, slaves. Paradoxically, the degraded status of women and children as persons who were not capable of making rational choices benefited them legally and politically through more favourable treatment in employer-liability suits and in the earlier enactment of protective legislation. Bronstein wisely avoids the unproductive debate over whether the benefits of special protection outweighed the costs.

More controversial is Bronstein's discussion of the ideology of free labour as it related to adult white men. Bronstein argues that employers were inconsistent when they claimed that workers' free agency absolved employers of any responsibility for hazardous working conditions and the injuries that materialized from them, while they simultaneously described their workers as habitually careless and thus the cause of most workplace accidents. This is surely problematic; it was precisely because of the belief that adult male workers were responsible for their own actions that their carelessness made them morally and legally responsible for the resulting injuries in their employers' eyes. Women and children were careless too, but that was understood to be a result of their nature and so, unlike men, who were capable of behaving as rational market actors, women and children deserved protection from the state.

Even more problematic is Bronstein's

claim that adult male workers' embrace of their free-labour status inhibited them from turning to law and the state for protection and compensation. Bronstein presents little direct evidence for this proposition and underplays evidence of adult men asserting a right to bodily integrity that arguably contradicts her claim. In particular, she does not discuss the incidence of employer-liability litigation by injured adult men, even in the face of rules that severely limited the likelihood of success. Nor does she address the movement for factory legislation which protected adult men from unfenced machinery and other hazards. The enactment of coal-mine safety legislation is acknowledged but explained as exception, arising from the fact that colliers were subject to imprisonment for breach of contract and thus more cognizant that they were not truly free agents. (120) What this ignores is that English workers generally were subject to master and servant laws that made their breaches of employment contracts criminal offences until 1875. In short, her conclusion that it was only by the 1870s that "working men realized that free agency could only take them so far" (124) seems to over-estimate the extent to which male English workers were blinded by the ideology of free labour that was so ardently embraced by their employers and the majority of judges and politicians who shaped the legal and political terrain on which their claims to a right to bodily integrity had to be made. Workers often contested ideological tropes, such as the "rights of free-born Englishmen," and made claims that were unacceptable to their employers under the same banner. This would seem to be an area in which more research is required before firm conclusions can be drawn.

The final chapter addresses the development of protective legislation and reform of the compensation system, with

the emphasis on the later. Like the common law, this is well-traveled terrain and Bronstein traverses it well, although her exposition stops somewhat abruptly with the passage of the Employers' Liability Act of 1880, which limited the employers' common-law defenses, rather than continuing to 1897 and the passage of a no-fault workers' compensation statute. Of course, the question of when to stop is always somewhat arbitrary, but in this case her decision undermines the English-United States comparison that Bronstein wishes to make. It also contributes to an element of confusion over what Bronstein means when she speaks of workers' compensation. Is it common-law reform or its replacement with a no-fault compensation scheme? In either case, the differences in timing are somewhat shorter than Bronstein indicates. The first US employer-liability legislation was enacted in Massachusetts in 1887, seven years after the English Act, and the first US no-fault statute was enacted in Maryland in 1902, five years after the English legislation (although widespread and constitutionally valid legislation was not enacted in the US until 1910–1911). Are these differences in timing as historically significant as Bronstein claims? Moreover, the analysis is not well served by the book's structure, which contains a long chapter analyzing English developments to 1880 followed by an epilogue in which comparisons are made on the basis of a very truncated discussion of American developments.

In sum, the value of the book is in some sense greater than the sum of its parts. Bronstein's examination of the paths to compensation and of the cultural meanings of workplace accidents provides new insights into nineteenth-century Anglo-American workers' experience of the physical toll imposed on workers' bodies during the rise of industrial capitalism. As well, her discussion of free labour should

stimulate further research into the extent to which workers were prisoners of their aspirations to be full and independent citizens or whether they developed alternative conceptions of citizenship that included a right to bodily integrity.

ERIC TUCKER  
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**Elizabeth Darling and Lesley Whitworth, *Women and the Making of Built Space in England, 1870–1950*** (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited 2007)

THIS COLLECTION of essays, which originated in the 2002 workshop of the Centre for Urban Culture at the University of Nottingham, sets out to offer “innovative interpretations of the changing vistas and material culture of day-to-day life” grounded in “historical description with a particular focus on architecture and design.” (3) The contributors include scholars of art and design, an architectural historian, an urban historian, two historians of modern Britain, and two scholars of English literature. The essays are organized roughly in chronological order. There are two papers on Octavia Hill; two on exhibits (the Loan Exhibit of Women's Industries in Bristol in 1885 and the Ideal Home Exhibit in 1939); and several on the political impact of women on housing reform. Most, although not all, of the articles are about ways in which the working-class home could be improved.

The collection does recapture the participation of women in built culture. There is ample attention given to female luminaries such as the aforementioned famous housing philanthropist Octavia Hill and the architect Sadie Speight. At the same time, the suggestions of ordinary women for improving domestic space are not neglected. For example Lesley Whitworth explores the brief contri-

bution of a Housewives Committee to the Council on Industrial Design (1945–7) and Gillian Scott analyzes the influence of the Women's Co-operative Guild on the *Dudley Report on Housing* (1944). In reclaiming the voices of women, high and low, these essays are very successful.

One of the stated aims of the collection – to look at the material culture of everyday life – is less successfully realized. To be fair, material culture is a slippery term. But in the historical sense of using the physically concrete to reveal abstract aspects of the shared experience of the past, the essays are more uneven. One exceptionally fine contribution is “Everything Whispers of Wealth and Luxury: Observation, Emulation and Display in the Well-to-do Late Victorian Home” by Trevor Keeble. Drawing on the diary of Emily Hall and letters of Maud Messel, Keeble takes on the still controversial separate sphere construction. In Hall's case he finds that in considering an architect's plans for an addition to her Kent home in 1869, Hall cared very much about her friends' opinions. Similarly, Maud Messel's letters, 30 years later, reveal a great deal of description of other people's homes, often suffused with moral judgments linked to their decoration. Keeble posits, convincingly, that the idea of home as a private sphere is “challenged by evidence of the participation of others in the decoration and furnishing of it.” (82) Strangely, given the importance of domestic things in defining middle-class gender, Keeble's essay is the only contribution that examines middle-class built space.

Most contributions focus on working-class homes. Here it is striking that the advice offered by women to other women (often via government committees) was frequently impractical. For example, the Women's Co-operative Guild advised the wartime government that women wanted hot water, central heating, electricity,

fridges and stoves, and tiled kitchens. Clearly, not all of this could be achieved because of the expense alone. The *Dudley Report* recommended electricity and hot water, but ruled out fridges and central heating. In other instances aesthetic recommendations betray a lack of deep understanding of the day-to-day lives of working-class women. Elizabeth Darling describes “the House that is a Woman's Book Come True.” Displayed at the 1939 Ideal Home Exhibit and designed by a team of women, it featured light colours such as oyster-coloured walls at a time when dark colours for paint and flooring prevailed. Darling notes that both the press and upper-class observers praised the new designs. But to historians of the home, the designs present an obvious dilemma. Although the designers took care to include surfaces that were easy to clean, they appeared not to appreciate the reasons women usually opted for dark colours. Aesthetics had nothing to do with it. Coal-fired heating produced grey soot which was a ubiquitous problem for housewives. Thus advice books for middle-class housewives typically cautioned women not to place the tablecloth for dinner on the table after clearing the breakfast dishes lest the cloth turn grey by 5 o'clock. Pale colours for the working-class home, however cheerful, would have added to the household work. It was a problem not truly rectified until the Clean Air Act of 1956. Similarly, Karen Hunt's “Gendering the Politics of the Working Woman's Home” highlights the impracticality of some advice offered to women. Hunt looks at the suggestions of socialist women such as Katherine Bruce Glasier in the Edwardian period. In an effort to reduce the daily grind of household labour and to apply co-operative strategies to get the work done more efficiently, one suggestion was using communal kitchens and using washhouses with paid washerwomen. Hunt acknowl-

edges that these options were hard to sell to working-class women, but more of the historical context of these solutions might have shed even more light on them. After all, the Bath Act of 1846 had tried to move washing clothes outside the home without success over sixty years before. At that time, women complained that they wasted time queuing and that they could not multi-task while doing the laundry if they had to take it out and pick it up which lost them time to accomplish other household work. Some of the laundry was stolen or lost. It is not at all clear that any of these problems were different 60 years later. Advice, just because it came from other women, was not necessarily good advice.

Ultimately, this is a readable collection about housing and the contribution of women to it. It is very good at surveying the small contributions of often anonymous women to housing reform between 1870 and 1950 and it points to areas that might be further developed by historians of material culture.

LORI LOEB

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**Judy Giles, *The Parlour and the Suburb: Domestic Identities, Class, Femininity and Modernity* (Oxford and New York: Berg 2004)**

IN WESTERN THOUGHT, modernity has long been associated with masculinity. According to such major writers as Marshall Berman, George Orwell, and even Virginia Woolf, a modern subjectivity is only achieved once one leaves behind one's domestic, feminine safe haven and strikes out into the urban unknown. In this conception of modernity, to be feminine is to be outside modernity. It is to be irrational, overly-nurturing, and conformist.

It is now time, suggests Judy Giles in

*The Parlour and the Suburb*, to challenge modernity's masculinity. Instead of contending – as do some recent theorists – that we must move beyond the male-centric modern paradigm toward a more multi-gendered postmodernity, Giles argues that we must look at how women experienced modernization. Between 1900 and 1960 white middle- and working-class women in Britain formed modern subjectivities, just as much as did their male counterparts. Yet because many of these women experienced modernization in the domestic sphere rather than in the world of waged labour, their transformation has been overlooked.

Arguing that intellectuals' disdain for the suburbs is predicated on a masculine desire to escape what is perceived as cloying domestic femininity, Giles states that scholars must probe the realities behind the stereotypes of suburbia. Whereas such thinkers as Stephen Taylor and George Orwell portrayed suburban women as "slovenly" and "lump[s] of pudding," respectively, suburban women viewed their neighbourhoods as sites of modernity, where they could build better lives than the ones they left behind. (43) Urban working-class women who moved to the new housing developments after World War I especially saw the suburbs this way. With childhoods characterized by crowded conditions, poor sanitation, outdoor privies, and in some cases disease and abuse, these women welcomed suburbia as a place where they could raise their children in secure, stable, and healthy surroundings. They saw themselves as modern, just as much as did the intellectuals who waxed poetic about their own urbane resistance to conformity.

Though they both moved to the suburbs, bourgeois and working-class women experienced modernity differently. For the first group, it involved a loss of status and a subsequent re-creation of identity. Nineteenth-century middle-class women



prided themselves on being mistresses of their homes. Managing servants and children effectively, they drew status from their dual employer-mother role. When twentieth century working-class women abandoned domestic service, middle-class women lost their mistress status and became housewives. In an effort to distinguish themselves from working-class wives, they began spending more time than their working-class counterparts on food preparation, home decoration, and needlework. According to bourgeois women, these activities demonstrated their inherent creativity, motherliness, and intelligence. Consumerism, too, became incorporated into bourgeois women's domestic roles. To be a skilled homemaker was to be budget-conscious and yet still able to decorate one's home and clothe one's family with tasteful commodities.

Giles does not spend a lot of time on women's employment activities, but she does suggest that working-class women's abandonment of domestic service in favour of more independent posts in factories, stores, and offices illustrated their modern determination to take charge of their destinies. Similarly, when working-class women moved from crowded urban neighbourhoods into leafy suburbs, they believed they were abandoning poverty and deprivation, and entering a more secure and healthy world. This was especially the case after World War II. In the late 1940s and 1950s, not only politicians but women's groups embraced the idea of the citizen homemaker. They argued that homemaking and mothering were crucial activities that brought security, comfort, and morality back to British life. According to Giles, working-class women relished their status as mothers of the nation, seeing their nurturing work as a way to contribute to the public good, and also as personally satisfying.

