

## REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

**Mary Jane Logan McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History, 1940-1980* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2014)**

WHY DO LABOUR historians in both Canada and the United States so frequently fail to include Indigenous peoples in their studies? Do they simply lack substantial enough numbers to register a blip on labour historians' radars? In fact, a significant portion, and not an obscure minority, of the total Native population in both nations proactively entered wage-labour capitalist markets during the 20th century – certainly this merits scholarly attention. Or, does their omission instead reflect a general apprehension toward wrestling with Indigenous culture, which cannot be evaded? One could argue that the challenges of negotiating cultural trends and meanings is precisely what makes their inclusion in labour history scholarship so intriguing and important. Or perhaps this boils down to an enduring assumption among the general citizenry that Indigenous peoples do not work, and are comfortable being poor, as though being poor is some sort of intrinsic Indian "tradition." Alas, in fairness, even historians of First Nations and American Indian people have been complicit in this problematic oversight. Therefore, scholars of all stripes should enthusiastically embrace Mary Jane Logan McCallum's new study on Indigenous work. Indeed, not only does she explore that neglected subject, she also focuses specifically on

Indigenous women, a comparably understudied topic.

Across four chapters organized both thematically and chronologically, McCallum demonstrates how Indigenous women attempted, often successfully, to exploit for their own subjective purposes state-sponsored programs designed to assimilate First Nations peoples into Canada's general body politic, thus theoretically solving lingering problems related to Indigenous poverty and federal expenditures. Chapter 1 focuses on Indian education, Indigenous women's work in federal schools and hospitals, and Native domestic workers in private northern Ontario homes during midcentury. Here the author argues that the state virtually guaranteed that domestic labour would be the only viable career field open to Indigenous women. Chapter 2 discusses the Indian Placement and Relocation Program that the Department of Indian Affairs introduced in 1957 as a means toward integrating Indigenous workers into off-reserve wage-labour systems. Within that, McCallum focuses on Indian women hairdressers, while deconstructing their socio-cultural relationship to the wider realm of beauty culture. Next, Chapter 3 reveals how Native Community Health Representatives (CHR) became important liaisons between First Nations communities and the Canadian state. In the process, McCallum reveals how Indigenous women CHR's overcame sexism, racism, marginalization, and general condescension in their efforts at expanding Native

people's roles in the delivery of health care.

Chapter 4, concerning the Registered Nurses of Canadian Ancestry labour activist group's efforts at Indian control of Indian health, includes the material McCallum has worked on the longest. It is therefore not surprising that this chapter features her best prose and tightest arguments. Moreover, while this final chapter concludes her study with a discussion of Native activism, it is not the same, fiery "Red Power" activism at which most analyses of post-World War II Indian socio-spatial mobility arrive in seemingly obligatory fashion. Consider for example McCallum's quoting of a determined Native nursing school student who, after being told she was just "wasting the government's money," countered, "I'd show him that Indians are not quitters." (213) Here McCallum shows us there is much more to the modern Indigenous activism story than most studies have thus far revealed. Finally, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History* concludes with a provocative discourse on the fraught relationships between Aboriginal histories, academic authority, authenticity, and the state.

Perhaps McCallum's greatest success rests in her avoidance of the pervasive declension narrative in which Native peoples move deeper into the recesses of metropolitan space and capitalist labour networks while concurrently moving further away from Indigeneity. In reconstructing the daily work experiences of First Nations women, McCallum suggests that Indigenous identity is portable and pliable, and does not necessarily deteriorate when untethered from a particular place. In doing so, she avoids the modern version of the "vanishing Indian" trope that seemed to haunt Native peoples who dared to transgress reserve boundaries. Moreover, while she does include lengthy meditations on cultural representation – especially in her chapter on hairdressers

and beauty industry workers – she succeeds in devoting just as much attention to what happened from the workplace floor upward. Simply put, her work is ethnohistorically grounded, and strikes a fine balance between what happened and what it means.

While McCallum successfully sidesteps the victim narrative that compromises most studies of Indigenous off-reserve work and socio-spatial mobility during the modern period, she perhaps does not go far enough – despite a compelling defense early in her conclusion – in challenging the assumption that the state was necessarily the prime mover behind each stage of this history. Indeed, the state persistently looms and gazes, both explicitly and tacitly, across the pages of her study. Yet, considering the bottom-up social history framework that she privileges, should we be so certain that the state so consistently and pervasively structured Indigenous people's life decisions and appraisals as they unfolded in real time? Take for example McCallum's suggestion that some First Nations people who entered the Canadian government's Indian Placement and Relocation Program did not realize that they were even part of a program at all, and that being relocated really did not mean that much to them (points that perhaps needs more evidence to be believed). To look beyond the state and further challenge assumptions that Indigenous peoples needed some sort of socio-economic wakeup call in the form of government intervention, McCallum might have more deeply engaged work by Heather Howard, who convincingly argued that undesirable conditions on Canadian reserves provided a push comparable to federal programs' pull within the overarching process of First Nations people fashioning inroads toward and making or remaking new places within encompassing capitalist markets.

Still, if one finds shortcomings in McCallum's impressive analysis, she should be forgiven on grounds that she is exploring vital and criminally overlooked territory here. McCallum has pointed the way forward. Now the burden of advancing scholarship on this topic is ours to share.

DOUGLAS K. MILLER

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**Kendra Coulter, *Revolutionizing Retail: Workers, Political Action, and Social Change* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2014)**

MORE PEOPLE WORK in retail than in any other sector in Canada, and in most industrialized countries, one of every ten workers is a retail employee. In many countries, salespersons and cashiers are among the occupations with the greatest forecasted job growth, and Walmart is now the second largest employer in the world, behind the Chinese military. (1) Kendra Coulter argues that these are just some of the reasons why we should pay attention to retail work. Transnational retailers are now dominating the global economy, replacing manufacturers as the drivers of international supply, and so conditions in the retail sector can have dramatic implications for other parts of the economy.

Coulter uses a cross-section of data collection strategies to map the world of retail work and worker organizing. Building from her own experiences as a retail worker, Coulter also conducted formal interviews with "34 retail workers, organizers, and local and national leaders of retail workers' organizations and unions," (5) and reviewed a range of primary and secondary sources to tell the story of retail work in the modern era. She states that she is not a neutral observer, but instead shapes her project around the

experience of workers and the desire to hear their voices about their jobs and the prospects for improving their conditions.

Most retail jobs can be considered precarious work: low-pay, irregular hours, and insecurity. In this way they are similar to many other jobs found in the modern labour market. Yet Coulter notes that retail work is not all bad. Many workers she encounters and interviews identify as retail workers, and have positive feelings about their co-workers and some aspects of the work. But few see the work as a career. They see retail work as a dead-end: little or no chances for promotion, little respect from customers or managers, and few chances to acquire new skills or job training.

Yet there is no reason that retail work must be a dead-end job. Coulter argues that if workers had more power and were able to organize, they could improve the nature of retail work – in the best case scenarios, they could revolutionize retail. There are some experiments underway which suggest hope. These experiments include union organizing, but also other forms, including strategies of resistance that retail workers employ daily in order to "reassert their self-worth and try to improve their daily lives." (55) While unionization rates are traditionally lower in retail than in manufacturing, retail workers have formed unions since as early as 1890 in Michigan, and one of the large sit-down strikes in 1937 took place in the Woolworth's retail chain in Detroit. Today only thirteen per cent of Canada's retail workers, and five per cent of those in the US, are in unions. But Coulter tells the story of two different women who decided to form unions at their workplace in Canada and succeeded, although in one case, the store shut down that location. These cases show that it is possible for retail workers to build solidarity with co-workers, organize themselves, work with unions, and confront employers – even

young women with no union experience. In fact, Coulter finds that all of the retail organizing examples she studied involved a worker leader, and in a majority of cases, that leader was under age 35.

There have been other efforts – some successful, some not – at organizing retail workers over the past few decades. Coulter argues that it is crucial to understand not just the processes of labour relations, but to see the ways in which retail organizing is emotional. In particular, retail workers report feeling disrespected by the employer, as well as strong friendships with co-workers. These emotions played a central role in organizing efforts. The campaigns were then often as much about interpersonal and respect issues as much as monetary ones.

Efforts to improve conditions for retail workers are not confined to unions. Other vehicles include worker centres, such as the Retail Action Project in New York City; community campaigns around retail developments; and what Coulter calls a store-based network like the organization OUR Walmart. These kinds of organizations have different strategies and different relationships to unions, but most try to use a mixture of workplace organizing, education, and policies to improve retail wages and working conditions.

Although Coulter profiles a number of retail organizing efforts, she also is clear about the many barriers and challenges worker organizers face. These include weak labour law, employer opposition (union avoidance), high turnover of retail workers, surveillance of employees in the workplace, and the sometimes complex ways in which employers mobilize worker emotions – such as managers who use a notion of workplace as family in order to make workers feel they should not unionize. In one example where workers were scheduled to vote on unionization, a corporate representative used the

word family fourteen times in an hour-long captive audience meeting the day before the vote. Just as emotions can play a role in helping workers organize with co-workers to form a union or demand better conditions, they are also susceptible to employers using emotions to stop organizing efforts. Coulter explains that this is why it is crucial for scholars and organizers to understand the role emotion plays in retail work.

This book is an important contribution to the fields of labour studies, labour sociology, and anthropology. Indeed, anyone wishing to understand labour market trends more broadly will benefit by reading this accessible and informative book. Retail is a prominent and growing sector in most countries and the global economy, and it is crucial that scholars and organizers understand the complex nature of retail work. While retail unions are not new, many current efforts to organize the retail sector are cutting edge. Although many retail jobs could be considered “bad jobs,” there is no reason they have to be bad. Coulter offers valuable insight into the nature of retail work and how emotions play a key role for many employees who identify with the work in some way. Organizing retail work would go a long way toward shifting bad jobs to good jobs, perhaps establishing a model for other occupations and sectors.

STEPHANIE LUCE

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**Magda Fahrni and ESYLLT W. JONES,**  
*eds., Epidemic Encounters: Influenza, Society, and Culture in Canada, 1918–20* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2012)

EDITED BY MAGDA FAHRNI and ESYLLT W. JONES, *Epidemic Encounters* is a timely examination of the Influenza Pandemic of 1918–1920 in Canada. The belief in

the supremacy of modern medicine, the general efficacy of antibiotics and vaccines, as well as the defeat of contagious diseases like smallpox and polio in the post-World War II period has, with the exception of medical historians, created a general amnesia regarding the impact that the 1918–1920 epidemic had on Canadian society. Instead, the historiography of this period has been overshadowed by the First and Second World Wars, particularly in regards to state formation, public health, women's work, and culture. Such oversight ignores the enormous impact of the outbreak – from 1918 to 1920 approximately 55,000 people (women, men, and children) in Canada died from influenza compared to 67,000 soldiers who died during the four years of the First World War

In the last decade, a resurgence in literature related to the 1918–1920 influenza pandemic has accompanied public panics over influenza outbreaks like SARS and H1N1, as well as mounting public fears regarding antibiotic resistant diseases, biological warfare, zombies, and globalization. *Epidemic Encounters* is certainly keyed into this historical moment: it offers new methodological and interdisciplinary perspectives on the outbreak and draws important links between the past and present. In so doing, it provides context for the 1918 outbreak that also helps to historicize contemporary concerns related to public health policy and outbreak management. Divided into four inter-related sections, the collection explores both state and popular responses to the epidemic; it offers a critical reevaluation of the social contours of the epidemic and the impact of race, class, and ethnicity with respect to public health; it situates influenza within a particular moment in Canada cultural history that is concerned with modernity; and finally, the collection offers a timely comparison of current and past public health practices during crises.

The editors draw on what they refer to as the “flu narrative” or contagion story in order to tease out the social and cultural histories of the outbreak. The first section deals with how different constituents in Canadian society experienced the outbreak. The first two articles address the relationship between the influenza pandemic and the war. Mark Osborne Humphries argues that the state sacrificed the health of Canadians in order to ensure an allied victory. Linda Quiney contends that, in spite of the advances the nursing profession made through women's participation in the First World War, the pandemic created “contradictory and often conflicting notions of women's inherent healing capabilities, role in society, and professional advancement.” (64) Magda Fahrini draws on letters written to municipal authorities to show that while people were concerned about the influenza pandemic and its impact on their health and livelihood, they continued to be concerned with the “issues of everyday life in the early twentieth-century city.” (87)

The second section dispels some of the long held misconceptions that surround the 1918 influenza outbreak. For example, much of the historiography suggests, either implicitly or directly, that the historical experience of the 1918 influenza was largely homogenous. Of course, looking at rates of morbidity and mortality can often hide what histories of medicine mean to reveal, and meta-narratives similarly obscure or elide the individual or community experience they construct as part of a larger whole. “The North-South Divide: Social Inequality and Mortality from the 1918 Influenza Pandemic in Hamilton, Ontario” by D. Ann Herring and Ellen Korol is therefore a wonderful addition to this study, as it examines the path the epidemic took in Hamilton, Ontario and its relationship to space and class. The authors

argue that the 1918 influenza outbreak “laid bare the social lines that divided the city,” (107) and suggest that people who did not have the financial resources to ensure proper health care during their illness suffered disproportionately higher mortality rates. Attending to the racialized constellations of power that attended the outbreak, Karen Slonim’s article, “Beyond Biology: Understanding the Social Impact of Infectious Disease in Two Aboriginal Communities,” complicates Herring’s and Korol’s work by incorporating colonialism into her analysis of the epidemic. Looking at two northern Cree communities in Manitoba, Slonim found that the economic activities of each community influenced the impact of the 1918 outbreak. For instance, many members of Norway House Cree Nation were unable to access “informal networks of care” when they became sick while working their traplines. In contrast, more members of the Fisher River Cree Nation were involved in wage labour in the lumber industry and therefore had “access to greater resources” because they did not participate in seasonal hunting activities. (137) Particularly important in this article is the way in which class is articulated as a colonial subject position that must be understood as embedded within power relations between settlers and Indigenous peoples.

The third section examines the meaning-making practices that arose during and after the epidemic. Mary-Ellen Kelm’s article uses flu stories to illustrate the limits of modern medicine to combat the outbreak and how individuals, families, and communities experienced and made meaning out of influenza in 1918. Kelm found that the “disease [was] experienced as embodied, personal, and familial,” (177) and that for many it was the intervention of neighbours and community, not modern medicine that ensured their survival. “Spectral Influenza:

Winnipeg’s Hamilton Family, Interwar Spiritualism, and Pandemic Disease” by Elylt Jones shows how one family chose to manage their grief within the cultural landscape of the interwar period. The loss of a young child during the pandemic led the Hamilton family to seek out contact with their child through séances. Finally, in the last section, Heather MacDougall’s more contemporary and comparative study makes very interesting linkages between the actions of health authorities in the 1918 outbreak and the management of public health during the SARS panic of 2003.

In conclusion, the collection serves as an important reminder that we need to be critical of the ways in which epidemics are narrated in the popular press and by medical authorities. In the conclusion the editors, Madga Fahrini and Elylt Jones, astutely observe that outbreaks often “serve as a narrative backdrop, setting the stage on which contemporary anxieties play out.” (266) While Fahrini and Jones made this observation in reference to SARS and H1N1, these remarks remain relevant in regards to the current Ebola outbreak in Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Liberia where racist and imperialist constructs of the African continent as dark and dangerous are being played out at the expense of the individuals experiencing the epidemic. This historical study thus not only produces historical knowledge of the 1918 outbreak: it puts these perspectives into play with present-day discourses about race, class, contagion, and public paranoia in a way that counsels a certain critical reading praxis for pandemics in the broader sense.

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**Janis Thiessen, *Manufacturing Mennonites: Work and Religion in Post-War Manitoba* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2013)**

JANIS THIESSEN HAS written an important study of religion, business, and the working class, focusing on three Manitoba Mennonite businesses and their workers. The book is a welcome development within Canadian Mennonite history, which thus far has focused primarily on the rural experience of this ethno-religious group. The study is well written and researched and demonstrates clearly the importance of identifying the potential role of faith in understanding the motivations and behavior of both business owners and employees. Thiessen is aware that in some workplace contexts, religion has provided the basis for, or strengthened, existing oppositional working-class consciousness. She references the extensive literature on this topic in the US and Britain, and identifies most of the relevant Canadian work. She argues that in the Canadian Mennonite context religion served more to inhibit than to encourage unionization. Her monograph presents a number of reasons to explain why this was the case.

Thiessen begins with a detailed discussion of Mennonite history and theology, providing a clear explanation of the key Mennonite concept of “yieldedness,” the individual’s submission both to God and to the faith community. As Thiessen argues, the way in which this concept was understood, and the linkage of Mennonite concepts of “non-resistance, yieldedness, and neighbourly love,” led to “the exclusion of questions of justice and power from Mennonite discourse.” (30) Thiessen is clear that Mennonite social beliefs were potentially malleable. However, she notes the influence of 20th-century Mennonite theologians and historians such as Harold Bender, whose

interpretations of Mennonite theology and history focused on issues of yieldedness and non-resistance rather than on the “socially radical nature of early Anabaptism,” (27) which could have led Mennonites to more actively challenge workplace inequities.

After laying out the socially conservative religious ideals espoused by Mennonite intellectuals, Thiessen chronicles the development of the three successful Mennonite firms she studies: Loewen Windows, Friesen Printers, and Palliser Furniture. Here one starts to see the strength of her source base, which includes 66 interviews with workers, managers, and owners of the three companies, as well as the use of many other relevant primary sources.

Loewen Windows and Friesen Printers began in the early 20th century in small Mennonite Manitoba towns, while Palliser Furniture began in Winnipeg in the 1940s. All three companies started as, and at least into the late 20th century remained, family-run firms. In addition to providing brief histories of the early years and the subsequent dramatic growth of these firms, Thiessen begins in this chapter to provide a close study of the religious beliefs of their founders, and of the children and grandchildren who continued to lead them.

In the following chapter Thiessen focuses on the ideological impact of Mennonite faith on the firms, primarily through the development of “corporate mythologies.” These corporate mythologies were both explicitly Mennonite, most blatantly in the religious services that were a mandatory part of the workday at some firms, and more implicitly, with a focus on humility, service and a strong work ethic being part of the paternalistic message of the owners. In exploring corporate mythology Thiessen provides a detailed analysis of one particular advertising campaign by Loewen Windows,

which exemplified the Mennonite corporate mythology. She argues that this corporate mythology served capitalist needs “by promoting worker assiduity, loyalty, and deference.” (83)

In the next chapter, Theissen argues that the first post-war generation of workers largely accepted this mythology, perhaps less because of religious faith and more because postwar Manitoba workplaces, no matter how exploitative, were better than the refugee experiences many had recently endured in Europe. By the 1970s, however, a new generation of Canadian-born workers had emerged who were less deferential and increasingly unhappy with the changes in the labour process that occurred as the companies grew, reducing worker control and direct personal contact with management. Theissen provides some fascinating examples of how workers responded to this shift and the ways in which paternalism became increasingly less effective. However, more extensive use of Theissen’s rich oral history source base would have been helpful here in obtaining a clearer and more detailed sense of the causes of increasing worker dissatisfaction.

The following chapter chronicles the tensions between Mennonites and the more pro-union NDP government of Manitoba in the 1970s. Mennonite business leaders were very uncomfortable with this shift, and Mennonite religious leaders preached against unions, although their message was less stark than it had been earlier in the century when theology dictated that one could not be a practicing Mennonite and a union member. Theissen suggests that not all Mennonite workers accepted the anti-union message of their leaders, but provides very few examples of actively pro-union Mennonite workers.

In her final chapter Theissen demonstrates that two out of the three companies experienced union organizing efforts

in the late 20th century, at a time when their workforces were much more diverse than they had previously been. Neither effort was successful and Theissen goes on to discuss management’s development of programs such as profit-sharing and employee ownership, that were intended to prevent unionization.

In these examples Thiessen demonstrates the tensions between the sincere faith of the owners of the business and the ways in which they used their faith to further their business interests. Her willingness to see the implementation of methods such as profit-sharing both as examples of such faith and as methods of keeping unions out and increasing worker satisfaction demonstrate her ability to deal with complexity and contradiction, although she ultimately views such efforts as primarily rooted in economic self-interest.

This is an important study that extends the limited Canadian work on religion and the working class to a hitherto ignored ethno-religious group. At the same time, although the author provides an excellent and thoughtful discussion of the impact of faith on employers, the impact (or lack of impact) of faith on workers is less clearly drawn out. The interviews with workers that Theissen presents provide fascinating material about workers’ attitudes to the workplace. But the author provides only very limited examples of the impact that the workers’ religious faith might have on their attitudes to work and class consciousness. Her discussion of faith-based corporate mythologies is important, but would have been stronger if she had included more evidence of how these ideological systems were, or were not, accepted by workers. Since union drives can fail for any number of reasons, more finely-grained evidence regarding the role played by workers’ religious faith in these contexts would have been very useful.



The fact that workforces were quite ethnically and religiously diverse by this period is noted by Thiessen, but could have received more detailed analysis in explaining the failure of the union drives. Also, gender is not a significant category of analysis here, although women were clearly present in at least two of the workplaces. Studies of women and religion point to women's particular interest in, and involvement with, religion. It would have been useful if Thiessen had been able to elaborate on her discussion of gender in the workplace in light of this larger literature.

This monograph is nonetheless a welcome contribution to the social history of religion in Canada. Its exploration of the intersections and contradictions in the role faith and economic self interest played in shaping the attitudes of Mennonite business owners to their employees is particularly impressive, and it contributes to our understanding of the complex ways in which religious faith can impact workers' class consciousness and activism.

LYNNE MARKS

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**Frank White, *Milk Spills and One-Log Loads: Memories of a Pioneer Truck Driver* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing 2013)**

DETAILED HISTORICAL accounts of trucking in Canada are few and far between, which makes this autobiographical account of driving trucks in British Columbia from the late 1920s to the mid-1940s a valuable source. Part childhood reminiscence and part working-class memoir, it is the result of centenarian Frank White working with his son Howard to turn his stories and jottings into a coherent narrative. According to the preface, they organized the book

"along the lines of a casual conversation" and strove to write "in the vernacular style." (7) The result is a highly readable account of day-to-day working conditions in the early trucking industry that is accessible to a popular readership, that does not bog down in details about automotive technology, and that will be of interest to labour, rural, and business historians who study Canada's interwar years.

The book is divided into three parts, each with six chapters. Part One is about growing up in the agricultural community of Abbotsford, 70 kilometers east of Vancouver. White learned the butchering trade at his father's shop in town, and provides detailed descriptions of driving automobiles and slaughtering animals while still attending grade school. When White's father acquired a Ford light delivery truck he made eldest son Frank responsible for making deliveries around town; though barely in his teens, Frank was fascinated by modern machinery. White recalls the high status accorded long-distance truck drivers in the late 1920s: "They were the only people who saw the country in those days. They were respected. People sought them out, wanted their opinions. They were men of special experience." (88) White's early truck driving experience proved an asset when his father died and he was thrust into the role of family breadwinner at the outset of the Depression.

Part Two is called "Trucking Milk." In 1932 White was hired to drive a 3-ton truck hauling milk from Fraser Valley farms to dairies in Vancouver. He shows how truckers' ability to travel a flexible route and make convenient pick-ups direct from the farm allowed this operation to cut into the transport monopoly of the BC Electric Railway Company, which expected farmers to deliver their milk to stations along its rail line. White provides rich descriptions of the work of truck driving and of the changing relationship

between city and country that automobil-ity permitted in the interwar years. Milk was hauled at an unrelenting pace, seven days a week, all year round. Loading milk cans was physically demanding, with a full one weighing 125 pounds. White and his colleagues drove at least 150 kilometers each working day, and got to know every bump and curve in the so-called highway between Abbotsford and Vancouver. They also developed intimate knowledge of their machines, including a truck's pick-up and braking power, the qualities of its tires in different weather conditions, and its balance of gravity when loaded.

White depicts milk truckers as go-betweens for rural producers and urban processors. Truckers could help certain farmers by taking special care to keep their milk cool, or by putting in a good word with the dairyman. But truckers also kept silent when they saw dairymen take advantage of a farmer, because the same dairymen could shortchange farmers in order to "make up" the milk that a favoured trucker had spilled or otherwise spoiled in their unrefrigerated vehicles. Truckers made extra money by carrying passengers or running errands, and White recalls that meeting young women who wanted to visit the city was a perk of the job. White did not own the trucks he hauled milk with; he was not what we today would call an owner-operator. His employer was a drinking buddy who White quit driving for after being screwed over on a promised loan. He concludes that trucking milk allowed him to get through the Depression in "the fast lane," noting that he "wasn't out of work for a single day." (123)

Part Three sees White hauling massive logs on narrow, primitive roads scratched out on the steep, heavily forested mountainsides of BC's south coast. Truck logging has been sorely neglected in the literature on Canada's forest industry,

making White's account of working in some of the earliest such operations especially valuable. By the late 1930s the availability of bulldozers and high-powered multi-axle trucks with pneumatic tires and air brakes made it possible for small operators to break into an industry dominated by large companies with the capital to build elaborate logging railroads. White credits Abbotsford mechanic Bill Scharne with the "invention" of truck logging in the Fraser Valley: even the heaviest Mack trucks took such a beating that only an experienced mechanic could expect to make money on such an operation. White's description of early truck logging complicates the argument by historians of BC forestry that mid-century mechanization meant the deskilling of forest work. True, the skills of teamsters and locomotive engineers were not needed in the new, cheaper, more flexible truck logging operations, but that does not mean operating a bulldozer or logging truck was "unskilled" work. White clearly shows that hauling timber by truck was highly skilled work, and exceptionally dangerous for anyone who lacked a good feel for maneuvering powerful machines along primitive roads.

World War II represented a brief golden age for independent truck loggers in BC's coastal forest sector, but even before war's end the big logging companies were purchasing fleets of logging trucks, hiring drivers, and relegating small operators to the role of contractors. It was at that inopportune moment that White discovered an entrepreneurial streak, acquiring three Macks and hiring on two drivers. This venture proved a financial disaster and pushed White out of truck driving, leaving him to conclude "I was too in love with the idea of getting a fleet of trucks without figuring out just where the money would come from." (247)

This book is no nostalgia trip. White does not fawn over technology or

romanticize the work of truck driving. He shows trucking in the interwar years to have been characterized by long, lonely hours and cutthroat competition, where masculinity was asserted through drinking, carousing, and fighting, and where agreements sealed with a handshake often proved to have no binding power. Along the way, he offers his skeptical opinion on topics like religion, militarism, and the corrosive effects of corporate concentration. The introduction alludes to a forthcoming second volume that will detail White's experiences as a mechanic – another kind of automobile-age work that has yet to receive its due from historians. One can only hope it will be as readable and rich in detail as this initial effort.

BEN BRADLEY

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**Stacey Zembrzycki, *According to Baba: A Collaborative Oral History of Sudbury's Ukrainian Community* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2014)**

STACEY ZEMBRZYCKI'S *According to Baba* offers readers an authoritative and exclusive account of the formative years of Sudbury's Ukrainian community. Utilizing oral history interviews, the author traces how the community, and its sub-communities, developed in the context of complicated social networks, political affiliations, and power relations.

The author's use of oral history also documents her attempts to "share authority" with her *baba* (grandmother). According to Zembrzycki, the book was initially envisaged as a social history that would record the formation of Sudbury's Ukrainian community from 1901 to 1939. However, a lack of response to interview requests prompted a reevaluation of her methodology and the subsequent

collaboration with her grandmother. Embracing these changes, the book became "an unconventional oral history" that placed "practice and process" at the heart of the discussion. (3)

Zembrzycki is especially concerned with how "sharing authority" works in practice. She writes that historians who employ oral history are not transparent enough with their process, nor do they spend enough time reflecting on it. Instead, *According to Baba* would be an honest reflection on the difficulties of "sharing authority" and, in some instances, even giving up control to her grandmother. By positioning her study in this way, the author offers readers an honest evaluation of the difficulties of this process. This is most noteworthy when one considers that Zembrzycki is "sharing authority" with someone who conceivably does not understand her "academic baggage." (9)

However, as the author herself notes, oral history is made more interesting when it is unconventional. Indeed, her grandmother's role in the project achieves this. More importantly, *baba* serves as the agent of traditional community attitudes around which a capacious narrative of Sudbury's Ukrainians can develop. It is because of Zembrzycki's dynamics with her grandmother that the reader can grasp not only a sense of the politics of identity in Sudbury's Ukrainian community but of the intrinsic factions and disputes within the national community as well. Those interested in community studies will appreciate the innate difficulty of mitigating various sympathies, disputes, and affiliations and the attempts of the author to resolve this through the lens of her grandmother.

More so, *According to Baba* arrives at an opportune time for scholars interested in Ukrainian Canadian history. In recent years, a concerted effort has been made to redefine the way in which this

community is imagined. Scholars are directing their attention to topics once deemed too controversial to address in full and are rewriting the narrative to include those excluded from the traditional historiography. While *According to Baba* is not the first to depart from “narrow elitist and organizational agendas” (20) as the author suggests, it is nonetheless an important addition to the growing literature that is attempting to conceive of Ukrainian Canadian history in a different way.

The significance of *According to Baba* in the reconsideration of Ukrainian Canadian history is most evident in Zembrzycki’s exploration of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), which, as the author rightfully notes, played a prominent role in organizing Sudbury’s Ukrainians. Often discounted by many Ukrainian scholars as merely Communist sympathizers and fellow travellers, the ULFTA became the bearer of what being a progressive Ukrainian in Canada meant. Through local labour temples, members of the ULFTA were exposed to socio-cultural, educational, and benevolent societies. Its members ran literacy programs in both English and Ukrainian, led seminars in class politics, established orchestras, drama clubs, and dance ensembles that kept traditions alive, and, most significantly, organized labour activity. In Sudbury specifically, the organization was lively, regularly celebrating Lenin’s birthday, May Day, and International Women’s Day, all while organizing solidarity events, protests, and strikes. (59)

The critical utility of Sudbury’s labour temple was in its fight against discrimination and the defense of the rights of miners. The ULFTA frequently attempted to combat unfair hiring and firing practices, improve working conditions, and achieve fair wages for its members. (47) Its involvement in the “politics of mining”

is particularly striking in the context of national repression of organized workers at the hands of state and capital. (40) A particular strength of the book, then, is the author’s use of oral history to trace the attempts of mining companies to constrain union influence and silence socialist-progressive voices.

Further, Zembrzycki’s interviews point to the role of the state, capitalists, and community elites; these hostile forces limited and attacked the socio-economic opportunities of progressive Ukrainians. According to an interviewee, priests, elites, and those who sided with the populist-nationalist organizations frequently surveilled the left on behalf of interested parties, gifting them the ability to deny jobs to potential “reds.” (80) In exchange for information, the mining companies openly supported the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its affiliates, funding new cathedrals and prioritizing their candidates for employment in the mines. The populist-nationalist movement’s cooperation played no small role in the eventual dissolution of the Ukrainian left in Sudbury. While possibly anecdotal or even difficult to corroborate, Zembrzycki’s accounts are certainly indicative of national trends, well documented by scholars of the Ukrainian Canadian experience and labour historians.

Although the book is largely in line with Canadian historiography, the pitfalls of relying on oral history at the expense of context and historicization leave the monograph occasionally wanting. While the author articulates the bifurcated nature of the community, there is little explanation as to why these splits occurred apart from simplified assumptions of left-right divisions. Internal rifts within this Manichean split are also not sufficiently interrogated. Perhaps a more cohesive examination of these factions and a robust engagement with the widely available secondary literature would have

complicated and enriched the history, simultaneously assigning new significance to the oral testimonies.

While it is appreciated that the author is candid about her frequent frustration with her grandmother for lacking self-reflexivity, this concession can distort as much as it reveals. As *baba* is so integral to the story, the author's failure to explain and historically situate her place within the community manifests in a problematic way. *Baba* is described as a Ukrainian Catholic who consorted with various factions of the community. No attempt is made at deconstructing her politics, sympathies, or attitudes beyond the superficial.

Moreover, the author's argument that the community was defined on its own terms is overstated. (74) Such a position ignores a multitude of external factors, including Canada's security state, state sponsored anti-communism, and capital's attack on left-leaning unions. These factors offer further explanation and interpretation into how and why the Ukrainian community developed, or dissolved, in the ways that it did.

Despite these concerns, there are significant strengths in this distinct text. Zembrzycki has provided a template for future local studies of the ethnic communities, a refreshing approach to the often-tricky realm of oral history, and a way to examine the lived experience of working-class people. Therefore, this book will be particularly useful for historians of gender, community and ethnic studies, labour, and the working-class. Indeed, the specialized nature of the content may put this work beyond the use for an undergraduate audience (excepting those with a specific interest in Ukrainian studies or oral history), but it would be well received, more generally, by the Ukrainian community itself.

KASSANDRA LUCIUK  
University of Toronto

**Christopher Greig, *Ontario Boys: Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2014)**

CHRISTOPHER GREIG'S new work *Ontario Boys: Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario* is a richly detailed history of boyhood in Ontario from 1945 to 1960. The book outlines the "crisis of boyhood" that ran alongside a wider concern about a "crisis of masculinity" as the province questioned its future in the postwar era. Instead of focusing on the lived experiences of boys themselves, Greig wisely chooses to trace the ideals of boyhood that were circulating in popular discourse. These were part of an ideological struggle to ensure that the province was producing the right types of boys who would eventually grow up to helm the political and economic future of Ontario. Boys needed to grow into stable, manly, men – the kind who would "fulfill the responsibilities of manhood by providing security and stability for Canada's seemingly fragile democracy." (25)

Greig's choice of the postwar era, the so-called baby boom years of roughly 1945–1960, is particularly apropos. It was a period of great discussion on the status of masculinity as the province attempted to reinstate a stability and normalcy that seemed to have been disrupted by the hardship and uncertainty of the Depression and World War II. This return to stability encompassed a strengthening of the social roles and relations of men and women and a return to what Greig refers to as a "male breadwinner citizen model" (xvii) which emphasized patriarchal power both at home and in the public sphere. In the postwar era there were increasing anxieties around men's role as both breadwinner and as civic leaders. There was public concern over increased feminization of the Ontario male as women entered the

labour force, many in positions that were traditionally male jobs. It was in this context that there was a heightened preoccupation with the regulation of boyhood and the rejuvenation of a traditional boyhood that stressed such attributes as honesty, selflessness, bravery and emotional toughness, as a metaphor of stability and the strength of the nation's future.

Greig builds his arguments on an exhaustive array of sources from the public sphere: newspapers from both large and small markets in Ontario from the *Globe and Mail* to the *Newmarket Era*, mass circulation magazines such as *Macleans*, public commentaries by such institutions as the Boy Scouts and the YMCA, nonfiction and fiction works that boys were encouraged to read, church publications, and men's biographies. The wealth of Greig's sources supports the credibility of his arguments. Greig expertly contextualizes these sources within wider social, cultural, economic, and political shifts that occurred in the era. Each source Greig provides is eloquently linked to a multitude of other sources so that the sources do not stand on their own, but instead clearly read as examples of broader contexts.

This book has value to *Labour/Le Travail* readers as debates on work are embedded in these public discourses on boyhood. The first three chapters explore the intersections of the regulation of boyhood and the ideal versions of boyhood that were reinforced alongside a growth in corporate culture, the experiences of the World War II, the potential threat of communism, and an expanding idea of feminism. Of course, the boy was to be a future worker and employee who would ensure the economic future of the province. Greig acknowledges that a version of boyhood that emphasized a rugged individualism of self-sufficiency and risk taking was still prevalent in postwar Ontario. But, with the growth of white collar work, corporations began to place

a much stronger emphasis on the skills of administration and management which introduced a competing version of ideal boyhood. This version embodied the skills of loyalty, teamwork, conformity, and self-sacrifice – all skills necessary to the increasing bureaucratization of work. The capitalist tendencies of corporate culture could easily exploit such traits to harness an acquiescent labour force committed and loyal to the values of their employers' corporate logics.

Of course there were threats to this model of boyhood. The biggest was the "bad boy," the deviant adolescent boy who was often imagined as being from urban working-poor neighbourhoods and was usually a child of newly immigrated parents. Greig builds his arguments on this by using materials from the various public commentators and volunteer organizations who were working to prevent delinquency and reform delinquents. The classism and racism in such discourses is clearly addressed as Greig uses these "bad boy" narratives to examine what he calls "the boyhood-ideal-in reverse." (74)

The strength of this book culminates in Chapter 5, entitled "Changes and Continuities: Historical and Contemporary Boyhood Ideals." Using a historian's perspective, Greig challenges current debates as concerns about boys have once again "emerged front and centre in the gendered landscape of public discourse." (101) He applies the book's thesis – that public preoccupation with the status of boys manifests during historical moments of intense socio-economic changes – to the present, noting that current public commentary on boyhood often declares that we, as a society, are failing boys. Many of these boy crisis advocates advocate for a rejuvenation of a traditional version of boyhood and placed much of the blame of the increasing feminization of boys on feminism, a debate that is not much different than the in the

postwar era. Besides the blatant misogyny and homophobia, and the complete oversight of the global plight of girls who continue to be economically, socially, and politically disadvantaged, the problem with such framings is that it continues to foster a narrow image of boyhood that does not allow for alternative or more egalitarian versions.

Overall *Ontario Boys* provides a thoughtful addition to the area of labour studies as it intersects with gender. It also provides a rich layer to the field of the history of Ontario and Canada.

NATALIE COULTER  
York University

**Geraldine Pratt, *Families Apart: Migrant Mothers and the Conflicts of Labor and Love* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2012)**

THE PURPOSE OF *Families Apart* is to trouble the complacency around the Temporary Foreign Worker (TFW) program in Canada by examining the experiences of Filipino women who work as TFWs under the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP). In this book Geraldine Pratt focuses on the lasting effects of long-term separation on the family.

In the introductory chapter, the author critically self-reflects on her long-term collaboration with the Philippine Women's Centre (PWC) without which, she concedes, the pages of this book would have been blank. Pratt clarifies that she moves between the "I" as a singular white academic voice and the unstable "we" of various research collaborations. Importantly, she states that the book is not an attempt "to speak for but to bring domestic workers and their children more fully into the public debate about the justice of a temporary-worker program to which the Canadian state is firmly committed." (xxi)

Chapter 1, drawing on the narratives of Filipino live-in caregivers and their children who reunited with their mothers in Vancouver, demonstrates the complexity and complications of family reunification. Pratt states, "domestic workers and their families are caught at the threshold of a number of contradictory (neo)liberal compromises. Something has to give under the pressure of these contradictions and we argue that it is the families immigrating through the LCP that are buckling under their weight." (7) Pratt gives examples of these contradictions and demonstrates how the LCP has efficiently created two generations of unskilled workers.

Centering on the mothers and children who talk about their difficulties maintaining intimate relationships with each other across space and time, the main themes in Chapter 2 are the sense of loss and the trauma of separation. Pratt reminds the reader that the Canadian government's decision to restrict live-in caregivers from entering Canada with their families is "an arbitrary act of sovereign power that defines these women as less than citizens and temporarily strips them of their full personhood, including familial relations," (70) a form of state violence.

Chapter 3 further problematizes the long-term effects of the LCP mainly from the mothers' perspectives. Maternal loss expressed through testimonials is the focus of this chapter. A valuable discussion in this chapter is around the risks of sharing testimonials. These include "calling up the stigmatization of the bad mother, inviting a violently sentimental appropriation of experience, and congealing subjectivity in a simplifying in narrative of victimization." (81) Pratt offers that testimonials must confirm the participants' agency and subjectivity.

In Chapter 4, Pratt notes that years of research had not resulted in any

discernable policy changes around the LCP, so she/they jumped at an opportunity offered by two theatre artists to develop a “testimonial play” using the research transcripts. The play, which is “episodic and fragmented with a multiplicity of entry points,” (118) has been a way to draw a wider public into the debate around the LCP and care-work in Canada. With the inclusion of ten photos, Pratt describes the various scenes of this unique play and the audiences’ responses to it. She concludes that documentary theatre can “instantiate performativity epistemologies” (131) and generate critical debate.

Chapter 5 extends the discussion about the obligation to witness, hear, and understand the violence of state policies on the live-in caregivers and their children. Pratt asserts that when experience is taken out of context, abstract pity is the main response, so instead of focusing solely on the poor and disempowered attention must be given to state violence. Pratt deliberately positioned the discussion of Philippine state violence in Chapter 5 after and alongside an analysis of Canada. She examines the Philippine state’s violation of human rights alongside Canadian aid to the Philippines to expose the “rubric of militarized commerce.” (146)

In the final chapter, Pratt takes up ethics and politics, raising such questions as: “on what ethical grounds do liberals seemingly devalue the lives of noncitizens? How can we justify the practice of normative nationalism?” (164) Her reflection on the process provides valuable insights into an academic researcher’s relationship with a community organization (in this case the PWC) and the broader Filipino-Canadian community for over a decade, a relationship that continues to evolve and change.

The storytelling style of the author combined with the narratives of live-in caregivers, their families and others,

snippets of letters, and carefully selected photographs draw the reader in while raising critical questions about, for example, transnationalism, globalization, and neoliberalism. This theoretically rich book would be a fascinating read for graduate students in disciplines such as sociology, political science, geography, migration studies, and women and gender studies. Because of the author’s self-reflective stance on her role as a researcher working long-term within a community and on the creative and thought-provoking ways she/they presented the research, I will use the book in my doctoral course on research methodologies in Educational Studies. Undoubtedly, this book will resonate with anyone who is a live-in caregiver or works with live-in caregivers. I also recommend it for those who want to and should know more about live-in caregivers’ and their families’ experiences and the impact the LCP has on them.

SUSAN M. BRIGHAM

Mount Saint Vincent University

**Glenda Tibe Bonifacio, *Pinay on the Prairies: Filipino Women and Transnational Identities* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2013)**

GLENDIA TIBE BONIFACIO’S analysis of Filipino women living on the Canadian Prairies is a welcomed contribution to the growing scholarly literature on Filipinos in Canada. *Pinay on the Prairies* presents an in-depth, and timely, profile of Filipino women in the Prairies, their lived experiences, and their activism. The current body of literature on Filipinos in Canada is characterized by an urban focus that dwells on Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal; an unbalanced emphasis on Filipino live-in caregivers; and a separation between temporary foreign workers, permanent residents, and naturalized



citizens. Bonifacio's analysis offers a fresh analysis by moving away from these three characterizations. Her study looks at the experiences and profiles of various Filipino women of different immigration status in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, living in rural areas as well as urban centers. This is an important book that generates awareness of this Filipino demographic and encourages further research.

Bonifacio adopts a "Pinay Peminism" analytical framework. This is a feminist approach developed in the United States that "recognizes the same activist underpinnings of feminism in the West but draws on Filipino women's particular histories of oppression." (11) It acknowledges that the life of a Pinay (Filipino woman) can only be understood if Filipino socio-cultural contexts are considered. In her analysis, for example, Bonifacio often refers to the strong sense of maternalism in Filipino culture that motivates women's decision to immigrate, and explores what effects values such as *utang na loob* ("debt of gratitude") have on Filipino women's interactions.

For her study, Bonifacio interviewed roughly eighty Filipino women of different immigration and socio-economic status. Nearly all of her participants obtained a university degree, although it is not stated how many were attained in the Philippines and how many in Canada. The level of education of these participants reflects Canadian immigration policy's emphasis on education, and refutes the stereotype that immigrants are unskilled and uneducated. Individuals entering Canada through the Live-In Caregiver Program must have the equivalent of a grade 12 education and complete a six-month certification course from a recognized institution in the Philippines; however, many have attained much higher degrees. The participants were interviewed over a period of time

beginning in 2007 with focus-group discussions with thirty live-in caregivers in Southern Alberta (whether these were multiple or one focus group is not stated). Forty Filipino women participants were interviewed in different locations across Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, in addition to some informal interviews.