After its insightful exploration of

domestic modernization, *The Parlour and the Suburbs* ends on a controversial note. Arguing that feminists who came of age in the 1960s and 1970s embraced the masculine ideal of modern autonomy and hence devalued domesticity, Giles states that it is time for feminists to re-evaluate their positions on homemaking. To illustrate the need for this re-evaluation, she offers an analysis of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), which circulated among British women in the sixties and seventies. Friedan's argument that women must escape the suburbs and find liberation in work and education rests on the belief that domesticity is stultifying drudgery. According to Giles, however, this is a specifically middle-class premise. Working-class women did not feel the same need as their bourgeois counterparts for a private life apart from their families. They also did not value formal education, which Giles states is based on patriarchal western thought and not as empowering as Friedan argued. Further, Giles shows that homemakers were not as passive or unsatisfied as Friedan posited. Not only did they frequently ignore the messages of mass advertising, they also participated in local, regional, and national social and political organizations.

For all of these reasons, argues Giles, Friedan was wrong to argue that suburban women needed to escape domesticity to achieve liberation. Many suburban women in fact felt liberated already, for in their modern homes they were able to pursue lives they found fulfilling. Instead of castigating homemakers for their decisions to withdraw from paid labour and education, Giles suggests that feminists should attempt to understand these women's subjectivities. Perhaps it is in these women's embracing of feminine modernity, rather than in feminists' embracing of masculine modernity, that we can find a new direction for feminism.

In contending that the decision to stay

home and raise children might not be so anti-feminist after all, Giles is wading into the treacherous waters of what the American press has recently and salaciously dubbed the Mommy Wars. In these wars' most sensationalist guises, stay-at-home mothers "face off" against employed mothers about women's proper roles in modern life. Such depictions of battles between women are lurid attempts to sell copy, and are anti-feminist in that they pit women against women. At the same time, it must be recognized that many North American women are divided on this issue, as the fallout from Linda Hirshman's book *Get to Work: A Manifesto for Women of the World* (2006) indicates. If Giles's argument that British working-class women saw staying at home as a viable option that did not compromise their participation in modernity is correct, then perhaps she is also correct to suggest that second-wave feminists must re-evaluate their aversions to full-time homemaking.

The difficulty here is that the evidence Giles provides to support this argument is sometimes thin. Most of her analyses of working-class women's subjectivities rests on interviews with four women. Though perceptive and insightful, this small sample may not be representative of all British working-class women. Granted, it is difficult to conduct historical research on subjectivities, for these are constantly shifting and often unrecorded. Nonetheless, Giles at times relies on assumptions instead of demonstrable findings, as she herself acknowledges in a discussion of the post-war citizen homemaker: "While there is no hard evidence that women's aspirations for the future were directly influenced by this rhetoric, it is possible to speculate that many women invested their aspirations for self-identity in this newly valorized role." (134)

Apart from issues of evidence, Giles's criticism of what she sees as second-wave

feminists' disdain for the home is problematic because Giles tends to equate modernity with liberation, implying that to perceive oneself as modern is to also perceive oneself as liberated. Though it might be true that some modern thinkers such as Orwell, Berman, and Woolf thought of modernity in this way, it is also true that many feminist scholars have now recognized modernity's oppressive aspects, including its masculinity, and are trying to move toward a more inclusive sensibility (though it remains to be seen whether this sensibility will acknowledge race and class privilege).

Moreover, Giles tends to downplay the oppressive aspects of homemaking. She acknowledges that isolated suburban homes can be sites of abuse and loneliness, and she recognizes that the second-wave feminist push for women's entry into the workforce was caused by real experiences of deprivation and marginalization. She does not however explore these issues in depth. Giles also does not investigate what some feminists see as the main inequality in the male breadwinner/female homemaker family: the husband's ownership of a paycheque. It is true that many families work out various egalitarian ways to deal with this issue, from the wife's handling of funds to joint bank accounts. Yet it is also true that the housewife's power over family finances depends on the husband's endorsement of this power. Due to her financial dependence, it remains to be seen whether the modern western housewife is truly liberated.

Despite making some questionable arguments, *The Parlour and the Suburbs* does contribute to cultural studies scholarship. Rescuing British housewives from the condescension of modernist intellectuals, and suggesting that modernization occurred in both the city and the suburbs, it reveals that many British women participated in modernity's projects. *The*

*Parlour and the Suburbs* also displays a tender sensitivity toward working-class women's aspirations and circumstances, and argues convincingly that bourgeois and middle-class white British women experienced modernization differently. Indeed, it is Giles's forceful argument that working-class women's experiences must be integrated into broader narratives of modernity that is the book's finest achievement.

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**Lucy Robinson, *Gay Men and the Left in Post-War Britain: How the Personal Got Political* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2007)**

FULL DISCLOSURE – I don't know this author but I have had a long-standing fascination with the subject of her book: the gay left in Britain. It's not that there haven't been home-grown moments of conjuncture between socialism and gay liberation in Canada. There have been, and the on-going work of sociologist Debbie Brock promises to bring this important history into view. But nothing quite compares to the rich class traditions in Britain that gave rise to groups, such as the Gay Left Collective or Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners, and nourished cultural productions like *Lesbian and Gay Socialist, Rouge*, or the music of the Communards.

Using the history of gay men's often tortured relationship to the left, Robinson's broad interest is in tracing how the personal got political in the post-war period. That world-changing slogan – "the personal is political" – is usually associated with second-wave feminism, but the women's movement, while not entirely absent here, is strangely marginal. Ditto for lesbians. Robinson's focus is on gay men, but given that many

of these men were active in the lesbian/gay liberation movement, the absence of lesbians seems odd. Robinson makes no use of recent historical work – Marc Stein's *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves* springs immediately to mind – that explores the complicated history of cooperation and conflict between lesbians and gay men, especially in the early, heady days of 'coming together.'

Robinson is particularly interested in demonstrating the reciprocal influence of the left on gay liberation and of "liberational" (sic) movements on the left. One of those tasks proves easier than the other. Robinson shows how the exodus of gay men from the revolutionary left throughout the 1970s, a significant loss for the left, represented a gain for gay lib in terms of political analysis and activist energy. But to suggest, citing E.P. Thompson's book on William Morris, that nineteenth-century utopian socialism lay behind gay experiments in communal living during the early 1970s is a bit of a stretch.

Robinson is on firmer ground when tracing the impact of sexual politics on the left. She does so not just within the Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain, but also in the far-left groupings of Trotskyists, Maoists, anarchists, and others. A relatively comprehensive understanding of the class-based left is one of the book's major strengths. Robinson dissects the divergent trajectories of 1970s Trotskyist groups, distinguishing the International Marxist Group's concrete support for gay lib from what she regards as the more uneven efforts of the Socialist Labour League/Workers Revolutionary Party and the International Socialists/Socialist Workers Party. Robinson's careful and never uncritical differentiations are a refreshing change from the tendency, particularly pronounced in gay politics, to regard the left as one monolithic mass.

Throughout, Robinson contrasts the "workerism" of the organized left with the "identity politics" of the gay movement. She is keen to locate moments when the two came into contact, such as during the massive 1971 demonstrations against the Heath government's anti-union Industrial Relations Bill. The London Gay Liberation Front included a statement opposing the Bill in its list of principles, but when GLF members joined IS-organized marches against the Bill, they were asked to march at the back of the demonstration. For gay men, this was a sign they weren't wanted on the revolutionary voyage and after considerable effort at pushing far-left groups to get with a gay-left program, many jumped ship. For Robinson, while remaining more open to the left than many commentators, gay identity also often trumps workerism. Robinson is critical, for example, of the revolutionary left's restriction of gay politics to workplace issues, a tendency viewed as the far-left's failure to fully embrace a more expansive understanding of gay/lesbian existence. But what is really so wrong about addressing gay people as workers, especially now that the days are long gone when the GLF or the Gay Left Collective included the struggles of working people in their manifestos?

Robinson quotes one gay man who recalled how, despite the march organizers' attempts to marginalize gay people, he felt embraced by fellow IRB protestors, particularly Durham miners. This experience would be recaptured during the coal mining strike of the mid-1980s for those involved with Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners and the people of the mining community of Dulais. Naturally Robinson discusses this campaign, one I'll admit I still can't read about without getting choked up. Equally moving is the career of Allan Horsfall, an openly gay, working-class man who during the 1950s organized homophile groups and a "Buggers

Club" with the acceptance of ordinary working people, if not of the trade union leadership, in the industrial towns he moved through as a labour activist. These are fragments of a specifically gay/working-class experience. I wish Robinson had explored them further, for they challenge what she designates as a disabling politics "constrained by either class or identity" (194) by highlighting how for some people, class, no less than gayness, is an identity. They also underscore the foolhardiness of trying to boil down an individual's social-political identifications to just one element. And for those quick to assign blame for reductionist conceptions of identity and politics on the Marxist left Robinson writes about, keep in mind that Marx himself never understood things in this way. Workers were more than simply the sum of their jobs and workplaces; for Marx, workerist identity was a distorting effect of capitalism, something to be transcended not reified.

For a book that follows how the personal got political, Robinson is notably restrained when examining how in these neo-liberal times gay politics has become overly personalized and married to the marketplace. In the conclusion, she does note "the shrinking of the political agenda into the minutiae of personal experience" and "the growth in consumerism over politics in the gay community," (188) but rather than develop these crucial points, she gets sidetracked, ending with a long discussion of youth voting patterns. In many ways, the early Gay Liberation Front had a clearer understanding of the dangers, cultivating the radical potential of the personal as political all the while remaining critical of its limitations. Robinson quotes a certain Jeffrey Weeks who asked in 1972, "Can freaking out, tripping and political drag really subvert society? ... Can a long individual ego trip really contribute much to the downfall of capitalism?" Substitute gay marriage

for freaking out and ego tripping and the questions remain as vital as ever.

In the end, I'm not sure how much, apart from her attention to the revolutionary left, Robinson's book advances the study of her subject. In terms of sources, it doesn't uncover much new, relying primarily on previously available oral histories and memoirs. Her use of "emblematic characters" (55) as an approach fails to satisfy; individuals are passed over too quickly to get a deep sense of their dreams and dilemmas. The book's inclusion in Manchester University Press's "Critical Labour Movement Studies" series (a press that apparently lacks any copy editors to weed out the dozens of grammatical mistakes and poorly constructed sentences in this book) may serve a useful purpose in taking these ideas to a new audience. As for me, I suspect I'll be returning to good old Jeffrey Weeks.

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**Nancy Locklin, *Women's Work and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Brittany***  
(Aldershot: Ashgate 2007)

NANCY LOCKLIN'S WORK provides a detailed and nuanced analysis of women's work and personal lives in eighteenth-century Brittany. Drawing on a wide variety of source materials, from demographic statistics found in head tax roles, to court cases and personal correspondence, she draws a broad picture of the activities of early modern Breton women. Locklin offers a careful reading which negotiates the tensions between conventional understandings of the constraints and limitations experienced by early modern women and a broader interpretation that recognizes women's resourcefulness and tenacity, even in the face of substantial cultural and institutional barriers. Thus,

while she can acknowledge the value and importance of studies that have posited the powerful structural limitations that circumscribed women's lives, she is also interested in demonstrating the ways that women have managed to successfully navigate within those confines.

Locklin's methodological approach and ultimate conclusions are both founded on the basic premise that women's lives are far more complex than their gender alone might suggest. "While studying women," she observes, "we must try to ignore the fact that our subjects are women." (2) She suggests that this more broadly based perspective opens up new possibilities for assessing women's activities and enables a different window into the past. This approach was necessary from a methodological perspective; Locklin acknowledges that her archival sources were weak when examined through the lens of gender, but rich when assessed from the perspective of work. It has also influenced her conclusion, namely that gender, while relevant, was not the only factor that shaped women's work lives and identities. Rather, it was but one of a complex series of layers that shaped Breton women's work and identity during this period.

The cultural specificity of Brittany as a region is central to making her case. Pointing out that Breton laws and customs were different from the rest of France, Locklin argues that Breton women were exempt from some of the more rigid constraints faced by French women and enjoyed a more prominent role in legal affairs. While women elsewhere had few, if any, property rights, for example, Breton laws and customs ensured that women retained full control over their dowries for just over a year, had equal access to inheritances through a partible inheritance system, and, in the case of unmarried woman property owners, were able to designate other women

to inherit their property. Breton women also appeared to enjoy educational benefits. Brittany had higher literacy levels than other areas and women had access to convent school educations as well as to apprenticeships. Women could be trained by other women, and unmarried women and widows had full authority over their apprentices. In addition to this, a married woman active in a family business often received extensive training and preparation in order to ensure a smooth transition in the likely event of her husband's premature death.