The book begins and ends with a brief introduction and conclusion that set out the motivations for the book and summarizes its findings. The first chapter, "Gender, Migration, and Feminism," outlines the method and analytical framework of Bonifacio's study. The second chapter, "*Pinay* Migration," contextualizes Filipino women's immigration within the economic, political, and socio-cultural background of the Philippines, and summarizes the characteristics of the Filipino global diaspora, and initial settlement in the Canadian Prairies. This chapter includes a thorough and in-depth demographic profile of Filipinos and Filipino women in Canada. Chapter 3, "Welcoming Prairies," looks at how Filipinos judged their experiences in the Prairies, in particular how they were welcomed upon their arrival. One key finding in this chapter is that Filipino cultural networks and community organizations often replace government-sponsored integration services. The following chapter, "Making Meanings: Identities and Integration," looks at the variables that affect Filipino identity on the Prairies, including age, class, region of origin in the Philippines, religion, and sexuality. Bonifacio reveals that status in the Philippines factors into the creation of an identity in Canada, and that Pinay identity is in flux, as multiple axes operate with their own dynamic. The chapter, "Building Bridges: Activism and Community Engagement," is the most well developed and engaging of the book. Focusing on the personal politics of her participants, Bonifacio demonstrates

the participants' strong sense of volunteerism driven by personal beliefs and experiences. There is a strong statement being made in this chapter, as Bonifacio strives to present Filipino women as active community leaders and participants, rather than submissive and victimized nannies. There is a particular focus here on leaders and community participation which, as Bonifacio states, "are not representative of the general population of Filipino women." (208) The final chapter, "Vested Transnationalism," looks at the various spaces in which Filipino women engage in transnational activities, such as transnational family dynamics, remittances, media and popular culture, dual citizenship, and political engagement with the Philippines, philanthropy, advocacy, and mission work.

The book looks at the intersections of Filipino women's lives at various points, such as the family, the local Filipino community, broader Canadian society, and the Philippines. Bonifacio's discussion of the plethora of Filipino cultural groups, in particular the number of regional associations, emphasizes that an immigrant's identity is complex and often situational. Filipinos often come together for relief efforts and national celebrations, but are just as likely to engage in regional community groups to socialize, interact, and serve with others from the same region in the Philippines. Bonifacio argues that, for her participants, the lived experiences of Filipino women drive them to serve the community through volunteer work and leadership roles. Throughout the analysis, Pinay Peminism informs Bonifacio's analysis as she contextualizes Filipino women's activism and life experiences in the Canadian Prairies within a Filipino cultural atmosphere that was developed in the Philippines and continues to inform Filipino values in Canada.

While Bonifacio adopts a geographic focus through honing in on the three

Prairie Provinces, the experiences of Pinays in each of these provinces are not differentiated. The goal of the text is to offer a profile of Filipino women on the Prairies – which it does well – however, there is little historical context or analysis. The merit of this study in bringing attention to the Prairies derives from the unique historical development of Filipino immigration to these provinces that distinguish them from experiences in Ontario, British Columbia, and Quebec. For example, Filipinos immigrate to Winnipeg largely through family reunification and Manitoba's Provincial Nominee Program rather than the Live-In Caregiver Program, which factors considerably in other provinces. The change over time of the immigration streams within which Filipino women enter Canada will affect their experiences, but might also affect the background of the women who settle in the Prairies. As Bonifacio states throughout the text, it is important to study a variety of experiences of Filipino women, and these experiences are also historical – they have changed over time as more Filipinos arrived in the Prairies, and as the contexts in Canada and the Philippines that have affected immigration changed. As it is, the profile seems to present a shared experience across the Prairie Provinces that may not address the place-specific lives and experiences of Filipino women.

The strengths outweigh any drawbacks, however, and this book remains an important contribution to the literature on Filipinos in Canada. It must be commended for moving beyond victimization narratives, which, while worthy of much attention, need to be expanded to create a more nuanced profile of this community can be presented. This includes the experiences and survival strategies of temporary foreign workers along side the narratives of established Filipino-Canadian citizens and recent permanent

residents as these groups interact with each other and contribute to the larger Filipino community. Finally, this book demonstrates that the Prairies are no longer a gateway for immigrants to British Columbia, and that increasing numbers of Filipinos are choosing the Prairie Provinces as their destination.

JON G. MALEK

University of Western Ontario

**Eileen R. Janzen, *Growing to One World: The Life of J. King Gordon (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2013)***

J. KING GORDON is not a household name in Canada. Some might identify him as the son of the Presbyterian minister Charles Gordon who, as the novelist Ralph Connor, was the most widely-read Canadian writer in the early 20th century. Or it might be recalled that King Gordon attended the founding convention of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in 1933 and possibly left some imprint on the new party. However, as Eileen Janzen makes clear in this biography, there is much more to be said about Gordon's life.

King Gordon was born in Winnipeg in 1900. His family was comfortably middle class, partly due to the substantial income generated by the Ralph Connor novels. Both of Gordon's parents were liberal Presbyterians, much influenced by the social gospel wing of the church. But, as he grew up, he was totally unaware of the significance of events like the Winnipeg General Strike, which occurred the year he graduated from the University of Manitoba. In 1921 Gordon went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. Here his horizons were broadened. He said that he could feel the scales begin to fall from his eyes as he read R.H. Tawney's *The Acquisitive Society* in which Tawney

argued that property had a social function and distinguished sharply between personal and social property.

Following his return from Oxford, King Gordon served the Presbyterian Church in the logging country of central British Columbia and then in Pine Falls, Manitoba, the site of a paper mill. He won the favour of these communities with a practical, non-theological, inter-denominational approach. In 1929, as the Great Depression was beginning, Gordon enrolled in a PhD program at Union Theological Seminary in New York. There he studied under Reinhold Niebuhr and Harry Ward and developed a cordial relationship with Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who was a student at the seminary. He also observed the desperation of the unemployed as the Depression deepened and met various left-wing leaders including the trade unionists David Dubinski and Sidney Hillman and Norman Thomas, the leader of the Socialist Party. The two years at Union Theological turned Gordon into a full-fledged Christian social radical.

In 1931 Gordon joined the faculty of United Theological College, which was affiliated with McGill University, to teach Christian ethics. He arrived in Montréal at a propitious time. Soon he was active in social causes and urged the church to stand in judgement of the capitalist system and to carry out the principles of Jesus. He was in contact with Frank Scott, Graham Spry, Eugene Forsey, Brooke Claxton, Norman Bethune, and David Lewis. He was a part of the group that went to Toronto in 1932 and met with Frank Underhill and others to form the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR). The CCF followed. Gordon attended the founding convention of the party in Regina in 1933 and then, in one capacity or another, dedicated four years to spreading a message that emphasized the complimentary and integrated roles

of politics and religion. As he travelled to every corner of the country, organizing and speaking on behalf of the LSR, the CCF, or the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, he distinguished little between church and party and felt that the mission of both was largely the same. In the 1935 federal election, Gordon was the CCF candidate in Victoria, British Columbia, and finished a close second. It appeared that a political career within the Canadian left had begun.

In 1938, however, King Gordon left Canada and never returned permanently for nearly 25 years. Between 1938 and 1944 he was the non-fiction editor for the New York publishing company, Farrar and Rinehart, and from 1944 to 1947 the managing editor of *The Nation*. His circle of connections widened as he dealt with issues related to World War II and the events that followed. Freda Kirchwey, the controversial editor of *The Nation*, was a colleague, and he had contact with I.F. Stone, Harold Laski, Thomas Mann, Eleanor Roosevelt, among others. Canada and the CCF, however, were never far from his thoughts. He had frequent speaking engagements in Canada and in 1946 wrote two articles for *The Nation* on the new CCF government in Saskatchewan. Hope lived on within the CCF that Gordon would return and play a prominent role in the party.

King Gordon's association with the United Nations began in 1947, first as a CBC radio correspondent at the UN and then from 1949 to 1962 as an information officer and field worker for the UN in several countries, including Korea, Egypt, and the Congo. He was in Cairo and experienced the Suez Crisis first hand. He played a major role on the UN staff in Leopoldville during the crisis in the Congo.

In 1962 Gordon retired from the UN and returned to Canada. It was an active retirement. Besides writing, and

speaking at national and international conferences, he taught at the University of Alberta, chaired the national executive of Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), was the assistant director of the Centre for International Cooperation at the University of Ottawa, had a position with the International Development Research Centre, and was involved in developing the UN Law of the Sea. King Gordon died of a massive stroke in 1989 in Ottawa while driving his car near the Parliament Buildings. His memorial service was held in the United Church, and the ceremony fittingly closed with the hymn which was the social gospel anthem: "I will not cease from mortal fight, Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand, Till we have built Jerusalem, In this our green and pleasant land."

Eileen Janzen's book is an extensively researched and marvellously crafted story. It contains much interesting and significant material. For example, no one ever satisfactorily explained who was responsible for the last paragraph of the Regina Manifesto, which promised to eradicate capitalism. Janzen refers to a letter she received from Gordon in 1979, which was confirmed by an interview with Frank Scott, that Gordon and Scott wrote it in a small Regina restaurant when working on a final draft of the Manifesto while they ate lunch. Gordon said that they probably decided that a ringing challenge was needed at the end and that the words contained the defiance of William Blake's poetry. In general, Janzen's book makes clear the considerable debt that 20th century Canadian liberalism owes to the social gospel.

Most importantly Eileen Janzen's biography of King Gordon contributes to an understanding of the centre-left liberal consensus which existed in much of the western world between the 1930s and 1980s. That liberalism was deeply affected by the Great Depression and World

War II. It opposed unbridled capitalism, favoured an activist role for governments, and supported social security programs. It distrusted excessive nationalism and placed great faith in the peacekeeping role and the agencies of the United Nations. Gordon's life was like a thread connecting these views, as he moved from Canada to the United States and by way of the UN into world trouble spots. Janzen effectively links these aspects of his career. She reminds us throughout the book of the people who influenced and worked with Gordon. Several have been mentioned earlier in this review, and much can be learned from that list of friends and associates. It continues during the last years of Gordon's life. Thus we are told that he was deeply affected by the deaths of Dag Hammarskjöld and Reinhold Niebuhr. He admired Pierre Trudeau. He conducted the funeral service for Frank Underhill and addressed the memorial service for Frank Scott. He was a honorary pallbearer at Lester Pearson's funeral. He sat at the head table with Tommy Douglas in 1983 at the celebrations in Regina to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Regina Manifesto, and when Douglas died a few years later King Gordon preached the eulogy.

GEORGE HOFFMAN  
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**Katherine Leonard Turner, *How the Other Half Ate: A History of Working Class Meals at the Turn of the Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2014)**

SINCE THE EARLY 1980s when feminist historians Susan Strasser and Ruth Schwartz Cowan published their pioneering studies of historical transformations in housework, food history has taken off. *How the Other Half Ate* straddles those two historiographical moments.

Katherine Leonard Turner is "interested in cuisine," (7) and she makes adept comparisons between the American working-class choices and practices she studies here and food trends and politics today – all of which suggest that it was working-class choices which prefigured, anticipated current trends. But, material questions are her main focus: "how people got food when money was tight and life was uncertain," and the "task of getting breakfast, lunch and dinner on the table, day after day." (7) It is this focus on the material, her insistence that "class mattered," (141) and her argument that working-class choices reshaped American food consumption habits more generally that are the book's strengths and that will be of most interest to readers of *Labour/Le Travail*.

*How the Other Half Ate* explores working-class food shopping, cooking, and meals between the 1870s and 1930s as industrialization, urbanization, and immigration reshaped both the working classes and food production and distribution. It is a broad study, based on wide use of secondary literature and the primary sources generated by reformers keen to reshape working-class habits of eating and spending. Turner shows how reformers made what others ate a public issue producing in the process a "priceless legacy of information," studies, and photographs. (72) She deals sensitively and creatively with the challenge of seeking to discern patterns of consumption through the eyes of these middle-class observers. Their concentration in the Northeast, Midwest, rural Southeast, and, less so, in the West shapes the book's geographical focus. She may miss specific regional customs, but overall the book paints a convincing picture of changing working-class meals, and of the transformations that the working classes wrought in American ways of eating. Her working classes extend beyond the city to the men

and women labouring in textile mills, coal mining towns and lumber camps in "rural" areas. Yet they are predominantly more urban than rural. They do not inhabit Indian reservations.

Turner is alert to immigrants' and African-Americans' choices and to the impact of ethnic food and commerce on American eating. Indeed, one of her main arguments is that after 1930, American food would never again be defined as that of the "traditional native-born farming white Americans." (8) (One might ask whether that was ever homogenous.) It had been irrevocably marked by the street food, ethnic food, and "fast food," that began with the working classes." (8) This argument is spelled out most explicitly in the third chapter on food and cooking in the city. There she details reformers' moral judgment of housewives who purchased ready-made food. And, she shows throughout the book how the lack of utensils, equipment, money, and time led many working-class families to purchase such food from an array of bakers, small grocers, street peddlers, butchers, cheap ethnic restaurants, delicatessens, saloons, lunch restaurants, and by the turn of the century, chain cafeterias, pushcarts, etc., often selling food they or others of their ethnicity or locale had cooked or prepared. These working-class choices, she argues, initiated the integration of immigrant foods like pizza, spaghetti, and bagels into mainstream American eating habits and the move to fast food that has so characterized more recent decades.

Reformers encouraged wives to avoid such choices and to cook at home. Their solutions to the food problem, as Turner shows, were heavily gendered. She carefully describes the constraints of working-class kitchens in cities or resource towns and the diverse possibilities of supplementing food through garden produce or raising chickens or cows. She outlines

the changing foods available, and details the kitchen equipment and utensils that housewives had, as well as the many tasks that took place around a kitchen stove or table. Reformers' photographs provide evidence of utensils, equipment, decoration, and the mixture of domestic, industrial, and commercial tasks undertaken in kitchens. She argues convincingly that the kitchen was the heart of many working-class homes. It was the place "where daily life happened," (50) in direct contrast to middle-class families whose kitchens were only places of food production. Here again, she presents working-class practices as precursors to the present, specifically to the current trend to build large kitchens as the central room of family homes.

The book starts with a broad chapter on the problem of food. It sets out the main arguments and sources. Chapter 2 shows how the industrialization of farming and refrigeration increased the range of foods available in cities across the seasons and lowered costs. It then discusses the technology, equipment, and utensils in working-class homes, highlighting the centrality of the kitchen. The third chapter explores the reasons why some housewives purchased ready-made food and some cooked. It offers wonderful glimpses of the range of places available to eat and drink in some cities and how location, population density, culture, ethnicity, gender, and prohibition shaped these. Turner is at her best when writing about cities. In "Between Country and City," she explores food in rural mill towns and company towns. Here too there are wonderful photographs and rich details, but her command of some issues seemed weaker than in other chapters. I remain puzzled, in particular, by the assertion that "coal miners worked in conditions that were more traditionally 'industrial' than the casual "on-again-off-again work of textile mill hands." (112) Much

coal-mining was far from “industrial,” and why would intermittent work make textile mills less industrial? Was this workforce, made up largely of women, including single mothers, negotiate time at work and time away as Joy Parr showed long ago that the workers at Penman’s factory in Paris Ontario were able to do, so “on and off” was not only about demand, but about responding to workers’ needs? (*The Gender of Breadwinners. Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*, [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990]).

The fifth chapter returns to the kitchen and “cooking, class, and women’s work.” The final chapter makes many excellent comparisons between the findings of the book and current issues about food, cooking, and kitchens, critically dissecting some food fads and insisting that “if we want to improve the food we eat, we will also have to think seriously about class.” (149)

*How the Other Half Ate* offers rich details and compelling arguments throughout. The photographs are used very well. It will be of great interest to labour historians, feminist and family historians, and to a general readership. Its strengths include its focus on the working classes and comparisons with the more widely studied middle classes and Turner’s insistence on the significance of the material constraints that low wages and poverty impose as well as the rationality of individual choices. I found that the structure engendered some unnecessary repetition; some of the chapters seemed long and rather repetitive and it would have benefitted from tighter editing. It sits quite comfortably between a synthesis and a monograph. Some of the arguments and information will be familiar to many readers, much will be new. Some of her findings would be paralleled in Canadian cities and resource towns, some would not. Canadian historians may note the

lack of references to any potentially relevant Canadian publications. Perhaps it should have been subtitled “A History of Working-Class Meals in America at the Turn of the Century.”

BETTINA BRADBURY  
York University

**Penny A. Peterson, Minneapolis**  
***Madams: The Lost History of Prostitution on the Riverfront* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2013)**

KUDOS TO PENNY A. PETERSEN for writing a highly readable, engaging, accessible, and – above all – balanced account of turn-of-the-20th century Minneapolis’ urban development and history. How does she accomplish this? By not only including accounts of the usual suspects – civic officials, politicians, and prominent members of the “better” classes – but also by exploring in great detail the tribulations and trials (literally and figuratively) of the city’s leading madams. Using their experiences as a lens through which to view Minneapolis’ late 19th and early 20th-century development, Petersen de-centres and destabilizes understandings of urban history.

The book is a product of over a decade of research. Petersen consulted and interpreted a vast array of sources including newspapers, property records, maps, city directories, estate records, police and court files, prison records, and social purity organizations files. The source base is rich and diverse; from it, Petersen is able to reconstruct a colourful and detailed recounting of this important period of Minneapolis history.

The book proceeds chronologically. Its introduction, “The Public Women of Minneapolis,” offers a concise overview of the book’s period of focus, situating these women’s history squarely at the centre of the civic growth narrative. It

also introduces other key players – politicians, captains of industry, workers, and social reformers – positioning their priorities and actions in relation to the budding sex trade. Chapter 1, “Women’s Work of All Kinds,” delves into financial opportunities for women, noting the challenges and limitations of “respectable” paid labour, the appeal sex work could hold, and the rise of brothel culture in 1870s Minneapolis. She concludes with a consideration of the motivations and efforts of reform organizations, detailing in particular the rise of the Sisters of Bethany and their efforts at “rescue” of “fallen” women. In Chapter 2, “The War on the Madams,” Petersen explores the backfiring social purity campaign that ultimately created what she describes as “a moral geography that would concentrate the sex districts and define a large section of the riverfront for decades to come.” (54) Chapter 3, “Red Lights on the Riverfront,” delves more deeply into the resulting making and re-making of the city’s “red light” districts, underscoring the individual and collective power several local madams enjoyed. The series of events that led to the end of tolerated prostitution is detailed in Chapter 4, “Reforming the City.” Chapter 5, “Vice Report,” speaks to the ensuing fallout, exploring the much-debated results of a vice commission struck in 1910 to investigate the city’s sex trade past. This final chapter also highlights a number of the madams’ responses to their changed business circumstances. Some retired or repurposed their bordellos into boarding houses; others continued in one form or another in the sex trade. Petersen closes *Minneapolis Madams* – rightly – with a call for these women’s public historical recognition, alongside that of the already noted and celebrated Minneapolis urban boosters and reformers.

If a shortcoming must be noted, then it would be the dearth of commentary

on those who worked for these madams. Largely left out are those who performed the sexual and other labour on which the madam’s fortunes rested: the inmates, housekeepers, house “boys,” and others. In this way, *Minneapolis Madams* functions as a history of elites. To ascribe this to Petersen, however, is probably unfair, given the likely dearth of sources. As historians of folk like sex workers and others who existed on the margins know, it can be a challenge to locate records to inform the telling of their stories. Often impossible to come by, when available, they are rarely the creations of these individuals themselves but rather of those who sought to regulate, contain, reform, or exploit them, which can limit these sources’ usefulness.

All in all, Petersen has succeeded in writing a significant book, one that is both entertaining and informative. By framing Minneapolis’ past through the experiences of a particular socially marginalized – albeit often politically advantaged – group, she enriches our understanding of Minneapolis’ early growth and consolidation as an important Midwestern hub. In doing so, she makes a considerable and thoughtful contribution to the history of sexuality and sex work, urban and spatial history, and the social purity movement, particularly as it was experienced and challenged by its targets for redemption.

RHONDA L. HINTHER  
Brandon University

**David E. Nye, *America’s Assembly Line*  
(Cambridge: MIT Press 2013)**

THE YEAR 2013 MARKED the 100th anniversary of launch of the assembly line at the Ford Motor Company in Detroit. One of the most important developments in the history of industrial capitalism passed almost unnoticed in 1913, but David Nye decided to commemorate the



event with a book-length exploration of what the assembly line actually was, where it came from, what impact it had industrially, culturally, and globally, and what happened to it towards the end of the 20th century. That was a daunting task, and required a remarkable feat of synthesis of diverse material. The result is a wide-ranging, thoughtful, elegantly written, if slightly too celebratory history.

As a well-respected expert on the history of technology, Nye takes great pains to clarify what exactly went into the development of the line. He dismisses the popular impression that the line was the product of Henry Ford's fertile imagination. In reality, there was no single plan. Rather, it was a large staff of managers, engineers and skilled workers who drew on managerial experiments in several other industries and brought together a special mix of technology and organization that would speed up the production of automobiles in Ford's plants without a substantial increase in the workforce – or, in Nye's words, "to reduce perceived inefficiencies." (16) In 1909 it took twelve hours to make a Model T; in 1914, just 93 minutes.

He tells us that the industrial synthesis they achieved involved a subdivision of labour (and the creation of many low-skill jobs), interchangeable parts, specialized single-function machines, a new sequencing of machinery according to the work being performed, electrification, and the movement of parts and assembly automatically through the stages of production via slides and belts. The last, of course, became the most vivid feature of the assembly line in the popular imagination, though he argues that it was much less important in cutting costs than the others. This list puts a heavy weight on technological innovations, as one might expect from a historian of technology. But there is a curious silence here about labour markets. Surely the planning that lay behind Ford's new assembly line

assumed a huge surge of recent immigrants and migrants from the US countryside that could be drawn into the auto plants (as well as many other industrial enterprises) and the relative flexibility of that inexperienced labour compared to the skilled metal workers who had been making cars up that point.