Locklin organizes her research into four sections. In the first, she offers a quantitative study of the women of Brittany. In addition to looking at their marital status, occupations, and households in both urban and rural environments, she offers an overview of the various life stages for early modern Breton women. The second chapter offers a detailed assessment of women's work lives. Central to this chapter is Locklin's observation that work was an integral aspect of Breton women's identity. Equally important is her interest in outlining the nature of that work. Locklin's research suggests that women were engaged in a wide range of work-related activities, many of which were governed by a corporate guild system. More intriguing, however, is the fact that they operated both in conformity with and defiance of these corporate structures. Women successfully initiated legal petitions for membership in guilds, organized into collective fronts when necessary, and took prominent work roles outside the guild system altogether. In some situations, notably the case of the bakers of Brest (the majority of whom were women), "the lack of a formal guild was essentially an advantage for women working there." (63)

In the third chapter, Locklin examines the legal situation of Breton women, outlining the merits of the partible inheri-

tance system. She argues that this system gave women broader access to – and control of – resources, thus enabling them to take more prominent roles in the Breton economy and society. Such benefits were particularly advantageous to single or widowed women. Indeed, while the activities of such women might have been limited by the economic or social situation of the region, there were no official legal barriers to their autonomy. Nevertheless, she points out that authorities generally held a limited view of women's social and cultural role.

Social custom and honour are the focus of the fourth chapter. As in the previous chapters, Locklin is keen to demonstrate the slippages between the perspectives and prescriptions of cultural authorities, on the one hand, and the ideas and activities of women, on the other. Thus, while seventeenth- and eighteenth-century prescriptive literature recommends women's almost complete seclusion in the private sphere, women's actual activities during this period included not only active working lives, but also the cultivation and development of a variety of networks and friendships. Such social networks provided women with opportunities to meet potential marriage partners, but also to develop further work prospects; in other words, such relationships enabled women to make choices about their lives. Drawing a link between a woman's legal situation and her informal networks, Locklin suggests that the various legal cases clearly demonstrate the extent of women's social activities: women were in contact with friends, neighbours, colleagues and others on a regular basis. They were, in many respects, deeply involved and engaged members of their communities and relied on neighbours and friends for support in difficult times. Locklin recounts the stories of neighbours helping women friends outwit legal authorities, either by cunning or by force, and also observes that women

often roomed and worked together. This is not to suggest that women always supported one another. Indeed, Locklin's research demonstrates quite the opposite. For each woman who was helped by a neighbour, colleague, or friend, there were also women who organized against other women. As Locklin suggests, "it was not uncommon to find women engaged in collective action against other women." (136) What emerges from her portrait is a society governed by complex social and cultural norms and customs.

As a whole, this book offers a detailed perspective on women's work and identity in eighteenth-century Brittany. The author's careful research opens up a new window into the lives of Breton women, and offers valuable insights into the economic history of early modern French women. However, I found myself troubled by Locklin's insistence on the positive. While she is right to point out that women had numerous ways of negotiating the conventions that limited their activities, thus crafting viable lives for themselves, her research also suggests that they were also subject to stringent censure for overstepping – or appearing to overstep – the bounds of acceptable behavior. Even in the more promising legal environment of Brittany, where women enjoyed a variety of benefits that were not available to other French women, they still faced social and cultural barriers that had a profound impact on their work and personal lives. If the Breton case is unique, as Locklin argues, might this be a case of the exception proving the rule? Certainly, Locklin's concluding statements are more ambiguous and guarded. I will look forward to reading more regional studies in the future.

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**Nina Bandelj, *From Communists to Foreign Capitalists: The Social Foundations of Foreign Direct Investment in Postsocialist Europe***  
(Princeton: Princeton University Press 2008)

THE END OF THE 20TH century witnessed two parallel historical transformations: the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe and an unprecedented rise in global capital mobility. The intersection of these historic shifts provides the empirical setting for Bandelj's important comparative study of the factors that shaped patterns of foreign direct investment (FDI) in the postsocialist region during the 1990s. Which countries were more successful in attracting foreign investment and why? What does this case tell us about processes of capital mobility in a global economy?

Bandelj begins with a state-of-the-art review of economic sociology, and brings this literature to bear on the novel question of foreign investment in the postsocialist region. From this literature, Bandelj derives a set of testable hypotheses about why patterns of foreign investment are unlikely to follow neoclassical rules of economic exchange. Though at times she oversimplifies what she calls instrumentalist theories of market processes, she nevertheless presents a cogent and provocative alternative for understanding patterns of foreign investment. Specifically, she argues that social structures, cultural understandings, and power relations are more likely to shape decisions about where to invest than means and ends calculations about profits.

Bandelj convincingly argues that instrumental profit calculations are impracticable in contexts of extreme uncertainty, which characterized the early years of the postsocialist transformation. During the 1990s, property rights, legal structures, and political alliances were volatile, mak-

ing it impossible for investors to calculate the potential risks and future returns of investments. Thus, decision-makers had to rely on alternative mechanisms – including social ties and shared cultural understandings – when making decisions about where to invest. Importantly, Bandelj also considers constraints imposed on Western investors by host countries. She argues that, despite conventional wisdom that global capitalists wield power to invest wherever they wish, foreign investment is always relational and investors must navigate potential cultural and political resistance to their efforts.

The true strength of the book lies in the three empirical chapters, in which Bandelj tests these provocative theoretical propositions using a range of comparative data, including various longitudinal cross-country data sources as well as detailed case studies and interview data. In Chapter 3, the first empirical chapter, Bandelj examines how postsocialist states pursued varied cultural and political strategies in order to legitimize foreign investment as a means of economic development. Importantly, some states were much quicker to adopt these strategies and were more aggressive about institutionalizing FDI due to differences in the political commitments of ruling parties, the strength of economic nationalism, the legacy of socialist era institutions, and varying pressures from transnational institutions. Bandelj finds that not only did economic characteristics of countries play a minor role in predicting FDI, but those states that went further in legitimizing FDI were more successful in securing foreign investment relative to many of their neighbors.

In Chapter 4, Bandelj considers how transnational social networks and existing relations between countries contribute to investment flows. Specifically, she tests the impact of political alliances, migration and trade networks, and cultural ties

between investors and host countries on the likelihood of investment. She finds that existing social networks provide an important mechanism through which information flows encourage investment. Once again she finds that social mechanisms – rather than objective economic characteristics – are the strongest indicator of foreign investment.

Finally, in Chapter 5, Bandelj uses a detailed case study to explore the ways in which social processes operate to constrain or encourage investment at the level of the firm. Her case study follows a failed and subsequently successful investment effort, and reveals the importance of social networks between foreign investors and firm-level actors in assisting – or, in some cases impeding – investment attempts. Overall her analysis of the importance of cultural and political ties in constituting market relationships shows the inadequacy of traditional profit-maximization explanations for market transactions.

The implications of Bandelj's findings are far-reaching and challenge several conventional assumptions about market processes. For instance, while many scholars have argued that states play a declining role in the face of the increasing power of global capital, Bandelj's analysis shows that states continue to play a critical role in constituting foreign investment as a legitimate form of economic exchange. States legitimize foreign investment through formal policies that encourage investments, as well as by facilitating investment through the establishment of national agencies. Importantly, Bandelj shows that under certain conditions states may also constrain the efforts of foreign capitalists, reinforcing her argument that foreign investment is relational and dependent on the institutional, cultural, and political traditions of both sides of the exchange.

Furthermore, her findings highlight



the importance of understanding the social embeddedness of markets at every level of the global economy. Some may be tempted to argue that the political turbulence and economic uncertainty during the first years of postsocialism make her analysis of the social embeddedness of markets exceptional and thereby non-generalizable. However, dismissing this case on these grounds would overlook the critical contributions of Bandelj's analysis. Many scholars have identified inherent sources of uncertainty and instability in a global economy. Thus, rather than analyzing a unique exception to the rule, Bandelj relies on the unique aspects of the postsocialist case to identify the critical importance of social processes in reproducing the neoliberal global order.

The primary weakness in an otherwise exemplary study is Bandelj's neglect of the impact of labour on the level of foreign investment in the postsocialist region. Though Bandelj tests several competing hypotheses in addition to her own to explain patterns of foreign investment, she does not thoroughly analyze the impact of labour. This omission is particularly puzzling for readers of this journal as well as for scholars of the labour-related causes and consequences of global capital mobility. A prevailing thesis for explaining patterns of foreign investment is that decision makers seek to lower labour costs by identifying states or regions with favourable labour laws, low labour costs, high labour productivity, and weak trade unions. Countries in Central and Eastern Europe vary a great deal on all of these characteristics. Thus an important test of this thesis would consider the explanatory power of these factors on patterns of investment. However, Bandelj limits her test of country-specific economic characteristics to GDP per capita and growth rates, inflation rates, infrastructural indicators, education, and unemployment rates. Without

examining the status of organized labour and other labour-related country characteristics, Bandelj's conclusion that FDI is not dependent on economic characteristics of host countries is somewhat undermined.

Despite this omission, however, Bandelj more than convinces the reader that analyses of market processes are deficient unless they consider the social and relational basis of economic exchange. Bandelj's work shows that social processes are far more than the backdrop upon which market activities take place. Rather, markets are themselves social constructions, constituted and reproduced by social structures, cultural understandings, and power relations. While the book is a must read for scholars of postsocialism, it will also be of interest to economic sociologists and scholars and students of globalization, capital mobility and foreign investment, economic change, and economic development.

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**Nivedita Menon and Aditya Nigam,**  
*Power and Contestation: India Since 1989* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing; London and New York: Zed Books 2007)

THIS BOOK IS A great introduction to the complex contradictions that make up contemporary India. *Power and Contestation* is part of the "World History of the Present" Series, which uses 1989 or the end of the Cold War as a turning point. However, instead of looking for a grand narrative of contemporary global history, the series highlights the unique perspectives and trends within individual countries and regions as they unfold in the broader context of international developments such as democracy, terrorism, nationalism, and globalization.

The authors of *Power and Contestation* claim that their analysis applies a combination of post-national and “New Left” perspectives, with a feminist thread running through the book. However, their approach is also reminiscent of the Subaltern Studies perspective, which focuses on the discourses and rhetoric of emergent political and social movements, and regards the non-elites, or the subalterns, as agents of political and social change. In the best pre-postmodern tradition of Subaltern Studies, so remarkably typified by the likes of Sumit Sarkar and others, the authors present a critical, insightful, and yet accessible description of India’s present history.

Many accounts of contemporary India suggest that the multilayered complexity of the country necessitates that we distinguish between various “India-s” that simultaneously coexist. To an extent, this is true when we consider the striking contrasts in India – for instance, the 260 million poor subsisting on less than a dollar a day coexisting cheek to jowl with an estimated 400 million who comprise an expanding and economically dynamic middle class. The other notable juxtaposition is the secular constitution in a country of numerous faiths and an overwhelming Hindu majority, which is also contending with the reality of violent sporadic religious clashes, growing religious fundamentalism, and the politicization of religion and caste. However, the authors question the apparent consensus of scholars writing on India that it is a country defying generalizations and forbidding optimism. In this era of shrinking welfare states, increasing income inequality, human mobility, volatile financial markets, and major ecological threats, the difficulty in generating generalizations and optimism is true for any part of the world, whether developed or developing.

In the introduction, the authors chal-

lenge the notion of the “exceptionalism” of India in terms of the great diversity that is evident in every dimension of this populous country. They connect this purported Indian exceptionalism to the dominant analytical framework, which effectively denies the significance of internal history and politics within “non-Western” nations. The enduring caste system, vast regional diversity in terms of history, language, politics, and economics, and more recently the economic dynamism of its mammoth economy are some of the factors making India a rich case study for those who study structures, agency, and power within a globalizing international system. However, more often than not, this diversity is subsumed as inconsequential parts of a simplified overarching national identity, displaying the unwillingness to engage substantively with the complexity of the political structures within the country. Furthermore, there is little acknowledgement or understanding of the thousands of years of historical continuity, which continues to affect internal processes and structures that shape India’s terms of engagement internally and with the world. For instance, it is impossible to understand the contemporary political, economic, and social processes within India without factoring in the role and evolution of caste structures, or the diverse and often violent histories of linguistically, culturally, and ethnically distinct regions within the “Indian Nation,” which in many cases have histories autonomous from the modern Indian nation-state. Most significantly, these continuities and complexities are manifested in the subaltern political tendencies, which are continually defining internal conflicts and logics, but are also resisting and reifying the dominant narratives of the Indian nation and its history. These are not mere oversights but serious limitations driven by a blinkered perspective, which leads to an

incomplete and superficial understanding of the actors, processes, and outcomes of changes and continuities unfolding within large parts of the non-Western world and their impact elsewhere.

Therefore, in a break from the dominant perspective, the introduction of the book contextualizes the period since 1989, not in terms of the end of the Cold War, but in terms of the momentous changes within India. The collapse of the "Nehruvian consensus" is identified as the turning point in contemporary Indian history. This consensus was around an import-substitution industrialization strategy (ISI), a secular polity, and a non-aligned foreign policy that had guided Indian polity and economy since independence in 1947. While it is easy to link these changes to the demise of the Cold War dynamics and to the "end of history" thesis, the book displays how simplistic and ineffective this connection is in the absence of factoring in the internal moments, drivers, and causal relationships.

The period from 1989 to 1992 witnessed a paradigmatic shift with the initiation of the structural adjustment program, the rapid rise of the Hindu nationalists, as well as the exponential expansion of the Indian middle class and consumerism. Nationally this was accompanied by the decline of the Indian National Congress, the beginning of an era of political instability, and increased political mobilization at the regional levels. An interesting factor in the mix was the explosion of the media in India. Currently there are more than 300 TV channels, with another 100 to be launched before the end of 2008; 600 radio channels; and 60,000 newspapers. All these numbers are growing annually (<http://articles.latimes.com/2007/may/18/business/fi-newspaper18>). Together, these factors are largely propelling the transformation of politics, society and the economy of the country

as well as its points of intersection at the global level.

The story of the survival and evolution of democracy in India is particularly insightful in this book. The authors describe the processes and consequences of the rise of the lower- and middle-caste vernacular (or non-Hindi speaking) elite in the 1980s and the 90s. These were populist leaders who were able to mobilize vast peasant populations and came to occupy the ideological ground that separates the Left and the Right in India. The authors cast this period as being marked by "an explosion of accumulated democratic aspirations" (13) and an opportunity for different marginalized forces to regroup and make a decisive bid for power in India. Instead of the simplistic notions of the urban-rural divide, the authors explain how these processes have given rise to a conflict between modernity, which refers to notions of rights and sanitized public spaces, and democracy, or "political society" which refers to the point where politics meets the popular in all its messiness.

The selection of the themes and their organization in this book emphasizes a departure from both the despairing critics of the plethora of problems in India as well as from the ebullient accounts of the miracles of "India Rising." Therefore, instead of dwelling on the much-celebrated economic reforms or the much-maligned political chaos, it engages with the building blocks of contemporary India. The book demonstrates that these changes have little to do with the end of the Cold War, except of course that the end of the Cold War made it easier for countries across the world, including India, to abandon their failed ISI programs and shift to an export-oriented growth strategy, which was greatly accelerated post-1989.

Chapter 1 describes the re-emergence of caste in public discourse in the 1980s

and the eventual revolt of the lower castes in the 1990s. It was evident by the 1970s that a secular and socially progressive constitution was not enough to undo the legacy of the hierarchical and exploitative caste system in India. Many studies had proved the overwhelming monopoly of a small crust of upper castes in the public services as well as confirmed the strong relationship between low-caste status and poverty. These studies also showed that this inequality was not only prevalent amongst the most marginalized, the Dalits, but also large groups of "Other Backward Classes" (OBC), who constituted nearly 60 percent of India's population.

The implementation of the Mandal Commission Report in 1990, which ensured 27 percent reservation in educational institutions and public employment for OBC populations, is often seen as the catalytic event, which reintroduced caste into public discourse. However, as the authors explain, the revolt of the lower castes was in the making for over a decade and was linked to the alternative political formations in the 70s and the 80s, which were led by the lower-caste peasantry. Caste had been banished from public discourse within the "*civil society*" comprising the high-caste modern elite. Within the "*political society*," caste remained a central category and an overarching paradigm. The chapter describes the complex relationships amongst different caste groups, their relationship with the Dalits, and caste's impact on electoral politics in India. While in some Eastern regions, these politicized caste entities and coalitions have emerged as independent political forces, in some Western regions, such as in the state of Gujarat, the OBCs in particular have been mobilized by the Hindu Nationalists to play a communal role pitted against the Muslim minority.

The 1990s were also marked by the "transformation of the very terms of

political discourse on secularism" (36) as well as the vigorous momentum of the Hindutva movement. Chapter two defines the key features of the Hindutva ideology ("Hinduness" or Hindu cultural nationalism), the political organization of the Hindu, Right and the intra- and inter-community dynamics produced by it. The portrayal of the dilemmas of the diverse Muslim communities and the non-malleability of the Hindu society are particularly significant. Muslim communities are caught between the demands to politically close rank in the face of the threat from the Hindu Right, and the need for social reforms, in which they share a common ground with secular liberal politics. The resistance from within the Hindu society, despite the meteoric rise of the Right Wing movement, on the other hand is equally tenacious and involves a host of organized and not-so-organized pressure groups.

The chapter contextualizes these tensions by distinguishing between secularism as a normative value and as a principle of statecraft. Nehruvian secularism was imposed from above – with the state as well as the modernized upper castes/class being its agents – but without accounting for the uncertainties of democratic functioning in the "political society." This distinction allows India to be seen as secular in the normative sense but provides space for the critique of the practice of secularism by the Indian state and civil society. For instance, the authors point to the manufacture of a "secular Indian" identity, which conceals and marginalizes counter-currents such as the mass-based but often localized and disparate movements against the existing development model, or majoritarian voices, such as those of the Hindu Right Wing, which has gained ground in many regions of the country.

Chapter three traces the antecedents of the development model of capital-

ist industrialization through large-scale projects undertaken by the state as well as Indian businesses and corporations. Nehru was once again the main architect of this development model in 1947 and it appears that this aspect of Nehruvian consensus has survived into the twenty-first century, partially aided by the processes of globalization. As the chapter describes vividly, the enormous costs of these projects are unevenly borne by the poor and the marginalized rural masses through dislocations, forcible land acquisitions, ever-increasing indebtedness, and ecological destruction. While the chapter traces this trend since the beginning of independence, it notes a dramatic increase in national and corporate projects as well as in the resistance movement of those victimized by these projects in the 1990s. Despite the increasing resistance of dispossessed groups in different parts of the country, these policies continue to be strongly backed by the Indian state, the elites, the corporate media, and even the judiciary. The logic of corporate globalization appears to be the driver of this model of "accumulation by dispossession." (69)

While breathless stories of the dramatic transformation of urban life in India abound, chapter four goes beyond the usual explanations of the unshackled market and economic reforms. It acknowledges the explosion of a series of new social, political, economic, and cultural aspirations, and explores them as the "new economies of desire." (83) The authors point out that this new economy is not simply about pent-up middle class consumption; it is equally about desire, pleasure, and the unshackling of the imagination, aided in good measure by the media explosion since 1991. Furthermore, instead of focussing on the generic Indian middle class, the chapter describes the seminal effects of consumerism and cultural globalization on seemingly dis-

parate socio-political entities such as feminist rethinking on sexuality and the emergent "Dalit Capitalism."

The long, rich, and diverse history of the communist movement in India is made more remarkable by the fact that it has managed to operate in a democratic, electoral context, while maintaining its strong ideological character. While this displays both the strength and flexibility of the Indian Left, as chapter five describes, the unprecedented political milieu of the 1990s presented dramatic opportunities and significant challenges whose significance was not fully appreciated by the Left parties in India. More recently, the Indian Left has been divided into an ideologically dogmatic old guard and an increasingly dominant reformist group whose goals and policies are no longer distinguishable from the neo-liberal agenda. On the other hand, interestingly, this transformation has made the Left parties more comfortable with the mainstream and enabled their greater participation in national politics.

Where does this leave the struggle for equality and justice for the masses who, according to the authors, are being trampled under the juggernaut of corporate globalization? These struggles are taking place within a new set of political articulations, without banners, blueprints, dogmas, or populist leaders. The authors refer to these political formulations as the "New Left," (114) which includes the heterodox Marxist groups of Western India, breakaway factions and individuals from the mainstream and the Far Left, as well as a range of non-party movements. This category includes a remarkable diversity of articulations from critical mainstream political voices, to ecological Marxism, to Maoist-inspired movements which rely on armed struggle, to citizens' initiatives and NGOs organized around civil liberties and democratic rights, the urban poor, feminists, and even anti-nuclear and

peace movements. These are not simply manifestations of the dissatisfaction with the formal institutionalized political processes, but as the authors point out, this new politics is confronting the very ideology of the contemporary development model and the idea of the nation state's sovereignty over its domain.

These and a number of historical contingencies have made the project of nation-building a fraught exercise for India. Chapter six outlines the complexities of the histories of the regions and peoples residing within the geo-political territory of India and their relationship with the "Indian nation." The historical accounts of the Northeastern states and Kashmir provide telling instances of the crisis of the nation-state. However, as the chapter points out, the perpetual anxiety of preserving the nation is pervasive and the idea of India has been deeply contested since its emergence in the nineteenth century.

Unfortunately, this brilliant analysis appears to lose steam towards the end of the book. Chapter seven is a very brief and rather incomplete summary of Indian foreign policy since the 1990s. The chapter describes India's changing relationship with the US, Pakistan, and countries in South Asia. The brief discussion of the idea of "Southasia" as a regional identity as well as one that seeks to counter Indian hegemony is the strongest part of this chapter. However, this chapter sheds little light on "India in the World" despite its title. The most puzzling omissions are India's relationship with the superpower next door, China, as well as the considerable foreign policy momentum with its mineral-rich ideological ally, Africa.

In the past decade, a large body of international political economy literature has been exploring the emergence of the "New Silk Road." However, most of these accounts are focused on economic relationships and/or their impact on the

existing power equations. In my opinion, therefore, unlike the insightful analysis of the "internal" rationale for the socio-political and economic changes in India, the authors missed a great opportunity to analyze the ideological and political basis of India's complex relationship with China and Africa from "within."

Finally, the brief conclusion further highlights the continuing complexities of the present moment in India. It points to the myriad and relentless contestations to the power of Capital and Nation, while reiterating the role of internal social and political dynamics. Interestingly the only link to "external" factors is presented in the increasing popular resistance to corporate globalization. This conscious delinking from the "external" is a useful corrective to the overwhelming majority of contemporary historical accounts, where internal dynamics are invisible or rendered meaningless when they are oversimplified or merged uncritically into a dominant narrative. However, I believe that the forces of change unleashed by "globalization and growth" are significant enough to deserve more than just one paragraph in the conclusion. The authors correctly point out that the elite classes are the main beneficiaries of the economic turn. But the scope, scale, and speed of changes that contemporary India is undergoing are momentous and involve far more than just the elite classes in terms of successes and failures.

Overall, it is a forceful book despite its deceptively short length. Funnily, in some ways, this book can be seen to demonstrate why many analysts leave the ever-changing internal political configurations and the confusing social milieu out of their studies of contemporary India. It gives credence to the old and popular adage that for every generalization that is true of India, the opposite is equally true. While it is easy to regard India as a case study of a baffling mine-

field where every core value is contested including "Indian" and "secularism," isn't that true for "Canadian" and "multiculturalism" too? Therefore, this book also shows that leaving these numerous and complex contestations out of the enquiry of international or domestic developments can only produce bland, superficial, and incomplete analysis.

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**Guy Mundlak, *Fading Corporatism: Israel's Labor Law and Industrial Relations in Transition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2007)**

*FADING CORPORATISM* offers an impressive in-depth analysis of the complex and dynamic relationship between labour law and the industrial relations system in Israel. Mundlak examines in detail the shift from a corporatist to a pluralist regime of industrial relations that took place in Israel over the last two decades, focusing on the changing role of labour law and its institutions in the regulation of employment relations. Based on rich empirical evidence and a persuasive theoretical framework, the book provides a nuanced analysis of the significant changes that occurred in the legal principles, institutions, and mechanisms for labour market regulation, which constitute an important, but relatively understudied, dimension of the transformation of the Israeli political economy at large. While focusing on the changing character of labour law, its functions, and its modes of formulation and enforcement, the analysis highlights the changing power relations among the actors in the field, and the changing rules that delineate and govern the relations among them.