There are also question marks over Nye's suggestion of what motivated all this innovation. He wants to lift Ford's managers to a higher level than merely "a desire for profits": "They had a vision of accelerated production and efficiency, and that vision became an end in itself." (37) Undoubtedly the engineers involved had a strong professional pride in what they were pulling together, but this was the era in which the word "efficiency" was being re-defined to connote that which would be more profitable (helped along by the high-minded rhetoric in particular of F.W. Taylor). It is hard to believe that Henry Ford would have let these men play around with his plants if they weren't promising greater profitability for the new production processes. Moreover, Nye pays little attention to the contention of previous historians of autowork (such as Stephen Meyer and Joyce Peterson) that the goal of all this innovation was to more effectively control a labour force to ensure that it was working as intensively as possible. In fact, only half way through the book, in a chapter on "critique" of the line, does he note that the assembly line was a mechanism of control. (103)

Nye does point out that the new Ford system was a completely distinct development from Taylor's "scientific management," which aimed primarily to get the most out of the bodily actions of individual workers, especially in batch production. Nye urges us to abandon any sequential development between these managerial formulas, and instead to see them as options for different kinds of production. The assembly line was

more appropriate for mass production of identical goods. He also wants us to understand that the line was not a one-time-only creation, but rather continued to evolve and change over subsequent decades. That was especially clear as this managerial breakthrough spread outside Ford's plants to other industries and overseas to often quite different national contexts. France, Britain, Germany, Italy, and Russia all introduced aspects of Ford's new system, but never implemented the complete package without major modifications.

To his credit, Nye steps outside the circles of managers and engineers to attempt to gauge what people thought about the assembly line. By the end of the book he admits that the line spawned "conflicting narratives." (257) Broadly there were two responses, each of which turned the line into a metaphor for emerging trends of modernity. One bracketed the line with "progress," and emphasized Ford's five-dollar, eight-hour day for his autoworkers and the wider access to cheaper consumer goods that this kind of mass production could bring. The Ford company itself promoted this vision with tours of its plants, films, books and pamphlets, songs, and stunning exhibits at World's Fairs. Other intellectuals, artists, and performers (including the popular new entertainers known as synchronized swimmers) drew inspiration from these new industrial forms, though here Nye seems to slide away from the assembly line itself to broader trends in modern industry. Furthermore, as the Cold War emerged, the US government wove the assembly line into the triumphant story of capitalist success. In the words of one official, "The real battle today is between the American assembly line and the Community Party line." (138)

The other, more negative response began early and gathered momentum in the interwar period. Although Nye claims (on

the basis of one journalist's report) that Ford's workers "often took pride in the larger accomplishment, sensed empowerment from operating large machines, and enjoyed the camaraderie of the line," (55) he has to admit later in the book that thousands left the plants within hours or days, unable to stand the intense pace of work and the "dull, repetitious, and monotonous" routine. (103) He does not discuss the heavy-handed Ford security service that, according to other historians of the auto industry, aggressively eliminated rabble-rousers and spread a workplace culture of fear. A broader critique emerged among sundry writers, novelists, and movie makers (including Charlie Chaplin and his famous *Modern Times*), who worried about technological unemployment resulting from this new system and, more generally, connected the alienating qualities of the production process to alienation in daily life. All these concerns, on the line and off, helped to fuel the most powerful resistance movement against the Ford factory regime, the Congress of Industrial Organizations' United Auto Workers, with its dramatic, unconventional sit-down strikes right at the point of production. That union's success eventually brought the industrial legality of the postwar labour relations regime and more economic gains for autoworkers, but could not overcome the shop-floor discontent with the grind of the line, especially by the 1970s, when absenteeism and labour turnover in the plants spiralled upward and wider cultural critiques of mass production took hold in the broader population.

It was at the same moment that the major automakers, along with other US manufacturers, also began to feel the threat of international competition. As cars produced in Japan swept through the North American market, the logic of the assembly line was challenged by new managerial systems that encouraged worker

participation in enhancing the quality of the product and that thereby reconceived the assembly line as a more flexible and productive industrial form. Eventually, after major cutbacks in production and massive layoffs, US auto manufacturers began partnering with Japanese firms to introduce similar methods of so-called “lean production” in North America. Meanwhile, auto production was moving to many newly industrializing countries, where the traditional assembly line was more common. In all these new factories, in the US and elsewhere, unions were scarce and wages and working conditions reverted to the prewar experiences in North America. “At the centennial of the assembly line,” Nye concludes, “American workers had longer working hours, lower wages, and worse benefits than Western European workers.” (237) The line became lean but also mean.

In the end, then, Nye presents us with a well-knit, comprehensive overview of the evolution of assembly-line production over a hundred years. He does, however, leave a nagging sense of uncertainty about the worth of this techno-managerial innovation. His evident respect for the designers of the line and their ability to make industrial capitalism work better for consumers comes through more loudly and consistently than his attempt to weigh the exploitation of labour and the chorus of criticism that has also been a central feature of the system. “Overall,” he writes, “Americans tended to question not the assembly line itself but rather the way it was used. The general assumption was that increased productivity and efficiency were desirable if they didn’t lead to exploitation of workers and mass unemployment.” (98) Yet surely that statement misses the point. A techno-managerial system is not an abstract construction – it is intended to serve particular ends from the beginning. This one was a system deliberately intended to have a specific

effect on the workers attached to it – to reduce their humanity to being merely the expendable extension of machines.

CRAIG HERON  
York University

**Lauren Coodley, *Upton Sinclair: California Socialist, Celebrity Intellectual* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 2013)**

FEW SUBJECTS PRESENT more obstacles to a biographer than Upton Sinclair. For one thing, Sinclair straddled the domains of journalism, fiction, and social activism almost effortlessly, requiring a biographer to immerse her or himself in these different fields. Additionally, Sinclair’s active career stretched from the 1890s to the early 1960s, which makes it daunting to provide any sort of substantive historical context for his life. To make matters still more challenging, the ground has been well covered: Sinclair himself wrote an autobiography, and biographers have been writing about Sinclair since 1927, and ranging up to historian Kevin Mattson’s brilliant study of Sinclair’s life, *Upton Sinclair and the Other American Century* (Hoboken: John Wiley, 2006). The result is that Lauren Coodley’s biography of Upton Sinclair is, if nothing else, a tremendously ambitious undertaking. If the work itself is a flawed biography in many ways, Coodley nonetheless deserves praise for taking such a daunting subject and covering it 180 pages of text.

Coodley is an experienced writer and her prose is generally solid, clear, and easy to follow. She has a knack for writing narratives and, when she is involved in the telling of a story, the book is unquestionably at its best: nowhere is she more impressive than when she discusses the tumultuous encounter with Ogden Armour that convinced Frank Doubleday to publish Sinclair’s *The Jungle*, or the

Hollywood studios' efforts to destroy Sinclair's End Poverty In California (EPIC) campaign for governor. These sorts of narratives lend themselves to her style, and they are definitely Coodley's best passages.

She also has a couple of very interesting arguments. She takes the position throughout the text that the things that set Sinclair apart from other male writers and activists of the early 20th century – his devotion to monogamy and his emphasis on healthy eating (and support for temperance) – actually made him an activist ahead of his time, despite the fact that they made him the subject of ridicule during his own life. Sinclair's devotion to monogamy, she suggests, made him particularly willing and able to work with women activists, which helped make him a more effective organizer. Equally important, Sinclair's devotion to healthy eating, Coodley argues, not only influenced the slow food and organic food movements, but actually took those movements in a more clearly political direction, indicating that government regulation, not individual choice, should be behind food safety and nutrition. Buried in Coodley's biography are the bones of a pair of fascinating articles on Sinclair's views on each of these subjects, and a careful reader can read through the biography and be thoroughly convinced that, especially in these two regards, Sinclair was an exceptionally important activist.

Unfortunately these two important positions, and her ability to tell a good story, are buried beneath a number of serious flaws. Coodley's efforts to cover Sinclair's own writings are cursory at best – his novels are given only a paragraph or two's worth of plot summary, with none of the lengthy analysis they might deserve. We are given a fair amount of discussion about the publication history of *Oil*, for instance, but next to nothing on

its plot, despite Sinclair's high opinion of his work. The same pattern holds true for other novels – *Boston*, his important novel about the Sacco-Vanzetti trial, receives a single line discussing its plot, where Coodley mentions that “his protagonist, Cornelia, deserts her aristocratic family to live with poor Italians, work in a factory, and walk a picket line.” (102) This is a surprising missed opportunity to get inside Sinclair's mind, to investigate his thought process and worldview. The fact that women's activism is so important to Coodley's understanding of Sinclair makes this particular missed opportunity even more jarring. More details about Cornelia's background and life could have greatly strengthened Coodley's position on Sinclair.

Coodley's rather cursory treatment of Sinclair's work is not the only place where the biography goes astray. There is also her effort to cover the many, many famous people with whom Sinclair came into contact. Sometimes these connections are quite solid: Sinclair really did have a close friendship, mostly through correspondence, with George Bernard Shaw, and did correspond with many other leading figures of his age, a fact that Coodley takes pains to document. Other times, the connections are nebulous at best: Coodley opens her book with a discussion of Frederick Douglass, because both men spent time in Maryland – not enough of a connection to warrant discussion in such a brief biography.

Often, Coodley mentions famous historical figures very much in passing; important people like Margaret Sanger and Mary Beard are name checked, but Coodley covers neither their own accomplishments nor their relationship with Sinclair in any great depth, though more discussion and context of both might have helped Coodley prove her thesis about Sinclair's ability to work with important

women. Related to this is Coodley's decision to include a very problematic appendix, "Upton Sinclair's Women Friends," a list of women with whom Sinclair interacted. This list ostensibly is Coodley's effort to restore these individuals to the historical record – but any historical record in recent years would surely already include figures such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Jane Addams, and Helen Keller. (It should be noted that some of the figures she includes are more obscure, though it is doubtful whether their inclusion on this list will in any way change that fact.)

At other times, when Coodley tries to do more than name check important people, she nonetheless does not provide enough analysis to do these people justice. Her mention of Gandhi is a prime example of this: Coodley clumsily claims that Gandhi's "personal and political choices echoed many of [Sinclair's] own," (105) which requires her to ignore entirely the radically different context in which the two men made those personal and political choices. Similarly, she sings the praises of Henry Ford's complex and controversial five dollar days, without addressing the controversy that surrounded it – the required Americanization classes and the intense scrutiny under which Ford's employees had to work. This sort of lack of analysis is perhaps understandable, given the sheer number of people with whom Sinclair interacted, but it remains a serious problem with Coodley's study.

Overall, Coodley does a difficult task well: she really does demonstrate to the reader the unique importance of Sinclair's positions on feminism and health. Readers of her book will unquestionably be impressed by her insight into these subjects. But the way in which she addresses Sinclair's own writings and the circles in which he lived are very

problematic, and her important arguments are somewhat weakened as a result.

DANIEL OPLER

College of Mount Saint Vincent

**Alex Goodall, *Loyalty and Liberty: American Countersubversion from World War I to the McCarthy Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 2013)**

IN HIS STUDY of the history of countersubversion in the United States from 1917 to 1948, Alex Goodall offers a definition of his subject as something engaged in by "those people who argued it was necessary to defend the political system from covert threats." (3) He considers the grand sweep of American politics and political culture as he traces "three broad stands of countersubversive politics: antiradicalism, antifascism, and anticommunism" across three decades. (3) This inclusive approach to what may otherwise be considered disparate political campaigns allows for a number of important contributions to the history of domestic political policing and the rise of the national security state, including: the exploration of the common ground on which these countersubversive campaigns based themselves; the examination of the shared rhetoric and tactics of these campaigns; the recognition of the individuals and groups who opposed them; and, ultimately, the ways in which such campaigns fit within the broader American political tradition. This last theme also locates Goodall's work among general studies of American political history. He argues that since the nation's founding, and up at least until the beginning of the 20th century, countersubversion had an uncomfortable presence in American politics because its detractors considered it a threat to the sanctity of

liberty but, with the shifting domestic and global political events surrounding World War I and during the 1930s, countersubversion became a more welcome part of that politics because it had been redefined as essential to defending freedom. Goodall's ability to span over large swaths of American political history, making unusual connections and addressing unexpected topics, makes this an intriguing treatment of a subject that has become of interest to more scholars since 9/11. His far-reaching approach expands the boundaries beyond existing works on countersubversion, which have either tended to treat antiradicalism, antifascism and/or anticommunism as discreet units or have focused on a single element that has united all three, such as the rise of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (see, for example, the works of Richard Gid Powers, Richard W. Steele, Douglas Charles, Beverly Gage, and Regin Schmidt). However, the same sweep of Goodall's work, and its comprehensive definition of countersubversion, also contributes, in part, to some of the book's weaknesses.

Goodall's broad approach allows him to make several insightful observations. When discussing the origins of federal countersubversion during World War I, for example, he notes how it was "at a profound level driven by progressive ideals and progressive method" despite the voluntarism and "limits of early twentieth-century bureaucratic government" because it ultimately depended on belief in the common good, even if that was a "conjured" and "fictive image of a united democratic national consensus." (33) Rather than seeing the Red Scare as an example of hysteria on the fringes of American politics, Goodall locates it squarely as an outgrowth of one of the nation's reform traditions. During the New Deal era, he argues, the same expansion of the federal government that became

a target for those on the right who trafficked in countersubversive rhetoric and tactics (such as quasi-fascist popular groups, like the Silver Shirts, or official bodies, like the Dies committee) also became part of the expanding national security state, the *raison d'être* of which was countersubversion aimed at both the left and the right.

By tracing the ebb and flow of the various countersubversive campaigns over three decades, Goodall makes an important contribution to the existing literature that has tended to focus on either the Red Scare of 1919–1920, the "little red scare" of 1939–1940, or McCarthyism of the late 1940s and early 1950s: he attempts to show the connections across all three otherwise fairly well-known moments. He gives us a fine-grained description of early anticommunist Congressional committees and how countersubversive politics divided both the Democratic and Republican parties after World War I. He offers fascinating accounts of some less-well-known elements of antiradical history with the various (and often quite comical) frauds that were perpetuated by self-anointed red hunters during the 1920s, demonstrating how such frauds contributed to the discrediting of countersubversion in that decade. And Goodall situates the reemergence of countersubversion in the political realignments of the 1930s that included not just the New Deal era federal expansion of the national security state, but also the introduction of communists as countersubversives in their antifascist fights and of left-liberals, who aimed the rhetoric of countersubversion at "radical populists and conservatives." Ironically, Goodall argues, this "countersubversive discourse on the Left" ultimately "helped legitimate the idea of repressing domestic political extremists in general" and laid the groundwork for the age of McCarthy. (257–258)

Such a broad approach to the definition of countersubversion, while productively yielding the above mentioned insights, risks losing meaningful specificity. Indeed, it sometimes seems as though almost any political movement can fit the bill. What can be understood as the strengths of the unexpected connections between countersubversive campaigns and competing wings within Protestantism and Catholicism, for example, also begin to pull at the seams of the book. The connection between these topics and Goodall's central thesis is at first not clear. When the link is made, it is not always entirely convincing. Accusations of "subversion" surely did infiltrate certain religious sects, for example, but was that process the same as the concern over subversion against the state? Terminological slippage at times adds to this lack of clarity throughout the book, with loyalty being used synonymously with countersubversion, "loyalty codes" being used to refer both to specific sedition laws and popular tests of patriotism and, at one point, Americanism with xenophobia, chauvinism, and nativism. (96)

Surprisingly, given the extent of detail Goodall provides for his case studies in the great majority of the book, there are places where specifics are also sorely lacking. In his discussion of the American Protective League in Chapter 1, for example, he notes how this organization was "sponsored" by the Department of Justice, but does not explain what that means: sponsored in what way? Indeed, the precise mechanisms of countersubversion in this early period remain cloudy and the agency of the lead actors unclear: how were the Wilsonians in the government the "ringleaders" when the voluntarist groups conducted their countersubversion "in the name of the government but without official sanction." (20–21) In addition there are factual errors that are

distracting: it was Andrea Salsedo, not Roberto Elia, who fell to his death from the window of the Justice Department office in New York in 1920 (57); the Sedition Act was still legislatively applicable in 1919 because it was not repealed until December 1920 (60); and the pope's words are only considered infallible when he speaks *ex cathedra*. (164)

Despite these weaknesses, Goodall's main arguments about countersubversion and its place in the broad sweep of American politics and political culture from 1917 to 1948 are thought provoking and a welcome addition to the growing literature on domestic political policing. Although much of the material in the book is well known, his original framing and analysis of that material offers some fresh insights that should be part of the conversation in this expanding field.

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**Michael Innis-Jiménez, *Steel Barrio: The Great Mexican Migration to South Chicago, 1915–1940* (New York: New York University Press 2013)**

IN *STEEL BARRIO: The Great Mexican Migration to South Chicago, 1915–1940*, historian Michael Innis-Jiménez chronicles the making of Chicago as a hub for Mexican immigration during the first half of the 20th century. With vivid language and an impressive array of primary sources, Innis-Jiménez takes you to the streets, the steel mills, and the social clubs where Mexican immigrants lived, worked, and created vibrant communities. The book is divided into three parts. The first part explains the reasons why Mexicans left their homeland and the routes they took to Chicago. A large percentage of Mexican immigrants arrived in Chicago via Texas from the Mexican states of Guanajuato, Michoacán, and

Jalisco as immigrants from these areas were pushed out by the political turmoil brought on by the Mexican Revolution.

Part Two examines the process of community formation in South Chicago where Mexican immigrants settled and where they joined the “seemingly endless stream of ethnic immigrants and African-American migrants from the American South.” (13) Here Innis-Jiménez builds a strong argument and provides two main reasons that explain why Mexican immigration was unlike previous waves of European immigration: racialized experiences and proximity to Mexico. These are two important points that are sometimes dismissed by scholars who insist – incorrectly – that Mexican immigration to the United States is no different from European immigration. In fact, one of the strengths of book is the way in which the author describes in detail the specific experiences with racism and discrimination that Mexican immigrants lived through in South Chicago. Racist discrimination resulted in Mexican immigrants being relegated to substandard housing and some of the worst working conditions in the city. Without questions, these were ideas and sentiments that already had a long history in the region. Rooted in stereotypes in the American Midwest, anti-Mexican sentiment first emerged out of the public narratives in the press during the US/Mexico War, 1846–1848. The belief that Mexicans were not capable of self-government in the 19th century complemented well the biases that “were part of a popular ethnic and racial ideology that classified each immigrant group in a hierarchy.” (54) Mexicans, of course, were at the very bottom of that hierarchy.

In Part Three, Innis-Jiménez shifts the focus to the everyday lives of Mexican immigrants during the Great Depression. Spurred on by the Depression, the swell of anti-Mexican sentiment coupled with high unemployment created a hostile

environment for Mexican immigrants. In the midst of these difficult situations, Innis-Jiménez argues, Mexicans forged a community around mutual aid organizations, religious groups, and through leisure activities like baseball leagues. In fact, “between 1917 and 1928 Mexicans in Chicago started a total of thirty-nine organizations.” (119) These movements reveal the long history of struggle that Mexicanos in Chicago have engaged and the ways in which these struggles created an infrastructure that throughout the rest of the 20th century – and even into the 21st century – has served to combat racial discrimination and promoted civil rights for immigrants, workers, and students.

In all three parts, Innis-Jiménez carefully describes the paradoxical realities of Mexican immigrants that on one hand were perceived as ideal workers and on the other were reviled and rejected amidst racially hostile environments. These attitudes ranged from Mexican workers being characterized as the “most cooperative” in one breath to “docile and disposable” in the next breath. (26, 35) Even so, the Mexican immigrant men, or *solos* (men without family), who arrived in Chicago saw the city as a place of opportunity where they could work for a good while and eventually return to Mexico. For Mexican immigrants, “South Chicago stood for economic opportunity and hope.” (45)

In recent years, historians, sociologists, and anthropologists have published important works on Chicago’s Mexican and Puerto Rican communities. Indeed, Chicago is currently a hot topic of study and for good reason. This new Latino focus is important because it helps explain why Chicago became “the most popular Midwestern destination during much of the interwar period for Mexicans” (39). This did not happen by accident. The combination of chain migration,



labour recruiters, and social and familial connections all contributed to creating and maintaining a strong Mexican presence in Chicago. As the immigrant rights marches in 2006 – when 100,000 to 300,000 Mexicans and other Latino groups in Chicago took to the streets – proved, Latinos do not only have a large presence in the city; they also have a long history and played a large role in shaping Chicago's geography, politics, and activism. *Steel Barrio* is an important book that should be mandatory reading for anyone interested in immigration, urban, and Latino history. It is a book that will no doubt earn classic status as an important contribution to the study of Mexicans in the United States.

FELIPE HINOJOSA

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**Robert L. Allen, *The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: C.L. Dellums and the Fight for Fair Treatment and Civil Rights* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers 2014)**

SO MUCH HAS BEEN written on the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) that the question arises, do we really need another book about the BSCP struggle for economic and social justice? Robert L. Allen's book, which focuses on the life of C.L. Dellums and his leadership of the Oakland branch of the BSCP, demonstrates that we do. The BSCP reached from coast to coast and flourished as a labour movement in the vanguard of the larger Black freedom struggle for several decades. As a national story, the BSCP challenge encapsulated the social, economic, and political influences that shaped America's racial status quo during the early part of the 20th century. The campaign launched by the BSCP on 25 August 1925 in New York City initially appeared to be limited

to African Americans and Pullman porters in particular. Ultimately, however, the BSCP's challenge to the Pullman Company impacted all Americans, for the Brotherhood's struggle was about much more than wages and working conditions. The porters who joined the BSCP – at risk of losing their jobs – did so determined to gain full rights of first-class citizenship. The rendering of the BSCP struggle on the West Coast through the life of C.L. Dellums provides an important outlook on the larger crusade undertaken by the BSCP.