Equally important, Mundlak uses the study of the Israeli case as a useful prism for exploring fundamental analytical

questions concerning the relationship among law, society, and politics within the context of processes of institutional change. Labour law is examined as a relatively autonomous institutional field that interacts in complex and varying manners with the industrial relations system. The focus on the dynamic interplay between labour law and industrial relations allows for the presentation of important insights concerning state-society relations, particularly the roles of state agencies in the regulation of economic relations and processes. In contrast to commonsense claims about the current weakening of the state or its withdrawal from the economic arena, Mundlak posits that the changing role of the state in liberal regimes is best analyzed in terms of basic transformations in its mode of intervention in the economy. He convincingly demonstrates that the shift from corporatist to pluralist systems of interest representation connotes in fact a significant strengthening of certain state agencies: those that are charged with the formulation and implementation of labour law as a mechanism for the regulation of employment relations and the labour market. Offering ample empirical evidence for the increasing prominence of particular domains of state intervention in the economic field, the book is an important contribution to current research on the transformation of contemporaneous political economies.

After providing an overview of the emergence and dynamics of corporatist organizations, institutions, and arrangements in Israel, which recognizes the significant particularities of the case, the study moves to an analysis of the character of, and the roles played by, labour law within the context of a corporatist regime of industrial relations. The main claim here is that labour law has fulfilled a foremost supportive role that enabled and facilitated the functioning of the corporatist system. According to Mundlak,

the law's scope and substantive intervention in industrial relations were minimal, as required by the basic principles of social partners' autonomy and collective bargaining. And yet, labour law's role in sanctioning and consolidating the fundamental institutional rules of corporatism has been extremely important, particularly by promoting the principle of concentrated interest representation along class lines by centralist labour and business organizations with broad and extensive memberships. This was especially salient in the role of law in strengthening by various means the monopolistic status of the Histadrut (Israel's general workers' association) as representative of labour, and in making it extremely difficult for any other competitor union to challenge it. The labour law's support for the Histadrut's power position is a meaningful instance of a more general pattern, in which both legislation in the field of industrial relations and adjudication by the Labour Courts were guided by the principles of corporatism, and even dominated by the interests of the corporatist partners. The conclusion is therefore that in corporatist regimes the institutional configuration, organizational patterns, and modes of interaction of the industrial relations system are analytically, if not empirically, prior to labour law.

The heart of the book lies in the three chapters that address the weakening of the corporatist agents and institutional arrangements and the concomitant emergence of a pluralist regime of industrial relations and labour law. The transition from corporatism to pluralism connotes, Mundlak claims, a shift in the relationship between labour law and the industrial relations system. From being a supportive and enabling device for a well-institutionalized regime, labour law is transformed into a key constitutive factor of an alternative system of industrial relations. A major manifestation of this

change in the role of law is the increasing autonomy from the social partners gained by the state agencies in charge of the labour legal system. This is accompanied by what Mundlak calls the "juridification of the employment relationship," which represents the key dimension of change in the role of labour law. In the emergent regime, statutory norms, rather than autonomous negotiation between the social partners, function as the main tool to regulate industrial relations. Through its legal apparatus, i.e. the legislature and the judiciary, the state specifies and imposes norms and standards that define the rights and obligations of both individual and collective actors in the labour market, as well as the range of legitimate and proper courses of action open to them. It is clear, then, that the transition to a pluralist regime does not mean the withdrawal of the state from the field. Rather the contrary; as regulator the state assumes a stronger role than under corporatism.

A most fundamental question is who gains and who loses from the transition from corporatist to pluralist industrial relations. Here Mundlak presents a complex picture that defies easy generalizations and the commonly accepted axiom that while corporatism is pro-labour, pluralism is necessarily pro-business. On the one hand, the weakening of the Histadrut, the decline of collective and centralized bargaining, the emergence of precarious forms of employment, and other components of the pluralist regime certainly tend to benefit employers. But, on the other hand, and this is the interesting and challenging point, Mundlak notices some significant developments that have far less obvious effects. First, the juridification of industrial relations means that the state guarantees by law certain rights, such as minimum wage and anti-discriminatory regulations, that under the corporatist regime were not codified



at all or were contingent on the social partners' consent. Second, the pluralization of the mode of interest representation and the entry into the field of NGOs working on behalf of particular groups of subordinated workers can enlarge to a certain extent the opportunity structure of outsiders who were excluded from the corporatist arrangements and were deprived from their benefits. This is particularly important in light of the type of split corporatism that emerged in Israel, which was characterized by strong exclusionary tendencies along citizenship, national, and ethnic lines. Mundlak does not argue that the openings created by the pluralist regime necessarily lead to fundamental alterations in the social hierarchies present in the labour market. His claim is rather that within a pluralist framework of interest representation it is institutionally easier to challenge exclusionary practices, generally by legal means, than under the previous cohesive and exclusivist corporatist regime.

In the book's last two chapters the author places the case study within a broad comparative perspective and specifies its theoretical contributions, particularly concerning the bi-directional causal relationship between labour law and industrial relations. As previously noted, Mundlak's analytical point of departure is that law both reflects and constitutes the social and economic order. The notable contribution here is that he specifies the conditions under which one or the other role of labour law receives greater weight: while it tends to be reflective of industrial relations in corporatist regimes, it is more autonomous and its impact is more constitutive in pluralist regimes. This general conclusion illustrates that the relevance of the book goes well beyond the Israeli case. It offers a well-articulated and stimulating theoretical framework that can guide fruitful examinations of the relationship

between law and social relations under varying political-economic regimes. For that and other reasons, *Fading Corporatism* should be of great interest to scholars working in diverse fields, such as law and society, industrial relations, political economy, and institutional change.

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**Melanie Nolan, *Kin: A Collective Biography of a New Zealand Working-Class Family*** (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005)

MELANIE NOLAN has written a carefully crafted, highly readable, and intriguing history of the lives of five New Zealand siblings, the McCulloughs. Perhaps the best known of the siblings was Jack, a skilled artisan, Workers' Representative on the Arbitration Court from 1908–1921, founder of the Christchurch Socialist Church, pacifist, journalist, Labour Party member, and finally, member of the Legislative Council from 1936 to 1947. In *Kin*, Nolan has returned to the life of Jack McCullough, whose political biography was the subject of her MA thesis. Not content with the direction of New Zealand historiography concerning labour and working-class history, however, Nolan's collective biography of this working-class family revisits an important debate about working-class formation, identity, experience, and consciousness.

*Kin* sets out to uncover aspects of collective working-class life that Nolan contends have been neglected by New Zealand labour and working-class historians: moderate unionism; religion and temperance organizing; the role of friendly societies and corporate welfare; patriotism; and finally, the rise of the white-collar revolution that opened a path to working-class mobility into lower middle-class ranks. Nolan has

selected one of the McCullough siblings to represent each neglected aspect in turn: respectively, Jack, Margaret, Jim, Sarah, and Frank. Every chapter is a self-described thick description of one of the siblings, an attempt to explore the multiple trajectories that contributed to the formation of working-class identity, at least among these Irish Protestant members of New Zealand's working class. In this way, Nolan takes aim at the "politics first" approach that she considers so dominates New Zealand labour historiography. Political histories largely privileging mass political organs of Lib-Lab, Independent Labour, and Red Fed militant factions, have misrepresented the dominant voice of working-class experience. Instead, a representational history of working-class experience and identity formation requires that the lens be opened widely, to take account of the multi-relational features of working-class existence. This broader scope both complicates and sheds new light on vexatious issues of class formation and the articulation of working-class consciousness. For example, Nolan disagrees with a favoured chestnut among historians of the radical labour tradition, that New Zealand's egalitarian system of income distribution, indeed the entire edifice of its welfare state, was a victory of militant working-class activism. In contrast, Nolan considers that these achievements are more accurately attributable to her more moderate and respectable working-class "doers" who, whatever labour historians might think, doggedly pursued their own "dead ends" of labour history: the church, the friendly societies, patriotic societies, and employer welfarism. Nolan's methodology of collective biography compels the historian to acknowledge that a large percentage of the working class was neither militant nor socialist, neither atheist nor pacifist, and that few workers were

leaders of political labour movements or trade unions.

The operative terms in Nolan's conceptual lexicon have sparked vigorous debate in the field since the publication of E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*. Like Thompson, Nolan considers the relationship between experience and consciousness, class identity and class formation. Thompson's formulation of experience as the direct correspondence between social being and consciousness so tightly compressed this relationship as to leave nothing to that contested terrain of political struggle, not least the struggle over meaning and experience. Nolan presses even further, to ask if it is still meaningful to talk of working-class experience at all. Instead, she offers a study of change and identity formation, one that avoids adopting a dominant class view in favour of the study of multiple identities, including those of gender, aboriginality, and migration status. Following Stephen Jay Gould's caveat in *Full House: The Spread of Excellence from Plato to Darwin* (1996), Nolan rejects the view of history – presumably one followed by those labour historians with whom she takes such issue – that would reduce a single factor to its essence, and then track its progress along a linear pathway through chronological time. As she puts it, "both pattern and causal complexity command a place in historical scholarship." (184) Who would disagree? Far from decentering the 'grand narrative' of working-class identity, *Kin* sets out to chart the diverse constituencies of belonging among the McCullough siblings, through a methodology informed by micro-history, biography, and case study.

Assessing whether or not this strategy succeeds in shedding light on her historical subjects leads us to consider the representativeness of each McCullough sibling. It is here that Nolan encounters the challenge any historian must con-

front, the weight of her evidence. Jack McCullough kept a richly detailed diary that totaled 37 volumes spanning the years 1880 to 1925. The first chapter of *Kin* delves into Jack's life, thus setting a framework that leaves the reader wanting more insight into the lives of his brothers and sisters. Sadly, Jack's sister, Sarah, left few traces, few first-hand accounts that were the equal of a journal so rich in detail, insight, personal hope, and political regret. She was a royalist, an amateur vocalist whose performances were featured in many patriotic fund-raising concerts held throughout New Zealand to rally support for World War One. Sister Margaret was an activist with the Christian Temperance Union, a devoted member of Timaru Trinity Church, and a volunteer with the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union. Here Nolan draws on institutional records of church and temperance organizations, mining the quotidian details of fund-raising efforts, weekly meetings, and at-home socials. Brother Jim was an ardent proponent of municipal socialism, a member of the Independent Order of Oddfellows (IOOF) who left municipal politics to take up IOOF work, eventually rising to become Grand Master; he was a pacifist haunted by the premonition of his eldest son's death in WWI, a premonition he recalled from their last encounter. Brother Frank pursued a different course, leaving behind his working-class ancestry to join the rising white-collar world of consumer capitalism. While the limits of biography are not in dispute, the surviving record of Jack's siblings remains thin in contrast to the rich detail left by their more famous brother. Nolan tries to redress the imbalance by supplementing from Jack's diaries, such that whatever insight we do gain must still be interpreted through Jack McCullough's eyes.

Nolan was drawn back to the McCulloughs, driven by the perception

that there was more to the story than Jack's life alone. The increasingly popular genre of collective biography has the advantage of permitting the historian to follow layered relationships among groups within the working class, an admittedly revisionist approach to the writing of working-class history. How representative are the McCulloughs? Nolan recognizes the limitations posed both by biography and case study when she acknowledges that, while each sibling might not represent everybody, collectively "they represented somebody, and a somebody that mattered." (183) Each trajectory is compelling, a richly detailed account of the variegated and complex worlds of New Zealand working-class existence. While Nolan may raise more questions than she answers, *Kin* follows in the Thompsonian tradition by conceptualizing class as a set of complex and at times contradictory relations, rather than a fixed, singular identity. Structural forces of class are not permitted to overwhelm the multi-faceted points of identity and culture, as deeply grounded in gender, race, and migration status, relations of empire and aboriginality, as they are in religion, pacifism, even patriotism and prohibition. Does class lose all specificity as a central category of analysis? By no means. Nolan's excellent study intersects with current historiographical debates in New Zealand and elsewhere that are clearly as animated and multivariate as were the lives of this remarkable New Zealand working-class family.