Under the leadership and guidance of Cottrell Laurence Dellums, or "C.L." as he was widely known, the Oakland branch of the BSCP nurtured a strong, dedicated group of Pullman porters who anchored the Brotherhood throughout its protracted struggle to form a union between 1925 and 1937. During the BSCP's darkest days when national memberships plummeted to 658 in 1933, the Oakland branch "maintained the highest dues-paying membership percentage-wise." (66) The majority of Oakland porters were part of the first wave of migration in the 1920s and 1930s from Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas to Oakland. Like Dellums, who was born in Texas in 1900, African Americans who migrated to the Pacific coast were drawn by reports of opportunities in California. Dellums moved to Oakland in 1923 hoping to attend the University of California and become a lawyer, a dream that was dashed as Dellums realized there were three ways "a black man could earn a living in the Bay Area: go to sea on ships, work on the railroads or engage in illegal activity." (19) After a few months at sea, Dellums got a job as a Pullman porter in 1924.

By 1925 he was recruiting Oakland-based porters to join the fledgling BSCP, which had a committed division in Oakland under the leadership of Dad Moore and Dellums. The early success

of the Oakland branch inspired the Pullman Company to try to destroy the union. Dellums responded by increasing his resolve to keep the Brotherhood alive. His resolve led the company to fire him, the Brotherhood to elect him as one of its vice presidents, and the Oakland division to name him its head after Dad Moore died in 1930. For the next 45 years, Dellums was in the vanguard of struggles for economic and social justice in the Bay Area as well as at the state and national level.

From the mid-1920s forward, while Dellums was organizing and leading the BSCP, he was also a leader in the Alameda County (Oakland) County National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Like A. Philip Randolph, head of the BSCP, he always regarded the Brotherhood as a vehicle for removing economic and social barriers that kept African Americans in a second-class place. Eventually he was the NAACP's West Coast regional director, a position that paralleled that of his role as director of the West Coast division of the BSCP. Both organizations were stronger as a result.

His skills as a strategist were legendary, a combination of militancy, pragmatism, political independence, and good people skills. During the dark days, he kept spirits up within the BSCP and cultivated a large network of support in progressive circles. When the radical International Longshoremen's Association went on strike in 1934, Dellums helped build support for the effort in the Black community. He leveraged his leadership when he was elected the first African American to serve on the Executive and Arbitration Board of the Alameda County Central Labor Council. There were few challenges to the racial discrimination that Dellums was not part of. During the 1930s he successfully challenged the New Deal's National Youth Administration (NYA)

when they proposed racially segregated camps for Black youth in California. He worked with the NAACP for two decades to open up jobs for Blacks in the Key System, a railway mass transportation system in the East Bay area. He challenged racial discrimination in the defense industry during World War II. In the post-war period, wearing his NAACP hat, he worked for affordable, racially inclusive housing. The passage of California's fair employment practice (FEP) law in 1959 was one of Dellums's major accomplishments. It was an effort that began in 1945 and entailed the mobilization, drive, and commitment of civil rights, labour, and progressive community activists over the greater part of two decades before the Fair Employment Practice Commission was created.

Allen's portrayal affords a front-row seat on Dellums as the labour-oriented, civil rights leader. By the end of the book, the reader feels he knows the public iconic figure who helped shape Oakland as well as many of the factors that formed his character and personality. Dellums and his work on the West Coast with both the BSCP and the NAACP provide a bookend to Randolph's work on the east coast, boosting the prominence and power of the organization throughout Black America. Missing from Allen's narrative, however, is a fuller sense of the larger context within which Dellums operated in the East Bay. Scholars have suggested that the first wave of Black migrants who settled in Oakland between World War I and II may have experienced fewer restrictions than in other parts of the country and even other parts of California. Although this book is largely a biography, Dellums was all about linking the union and the community. Laying out the larger landscape by drawing from newspapers and secondary sources might provide a more complex portrayal of not just Dellums as a leader but the people

and the place that enabled him to lead a progressive movement so well and for so long.

That said, Allen's portrayal of C. L. Dellums is important for understanding one of the more remarkable but lesser known leaders of the BSCP as well as the process of struggle undertaken on both the labour and civil rights fronts in the East Bay area. The union's history is an important chapter in ongoing efforts to extend the democratic way of life to all Americans, a project that deserves examination from multiple perspectives. Allen's contribution provides valuable lessons with relevance for today on how to work for a more inclusive America.

BETH T. BATES

Wayne State University

**Landon R.Y. Storrs, *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2013)**

FOCUSING ON THE Loyalty Review Board's investigations of government employees in the post-World War II period, Landon Storrs has written a comprehensive account of the short and long-term consequences of the right's rise to power during the postwar Red Scare. Especially convincing is the heretofore untold story of the ways in which conservative politicians targeted "leftist" women who had forged successful careers during the New Deal, poised to become influential policy makers after the war. Storrs argues that these influential women's independence, as much if not more than their seemingly "Communist-oriented" concerns about wages, working conditions, racial equality, and economic conditions, made them targets. They, and their husbands who often held leftist views of their own, spent the rest of their lives denying their left-leaning beliefs and formulating policy

that was overtly anti-communist (i.e., that disavowed any structural component to inequality).

Before detailing the devastating effects of Cold War politics on these women, their husbands, and the policies they tried to implement, Storrs paints an interesting portrait of their early years. Women who had been relegated to "helping" their influential husbands draft the policies that historians had associated primarily with the husbands of the pair, become the architects of many of those policies. Mary Dublin Keyserling (Leon Keyserling), Elizabeth Wickenden (Arthur Goldschmidt), Catherine Bauer, Esther Peterson (Oliver Peterson), Frieda Miller, Caroline Ware are given their "due" in Storrs telling. Lawyers, social workers, economists, all of them dedicated their lives to thinking through solutions to the key problems of their era. In the context of the Depression and with the support of Congress and President Roosevelt, they drafted policies on housing, labour, unemployment, and agriculture, all with some attention paid toward racial and ethnic equality.

Storrs took pains to look for evidence of either "spy" or subversive activity. She found none. Rather, these policy makers tried to find ways to institutionalize a kind of social democracy, leaving capitalism regulated, but intact. While this broad interpretation is not necessarily new, Storrs offers several correctives, one of the most important of which is that these influential women drew the ire of conservatives in Congress who disapproved of the influential role they, as women, were playing at the highest levels of government. Storrs' work also makes use of evidence not consulted previously arguing that, due to the intense and damaging experience of the Cold War investigations, these women and their husbands extricated important material from their papers upon donating them

to archives, thereby contributing to historians' skewed interpretations. By looking both at women as the central actors and by privileging material that had been expunged purposefully, Storrs reveals important correctives to our understanding of these women, the policies they crafted, and the response by conservative Republicans whose sole purpose was dismantling their work and ruining their careers.

Storrs makes a compelling argument about the long-term consequences of the McCarthy era. The Congressional inquisition, we have known from the work of David Oshinsky, Mary Dudziak, Ellen Schrecker, and David Johnson, among others, represented a kind of power play by anti-New Deal Republicans who stopped at nothing to dismantle the New Deal policies and blacklist its policy-makers so that nothing similar could be implemented again. All of this was done in the name of a kind of hyper-masculine, white, pro-business conservatism. What Storrs tells us is that the very nature of what we understand to be postwar liberalism was directly influenced by what amounted to *self-censorship*. In order to continue earning a living, these influential women adjusted the policies they advocated to de-emphasize anything that smacked of a redistribution of wealth which, they knew after the grueling investigatory process, was what conservatives conflated with communism. "Redistribution" of wealth included any policy that promoted more equitable distribution of wages, that regulated business in anyway, and/or that highlighted the economic consequences of discrimination. Cold War liberalism emphasized, instead, the opening up of "opportunities" rather than dealing directly with the economic effects of policy itself.

Storrs' work makes incredibly important contributions to our understanding of Cold War liberalism. For too long, it

has been assumed that Cold War liberalism, emphasizing as it did "opportunity," was a by-product of the differing, and much improved economic state of the country following World War II. Storrs' work, along with much of what labour historians Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, Rosemary Feurer and Martha Biondi have been arguing for quite some time, demonstrates that the emphasis on "opportunity" was, in reality, a way to "sell" Americans on what became a long Republican-led (but with support from Democrats), deregulation process that moved the country away from implementing any policies that recognized the ways in which the economic/capitalist structure contributed to the economic inequalities experienced by many Americans, included racial and ethnic minorities and women. Her book is a must-read for students and historians of women's and gender, labour, political, and African-American history.

LISA PHILLIPS

Indiana State University

**Cindy I-Fen Cheng, *Citizens of Asian America: Democracy and Race during the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press 2013)**

THE POST-SECOND World War period in North America featured many significant battles in the name of equality and justice for many racial minority groups. Cindy I-Feng Cheng's book, *Citizens of Asian America: Democracy and Race during the Cold War* makes a significant contribution to our understanding of how Asian Americans challenged pernicious and persistent pre-war notions of "race," citizenship, and belonging. At the same time, Cheng highlights how America's Cold War politics, its foreign policy, and its internal debates on these issues complicated the campaigns by Asian Americans for equality in an unstable

America. The case of Asian Americans in this historical period is particularly fascinating, as Asian Americans were often cast as both “like whites” and “like blacks” but also as “unmediated extensions of people in Asia.” (10) Chinese Americans could be “friends” due to World War II alliances, while Japanese Americans were distinct as “enemies.” Amidst these dichotomies was the campaign against communism which situated Chinese and Korean Americans as suspect persons caught in evolving mid-century geopolitical struggles. Using race as both an ideological construct and as a discursive symbol, Chen places most of her attention on the ways that Chinese and Korean Americans were affected by the social and political developments of the early Cold War period.

As Cheng maintains, her work aims to unsettle “the practice of using African Americans as the only signifiers of race in the historiography on Cold War civil rights.” (8) Cheng does so by providing accounts of Asian American encounters with restrictive covenants, politically motivated deportations, and labour activism in five chapters. The first chapter explores the battle to end racially restrictive covenants using the cases of Tommy Amer and Yin Kim, both of which eventually were reviewed by the US Supreme Court. Neither case aroused much national attention; indeed Cheng notes that the Supreme Court privileged hearing only cases of residential discrimination against Blacks. This limited focus led to Black ghettos being seen as the preeminent symbol of residential segregation, rather than including the equally as problematic Chinatowns, Little Tokyos, and barrios. That these battles also involved interracial struggle and cooperation was also obscured. Chapter 2 shifts the attention on residential discrimination and housing patterns of nonwhites to the American suburbs. Cheng uses the

popular presses of the day, in particular, to examine how Asian Americans were portrayed as “assimilated subjects” that could be integrated into suburbs and also as “nonwhites” to be excluded from whites-only locales.” (84) Here Cheng provides another case-study, that of Sing Sheng and the residents of Southwood, a suburban development of San Francisco, and Sheng’s battle to move into this neighbourhood to highlight the debates that were taking place in American society about the nature of American democracy, belonging, and identity.

Chapter 3 turns the reader’s attention to the issue of postwar “firsts” as a way to interrogate Asian American assimilation: Sammy Lee, the first Asian American to win an Olympic gold medal; author Jade Snow Wong whose book, *Fifth Chinese Daughter* (New York: Harper, 1950) was the first nationally acclaimed and commercially successful book written by a Chinese American; and Delbert Wong, whose appointment as the first Chinese American judge served to counter communist sentiment that America was undemocratic. Cheng asserts that these firsts figured prominently in the promotion of state agendas, highlighting American democracy through racial progress.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on questions of immigration and belonging by examining the suppression of the rights of communist supporters and the foreign born (in Chapter 4) and the advancement of civil rights through immigration reform and specifically through the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act. Cheng uses the cases of Koreans David Hyun, a labour activist, and Diamond Kimm, the editor of a pro-communist newspaper. Both Hyun and Kimm were persecuted under the 1950 McCarran Act as aliens charged with subversive activities and issued orders of deportation. Both cases, and Chapter 4 more broadly,

represent the most sustained accounting in the book of the suppression of civil rights. By contrast, Chapter 5 uses the process of immigration reform undertaken by Chinese American activists that would relax restrictions based on race directed against Asian immigration as a way to highlight how evolving notions of citizenship were a key part of the Cold War age. Thus Cheng places Chinese American activists as prominent in the campaign to situate civil rights and immigration reform alongside each other, as mutually supporting issues.

*Citizens of Asian America* is an important and valuable addition to the scholarly literature on race relations in the Cold War period. Its most significant contribution is to complicate studies of race in mid-20th century America beyond the Black-white standard and adds important depth and breadth to studies of the Civil Rights period. Thus, Cheng's work makes its mark well beyond the Asian American studies literature. The main weakness of the book is that it is less a story of the Cold War experiences of Asian Americans more broadly and more an examination of Chinese American and Korean American experiences. The case of Japanese Americans, especially in light of their wartime incarceration and persecution, is a puzzling omission and one that would have provided even more breadth in an otherwise insightful and fascinating study. Scholars of Asian America, of foreign policy and race relations, of Cold War history, of the Civil Rights period, of immigration, and of citizenship will find much of value in *Citizens of Asian America*.

STEPHANIE BANGARTH  
King's University College  
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**Margaret Gray, *Labor and the Locavore: The Making of a Comprehensive Food Ethic* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2014)**

FROM UPTON SINCLAIR'S exposé on the work conditions in the turn-of-the-20th-century Chicago meat packing industry to César Chavez and Delores Huerta's leadership of the campaign to boycott grapes to highlight the plight of California farmworkers, there's a rich history of labour-based political movements in agriculture. Though far less radical than some of the historical examples, contemporary fair trade movements similarly draw out this connection. More recently, strikes by fast food workers in cities across the United States have focused attention on the low wages and dangerous working conditions in that sector. And as food has become an increasingly salient political topic, there appears to be rich ground to continue to express political demands in the food and agriculture sector.

Surprisingly, however, the intersection between alternative food movements and labour conditions in agriculture has been less theorized. The local food movement, perhaps under the spell of the Jeffersonian myth of the yeoman farmer, has benefitted from a popular image that conflates the scope and scale of production with the nature of the labour system employed on farms. Thus we seem to believe in a binary system of food production comprised of two sectors: an immoral the system of factory farming that relies on extensive chemical inputs and widespread use of seasonal, migrant labour versus a system of food production rooted in small-scale, family farms employing organic production methods that serve as the basis for a system of moral consumption. Margaret Gray's *Labor and the Locavore* interrogates that binary, critically examining the ways in which small-scale, local family farms often rely

on seasonal labour, and explains how the relationship between farm owner and farmworker plays out on small farms.

Drawing on a rich tapestry woven from strong theoretical foundations, detailed ethnographies, and engaging interviews with farm owners and farmworkers in Hudson Valley, New York, Gray makes a strong case that the alternative food system has conflated local, alternative, sustainable, and fair in ways that hide the underlying labour dynamics on the farm. This conflation leads to Gray's most striking and compelling observation, namely, that "despite the veneer of ethical production, it remains the case that local or small agricultural producers are driven by market dictates and regulatory norms that render their approach to labor relations more or less undistinguishable from those of larger, commodity-oriented, industrial farms." (2)

The book itself is divided into five substantive chapters. The first outlines the geographic region of study and traces its agricultural history. The second and third encompass the bulk of the text and are dedicated to interviews with farmworkers and farm owners respectively. The fourth traces the evolution of the local labour market, focusing in particular on the intersectionality of race, ethnicity, and labour status in the region. The final chapter outlines the contours of a comprehensive food ethic sensitive not just to the environmental and health concerns of the product, but to the working conditions of the farmhands as well.

Gray's extensive ethnographies paint a compelling picture of the labour dynamics in the region. While clearly a strong empirical text, there is also a deep normative argument that runs through the book. As Gray describes it, "at a time when the American public is open to new ideas about food advocacy and sustainability, and the national spotlight is positioned on undocumented immigrants, my study

aims directly at the convergence of these themes in order to focus some attention on the role of labor in the local agricultural economy." (6) Despite this strong normative framework, Gray is careful to let the farm owners and farmworkers speak for themselves. Indeed, this is perhaps the most powerful part of the book. The narratives of individual farmworkers portray the key issues raised in the text in ways that more academic prose could not. Similarly, Gray is able to craft a picture of farm owners that avoids the pitfall of painting them as simple caricatures and instead develops a deeper understanding of the structural and political dynamics that condition and constrain their choices. Consequently, both broader structures and individual agents are seen as having explanatory power. Equally importantly, the key themes, including the differing conceptions of the nature and scope of work, the paternalistic relationships that develop between farm owner and farmworker, the precarious nature of employment, and the low pay and benefits, are developed in ways that resonate with the reader.

At just 150 pages (excluding notes), the book is tightly focused on its regional area of analysis. This simultaneously a strength and a weakness. While the author is able to develop a detailed picture of the Hudson Valley, the reader is sometimes left to wonder how generalizable the lessons from the specific case might be. In conjunction with the work of authors like Julie Guthman and Barry Estabrook on farmworkers in California and Florida, a more comprehensive picture may develop. Similarly, while by way of conclusion Gray develops more comprehensive recommendations for consumer movements, public policy decisions, and political action, the sense that the status and rights of farmworkers is a broader issue outside of New York remains underdeveloped. The risk is that

the reader loses the forest for the trees, developing a deep understanding of the particulars of the farm labour system in the Hudson Valley while remaining unable to draw out the broader common themes that apply to farmworkers across the United States.

Despite this minor shortcoming, *Labor and the Locavore* represents a powerful corrective to a major shortcoming in the food politics movement. Despite strong support for systems of ethical consumerism ranging from fair trade to community supported agriculture and farmers' markets, the labour conditions experienced by those who actually grow our food remains largely separated from the decisions of the final consumer. Gray's work shines a bright light on precisely this side of the equation and highlights the need for a comprehensive food ethic that encompasses both environmental and social justice. And for that, it deserves wide readership.

NOAH ZERBE

Humboldt State University

**Matt Stahl, *Unfree Masters: Recording Artists and the Politics of Work* (Durham: Duke University Press 2013)**

FOR THREE CENTURIES, says Carol Pateman, contract doctrine has proclaimed that subjection to a master – a boss, a husband – is freedom. (214) Author Matt Stahl, an assistant professor of Information and Media Studies at the University of Western Ontario, sets out to unmask the philosophical, economic, and political relations of domination hidden behind the liberal ideological conceptions of juridical equals in contract law in his *Unfree Masters*. If voluntarism implies there is no coercion, and thus no politics, it is important to discredit this premise in a global popular music culture where there are enormous reserve

armies of musical talent prepared to sign away their rights at the roulette wheel for stardom.

Stahl starts from the useful assumption that the relationship between “art” and “commerce” so prevalent in cultural industry theory today is less important than focusing on the employee and employer relationship. (232) Today's recording artists under contract to a recording company, concert promoter, or management company are patently masters in some areas and servants in others – but what becomes important to labour scholars is under what conditions and why. First, he scopes how the employment contract between musician and recording label is a bargain. The relative market strength of the parties at any given contract at any given time will determine who gets to control the production process and how much they will own in copyright royalties of the final production. A musician can claim more autonomy by direct links to fans, and do pretty well what they like, so long as their products keep selling. Second, if there is a relative seller's market, or cracks in oligopoly control, worker autonomy increases. But tied to that market power are phenomenal structural inefficiencies. Only about twenty per cent of artists actually recoup their advances or loans from their record company, and five per cent are profitable. (8) To mitigate such risk, the music industry has consolidated into tight oligopolies involving outsourcing and smaller creative companies, reframing both the employer-employee relationship and the share in the right to intellectual property. As a consequence even megastars rarely win more than twenty per cent of their royalties (with industry norms between six and nine percent of retail). (121)

Stahl analyses the “struggle” of the musical artist aristocracy, established big names like Sheryl Crow (net worth estimated at \$40 million), Don Henly of the



Eagles (\$200 million), and Courtney Love (\$150 million), who fought the Recording Industry Association of America's (RIAA) effort to exempt them from a California Labour Code provision which sunsets any employee contract after seven years. Against a backdrop of declining profits and global reorganization, record companies wanted to increase control over their worker assets by enforcing exclusivity, open transferability or assignment powers, and duration based not on number of years, but number of albums delivered. In a staggering complicity with the political system, the recording majors were able to persuade the California Assembly to "carve out" or exempt musicians from the legislative protection with no prior consultation. Immediately, artists, groups, and lawyers rallied to reverse the RIAA's seven-year carve out. They started by making the case most artists are not wealthy and contract boilerplate releases the company from any obligation to produce or promote a record, but allows it to request album after album anyway in the "pay or play" clause. Employers can set a very low – \$6,000 a year (131) – minimum to prevent employees from working for anyone else. Repeal failed. The "take it or leave it" regime of the standard contract for the initial contract stayed.

Stahl shares the reader's distaste for arguments the top one per cent of stars made over rent-seeking from a base of such unacknowledged privilege. But they render visible, even sensational, tensions that while more salient in everyday ordinary work, are harder to see. Courtney Love's argument she was a chattel trafficked without care among a series of corporate moguls in takeovers strikes resonance. Stahl's disclosure of the shocking exploitation of the 1980s R and B singing star Teena Marie with Motown, where she challenged Motown and partially won, establishes some hope for bargaining power. In all other respects,

the artists' critique was rudimentary and self-interested; Stahl concludes they were too invested in their existing relationships for their critique to hit its true target. (147–148) They fell into John Stuart Mill's liberal rhetoric that one cannot be free to be unfree: yet were unable in the end, to make the case why any other workers in California should care about a right they will likely never be able to exercise.

Stahl also traces the tale when musicians had to mount a rearguard action in 2001–2002 after the record companies succeeded in getting Congress to pass an amendment which would include sound recordings in the list of commissioned works eligible for "work for hire status" and therefore solely the intellectual property of the record companies. In the space of a year, Congress was forced to backtrack. Artists defined themselves as creators and employers of others with full creative control, hiring and spending capital on facilities, technology, and talent. Yet few among the creative ensembles they assembled for projects are guaranteed a percentage of the artist's share of royalties from the record company except for some producers and celebrity engineers, completely downplaying the perspective of social authorship. Contrary to the artists' lawyer's contention, he makes the point that the American Federation of Musicians *has* set a precedent for quasi royalty payments flowing to those musicians hired. Stahl leaves the reader with a lingering whiff of hypocrisy in the artists' position.

More repugnant is the slide into rhetoric where all parties tactically accept that individuals own property in their persons, anathema to Pateman and other socialist feminists. (179) Stahl also rejects such a view. He concludes with a magisterial attempt to demonstrate how, outside of the liberal contract thinking, any employment contract can be invalid.

No contract can transform a responsible person into a non-responsible thing as liberal tenet holds. Working on the theory of the inalienable right to labour from David Ellerman's adaptation of Pateman and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Stahl shows now the fundamental myth of non-responsibility is rendered invalid in case of criminal act – the worker may be sued as a free wrong doer; and if the employer acts through the employee, then is also culpable.

The reader may take exception. The cultural studies cases he explores (American Idol and the indie rockumentary *Dig!*), while interesting, fail to address the specific employment contract terms. Stahl's focus on the US legal cases obscures that the concept of work for hire does not exist in Canadian law. Canadian intellectual property law protects rights for shorter duration; authorship remains with the employee and situations of co-ownership have provision made in certain circumstances while moral rights are more extensive. The specificity of these legal-logics needs to be more explicit. More attention could be paid to collective bargaining among the production supernumeraries to set minimum terms of trade. Alternative modes of sharing of intellectual property among autonomous music collectives could affirm some hope.

Stahl makes a timely, elegant, and ambitious theoretical contribution. The challenge facing all workers is to demystify the power of unfree masters. What recording artists have to teach us is not that we should behave more like artists, but that we must argue more effectively for reducing subordination and creating more democratic relations in flexible work ensembles.

CATHERINE MURRAY  
Simon Fraser University

**Gordon Young, *Teardown: Memoir of a Vanishing City* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2013)**

*TEARDOWN* IS AS much a love letter to Flint, Michigan, as it is a memoir, propelled by nostalgia and the seemingly overwhelming desperation, struggles, and strength that are integral to daily life in spaces of decline. Gordon Young joins a growing list of journalists returning to their childhood hometown with aged eyes and years of experience elsewhere in an attempt to understand where they came from and divine what those places have become, focusing intently on the material conditions in a place where the depth of decline surpasses the early conditions glossed over by the fuzzy warmth of youth.

Though treading many of the worn tropes of the authors that have come before – crime and the incapacity of public safety organization to the inefficiency of the municipality, the physical changes of neighbourhood remembered through childhood experience amplified by an exodus of people and jobs, the rhythms of a city disrupted by idled assembly lines punctuated by intermittent and marginal employment and unknowable depths of each subsequent crisis. No autopsy, Young's ability to weave his family history into the rise and fall of Flint is an earnest and sympathetic examination of a declining city avoiding the fabulism of Charlie LeDuff's *Detroit: An American Autopsy* (New York: Penguin, 2013) and the write-by-hype style of Mark Binelli's *Detroit City is the Place to Be: The Afterlife of an American Metropolis* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2012).

Young's strongest contributions in *Teardown* connect the housing and land markets of San Francisco and Flint through his own experience. It is this transition in the economy from production to financialization that offers some of the more interesting ways to understand

the production of conditions Young catalogues in Flint, conditions produced in varying scopes throughout the United States. Though Young does not explicitly breakdown the local boundaries often drawn around real estate markets, he illustrates how spaces of decline draw a variety of speculators: some dreamers seeking a return home, others with altruistic intent but little capital perpetuating and accelerating decline.

For decades academic research on declining cities has focused either on what is absent or lost in these places once heavily defined by industrial production. The declining number of jobs and people, the growing number of vacant and abandoned houses, the dwindling opportunities for residents that remain, and the explosion of municipal deficits often made on the back of promises to municipal workers struggling to maintain services. When researchers have not focused on loss, they often navigate the complexity of urban decline through narrow case studies focused on conditions and outcomes in finite areas. Young deftly engages with both of these approaches particularly in his retelling – and telling off – of General Motors and its role in the civic largess, such as the free harp lessons he took advantage of as a child, and the civic peril overcome and worked around on a daily basis by the residents he gives voice throughout. Just as Young steps back to examine the scope of the auto industry in Flint and the ways in which it touched the lives of his family and those of his childhood friends, *Teardown* burrows into the neighbourhoods that become central in Young's quest for real estate. The preservation and gentrification, a fraught concept in declining cities as the slow pace and perpetual do-it-yourself process mask the consequences of displacement and *ad hoc* securitization, of the Carriage Town neighbourhood to his childhood subdivision of working-class

tract housing collapsing in a sea of vacancy and abandonment.

What Young captures in his former neighbourhood is the imagined balance that is often the focus on neighbourhood intervention in municipal policy circles – a tenuous stability that could be lost to another vacancy or an open and abandoned structure. Young captures much of this detailing the work of Dan Kildee at the Genesee County Land Bank, a project that morphed into the Center for Community Progress, one of the largest policy think tanks developing interventions for shrinking cities. The organization's interventions in Detroit have turned away from these neighbourhoods in transition and are now promoting the dedication of resources to more stable and often more wealthy neighbourhoods under the justification that these are the people that have chosen to stay and have the means to move, a cynical deployment of trickle down policies which have come to dominate municipal approaches to decline under austerity.

*Teardown* reflects the transition in government policy away from the development of jobs and economic opportunity to a resource allocation regime focused on the construction and maintenance of real estate markets. Broad economic transitions have resulted in ever more porous boundaries in which the ability to buy, sell, and trade titles on property while emphasizing potential gains results in an economic development policy that addresses increasingly finite geographies as sites of stable social reproduction while creating a global pool of investors and speculators. The growing divide between the use value of land and the velocity of exchange often exacerbate conditions of decline rather than alleviating outcomes. This is illustrated in the way Young ties his home purchase in the hyper-inflationary market of San Francisco with his attempt to reconnect to Flint through

purchasing property. It is a curious juxtaposition of the deep bonds forged to a place while coming of age may be reified or assuaged through the act of buying a house. Though Flint is where Young came of age, the city itself is a stand-in for expiring markets throughout cities in the United States. Low barriers to entry propelling an illusory gold rush where getting in early might catch a new wave of production, not in an auto plant, but perhaps something, anything, but what does not matter, because those that buy from outside do not have the struggle of everyday life in spaces of decline – spaces that make evident how the value of property is increasingly drawn from exchange and the velocity of that exchange rather than its use. An annihilation of place one \$500 purchase at a time.

JOSHUA AKERS

University of Michigan-Dearborn

**Jake Rosenfeld, *What Unions No Longer Do* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2014)**

OVER THE PAST few decades, unions have been in decline and governments throughout the advanced capital world have removed constraints on firms by deregulating labour law and collective regulation. Much scholarship and activist debate has focused on why this has been happening but few have studied the political and economic consequences of deunionization and what it means for working people and democracy. Jake Rosenfeld takes on this challenge in *What Unions No Longer Do*.

Rosenfeld argues that the American labour movement, once so central to politics and egalitarian public policies, is now fundamentally in decline. Unions that used to organize millions of workers – including African Americans, Hispanics, and immigrants – currently struggle to

certify new workers. Unions that previously boosted the wages of union and non-union workers alike can, at best, hold the line for their dwindling members. Unions that in years past had a political voice that could not be ignored on issues of economic and social justice are now written off as special interest groups by public officials more concerned with the preferences of business and the rich.

*What Unions No Longer Do* demonstrates the costs of such developments: ever higher inequality, growing numbers of low-wage jobs, and a politics that continually benefits the rich and employers at the expense of the vast majority of working Americans. Given how the United States is often the political bellwether for Canada and Western Europe, these are important arguments that all social scientists should pay attention to.

In making these arguments, Rosenfeld adds substantially to recent literature that traces how and why government policy on redistribution and labour markets have been reformed to the advantage of the few. As scholars such as Jacob Hacker, Paul Pierson, Joseph Stiglitz, and Theda Skocpol, among others, have shown, labour policies in the United States today are regularly undermined by the deliberate efforts of firms to convince policymakers to deregulate, avoid updating policy, or simply keep labour market issues off the agenda. Researchers in this vein explain these outcomes in terms of how the economic wealth of business and Wall Street has been translated into durable political resources and unprecedented access to policymakers that refocuses the energies of political parties and governments alike.

In contrast, Rosenfeld focuses in far greater depth on the many consequences of organized labour decline for American political economy. What is happening to unions, he argues, is fundamental to understanding recent patterns of wage

stagnation and job insecurity, as well as to how American democracy is fundamentally closing itself off from the voice of workers.

Combining in-depth statistical analysis with a sharp eye to the big historical changes over the past century, Rosenfeld shows, for example, how the growth of public sector unions and their growing role inside the labour movement have not resulted in better wages in other non-union sectors, nor has it had much of an impact in mobilizing voters to participate in progressive politics. In large part, this is because public sector unions are limited by the whims, budgetary constraints, and partisan composition of governments. But he also argues that it is because public sector workers and their organisations face innumerable difficulties in overcoming the fragmenting effects of race, education, and occupation, all of which limit the organizing and mobilizing potential of the public sector for a more encompassing labour movement.

Similarly, Rosenfeld dissects the numerous consequences of declining militancy, fewer strikes and a plummeting number of work stoppages. Where once strikes were frequent, large, and energizing throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, unions have now almost entirely backed away from striking, using strikes only as a last resort in the most desperate of circumstances. This is not only because employers increasingly easy resort to hiring replacements and moving firms to non-union facilities in the aftermath of a strike. Rosenfeld also attributes the declining strike rate to governments' failure to prohibit replacement workers and their granting of injunctions forcing workers to return to their jobs. What this has meant for unions is ever more concessions, wage cuts, and job losses that have demobilized members and leaders – another key constraint on unions going forward.

Rosenfeld also makes equally insightful arguments for organized labour weakness in regards to its inability to organize new workers and especially labour's inability to attract new immigrants, Hispanics, and African Americans. He concludes by assessing the dwindling abilities of unions to educate and mobilize workers as voters and political participants.

For Canadians and comparativists, Rosenfeld's analysis is particularly valuable in terms of outlining of the problems that organized labour currently faces. Much of the debate on union decline in North America and Western Europe has far too often focused on American "exceptionalism" and how, in contrast, at least some countries' workers still have better jobs and wages, some unions still retain better bargaining and employment protection, and some labour movements still have wider political influence.

However, the problems that Rosenfeld points to for the United States are, in fact, the problems that unions and labour movements face everywhere. How they will – or can – deal with these corrosive issues from the lack of organizing, to declining militancy, to dwindling political mobilization will determine whether they can overcome the growing number of hurdles to an agenda of equality and the redistribution of power, wealth, and income.

But what makes the book a must read more broadly for labour scholars and activists is how high he sets the bar for critically engaged scholarship. It is crisply written. It passionately defends the legacy of unions and the importance of the labour movement in reclaiming democracy and building an egalitarian future. He also covers issues in national and historical depth like no other recent book on American labour. And just as importantly, he deepens our notions of deunionization and the consequences of union decline. Along with Kim Moody's

surveys of American developments, there is no better book on the contemporary American labour movement, its problems, and often grim prospects. In doing all this and more, Rosenfeld makes a vital contribution and *What Unions No Longer Do* will be one of the top labour books of this decade.

JOHN PETERS

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**Steve Early, *Save Our Unions: Dispatches from a Movement in Distress* (New York: Monthly Review Press 2013)**

*SAVE OUR UNIONS* is a series of 35 articles, essays, and book reviews from US labour movement activist, writer, lawyer, and former union staff person, Steve Early. Most appeared in progressive and mainstream US journals.

The essays cover a number of items, divided into larger topic areas: an assessment of reform campaigns in major unions; the state of the strike weapon in this era and the potential forms and uses of workers' right to strike; strategies to expand private sector unions; the challenges of job-based medical benefits, the "private welfare state," and the contradictory and often hypocritical role of many unions in giving only lip-service to "medicare for all"; recent struggles in the telecom sector, featuring a case study of Verizon; the challenge of new leadership development across the larger labour movement; the experience of progressives in Vermont, in particular their important and leading fight for a single-payer health care system in that state; and an epilogue essay that draws larger conclusions about the direction of the labour movement from the ongoing struggles between the National Union of Health Workers/California Nurses Association and the United Health Workers/Service Employees International Union (SEIU).

The entire book is tied together with common threads, reflecting Early's political and union orientation. Its characteristics include the need for greater rank and file power and participation; democracy; unions that are truly independent of employers, with an adversarial perspective that fights with and for members; new ways of organizing the unorganized (especially immigrant workers); more independence from the Democratic Party; developing alliances with community movements; and solidarity across borders. The pieces include sometimes poignant vignettes of courageous and not-so-courageous efforts to build movements which reflect the above themes, in contexts which are most often unfriendly. (Particularly thoughtful and memorable was an article that appeared in the *Boston Globe* on the 100th anniversary of the 1912 Bread and Roses strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, "Lessons of Lawrence.")

The essays are incisive, written in a journalistic language that is clear and accessible to working-class readers, but thankfully devoid of the kind populist oversimplification that is all too prevalent in much of what passes as labour journalism today. They also contain "postscripts," which tell the reader what happened *after* the essays were first written.

Underlying all of this are two key themes: a belief that, whatever constraints and limitations the now severely wounded union movement faces, there are always experiences that provide openings, hope and potentials, that demonstrate that "another way is possible." And secondly, those possibilities will come out of the movements built and the lessons learned from the participants in these on-the-ground struggles, defeats, and experiences. Examples include Occupy, Wisconsin, the Chicago Teachers, the May Day immigrant, and retail and

hospitality sector strikes and protests; ongoing rank and file challenges that succeed in creating and re-creating union potentials such as in the rebuilding of the former Teamster Local of Ron Carey and the New York City transit workers, the California Nurses' Association, and National Union of Health Workers; the battle to challenge the "partnership" top-down approach of SEIU; and the progressive political and union movements in Vermont; and many others cited in these many essays and stories.

But in the telling, Early isn't uncritical and doesn't skip over the weaknesses and shortcomings of the movements he supports, as in his description of the limits of the way international solidarity is practised at T-Mobile and elsewhere (where the weaknesses of the local union movement, coupled with the unwillingness of the stronger international partner to take radical actions that threaten their cultural and institutional ties to the employer, makes these strategies fail).

Early's take on the strengths and weaknesses of the labour movement also avoids two erroneous extremes that many left writers fall into when analyzing unions. He doesn't slip into the trap of writing uncritically about unions under attack by neoliberal capital, the state, and all of the weapons at the latter's disposal, and neither does he go to the other extreme of attacking the labour movement itself, without contextualizing its challenges, and looking at ways it can be transformed.

There are problems in some of these pieces. Like many otherwise excellent American left labour analysts, activists, and journalists, there isn't all that much about efforts at creating radical and socialist political alternatives and the importance of having (and the costs of not having) the kind of left that can both build working-class consciousness and the kind of democratic, adversarial,

and class-struggle oriented union movement he argues for. The only references to left politics are in the social democratic movement in Vermont (positive and constructive, for sure) and in the context of the failed experiments of the 1970s, and the way that these failures orphaned a number of activists who went into workplaces to build class-oriented unions and left political workplace cells.

This shows in his review of Jefferson Cowie's book, *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: New Press, 2010). He challenges the author's contention that today's workers don't generally have a consciousness of themselves as a class by pointing to the countercurrent of worker resistance that continues well into the 2000s. But however significant these movements are, he misses the larger political implication that can be drawn from Cowie's claim: the lack of working-class consciousness (and class organization) is partially due to the smashing defeat of labour in the late 1970s and 1980s that brought neoliberalism, as well as the concurrent defeat of the *left*, and the virtual disappearance of socialist and anti-capitalist movements that might be capable of fostering a class identity and orientation. What remained was (and is) a weakened and discredited "liberalism" and social democracy, both of which work within the constraints of neoliberalism and the labour markets it created, albeit looking to moderate its effects on working people.

The movements that Early describes are certainly made up of working-class people and institutions, but they are not tied to a larger class project, and the participants identify with their particular struggles and demands rather than a larger working class. It is difficult to build across these often isolated and limited struggles and help transform them into movements that actually unite different segments of the working class, build more

permanent and ongoing institutions that can engage politically in a class-based politics, without an organized network of socialists, working inside and alongside unions and social movements. It is as true today, as it was in the 1930s.

Another problem is the rather hostile attack on Jane McAlevey, which is quite uncharacteristic of the approach that Early generally takes to those with whom he is engaged in common struggle to strengthen and transform the union movement. Those activists who have learned from McAlevey, the former SEIU organizer, would hardly recognize the rather cynical and personal caricature that is presented here.

Overall, *Save Our Unions* is an excellent and informative volume that takes the reader across some of the American union movement's principal challenges, struggles and openings, from the perspective of one of the US's principal labour journalists, with a healthy dose of humour and historical perspective.

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**Ruth Milkman and Ed Ott, eds., *New Labor in New York: Precarious Workers and the Future of the Labor Movement* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2014)**

NEW YORK CITY represents something of a paradox for organized labour and the American working class. While union density in the US has been in a decade's long decline, close to 25 per cent of the Big Apple's workers are members of a union – about twice the national rate. Yet as sociologist Ruth Milkman points out in her introduction to *New Labor in New York*, the city has one of the highest levels of income inequality among large urban centres in the US. Furthermore, while organized labour built what labour historian Josh Freeman has called a “social

democratic polity” in post-war New York – with rent control, cheap and easy-to-use mass transit, public university and hospital systems, and an extensive network of social service agencies – in the 1970s the city served as a test case for neoliberal restructuring as elites sought to roll-back the gains of working people and the insurgent social movements of the 1960s.

Indeed since the 1970s, urban labour markets in North America have undergone profound restructuring. Deindustrialization and the expansion of service sector employment have significantly altered urban landscapes. The economic and political restructuring wrought by neoliberal globalization has negatively affected the capacity of trade unions to organize the unorganized. And in particular, the rise of precarious employment and growth of the precariat has challenged traditional forms of trade unionism, as old forms of representation do not jive with the labour market realities of many workers. But as we read in *New Labor in New York*, a new labour movement is rising to these challenges. Focused primarily on organizing low-wage, precarious – often immigrant – workers, community-based labour organizations, including worker centres and new labour-community coalitions, are developing a strategic and tactical repertoire that builds working class power among some of the urban economy's most marginalized workers.

*New Labor in New York* is the product of collaboration between graduate students and seasoned labour scholars which had its genesis in a graduate course on community-based organizations, unions, and worker centres at the City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center. Veteran sociologist of labour and labour movements, Ruth Milkman, guided the project while a number of prominent academics performed the role



of interlocutors and constructive critics. The end result is thirteen detailed case studies, written by graduate students, which analyze and document new forms of community-based labour organizing, particularly among New York City's low-wage, immigrant working class. As Milkman notes in the book's introduction, New York has the single largest concentration of worker centres in the US, and in many ways is a petri dish for new labour and non-traditional forms of organizing. While grounded in New York City, the book contains many important lessons for labour activists and academics beyond the five boroughs and makes a valuable contribution to the growing literature on organizing the precariat and especially to scholarship on worker centres and other models of community unionism.

The thirteen cases are divided into four sections. The first section focuses on four examples of immigrant union organizing and union-community partnerships. Benjamin Becker's exploration of a more traditional organizing campaign, at retail giant Target, demonstrates just how difficult union organizing in the US has become, even in a fairly labour-friendly state with workers who fall under the protections employment and labour law. The second section includes two cases of organizing workers in occupations that are excluded from New Deal labour legislation. Kathleen Dunn's case study of community group VAMOS Unidos examines the challenges of organizing mostly immigrant women street vendors whose work is not always deemed "legal" by the powers that be. Martha W. King's study of the Freelancers Union may seem out of place, with its constituency of college grads, but it fits here as exclusion from basic labour protections unites members of the precariat who share an interest in figuring out new modes of collective organizing and representation that fall

beyond the outdated regulatory architecture of the New Deal.

The third section of the book includes case studies of immigrant worker struggles in and beyond the workplace. Jane McAlevey's study of Make the Road New York, Stephen McFarland's look at the New York Civic Action Project, and Stephen McQuade's exploration of social justice organizing in the city's Korean community, demonstrate the necessity of organizing around the social networks and community connections immigrants use to gain access to both housing and work. The book's final section explores how worker centres and other community-based labour organizations – the Restaurant Opportunities Center, the Taxi Workers' Alliance, and Domestic Workers United – have attempted with some success to scale-up their organizing and advocacy to the national level.

My only frustration with the book is the absence of a concluding chapter that summarizes and synthesizes the insights of the case studies. While veteran labour activist, Ed Ott, contributes a thoughtful afterword, I was hoping the editors would better assist readers in seeing the forest for the trees. I was left asking, what can these cases, collectively, tell us about the prospects of the new and dynamic organizing strategies and tactics they document in such detail? Which strategies and tactics are more effective than others? Are there a set of best practices emerging from the milieu of community-based labour organizations? Perhaps the editors thought the cases too disparate to draw out any overarching lessons. An alternative might have been to include a brief conclusion at the end of each of the four sections, synthesizing the researchers' insights on a section by section basis.

One of the most hopeful takeaways from *New Labor in New York* is the budding relationship between "old" and "new" labour. While this relationship still has

its challenges, trade unions are showing greater respect for, and most importantly willingness to work with and learn from, worker centres and community-based labour organizations. In the recent Wal-Mart and fast food strikes, unions have adopted some of the strategic and tactical repertoire of new labour, and in doing so have dusted off some of their own radical traditions and modes of collective action. And as many of the case studies in this book demonstrate, new labour also has something to learn from traditional unions, particularly if these organizations desire to be self-sustaining and independent of the constraints of granting agencies and foundations. Reading *New Labor in New York* it became clear that from this cross-fertilization of resources and ideas, tactics and strategies, experiences and wisdom, that a powerful, transformative labour movement can grow. Just as social democratic New York illustrated what the working class could achieve in the post-war era, perhaps new labour in New York, in rebuilding working class power from below, will once again turn the Big Apple a reddish hue.

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**Stanley Aronowitz, *The Death and Life of American Labor: Toward a New Workers' Movement* (New York: Verso 2014)**

THE WELL-DOCUMENTED decline of US union membership, bargaining clout, and political influence has more than workers worried. One of America's best-known left-wing critics of organized labour has weighed in with a new book lamenting the current state of working-class organization and suggesting various methods of resuscitation.