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**Jan Lucassen, ed., *Global Labour History: A State of the Art* (Bern: Peter Lang 2006)**

THE NOTORIOUS debates of the early 1990s about "the end of history" had

their echo in the field of labour history, where a number of international journals published discussions under titles such as "The End of Labour History?" and "What Now for Labour History?" One sequel to that moment was a conference of labour historians from around the world sponsored by the International Institute of Social History in November 2000, which some years later has produced a substantial anthology on "global labour history." These pages include expressions of concern, even some cries of alarm, but on the whole they convey more a sense of measure than malaise, possibly a sign that the sense of crisis has abated as the challenges facing labour history in the new century are identified.

There is a good sense of proportion in the two introductory essays, which emphasize the widening geographic and conceptual scope of labour history over time as well as the attendant practical and theoretical questions arising from this extension beyond some of the more conventional paradigms of North Atlantic capitalism. Marcel van der Linden notes the ways in which the ideal type of "free" wage-labour itself has always been qualified by numerous contexts and conditions, both formal and informal, including those of family and household, reproduction and mobility, coercion and incentive, individual and group contracts, gendered and racialized experiences; he argues that "capitalism could and can choose whatever form of commodified labour it thinks fit in a given historical context." (26) In a similar vein Jan Lucassen points out that the so-called "golden age" associated with the labour history of the industrial revolution was always limited by its nationalism and periodization; indeed when "a first attempt at writing global labour history" (50) was produced in 1837, there were already many centuries of labour history behind it – "an immense social reality," in the words of Granier de

Cassagnac's *Histoire des classes ouvrières*, "about to knock with the same energy at the doors of the scholars as of the kings, while saying to the former 'we want to have our history' and to the latter: 'We want to have our bread.'" (39)

Labour historians are relatively well-equipped to face the challenges, given the strong traditions of the field, which include its often permeable disciplinary and methodological boundaries and its alertness to the larger social and political world. A reading of this volume shows that there are at least two or three ways to think of global labour history: first as an accumulation of "local," national, regional, and even continental histories; secondly as deliberately constructed studies of parallel sectors within the world economy, with a view to comparing the differences and congruities of their contexts. Beyond this there is also the need for investigations of explicitly global forces, including transnational commodity chains and labour markets, and international activism and organizations.

Most of the contributions in this volume fall in the first group, with attention to the evolving genealogies and debates within more or less definable spatial boundaries. For Canada and the United States, for instance, Bryan Palmer makes the case for a "selective but rigorous" (225) attention to the traditions of labour history scholarship in order to avoid the pitfalls of postmodernist writing. In the "new" Russia, Andrei Sokolov warns against "anti-scientific" approaches in the wake of the official "quasi-histories" (407) of the Soviet era and discusses opportunities for a vast project of historical recovery for which new sources are available. In the case of China, Arif Dirlik discusses how the image of the archetypal proletarian has given way to a compromised and fractured working class under steady assault from world capitalism. For Japan, Akira Suzuki examines a legacy

of "authoritarian and status-based labor relations" which has interacted with "cycles of worker activism and acceptance." (193) Meanwhile, historians of Africa (Frederick Cooper), South Asia (Sabyasachi Bhattacharya), Latin America (John D. French), North Africa and the Middle East (Zachary Lockman) and Australia, New Zealand, and the South Pacific (Lucy Taksa) identify a dynamic and multifaceted labour history that is responsive to the articulation of differentiated production regimes under the prevailing hegemony of capitalism. It is also clear that in the case of Western Europe, the *locus classicus* of industrialization, economic development divided as well as united the working class; both conditions continue to require historical explication, and as Dick Geary notes, "the simultaneous co-existence of different identities on the part of workers" has been the basis for "a continuing story of solidarities and divisions." (255)

The chapters in the second section of the volume go a long way towards demonstrating the strengths of a comparative history that focuses on themes and sectors in comparable "local" settings. In the case of agricultural labour, for instance, Prasannan Parthasarathi shows how a South Indian perspective undermines the dichotomy of common and individual land ownership as the basis for the dispossession and exploitation of rural workers. A study of the place of domestic labour in Indonesia, China, Malaysia, and Hong Kong by Ratna Saptari shows variations in traditions and trajectories while contributing to the "de-essentialization of race, gender and class relations." (484) The practical problems of constructing comparisons are addressed by Jan Lucassen in a study of brickmaking in India and Western Europe that finds similarities in the organization of work, including the prominence of family "gangs." Implicitly at least, coal-mining

has long been a familiar site for historical comparisons; while some recent studies have made large national generalizations, Ian Phimister demonstrates the need for microstudies of local pit culture to facilitate finer comparisons of managerial strategies, community structure, and collective action. Only a few of these chapters take up the explicit investigation of global forces, but this theme is notable in a study of dock work that draws on evidence from 30 countries on five continents. Lex Heerma van Voss finds that dock workers have experienced several waves of globalization (and de-globalization) over the past two centuries and that these have been accompanied by distinct configurations in technologies of production and labour relations on the world's waterfronts. Similarly, in a discussion of railroad labour, Shelton Stromquist examines international patterns in the recruitment and deployment of technology and labour and the organization and assertion of working-class interests; at the same time he shows that a global approach requires increased attention to additional factors often neglected in Eurocentric models, such as "the place of an informal labor market sector within an industrializing economy, the interdependence of rural and urban locations of railroad labor, the household context of wage labor, the mingling of wage and non-wage work, and the racially segregated character of transnational, global labor markets." (631)

This is a bulky volume, almost 800 pages in length and in appearance perhaps easily mistaken for a definitive reference work. There are maps, several kinds of index, a cumulative bibliography of works cited – but it is nonetheless a preliminary work of reconnaissance that even features the occasional confusion in terminology, such as the locomotive "engineers" who were not "machinists," (642) or the unintended malapropism,

such as “the tenants of historical materialism.” (226) Participants in this anthology have interpreted the mandate of the original conference and of global history itself in different ways, but many of the essays are models of historiographic guidance and conceptual clarification. Each contributes usefully to the emerging agenda for a global labour history. “Late” capitalism may have another cycle to run, but as long as work remains part of the human condition, labour history will continue to fill a need.

DAVID FRANK

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**Amiya Kumar Bagchi, *Perilous Passage: Mankind and the Global Ascendancy of Capital*** (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield 2005)

THE LAST FEW DECADES have been witness to a remarkable set of historical developments. On the one hand, a neo-liberal or globalizing or imperial agenda has ravaged the welfare states and post-war labour-capital accords and we appear to be witnessing, especially after the fall of the Soviet Union, an era of triumphant global capitalism. On the other hand, as wealth inequalities aggravate and ecological crises accumulate, a growing global awareness among social justice activists has lead to massive anti-war sentiments being briefly displayed and a notion that leaders of “free trade” agendas can no longer meet in non-police state nations or they will confront organized angry popular resistance. The traces of a promise of a new global consciousness are discernible in these latter developments. Such a consciousness will be needed if we are to succeed in the epic struggle against capital that is unfolding.

Amiya Kumar Bagchi's *Perilous Passage* is a book that deserves our attention in this historical moment. It is born

of our moment and offers us crucial intellectual resources in our attempts to understand the beast we must confront. *Perilous Passage* is a global history and in many respects perhaps one of the first truly global histories of our epoch to appear. The latter claim can be made because, unlike much of what comes under the label “global,” *Perilous Passage* does not pass off European history as global history. Bagchi, currently Director of the Institute of Development Studies at Kolkata University and author of numerous books on development economics and politics, challenges crucial ideas of the “European miracle” as one of the foundational themes of modern history. He argues that “the European miracle was not beneficial to the Europeans themselves before the last quarter of the nineteenth century” and therefore “the advantages reaped by the European ruling classes... were at the expense of the suffering of millions of people, in Europe, the Americas, Africa and Asia.” (xiv)

For Bagchi, colonialism was not a side-show of a capitalism that developed as a result of “freeing markets” within Europe, but rather a centerpiece of early capitalist development, which relied much more heavily on military power to coerce labour and wealth out of subordinated nations than is often remembered by political economists and cultural theorists alike. *Perilous Passage* brings Asia, Africa, and the Americas into the narrative of capital ascendancy as very few studies have been able to do. It reminds us that it was not only European inventiveness – itself a supposed legacy of ancient forebears – that laid the groundwork of modernism, but ruthless European aggressiveness aided by a few critical technological borrowings and innovations. Bagchi demonstrates that, in virtually every nation where it took root, early industrialization lead to immiseration of locals, who only generations later were able to experi-

ence benefits. And military conquest was always already a key feature in producing the conditions of dominance conducive to capital accumulation.

Bagchi convinced me that one curious reason for Europe's triumph was in fact its failure (a sort of grand version of the "loser wins" scenario Sartre enjoyed talking about); whereas in China and India empires brought huge swaths of people and territory into comparatively peaceful circumstances, none of the European warlords established intergenerational control over their fractious opponents. The continual war frenzy fed by this failure ultimately thrust a pirate island nation, England, to the forefront and established a culture of aggressive rapaciousness that would lead to many conquests, and provide the lands and labour and coerced foreign "markets" that underwrote capitalist "development."

Bagchi is well read in social history, in an astounding range of regional histories, in contemporary economics, and in social science scholarship; he brings a lifetime of voracious study to his text, and it shows. Quality of life, for example, can be measured in early industrial periods by using height as an indicator. Height statistics are available because the military machines duly recorded them. They strongly indicate social loss of height in the industrializing generations in a variety of different national contexts and periods, from France to Japan.

Fundamentally, what matters to Bagchi is human development: not the production of ever-increasing goods and services, nor the untrammelled accumulation of abstract wealth known as capital, but rather the development and distribution of all the things people need in order to be able to lead a materially secure life, and have the possibility of an intellectually rewarding "good life." As with earlier work, for example his *The Political Economy of Underdevelopment*, Bagchi places

a particular emphasis on the importance of education to human development, of literacy and numeracy skills that give people an opportunity to make their own destinies.

Bagchi's *Perilous Passage* is a weapon in the intellectual arsenal of social justice activists everywhere, but offers particular resources to those of us engaged in the anti-colonial element of the struggle against capitalism. "Colonial capitalism" is in fact what we have witnessed being born and ascending in the last five hundred years; *Perilous Passage* may contribute to the development of a newer kind of understanding that will allow us to begin undoing the layers of injustice, ecological destruction, and human immiseration such ascendancy has created.

PETER KULCHYSKI

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**Eric Toussaint, *The World Bank: A Critical Primer* (London: Pluto Press 2008)**

IN THE LAST TEN years, opposition to corporate globalization has grown from large demonstrations against the World Trade Organization, G8 meetings, and IMF/World Bank Conferences to mass convergences intended to envision and bring about a different world at the World Social Forum and its various regional incarnations. Eric Toussaint has been a part of that movement and evolution, in his work as the president of CADTM (the Committee for the Cancellation of the Third World Debt) Belgium. His *The World Bank: A Critical Primer* is written from within and for that growing global social movement. He makes an important contribution to the analysis and critique of the World Bank (wb), and makes an effective case for radically altering it.

Toussaint begins the book with a history of the bank's founding at the Bretton Woods conference and the evolution of its

operations over time. Among the interesting details brought to light are the negotiations over the placement of the WB (New York or Washington?). There is much here to outrage even the most jaded of WB critics. An outstanding example of this is the detail Toussaint provides of how the WB transferred debts from the colonial powers that took out loans for the purpose of exploiting their colonies to those colonies once they gained independence. The contrast he provides of the WB's treatment of Chile under Allende and Romania under Ceaușescu is telling. Romania was given loans after Ceaușescu distanced Romania from the Warsaw Pact after its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, while Chile was cut out of any WB programs until after Pinochet's coup. According to legend this dichotomy brought a WB Vice-President to ask whether Allende's Chile had not been socialist enough.

He then presents a series of case studies that capture the main critiques he makes against the bank. In the context of the WB's support for dictators he discusses Brazil, Nicaragua, and Zaire in addition to Chile and Romania. Ensuing chapters include even more detailed evidence of the WB's support for dictators in the Philippines, Turkey, and Indonesia. Moving on to analyze the Bank's evolving theories of development, Toussaint contrasts the path to development espoused by WB economists with that actually undertaken by South Korea's military dictatorships, with full, if reluctant, WB support.