In *The Death and Life of American Labor*, sociologist Stanley Aronowitz

points the way "toward a new workers' movement," drawing on his own youthful experience as an industrial union organizer and, more recently, as a faculty union activist in New York City. Aronowitz has been an influential thinker on the labour left for nearly fifty years. During the 1960s, student radicals turned to him, as a former factory worker and staff member of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW), for advice about the New Left's much debated and then still pending "turn toward the working class."

As he did in past books like *False Promises*, *Working-Class Hero*, and *From the Ashes of the Old*, Aronowitz criticizes mainstream unions for their lack of militancy, diversity, internal democracy, and progressive politics. "Despite brave words from AFL-CIO headquarters, unions rely on the mainstream political power structure rather than their own resources for gains. They have poured hundreds of millions into electing Democrats to national and state offices and relegated the grassroots organization of workers to the margins." (10)

As an alternative approach, Aronowitz offers a blueprint for how a "militant minority within unions and the larger workers movement" can make American labour "more combative in challenging capital and the repressive state" over issues like "the super-exploitation of the working poor." (165) The author applauds the recent emergence of worker formations in the retail and fast food industries that function with voluntary membership, no legal certification, and a greater reliance on what he calls "innovative direct action," (175) including short duration protest strikes.

This type of organizing and strike activity reflects, in part, the steady erosion of an industrial relations model based on "exclusive representation." Under the now 80-year National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), a single union could secure

the right to represent all the workers in a particular “bargaining unit” after winning a secret ballot vote conducted by the federal government. Employers – often under strike pressure in the 1930s and 1940s – could also voluntarily agree to union recognition when presented with evidence that a majority of their employees had signed union membership cards.

Once an obligation to bargain was established (and assuming that further management resistance could be overcome), the end result was a union contract. It spelled out wages, employment conditions, and “fringe benefit” coverage, in a nation short on statutory entitlement to pensions, health care, or paid time off.

On the union side, one much-sought provision in such collective agreements was a clause requiring “dues check-off.” Except in so-called “right to work” states – now numbering 24 out of 50 in the US – this “union security” provision obligated employers to deduct dues from the paychecks of workers belonging to the union or deduct an equivalent amount in the form of “agency fees” from non-members.

These arrangements were enshrined in the private sector via passage of the NLRA, during the “New Deal” administration of President Franklin Roosevelt. By three or four decades later, about half the states passed laws granting collective bargaining rights to public employees within a similar legal framework (although some of those gains have now unraveled in former union strongholds like Wisconsin).

One downside of the US model was its tendency to make unionization an all or nothing phenomena; if an organized minority of workers tried to act collectively in an otherwise “non-union” workplace, there was little management obligation to deal with their demands and, very often, little sustained union backing for their shop-floor activity.

As Aronowitz observes, “the era of labor-management cooperation that was

initiated by the New Deal and supported by succeeding legislation ... has come to an end.” (18) He argues that continued union reliance on a last-century institutional framework, now under attack by private corporations and right-wing politicians alike, is not helping “workers meet the challenges created by globalization and its significantly aggravated anti-union political and social environment.” (12)

In the US, the old labour law regime also created legal obstacles to workers’ switching unions or building new ones. As a result, many workers have had more trouble holding their national or local labour organizations accountable to the rank-and-file than union members abroad. Where insulated from the threat of membership defection to rival organizations or a serious electoral challenge by union reformers, incumbent officials in the U.S. have been much freer to neglect critical workplace concerns and/or promote labour-management cooperation schemes of questionable value to workers.

One upside of labour’s current crisis, according to Aronowitz, is the possibility that greater organizational pluralism will emerge, in the form of left-led unions acting as a spur to “the slumbering mainstream.” He acknowledges that “any association seeking to organize workers independently within an established union’s jurisdiction, even workers from a group that the union has effectively abandoned, is going to be seen as a threat. This is not necessarily a bad thing: competition may goad the conventional unions to undertake their own organizing. As we have seen, competitive unionism is often a stimulus to mobilization and ultimate success.” (167)

Aronowitz is encouraged by signs of increased militancy among unionized teachers, who are everywhere under attack by corporate-backed “educational reformers” and charter school promoters. In key cities and some states, left-led

caucuses have gained control of National Educational Association or American Federation of Teachers affiliates. These insurgent teachers are now building more effective alliances with students, parents, and other residents of poor and working-class communities who oppose public school dismantling and privatization. In Chicago, teachers' union activists who helped lead an inspiring city-wide strike in 2012, are now running for city council, as part of their union's continuing challenge to Democratic Mayor Rahm Emanuel.

Labour, community, and political organizers of this sort will find *The Death and Life of American Labor* well worth debating as part of their diverse efforts to turn crisis into opportunity, through worker education and mobilization. The author has long been a model for engagement with labour that combines intellectual work and rank-and-file activism, both inspired by a "radical imagination" (163) too often missing among those many years his junior in the groves of academe.

STEVE EARLY

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**John Tully, *Silvertown: The Lost Story of a Strike That Shook London and Helped Launch the Labor Movement* (New York: Monthly Review Press 2014)**

NEARLY ALL LABOUR historians are familiar with the great London dockworkers' strike of August and September of 1889, which represented a landmark victory for New Unionism and the organization of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Fewer are aware of a smaller strike that occurred just on the heels of the dockworkers' strike which also involved a fledgling union of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, similar issues,

and many of the same labour leaders. The strike against Silver's India-Rubber, Gutta-Percha, and Telegraph Company was a bitter and grinding defeat for New Unionism, which perhaps is why it has been less studied by labour historians. John Tully, in *Silvertown: The Lost Story of a Strike That Shook London and Helped Launch the Labor Movement*, argues that that defeat was a crucial pivot point in the history of the British labour movement. It foreshadowed many of the tactics used during the tremendous pushback by organized employers and the state against New Unionism in the 1890s. This conflict had additional significance because it contributed to a shift in political orientation among ordinary workers and the labour movement as a whole, helping to make the rise of the Labour Party possible. The 1889 strike, combined with another at the same firm in 1897, encouraged the slow and grudging opening up of craft unions helping to create a more unified labour movement. Tully's work goes beyond a simple narrative of the strike and its leaders to situate this conflict in its wider social and political context, showing its larger significance and providing a rich and sympathetic social history of the lives of male and female workers struggling on poverty wages in West Ham toward the end of the 19th century.

Tully provides an extended history of Silver's India-Rubber, Gutta-Percha, and Telegraph Company, which by the time of the strike was a high-tech operation that was deeply intertwined with the empire. It was highly and consistently profitable for its shareholders, who included several very well-placed members of both houses of Parliament. Under the direction of Matthew Gray since 1866, the firm produced a wide range of products, the most noteworthy being telegraph cables. Silver's employed both skilled workers – some belonging to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) – and a great

many semi-skilled and unskilled, totaling around 3,000. Women made up 11 per cent of the firm's workforce and played a significant role in the strike. Eleanor Marx helped to organize these women into a female branch of the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers (NUG&GL) and, in October 1889, a meeting of 5,000 male members voted unanimously to admit women into the union to fight as one group to improve the conditions of all. It is a shame that Tully did not expand upon this important historical moment and explore the gender dynamics within the union and during the strike further.

Despite Silver's considerable revenues, the majority of its workers laboured long hours in appalling conditions for pitiful wages. Most male workers earned less than 5d. an hour, and wages for female employees were even lower. Most of Silver's employees lived in substandard but expensive housing and had limited access to medical care. Encouraged by the victory of the dockworkers, the company's yardmen requested a raise to 5½d. per hour for their normal 59 to 63 hour workweek. This was soon followed by similar demands from most of the firm's non-craft workforce. Although management could have comfortably afforded this raise and remained highly profitable, Matthew Gray refused to negotiate with the workers or submit to outside offers of arbitration, dismissing the organizers of the NUG&GL as "professional agitators." (111) Within days more than 2,000 labourers had left work, representing the majority of the company's employees. The strike would last for three months. Gray stood firm, encouraged by employers and politicians throughout the country who perceived that this conflict had considerable stakes for the future of industrial relations in Britain given the recent victories of the Bryant and May "match girls," the successful organization of London

gasworkers, and the London dock strike. Tully clearly demonstrates that contemporary socialists and labour leaders also recognized that this strike was one of great importance.

Tully argues that Gray's strategy during the strike provided a blueprint for defeating New Unionism in the 1890s. Gray refused to recognize or meet with union leadership or accept outside arbitration. To maintain production, the firm moved work abroad to its plant in France. Gray's son recruited replacement workers in isolated and economically depressed rural regions of Essex and Suffolk, offering "permanent employment" (170) without mentioning to new hires that they would be asked to act as scabs. These black-legs were billeted in the works, and the company relied heavily upon expanded police protection to limit communication between pickets and replacement workers. Finally, the company hired legal counsel and prosecuted every perceived encroachment upon the law by striking workers, from intemperate language to scuffles on the picket lines, no matter how minor. By late November and December, a combination of cold, hunger, and the intensification of police persecution contributed to the end of the strike and a complete defeat for the NUG&GL. Tully notes that this was a pattern that the labour movement would see often during the 1890s as part of an aggressive and coordinated effort by employers and the government limit the spread of New Unionism.

The strikers not only faced the challenge of aggressive tactics from management, but also the tensions of a divided labour movement. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers had members at work in the Silver's plant that they refused to call out in support of the striking workers. This was partially due to the divergence of interests between craft and new unions, but it also was due

to the fact that the development of new technology and the significant number of nonunion engineers in the plant had made the position of the ASE increasingly precarious. This led to a lot of public and acrimonious back-and-forth between the strike leaders and the ASE executive, with the latter claiming that its members were not doing the work of those on strike and would not affect the outcome of the conflict. However, it is likely that in addition to providing labour that allowed production to continue, the ASE men assisted the company in dismantling and packing machinery that was shipped to the firm's plant in France. Labour leaders like John Burns were incensed at the failure of the ASE executive to support the striking workers. Tully does an excellent job of situating this conflict within the context of a transforming workplace and labour movement. He underscores these points with a fascinating epilogue recounting the defeat of the ASE during a strike at Silver's in 1897, which he argues contributed to the gradual bridging of the divide between craft and industrial unions.

*Silvertown* is a clearly written and well organized account that skillfully blends the case study of a specific strike with the broader transformations occurring within British workplace and industrial relations. It will be of great interest to labour historians and would be appropriate for use in honours or graduate seminars.

CHRISTOPHER FRANK  
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**Margaret F. MacDonald and Patricia de Montfort, *An American in London: Whistler and the Thames* (London: Philip Wilson 2013)**

JAMES ABBOTT MCNEILL Whistler's father was a railway engineer who oversaw the construction of the St. Petersburg to Moscow railway in the 1840s. James

(1834–1903), his son, who became the esteemed American artist, received an international art education enrolling in art classes at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg, studying drawing with Hudson River School painter Robert W. Weir (1803–1889) at the United States Military Academy (West Point), and learning to etch in the drawing division of the US Coast and Geodetic Survey in the early 1850s. In 1855 he moved to Paris where he joined the circle of modernist artists and writers Courbet, Baudelaire, and Fantin-Latour and then relocated to London in 1859 to live alongside the Thames River on what is now Cheyne Walk (Chelsea) for forty years. Here Whistler drew, etched, and painted the river he loved, providing us with a lively social commentary on life along the transportation nucleus as well as a motif on which to build his evolving aesthetic style.

*An American in London: Whistler and the Thames*, is an enduring volume, accompanying an exhibition at the Dulwich Picture Gallery in London (16 October 2013–12 January 2014), the Addison Gallery of American Art at the Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts (1 February–13 April 2014) and the Freer Gallery of Art at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (2 May–17 August 2014). The curator/authors, Margaret F. MacDonald and Patricia de Montfort, art scholars at the University of Glasgow, have done a magnificent job of assembling a significant display of Whistler's Thames works accompanied by solid art historical and historical research that will make the volume a valuable reference for years to come.

Whistler devoted forty years to painting the Thames, especially concentrating on the subject between 1859 and 1879 while he resided at numbers 2 and 7 Lindsey Row, Chelsea. During this time he depicted the industrializing river from

the Pool of London below Limehouse to the Chelsea Reach, plying the river on various river vessels and documenting the inhabitants of the river who laboured there. We see wharfingers, warehousemen, fishers, sailors, ship's boys, publicans, (naval) pensioners, mudlarks, lime-burners, coal-heavers, bargees, and artisans, as well as other working men, women, and children.

The cast of characters is seen alongside numerous river craft including barques, barges, tugboats, wherries, steamers, schooners, oyster smacks, sail boats, skiffs, colliers, coal heavers, rowing boats, paddle steamers, passenger ferries, yawls, and all manners of sculls. As these lists suggest, Whistler illustrated the maritime life and literacy of the inhabitants of the river at a time when the *river* was the central hub for people in all the major cities of the world. This was a time when those who inhabited the river spoke the dual languages of modernity and tradition as they observed the transition of the river from oar and sail to steam. In this volume, we witness the spectacle of pedestrians traversing the river and its bridges gradually give way to the visage of mass transportation in the form of passenger steam ferries and steam trains.

Along with the river, *bridges* feature as another central motif for Whistler as perilous 18th-century wooden bridges give way to 19th-century stone and iron bridges. Patricia de Montfort has done excellent scholarship on the redevelopment of the Thames in her essay, "Painting River Pictures." We learn that in the 1860s all but two of the old bridges (Blackfriars and London Bridge) were privately owned toll bridges. Following a public bridges movement and passage of the Metropolitan Toll Bridges Act in 1877, the tolls were removed and many of the bridges passed into the hands of the London Metropolitan Board of Works. There was much jubilation at the

toll-freeing ceremonies, and a subsequent increase in the volume of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, giving cause for some of the older bridges to be closed to prevent them from collapsing.

The Old Battersea Bridge (1771–1885) features strongly in Whistler's Thames works and the authors do due diligence to interpreting the significance of this subject in the artist's oeuvre between 1860 and 1887. The bridge, located adjacent to Whistler's Chelsea residence, was cause for much concern from citizens and city administrators alike due to its treacherous wooden piers. The Old Battersea Bridge had been built with massive piers by John Phillips (1709–1775) between 1771 and 1772 to the designs of Henry Holland (1745–1806). While the designs may have seemed more suitable to the river craft of the 18th century, they proved especially perilous to the passage of larger and faster vessels of the 19th century. The bridge was closed to all but pedestrian traffic in 1883 for reasons of safety, and was rebuilt with cast iron girders on granite piers by the Chief Engineer of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Sir Joseph W. Bazalgette (1819–1891), between 1886 and 1890. The Old Battersea Bridge thus serves as one symbol of the transition from old to new in this volume.

The authors illustrate how Whistler shared the public interest in the river and its bridges through a selection of his etchings, lithotints, and oil paintings. Even in his later more loosely rendered works, Whistler provides us with glimpses of the old bridges and new Albert, Westminster, and Hungerford bridges during the period of transformation. Of particular note are his etchings and paintings of the Chelsea riverside both before (sometimes in hindsight) and after its redevelopment. The Chelsea Embankment (completed in 1874) was just one of the major projects of the prodigious Joseph Bazalgette, London's equivalent to Paris's Baron

George-Eugène Haussmann (1809–1891). Bazalgette reworked the Thames at Chelsea, reclaiming land, building an embankment, altering the flow of the river in sections, as well as accommodating space for the new working class entertainments including variety shows, staged pageants, dancing, balloon ascents, tight-rope walking, musical performances, and fireworks. Whistler's early oils, etchings, drawings, and watercolours capture the transformation of the river in the manner of his friend Gustave Courbet, while his later oil, water colour paintings, and lithotints provide a glimpse of the new social life after his friend Claude Monet.

A note of recognition is due to the authors for their presentation of research into the economies of art in the 19th century. This long neglected area of study is now experiencing renewed interest as the authors present here. Whistler's circle of friends and patrons intersected with many of the productive schools of art of the day including the socialist circle of William Morris and Company. Whistler was associated personally and artistically with Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882), Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898), and Morris (1834–1896), and together they shared the patronage of Alexander C. Ionides (1810–1890), a textile and wheat trader and art collector based in London, and Frederick R. Leyland (1832–1892), a ship-owner and art collector from Liverpool. According to the volume authors, in 1868 Ionides tried to form a company with Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and Morris to deal in Whistler's etchings centred on his popular Thames Set. However, these plans fell through. Instead, Whistler engaged Frederick Ellis, Frederick Goulding (1842–1909), and Frederick Keppel and Company (NY) amongst others to print and publish his work. Hopefully future scholarship by these authors will provide us with more

detail about the business partnerships of Whistler and his circle.

"The Thames Set," sixteen etchings completed between 1859 and 1871 and published by Frederick Ellis in 1871, is just one series of Whistler etchings studied in this volume. The "Savoy Hotel" set was another popular series completed in 1896 while Whistler's wife, Beatrice Philip (1857–1896), an artist and designer with the Aesthetic Movement (and Whistler's business manager), lay dying in the hotel. Here the artist interprets the Thames and its inhabitants at different times of day after the style of Monet. The best known of the Savoy set entitled *Savoy Pigeons* (1896) was printed by Thomas R. Way (1861–1913) reaching 3,000 impressions.

There is much more that could be said of this volume to recommend it to the social historian including more on art patronage, the confluence of artistic circles, the business of printing limited editions, the techniques of art, and most notably the magnificent collection of art. The volume also provides us with intimate images of 19th-century life along the Thames including a portrayal of the working class. Suffice it to say here that this 191 page volume is filled with useful references, excellent images, and well researched passages that will interest the specialist art historian and social historian alike for many years. It is a credit to the authors and their institutions that they have been able to assemble such a timely and handsome volume.

ELLEN RAMSAY  
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**John Field, *Working Men's Bodies: Work Camps in Britain, 1880-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2013)**

AS I BEGAN John Field's book on *Working Men's Bodies*, I had recently reread Eva Baron's 2006 call for a more embodied history of male workers: that we "consider the ways to 'embody' the history of the male working-class subject" (*International Labor and Working-Class History* 69, Spring 2006: 144). Baron's essay, practically a decade old, still resonates. While masculinity has certainly become an important category of analysis in labour history, historians have focused less on the ways men use, experience, and identify with their bodies than they have on the meanings of masculinity produced through work cultures, processes of socialization and politicization, and relationships with working-class women. The body remains tangential to the history of working-class men as men, perhaps with the exception of some very good work on sport and physical culture.

Field's study does not substantially challenge the neglect of men's bodies in working-class histories because, despite the title, the book is not primarily about working men's bodies. Rather, it is a consideration of a variety of experiments with labour colonies in Britain, some of which were not explicitly directed towards men at all. Field traces the history of Britain's labour camps from private efforts in the late 19th century to government-sponsored initiatives in the 20th, with most chapters generally following a rise and fall arc.

Labour colonies had a variety of purposes: providing an alternative to poor law workhouses, addressing the public health, creating utopian communities, rehabilitating prostitutes, settling emigrants throughout the empire, and most predominantly, dealing with

unemployment. There were camps for the insane, the epileptic, the habitually drunk, the consumptive, the "feeble-minded," and the "abnormal," men and women both. What ties these diverse labour colonies together is an ideology emphasizing the benefits of work. The camps were, according to Field, "institutions that [were] deliberately designed to work on other people's bodies" (6) through the labour they had their inhabitants perform. This labour and its desired effects were clearly gendered, as Field points out, a point that gets obscured by a book title that hones in on men, which has the result of making his discussions of women in the camps seem out of place.

Working the land was believed to be beneficial in a wide variety of ways, strengthening the minds, manners, and bodies of those marginal in society. Productive labour, camp organizers urged, would help shape citizens and soldiers, providing both a moral environment and physical activity to solve the problems of the idle poor and the bodily weakness of military recruits. Privately sponsored camps, like those by religious groups such as the Salvation Army, had difficulty maintaining themselves financially and, increasingly, the work camp became a project of municipal and national government.

The book takes on more focus in the later part of the chronology Field covers, when the government was systematically considering labour colonies as a means to help with the problem of unemployment. Field seems most comfortable in the records of the National Archives, examining political and bureaucratic debates. He provides thorough explanation of the ways government policies about labour camps developed around emigration to the dominions, in conjunction with efforts to transfer men from "distressed" areas to other regions where more work was available, and broadly in relationship

to training the unemployed. His chapter on "Training Unemployed Women" sits somewhat awkwardly in a book about working men's bodies without further explanation. The final two chapters address social service work camps in the 1930s (very much like earlier settlement houses) and opposition against labour camps, which was led by Wal Hannington and the National Unemployed Workers' Movement externally but also showed itself within the camps. Protests by camp inhabitants revolved around the quality and amount of food, problems with camp hygiene, and the conditions of work.

An archivally rich study, Field's book provides illuminating details of the monotonous schedules and duties expected of the labour camp workers, but because these tended to be so similar across the various experiments, the details themselves become a little repetitive, especially in the early chapters. The material provides opportunities for deeper analysis of the assumptions behind the different types of labour camps, and, especially, the attitudes towards "working men's bodies" that Field wants to highlight. Field offers very little discussion of the wealth of feminist and queer theories and histories of the body, nor does he locate his topic within the abundant histories of masculinity that scholars have produced over the last quarter of a century.

Field explicitly dismisses Foucault's "notion of normalisation and the panopticon" as having any use for understanding work camps. (72) Yet the entire portrait Field paints of the labour colonies seems ripe for a Foucauldian analysis that is attentive especially to the ways that these efforts were a means to discipline unruly bodies and minds – the argument that I think Field sets out in the first place. In many ways, Field aims to rehabilitate work camps (from associations with Nazis, for example), and he is therefore reluctant to frame them as sites of social

control without also stressing the benefits that the camps could provide.