This is followed by a critical review of the bank's role in the lead-up and reaction to the Debt Crisis of the 1980s. This role can be summarized as looking the other way as the crisis was building, and then using the crisis to impose its own orthodoxy on wayward Mexico and many other countries. This part of the narrative will not be news to most readers, though here too, interesting details come to light. Many of these may not be as widely

known, such as the imposed socialization of much of the private debt in many debtor countries as part of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). Of course, as the disastrous consequences of the Debt Crisis and SAPs unfolded throughout the 1980s and 1990s, criticism of and resistance to the WB and International Monetary Fund (IMF) policies grew around the world.

The World Bank has made gestures towards reform as a reaction to these criticisms and Toussaint devotes some space to detailing the shortcomings of these. The Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative had been meant to fully relieve the debt burdens of the forty poorest debtor countries, concentrated in Africa. By 2005, it had helped eighteen countries reduce their debt in exchange for imposing a set of policies designed to privilege foreign investors at the expense of domestic taxpayers. He briefly describes the replacement for the SAP loans, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, as SAPs with civil society window-dressing. More detail here would have been worthwhile.

The final section provides both the legal justification for bringing suit against the WB and the indictment. Toussaint lays out the legal framework under which the WB could be sued as well as the reasons for doing so. The indictment is sweeping and well supported by the research in the earlier sections of the book. A legal offensive is an interesting strategy for taking on the WB, and may be feasible on the merits, but the case isn't made how and why this strategy would be effective. Supplemental material includes a useful fact sheet about the WB, an interview with the author taken since the original publication, and a comprehensive glossary.

The book's greatest weakness is the translation. Overall, the translation is rather choppy, so that in some instances a sentence says the opposite of what would



have seemed the natural meaning, or in other instances is simply factually wrong (as in the passage that says that the US Air Force mined Nicaragua's harbours, when by most accounts the CIA was responsible). This leaves the reader wondering if the argument, in some places weak or missing pieces, might be more compelling and complete in the original. Another weakness of the book is that the argument is polemical in places where it need not have been. The author clearly grasps the details of the topics, but in some instances ends the discussion with a bald assertion, rather than by marshaling the evidence he clearly has at hand. Finally, there is a sense in which Toussaint wants to have it both ways. On the one hand, the WB, when it gets involved with a country, is a force for US and, more generally, Northern economic interests at the expense of the interests of the people of the country in question. On the other hand, the WB discriminates against countries that are opposed to the political and economic agenda of the United States. For the latter argument to hold any weight in light of the proof provided for the former, Toussaint needs to provide some context in which the World Bank's involvement has positive effects. Otherwise, shouldn't we be happy for those countries that 'suffer' from the WB's benign neglect? Toussaint may well be able to make this argument, but it is left out of the book.

Overall, this book provides an excellent review of the Bank and its associated agencies in the broader context of the evolution of the Bretton Woods institutions, the United Nations, and the international economy. It also lays out a comprehensive institutional history of the World Bank, drawing heavily on World Bank sources as well as critical studies of its operations. This is a well-researched book that includes such a wealth of information and detail that even those who are relatively well informed of the Bank's

operations will find some new information here. It will serve as a useful source of information for activists struggling to reform or replace the international financial institutions and will be a valuable guide for those who wish to pursue a legal strategy.

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**Jay Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom: Utopian Moments in the 20th Century*** (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2006)

JAY WINTER is a distinguished Yale University historian who has specialized on various aspects of the First World War in European history. In this compact volume of 260 pages, he tackles a related, but somewhat different topic: the thoughts and deeds of various "minor" utopian intellectuals, politicians, and social movements throughout the twentieth century that advanced moderate proposals for peace, human rights, and democratic international governance. These included, among others, the French banker and philanthropist Albert Kahn in the first decades of the century; US President Woodrow Wilson after the First World War; René Cassin, a French jurist who helped draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948; Latin American liberation theologians in the 1960s and 1970s; and international human rights advocates in the 1990s. Winter argues that such minor utopians and their "plans for partial transformations of the world" (2) represented significant "moments of possibility" that need to be explored and celebrated in contrast to "major" utopians such as Stalin and Hitler whose attempts to change the world were wrought with totalitarianism and mass violence.

Based on an exhaustive reading of secondary sources, elegantly written and

coherently argued, Winter sheds much-needed comparative light on various twentieth-century reform movements for peace and human rights. He finely crafts mini-biographies of minor utopians and lucid analysis of their projects. By no means unaware of the clear limits and contradictions of his subjects, Winter nevertheless fails to adequately explain why most of the minor utopian projects he studies failed to make a long-lasting impact. He downplays the links between capitalism, imperialism, and many of the horrific wars and oppression most of his subjects aimed to counter through rather timid liberal reforms within the system. Moreover, in his apparent haste to distance himself from anything smacking of "socialism" (considered a failed "major" utopianism linked exclusively to Stalinism), he completely neglects a host of truly transformative moments in twentieth-century history linked to workers' struggles and militant social movements.

Winter draws on two principal theoretical propositions to explain the minor utopian project. The first is a version of Marx's dictum that holds that "Visionaries imagine alternative forms of social life, but not in the way they think they do." (7) In other words, envisioning a future is an attempt to break from the past while at the same time being firmly rooted in the limitations of the present. The second is derived from German philosopher Reinhard Kosselleck's notion of how historical time is generated from the tension between the "space of experience," that is, our understanding of past events and "the horizons of expectations" or how we "project that [past] experience into the future." (7) Thus, in a twentieth century marked by horrific wars and collective violence that effectively distanced historical experience from future expectations, minor utopians emerged to offer alternative visions.

Minor utopian projects are analyzed

as "visions of partial transformations, of pathways out of the ravages of war, or away from the indignities of the abuse of human rights." "Such imaginings," he continues, "sketched out a world very different from the one we live in, but from which not all social conflict or all oppression had been eliminated." (5) He usefully takes stock of his guiding focus on minor utopian projects throughout the six substantive chapters, comparing and contrasting their diverse histories and arguing that though "such moments were almost always short-lived and were followed by defeat, disillusionment and despair did not prevent them from recurring. Visionaries returned; their impulse was irrepressible. Though their immediate achievements were meager or nonexistent." (167)

Chapter 1 explores three different visions of peace: the efforts of French banker and philanthropist Alfred Kahn to create a comprehensive photographic record of the world's people as a means to bring humanity together and therefore prevent violent conflict; the liberal pacifism of the entrepreneurs associated with the Exposition universelle in Paris in 1900; and the social democratic pacifism of Jean Jaurès and the Second International. Winter thoroughly discusses the contradictions of such visions and how the eclipse of class and international solidarity by nationalism, capitalism, and imperialism resulted in the slaughter of the First World War. This chapter includes a fascinating account of how the great African-American radical W.E.B. Du Bois was rebuffed by colonial-minded us and European officials in his attempts to include an anti-racist historical perspective at the 1900 Exposition universelle.

us President Woodrow Wilson's attempt to broker a post-World War One peace through the self-determination of nations and its defeat by the impe-

rial ambitions of all the major players (including the United States) is the theme of Chapter 2. The minor utopian vision studied in this chapter is the notion of the "self-determination of nations" (and its institutional expression in the League of Nations) and how it could act as a deterrent to war. The vision of Wilson and his colleagues, however, was limited to whites (W.E.B. Du Bois was frustrated once again), the major European nations, and the United States who never really intended to disarm their imperialist war machines. Strangely neglecting the explicit use of the concept of class, Winter maintains that the visionaries of the notion of the League of Nations – including historians, social scientists, and politicians – were imprisoned by liberal morality – a set of unspoken values and political attitudes "disseminated in their society" (56) – that prevented them from truly implementing self-determination. Hence, international politics in the 1920s and 1930s ended up as a thinly-disguised prelude to another horrific world war.

Chapter 3 explores the 1937 World's Fair in Paris and its contradictory and tension-ridden representations of war, peace, and scientific prosperity. Elegant descriptions of the built environment of the fair and the story of Picasso's masterpiece *Guernica*, which was included at the Spanish Republican pavilion, stand out in Winter's analysis. Once again, however, the visionaries of peace were caught up in a series of contradictions between capitalism, scientific progress, and efforts at peace while barbarism was already rearing its ugly head in Nazi Germany and Franco's Spain.

The French World War One veterans' leader and prominent jurist, René Cassin, is the subject of Chapter 4. For Winter, Cassin's efforts to draft the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights are a prime example of a minor utopian project: "a mode of describing where

we are by describing where we have not yet reached." (99) Winter describes how Cassin's role in the adoption of the Declaration by the United Nations in 1948 reaffirmed French Republican values after the French government had shamed itself through its collaborationist alliance with Nazi Germany. The Declaration also laid the ideological basis for the later creation of the European Community and the European Court of Human Rights.

Chapter 5 deals with the revolts of 1968 in Europe and Latin America and how, in Winter's analysis, moral thinking connected with notions of liberation to create another minor utopian moment. Particularly noteworthy in this chapter are the sections on liberation theology in Latin America and how the student rebellion in Germany in the 1960s was inextricably linked to the question of how to come to terms with the country's Nazi past. Winter emphasizes that, while they failed in their larger objectives, the '68ards succeeded in shaking "the foundations both of the university world and the wider political world around it" (151) through their fusing of the ideas of direct democracy and the emerging counter-culture. Most important for Winter is that 1968 was the last great blast of Marxism and socialism whose ideas of workers' liberation would be decisively eclipsed by the 1990s by movements centering on transnational human rights.

The final chapter of the book is entitled "Global Citizenship." Winter traces the development of notions of global human rights and governance through an analysis of a range of recent transnational developments including the arrest of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet in London in 1998; the lawsuit of the Indian government against Union Carbide for the Bhopal disaster in 1984; the establishment of the precedent of women's rights in cases of rape brought against accused Serbian war criminals during the civil war in the ex-

Yugoslavia; and notions of transnational citizenship rights for immigrants. While firm in his belief that the prerogatives of national state sovereignty remain solidly in place, Winter concludes that global citizenship as a minor utopia “stretch [es] our sense of the possible...” (203)

Winter is a superb researcher and a fine writer with an eye for fascinating details and vignettes. His argument is tightly structured and logically coherent. What is very frustrating, however, is his acceptance of “actually existing capitalism” as establishing the limits of social change in the twentieth century. This extremely impoverished version of social change is perhaps the norm in the liberal academic establishment, but it is fair to point out that his failure to contextualize his minor utopian projects (and their failures) within the social and economic structures of twentieth-century capitalism and imperialism and his neglect of many other utopian moments associated with workers’ and socialist movements severely limit the power of his book.

It should be no longer possible, if it ever was, to dismiss every movement, party, and thinker associated with Marxism and socialism because of the abomination of Stalin’s Russia. The straight line drawn between Lenin and Stalin (and by extension other socialist movements in the twentieth century), as recent books by Kevin Murphy and Lars Lih, among many others, have convincingly shown, was a shoddy byproduct of a Cold War historiography that was more about proping up US state department versions of the past than about honest historical research. Winter is far too sophisticated and competent to openly subscribe to this line of thinking, but one wonders why he almost completely dismisses utopian moments linked to the powerful workers’ and socialist movements of the twentieth century.

The most flagrant negligence in this

respect is absence of discussion of the Russian Revolution of 1917 itself which surely qualifies as a utopian moment. Since Winter’s focus is “minor” utopian moments this can be forgiven (yet he fails curiously not only to mention that Woodrow Wilson acted against the interests of the colonized nations in his hypocritical “self-determination” schemes, but also, as David Fogelson has brilliantly documented, that he sent thousands of US troops and tens of millions of dollars to anti-Semitic Cossack warlords to defeat the Bolshevik Revolution.) But even when he discusses the Republican and Popular Front governments in Spain and France, for example, he omits that these were also products of explosive revolutionary movements from below which envisioned an alternative world. Workers’ movements and socialist ideas, which were central to many students and to liberation theologians, are briefly mentioned in the chapter on 1968, but are downplayed in favour of the supposed “moral” liberation envisioned by such activists. And surely it is impossible to understand 1968 without understanding the general strike in France and the wider rank-and-file movements of the 1960s and 1970s in many countries that proved to be much more potent threats to the establishment than student rebellion alone. By the same token, it is instructive that Winter makes no reference to the Portuguese Revolution of 1974–1975, the Allende government in Chile in the early 1970s, the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979, the battle of Seattle in 1999, the World Social Forums in the 1990s, and the continuing anti-capitalist globalization movement.

Winter’s “minor utopians” are certainly worthy of study, but with no clear understanding of the limits of their largely liberal reform projects, how they were circumscribed by capitalist power structures, and how they intersected or contrasted with other more radical

movements this book leaves much to be desired. Small wonder that the favourable blurb on the front cover of *Dreams of Peace and Freedom* comes from *Foreign Affairs*, a journal that has done its best to prevent any truly utopian challenges to the horrors of war and collective violence which continue unabated in the twenty-first century.

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**Pamela Nowicka, *The No-Nonsense Guide to Tourism*** (Toronto: Between the Lines/New Internationalist Publications 2007)

WRITING CRITICAL material which is accessible to the public is no easy task. Readable prose, brevity, and a willingness to abandon stifling scholarly conventions (e.g., endless, not always relevant citations) escape many academic writers. There is also the challenge of dissemination, making the material readily available to a broad readership whose critical thinking is largely shaped by the whims of an uncritical mainstream media. The No-Nonsense Guides published by the New Internationalist continue the long-established practice of producing radical educational material. These alternative texts provide much greater depth than a pamphlet but do not require the reader to commit to a 600-page treatise on a contemporary political-economic issue.

A recent addition to the series is Pamela Nowicka's *The No-Nonsense Guide to Tourism*. Nowicka, an activist and journalist, has written a concise, readable overview of contemporary tourism from a critical perspective. Despite the book's brevity, the author manages to cover significant aspects of one of the fastest growing global industries. The work is largely focussed on the post-war development of global tourism, but the intro-

ductory chapter does provide a historical background linking travel and tourism to European colonization and the growth of holidays in the West (acquired through the struggle of industrial workers). Nowicka discusses the major themes in the historical evolution of tourism such as the Grand Tour, and Cook's mass packaged holidays. The only omission is the role religious pilgrimages played in historical tourism.

It is in the substantive chapters of the book where Nowicka's primary theme of "tourism as exploitation" is detailed. Tourism has been an important economic development strategy foisted on poor countries by a range of institutional actors including the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), boosted by the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), an increasingly powerful global industry association. In chapter two Nowicka begins to take a sledgehammer to the powerful discourse of tourism as a warm and fuzzy, eco-friendly form of "bottom-up" economic development. Of particular emphasis is the problem of "leakage." In many countries in the Global South, over half of the tourist dollar leaves the region as airline companies and global hotel chains based in the North retain significant revenues. The author puts a human face on the problem with a number of inserts giving voice to workers in the margins of the tourism economy who explain the struggle they have to make a living in the industry.

Chapters three and four honestly confront perhaps the primary contradiction complicating a radical perspective. Specifically, there is no escaping the fact that global tourism is driven by large numbers of workers in advanced capitalist countries "consuming" places, experiences, and bodies in the Global South through a number of unequal and precarious

exchange relationships. As Nowicka notes, "to have traveled confers cachet." (53) The cultural capital accumulated through travel experiences does differentiate classes, but also positions all tourists above the 'Other' who is dependent on the visitor for his/her material well-being. This dependency is translated into exploitation as tourism workers surrender physical, emotional and, in growing numbers, sexual labour to tourists for less money as they compete in a global tourism market. The exploitation is further described in Chapter five as a form of "new colonialism," which is reproducing the periphery while doing significant damage to the environment each time a full passenger jet leaves the runway.

Chapter six explores how global tourism and its oppressive power relations remain a preferred and much touted form of economic development. The myths of environmental friendly development, local control, and "peace through tourism" are debunked. Despite the political efforts of NGOs fighting against mega-resort tourism lead by transnational corporations, such forms of (re)development are dominating recently traumatized areas from New Orleans to Sri Lanka.

In the final chapter, Nowicka outlines an agenda for a "new tourism" which reaches beyond voluntary codes of conduct and "ecotourism" rhetoric. Some of the suggestions such as a fair-trade regime which removes tourism from trade agreements and campaigns to educate tourists on why it is necessary to perhaps "pay more" for informal activities in the destinations are warranted. Instead of dismissing every souvenir seller as a charlatan or guide as a hustler, tourists should pay a fair wage. Actions such as an anti-sweatshop campaign for tourists are commendable. Nowicka fails, however, to address seriously the most difficult question concerning her subject: should we continue tourism as a mass consumer

activity at all? As an academic who has travelled from Toronto to Boston, Oslo, Quebec City, and Vancouver over a seven-week period, I must come clean with my own hypocrisy in this regard. To quote Augustine, "the world is a book and those who do not travel read only a page." But as Nowicka has succinctly argued throughout the text, "reading" the world in this manner comes with a very high price. A truly radical text must consider the possibility of a world with limited or no tourism as we presently know it.

Nowicka's *No-Nonsense Guide* is a useful work with a few conceptual limitations, some of which have already been noted. The most significant failing is the treatment of the "tourist" as a generic, undifferentiated category. There are varieties of tourists with significantly different travel motivations and resources. Business travellers (who often combine pleasure travel with their trips) behave differently than people visiting friends and relatives (VFRs, a fast growing segment of the tourist market given global migration). Similarly, mass resort tourism is different from the "working holiday" taken by many student travellers. In part, this generic treatment stems from the book's conflation of global tourism with North-South leisure travel. In fact, global tourism remains a highly regionalized phenomenon. For example, France is consistently one of the world's most visited countries, with most tourists coming from Europe and North America. The author does not address tourism relations among rich countries, but I would suggest that similar exploitation exists, and this is especially evident in the number of immigrant workers toiling in the hotels of New York and London.

Another weakness of the text stems from its greatest strength. The author integrates few academic sources into the book, referring a great deal to a single edited collection. Instead, resources

are drawn from respected international agencies and a number of NGOs working to alleviate poor working conditions in tourist destinations in the South. The author presents a wealth of statistical material clearly. Facts and figures are supplemented with a number of anecdotes, cases, and vignettes offset from the main text in boxes. The original voices of Raj, Shankar, and others highlighted in such boxes illuminate the real inequality experienced by tourism workers.

Overall, Nowicka has produced a powerful little book which meets the aspirations of the *No-Nonsense Guide* series. It is written for a popular audience, but as someone who has taught tourism development at the post-secondary level, I feel the work will serve as an excellent complementary text for any course which examines tourism critically. I fear, however, that it will be largely overlooked by many instructors who uncritically view tourism development as the best alternative for poor people in the South.

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**Mark Anielski, *The Economics of Happiness: Building Genuine Wealth***  
(Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers 2007)

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT has many well-known shortcomings as a measure of economic well-being. It ignores non-market work such as housework and parental childcare; it places no value on leisure; it is boosted by all kinds of spending including negative expenditures such as the costs of war; it deducts nothing to account for environmental degradation; it pays no regard to the distribution of income. And those are only the economic shortcomings. When it is used as a measure of overall societal well-being, it ignores freedoms, rights, lifespan, and more.

There is now a twenty-year tradition of activists, academics, and policy-makers proposing alternative ways to measure well-being. Among the better known attempts are the Human Development Index (HDI), Marilyn Waring's work drawing attention to the neglect of women's work in the GDP, Nordhaus and Tobin's Measure of Economic Welfare, and other environmentally-focused indices such as the Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI). Mark Anielski is a part of this tradition. He worked on refinements to the GPI and applied the resulting index to Alberta in a widely-publicized 2001 report. He has worked in communities from Leduc, Alberta to Nunavut to Santa Monica as well as with corporations and with China's Academy of the Social Sciences to carry out audits of well-being. *The Economics of Happiness* is a personal account that draws on this experience to promote his Genuine Wealth Model.

The subject is a worthy one. We need alternatives to the GDP to better focus our collective efforts on improving people's lives. And while there is no single "improved GDP," there is now a smorgasbord of alternatives available to accommodate the differing goals of communities and nations, and this is surely a good thing. Anielski's obvious energy and enthusiasm in adding to these alternatives deserve applause, but the Genuine Wealth model that this book sets out is not one I can support. Measurement is valuable only if it is demonstrably objective, and the Genuine Wealth Model fails this test.

The book is personal and Anielski's beliefs are clear throughout. Perhaps it is because many of his beliefs left me cold that I found myself arguing against much of the book as I read. If you agree with statements such as "In nature there is no scarcity, only abundance, harmony and equilibrium" (60) or "true wealth ultimately comes as a gift from God" (66) – one of the "fundamental tenets" at the "philo-

sophical heart of Genuine Wealth" – you may like this book more than I did.

The early chapters review the faults of the GDP and chart the use of GPI-inspired indices to construct an alternative index (single number) that better measures the overall health of a society, culminating in Anielski and colleagues' 2001 report asking "were Albertans in general better off today in terms of economic, social, health and environmental well-being than they were in 1960?" (39) The report concluded that "to 1999, Alberta's GDP (in constant 1998 dollars) increased by over 400%, or 4.4% per annum, while the Alberta GPI Well-being Index declined at an annual rate of 0.5% per year... the best GPI Index was recorded in 1961 and the lowest in 1998." (43–4)

In constructing the Well-being Index, Anielski and his colleagues combined no fewer than 51 separate variables, from car crashes and suicide rates to timber sustainability, and from hazardous waste to economic growth and household debt. Each was rated on a scale of 0 to 100, anchored by the maximum value over the time period (100) and with a fixed zero at no incidence (of suicides/pollution etc.). The index is an aggregate of these numbers.

A trap in designing such a complex measure is that the index will reflect what the designer expects to see, and unfortunately Anielski falls into this trap. There is no indication of how the Alberta variables were selected but of his earlier work Anielski says, "I organized the available indicators according to what I felt people might intuitively say they would want more of and what they would want less of to improve their quality of life." (39) Current social problems (divorce, obesity) are included while social improvements (dental standards, access to the arts for example) are omitted. The final index gives equal weight to each indicator, so including separate variables for modern

ills such as problem gambling, voter participation, and obesity (for example) while not breaking out problems more prevalent in the past (tuberculosis, innumeracy, undernourishment) inevitably produces a downward-sloping line. But the meaning of that line is not clear.

The Genuine Wealth Model goes beyond providing aggregate measures for countries and provinces, and the most interesting chapters of the book are those that document Anielski's efforts to apply his methodology to individual communities, organizations, and companies. In these chapters there is no attempt to condense the observations into a single number and the outcome is more of an audit than a ranking. If the community itself gets input into the kinds of variables to be studied, then an audit of the kind he carries out would be a great focal point for discussion and policy debate. Given the increasing use of social audits in such areas as labour standards, environmental impact, and good citizenship, the discussion around these initiatives is valuable.

Even here Anielski skirts some of the difficult problems. The obvious danger in such engagements (especially when one is hired by corporations to evaluate their conduct) is that there is a conflict of interest between the roles of auditor and client; yet this conflict is not mentioned.

Anielski too often believes what people say of themselves. He accepts the claim that China is adopting "a society of moderation" (132) and following a socially and environmentally harmonious development agenda (*xiaokang*) because President Hu Jintao says so. The section on the Bhutan monarchy's promotion of Gross National Happiness does not mention the expulsion of ethnic Nepalese from that country or the undemocratic rule of the king who introduced the measure. His take on the European Middle Ages (5th to 16th centuries) is that it was "an age of moderation." (54–5) "There was a sense



of the common good: that wealth was something available to all citizens not to be hoarded as private property. During this era work and the acquisitive efforts were encouraged, but miserliness was frowned upon." Such rose-tinted vision does not help the effort to construct objective measures.

The outlook of the book is one of progress-by-enlightenment. If only we could recognize the shallowness of our current society and refocus on more spiritual goals, we would move society in that direction. In this Anielski has a lot in common with ideas of social entrepreneurship – business is fine, as long as well-meaning people are in charge. This ignores key institutional issues such as

collective action problems, asymmetric information problems, and power inequalities that too often prevent groups of well-meaning individuals from acting in a constructive fashion.

In summary, the book is unfortunately a missed opportunity. Anielski brings experience and enthusiasm to the valuable project of better measuring our well-being, but his attempt fails by virtue of its subjective approach and because he lets his own spiritual outlook interfere with the act of measurement.

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