Field indeed ends with a balance sheet assessment, arguing that, while the labour colonies failed to make a significant dent in the problem of unemployment, they "helped to create our landscape," since colony inhabitants worked to establish forests. (260) Field emphasizes that the memories of some government camp workers were fond and that the regime of food and work helped rebuild minds and bodies. Admitting that the camps were "hierarchical and spartan," Field nevertheless argues they were "far from being authoritarian, illiberal or inhumane." (260) The vast majority of voices in this study are those of the camp organizers and leaders, and the politicians and bureaucrats who debated the efficacy of work camps to solve the problem of unemployment. Sources are probably rare in which we can directly hear the voices of the camp inhabitants, but Field's brief discussion of the memories of camp workers suggests there might be something promising out there.

*Working Men's Bodies* is a solid sketch of early British work camps and a more substantial study of the government's efforts to use labour camps and training centres to deal with unemployment. While Field looks to foreground male bodies as the predominant subject of analysis, his book is better situated within the literature on British unemployment policies, especially in the postwar period.

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**Wade Matthews, *The New Left, National Identity, and the Break-up of Britain* (Leiden: Brill 2013)**

THE INTRACTABLE DILEMMA long posed for socialists by the "national

question" is starkly stated in the preface to Wade Matthews' well-researched study of the ways in which selected intellectuals of the post-1956 British New Left have addressed (or failed to address) issues of nationalism and national identity. "When appealing to categories that transcend nationality, such as 'humanity' or 'class,'" remarks Matthews, "socialism has appeared bloodless and deracinated ... yet when accentuating nationalist sentiments, socialists have mined the affective identities of political reaction ... As such, socialists have been caught between abstraction and particularity: either they have sacrificed reason and equality for a celebration of particular identities and finished indistinct from their ideological opponents, or they have combated their adversary's discourse but consigned themselves to political oblivion." (ix)

Emerging from the ferment of 1956 with the aim of revitalising socialist thought and practice not just domestically but internationally, accepting no orthodoxy nor party discipline, and encompassing some of the most talented left intellectuals of the post-war era, the milieu of the British New Left would seem fertile ground for fresh encounters between socialists and the national question (or rather questions). The scene for these encounters is set by way of two contextualizing chapters, the first offering a brisk, concise overview of the history and historiography of the New Left, and the second an account of the contortions performed by British socialist intellectuals (Cole and Laski are the most extensively treated, though Tawney, Strachey, Orwell, Durbin and the Communist Party intellectuals around *Left Review* also feature) around these questions in the inter-war period. Matthews is well-versed in the literature, especially on the New Left. Thus he avoids perpetuating the well-worn but misleading characterization of "two New Lefts" separated

by the transfer of control of *New Left Review* (NLR) in the early 1960s, in favour of a more nuanced approach giving due weight to the real differences within as well as between its various groupings, and reminds us that the most substantial ideological distinction was arguably that which attended the NLR's conversion to a form of Marxism-Leninism in the late 1960s. He is also right to point to the relative absence in literature on the New Left of analysis of its engagement with nationalism, despite the fact that questions of nationalism and internationalism (the supposed capitulation to "nationalism" and/or "parochialism" of early New Left thinkers such as E.P. Thompson, the question of what a responsible "internationalism" might consist of) formed one major ground of internal dispute.

New Left thinkers, Matthews argues, "inherited a conflicted and sometimes confused tradition" in the form of a socialist discourse that "allowed both the rejection and the celebration of national difference, the repudiation of nationalism as inimical to socialism and the assumption that nationalism constituted the education of socialist desire." (36) They themselves "would be forced to engage a series of national questions" that intersected with and complicated their initial exploration and reworking of class, culture, community and "the present crisis." (57) These included the end of Empire, the rise of peripheral British nationalisms, the question of European integration, the politics of race, immigration and "identity," and the "national and nationalist implications of Thatcherism, the Cold War and the fall of communism." (x) This is quite a list, and any reader looking for the definitive New Left resolution to the conundrum posed in the preface will search these pages in vain. What they will find is a stimulating set of studies of five individual New Left thinkers: E.P. Thompson, Raymond Williams, Stuart

Hall, Perry Anderson and Tom Nairn. Each is characterised first and foremost in relation to his own “sense of imagined community” (ix) – where is he writing from? What is his “country”? These are the recurring tropes that give the chapters their titles and “hooks.” Thus Thompson is located “in the provinces”; (60) Hall appears as the inside-outsider providing insights into British national identity that homegrown intellectuals could not; Anderson as the exacting internationalist, not rootless but rather “out of place” in his uncompromising allegiance to a “future post-capitalist society free of class, nation and ethnicity.” (245) This is a neat device that affords an interesting, if not in all cases completely novel, vantage point from which to consider the intellectual trajectories of these thinkers. The overall assessments made are for the most part acute, balanced and thoughtful, notwithstanding some sharp and sometimes acerbic criticism. Thus Raymond Williams, for instance, is castigated for the “unrelenting abstraction and vacuity of the political formulas that characterise [*Culture and Society*’s] conclusion,” (116) even while the nuance of his thinking on the importance of place and community as essential socialist resources is accurately captured. Tom Nairn, the “great hater” receives the least sympathetic treatment: the “reversals in his reasoning” for “hating Britain properly” (247) charted more critically than the shifts and ambiguities in the thought of others. It is also in the Nairn chapter that the “contestatory dialogue” (x) between the five thinkers that Matthews builds throughout culminates, along the way affording him the opportunity to award Thompson a posthumous last laugh as the latter-day Scottish nationalist (and in Matthews’ presentation, ex-socialist) Nairn is hoist by the self-same petard of “cultural nationalism” (265) he years before lobbed at Thompson.

Though settling old scores between New Leftists is not the aim of the book, it is probably fair to say that a completely uninitiated reader might at times struggle to follow the intricacies of the debates between them, or fully to grasp their significance. This is not to find fault with Matthews’ exposition, which is clear and often elegantly done, but rather to extend to the whole milieu Stuart Hall’s acute observation about Williams’ “anti-nationalist nationalism”; that it overlooked the political necessity of “strategic essentialism” and as a result produced positions that, measured against those of its non-socialist opponents, were unlikely to acquire real political traction. It is of course socialism’s decline that forms the narrative backcloth here, and Matthews closes the book with a similar set of observations to those with which he begins. Capitalism, it seems, has usurped internationalism while also producing new ethnicities and national identifications; the conditions for a viable solidaristic politics remain national “yet this viability remains constrained, and increasingly constrained, by footloose capital’s ability to transcend national borders” (298) – a reality New Left thinkers grappled with but were unable to alter.

MADELEINE DAVIS

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**David Convery, ed., *Locked Out: A Century of Irish Working-Class Life* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press 2013)**

THE YEARS 2012–2023 have been officially designated the “Decade of Centenaries” in Ireland to mark and commemorate the dramatic events of the Irish Revolution, 1912–1923. The first major outbreak of revolutionary unrest in this period occurred during the 1913 Lockout, when several Dublin companies locked out striking, unionized workers and replaced

them with blacklegs. The bitter conflict that followed became Ireland's most well-known and significant labour dispute, and yet it is often relegated to the role of a curtain raiser for the Irish Revolution, a less-important precursor to the nationalist struggles that followed. Indeed, labour and class regularly lose out to the dominant themes of nationalism, unionism, and religion in Irish historiography, which David Convery rightly underlines in his introduction to this collection of twelve essays, which takes the occasion of the centenary of the 1913 Lockout as an opportunity to "highlight the neglected history and culture of the Irish working class." (7)

Social class has received less attention from historians of Ireland in comparison to many other European countries. At the same time, promising new research is emerging from a number of early-career scholars and PhD students associated with the recently established Irish Centre for the Histories of Labour and Class at the National University of Ireland, Galway, and in University College Cork (both institutions are represented in this volume), which is contributing to addressing the imbalance and developing a new focus on the history of class in Ireland. In this collection, the 1913 Lockout and some of its key personalities, such as Jim Larkin, feature in a handful of essays, but the book's scope extends beyond 1913 to introduce some fresh perspectives and novel areas of research on multiple aspects of social class across 20th-century Ireland, and its relationship to the state, diaspora, sport, the press, and popular culture.

In an engaging essay, Donal Fallon explores the world of Dublin's newsboys and "Animal Gangs" in the 1930s, and rattles the common assumptions about their involvement with right-wing movements. He demonstrates the more complex political associations of the newsboys, who

were originally organized by Jim Larkin and went on strike for improved conditions. In the 1930s the newsboys clashed with republicans and the term "Animal Gangs" came into use, but "much of what has been attributed to the 'Animal Gang' in this period appears to be folklore." (107) Also looking at the theme of youth, Sarah-Anne Buckley gives an overview of the industrial school system and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) in 20th-century Ireland, and observes how class prejudices and ideas of respectability frequently informed inspectors' decisions to place children from "undesirable families" in institutional care. Focusing on the grim circumstances of one boy's death in care in 1935, the essay highlights the deep-rooted obstacles that faced parents when they sought accountability.

Sara Goek contributes an insightful essay on Irish migration to Britain based on interviews that she conducted with traditional musicians who were among the 665,766 people who left Ireland between 1945 and 1970. The men discuss their experience in positive terms; the ready availability of construction jobs gave them a new independence to choose where they wanted to work. Traditional Irish music provided continuity and camaraderie, but it also held class connotations and was viewed, one man asserted, as the "peasant's music. Who mixed with peasants only another peasant." (167) In the interviews the men discussed their experiences of mutual support and solidarity, but "largely without recourse to the terminology of class." (173) Also working with oral history, Liam Cullinane's chapter examines perceptions of class and status among textile workers in Cork, most of whom were women, between 1930 and 1970. While interviewees did not explicitly use the terms "working-" or "middle-class," they nonetheless demonstrated a keen awareness of social status

in the workplace and during their education, and some maintained that social stratification was reinforced by Catholic institutions.

David Toms' interesting chapter brings to light the local soccer and Gaelic games leagues that flourished in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford from 1922 to 1973. The competing teams were typically "connected with the two chief institutions of adult life in Ireland at that time: work and the pub." (154) The driving force behind the leagues came from the "sociability of work," rather than "top-down benevolence," (155) and these competitions provide a useful means of investigating working-class leisure time in Ireland. In another chapter, Michael Pierson takes a stretched view of cultural representations of the working class that jumps from the Gaelic League of the 1890s to the present-day TV crime drama *Love/Hate*, but interestingly points out the occasional hostility W.B. Yeats demonstrated for the Irish working class.

The assertion in the editor's introduction and his chapter that, in Ireland, "the working class, for the most part, has been written out of history" (24) overstates the case. The unfamiliar reader could be left with the impression that little of substance has been produced in the areas of labour and class in Irish history, which is certainly not the case, even if they suffer in comparison to the attention devoted to nationalism. Some discussion of the landmark studies in the historiography of Irish labour and class would be helpful in the book. Overall, the fresh approaches and unfamiliar subjects present in a number of chapters make this a useful addition to the literature on class and labour in Irish history.

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James L. Turk, ed., *Academic Freedom in Conflict: The Struggle over Free Speech Rights in the University* (Toronto: Lorimer 2014)

WHAT DOES IT TELL US about the current state of academic freedom in the United States and Canada that the term "tension" occurs in so many of the fifteen essays in this valuable collection? Its editor, James Turk, the former executive director of the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) as well as an ex-officio member of the American Association of University Professors' (AAUP) Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure, knows where the bodies are buried and has recruited a powerful roster of scholars to disinter them.

Though the essays address ostensibly different issues, they all confront the same conundrum: How can the academy contend with the pressures from a neo-liberal polity and serve an increasingly diverse society while still maintaining its core commitment to unfettered teaching and research? A forced optimism suffuses the authors' contributions, for they do not, with a few exceptions, question the assumption that such a commitment still structures higher education. They write, in other words, as if the faculty still mattered.

Perhaps the assignment requires that assumption; the traditional function of academic freedom is to enable faculty members to carry out their professional work. But, as several authors note, managerially-minded administrators now consider academic freedom an institutional, not an individual, possession. Other authors address what Joan Scott identifies as the "unresolvable" tensions between an ostensibly self-governing profession and the unorthodox scholars at its margins. (111) Still others look at such threats to academic freedom as university-corporate research collaborations, doctrinal

constraints at religious institutions, and growing demands for civility on campus and beyond.

Ideally, of course, there should be no contradiction between the academic freedom of individual professors and that of the colleges and universities that employ them. As David Schneiderman explains in his brief for a more pluralistic academy, institutions preserve academic freedom by protecting their faculty members from external pressures. In practice, however, academic administrators have lost the ability – or perhaps the will – to ward off those outside forces, seeking instead to expand their power at home.

The law provides little protection, largely because the traditional guardians of academic freedom never managed to convince outsiders that shared governance is as essential for the professoriate as the unfettered ability to teach and do research. As David Rabban's handy survey shows, US judges hesitate to interpose themselves between the warring parties and generally defer to administrators claiming to speak for the university as a whole. As a result, faculty members who face sanctions for expressing themselves in ways that antagonize their superiors rarely succeed in court.

Things are no better farther north. As several of the Canadian contributors note, the recent "Statement on Academic Freedom" by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada ignores both faculty governance and extramural speech while making, what Mark Gabbert calls, "problematic claims for institutional constraints on academic freedom." (98–99) Len Findlay is even more critical; he views the document as an assertion of managerial control that allows administrators "to stage or consolidate a series of internal coups and external capitulations." (58)

But not all constraints come from above. Their own colleagues can and do

violate the academic freedom of individual professors. They justify that behavior on the grounds that by policing themselves academics can keep trustees, politicians, and the rest of the lay public from meddling with crucial personnel and curricular decisions. "Responsibility" is the operant phrase here; faculty members can be trusted to ensure that the expression being protected meets professional standards. But, as Matthew Finkin, Anver Saloojee, Gabbert, and Scott, among others, point out, the boundary between incompetence and innovation is permeable – to say the least.

Scholarly norms are hardly static and repressive behaviour can easily parade as disciplinary responsibility. All too often, mainstream academics have excluded unconventional or politically deviant individuals on scholarly grounds. In addition, as Saloojee points out, maintaining traditional standards ends up discriminating against historically marginalized groups and individuals whose ideas or identities discomfit their colleagues. Joan Scott recalls her own struggles to bring women's history into the academy in the face of an all-male establishment whose members believed they were defending "the integrity of the field." (113) At the same time, however, emphasizing individual freedom to challenge disciplinary norms can, Gabbert points out, undermine those norms, thus "weakening the scholarly standards which alone defend academic freedom against lay interference." (95)

The unsettling case of Ward Churchill reveals how hard it is for academics to distinguish unacceptable behavior from legitimate scholarship. Our authors disagree about whether the University of Colorado's dismissal of the controversial professor violated his academic freedom. Finkin, for example, believes the faculty panels that uncovered Churchill's shoddy scholarship were shoring up professional

norms, despite procedures that, he notes, “railroaded a guilty man.” (84). Scott, on the other hand, cites the case to illustrate “the weakness of the notion that a full separation was in fact possible between thought and action, scholarship and politics.” (122)

Similar concerns permeate the recent debate about Stephen Salaita’s dismissal from the University of Illinois because of his supposed lack of “civility.” Although this volume went to press before Salaita lost his job, several essays presciently assess the implications of what Jamie Cameron calls “the civility juggernaut.” (288) In response to incidents where unpleasant language supposedly created a hostile environment for some students, several schools have recently adopted codes of conduct that punish speakers for utterances that harm specific groups and individuals. Unfortunately, however, many of these codes are impermissibly vague. They talk about “dignity,” “niceness,” and “a zero-tolerance approach to incivility.” (Cameron, 291) But education does not require comfort; and it is disturbing to encounter Saloojee’s confession that he censored his own reading lists for fear of upsetting his students when deconstructing racist texts.

Significantly, this volume’s only concrete case study – Richard Moon’s thoughtful account of the campaign to suppress the Israeli Apartheid Week programs on several Canadian campuses – deals with today’s stickiest issue. Because the pro-Palestinian programs opposed the Netanyahu government, the ban’s proponents claimed that they constituted impermissible anti-Semitism. But since that contention is clearly controversial, Moon notes that it will only enhance academic freedom to encourage the debate that the Israeli Apartheid Week programs have provoked.

Of course, not every institution aspires to open dialogue. At religiously-affiliated

schools, faculty members must often adhere to serious restrictions upon their thought and behavior. The AAUP has long observed its so-called “limitations” clause that allows church-related institutions to impose religious constraints upon their teachers as long as those limitations are made explicit to prospective faculty members at the time of their employment.

The Canadian academy, however, has no such “limitations” clause, making it harder to measure how much academic freedom exists at any one church-related institution. Some schools – which William Bruneau views as beyond the pale – require everyone on campus to “pass a faith test.” (147) Others, even when they expect their faculty members to be practicing Christians, do adhere to acceptable standards of academic freedom in those fields where doctrinal strictures do not apply. Significantly, all the contributors to this part of the volume – Bruneau, John Baker, and Gerald Gerbrandt – agree that religious institutions must not interfere with their faculties’ research in secular areas.

Commercial pressures constitute an even greater threat to academic freedom than religious ones. Not only do many corporations constrict the research they fund, but they also create potential conflicts of interest that, Sheldon Krinsky believes, “unduly compromise the mission, core values, autonomy, or public trust in the integrity of the institution.” (233) James Turk surveyed the Canadian scene and found “a similar pattern” of schools willing “to sacrifice core values in pursuit of money and corporate collaborators.” (282) According to Krinsky, Turk and Risa Lieberwitz, the current system of regulating conflicts of interest through exposure does not work. They prefer zero-tolerance – with exceptions only in the most extraordinary situations.



In the final analysis, much of what this volume examines simply reflects the absorption of higher education into the corporate world. Though its essays explore some aspects of that takeover, it slights the structural transformations that are making academic freedom obsolete. Can we continue to fret about professional standards or campus speech codes at a time when adjunctification has hollowed out the academic profession and administrators ignore their faculties in everything that matters? Even so, these essays do remind us of what we are losing. And most recognize that, as David Rabban notes, if academic freedom is to survive, “professors must ultimately depend on themselves.” (48)

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**Paul Gillingham and Benjamin T. Smith, eds., *Dictablanda: Politics, Work, and Culture in Mexico, 1938–1968* (Durham: Duke University Press 2014)**

A VERITABLE REVOLUTION is underway in the historiography of mid-century Mexico. Until recently, historians were willing to cede this territory to colleagues in other disciplines, but with the passage of time and the opening of the archives, especially those of the Dirección Federal de Seguridad, Mexico’s federal security agency, a new cadre of researchers has begun to take on this neglected period. No longer happy to accept the narrative promoted by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, or PRI, the political party that dominated Mexico from 1929 to 2000 and which recently returned to the presidency, these authors have begun to disentangle state propaganda and academic truisms from everyday lived experience during the period of Mexico’s so-called economic miracle.

Benjamin Smith and Paul Gillingham’s edited volume, *Dictablanda: Politics, Work, and Culture in Mexico, 1938–1968*, describes the state of the historiographical turn and moves the literature forward by attempting to bring some theoretical clarity to this emerging body of work. In their introduction, Gillingham and Smith survey the literature on the regime that emerged from the Cárdenas presidency (1934–1940) and changed the orientation of the government from redistribution and equality to industrialization and incessant growth. Finding the existing social science concepts of authoritarianism, hybrid regimes, and democratic authoritarianism lacking, the editors instead posit the term *dictablanda*, loosely translated as “soft authoritarianism”, which they define as a “hybrid regime that combines democratic and authoritarian elements” and which demands “heterodox approaches” (vii) to its study. The term’s specificity appeals to the historian’s sense of contingency, and as Jeffrey Rubin summarizes in his final comments, it is “appealing,” (391) even if, after the exercise, one returns to the more generalizable theories of Gramscian hegemony that historians of Mexico have found so apt.

As an organizing idea, *dicatablanda* is superb, and Smith and Gillingham have used it to produce a fascinating and conceptually tight volume. The chapters are divided into three parts: high and low politics; work and resource regulation; and culture and ideology. Although most of the authors do not employ the term *dictablanda*, their self-consciously revisionist interpretations of the period do exemplify it. The authors interrogate the stability of the PRI regime, examining how it was held together, where the cracks lay, and how this changed over time. They demonstrate that Mexico’s Golden Age was as fictional in life as it was at the cinema, where the apparent

success of the film industry disguised the increased poverty and violence that actually characterized PRI rule.

In Part I, the authors examine the institutional foundations of the regime. Alan Knight lays out the political transition from revolution to retrenchment, and the following authors examine the ecclesiastical, military, and electoral edifices that perpetuated elite control. Roberto Blancarte charts the Church's slow role reversal, from being a critic of the regime to its supporter and finally its judge. Thomas Rath dispels many military myths, showing that the circulation of officers actually slowed between 1934 and 1952 and concluding that the regime's camouflage of civilianism was not very convincing. Rogelio Hernández Rodríguez surveys the question of local autonomy and argues that the PRI's tolerance of regional strongmen eventually led to its undoing because the arbitrary violence in which they engaged undermined the stability of the regime. Will Pansters examines one such *cacique*, Gonzalo Santos of San Luis Potosí, in greater depth, in order to examine the limits of popular agency in elections. Paul Gillingham's contribution to the volume also examines the electoral process: he questions the stereotype of PRI vote rigging, and shows that municipal votes were competitive in the period before 1952, which created a tradition of contesting elections that survived into the 1960s and 1970s.

In Part II, the authors' contributions centre around the mobilization of human, natural, and fiscal resources. Michael Snodgrass describes the experience of workers who benefitted from the industrialization policies of the PRI and participated in their own subordination to the regime through *charrismo*. Gladys McCormick likewise recounts a rather unexpected story of negotiation and collaboration among the peasants of Morelos

who did not join the Jaramillo Revolt, but rather "stayed behind and worked with mill, party, and government," (198) including the rebel leader's own brother Antonio. Christopher Boyer describes how government conservation programs served to facilitate capitalist enterprises' access to forests at the expense of community-based conservation. Maria Teresa Fernández Aceves shows how political and cultural intermediaries, such as Guadalupe Urzúa Flores, harnessed the social policies of the paternalist state to access resources for the welfare of Jaliscenses, reconfiguring government policies to benefit her constituents while also contributing to the construction of PRI hegemony. Benjamin Smith's chapter examines the State's limited capacity to create an effective tax regime. The PRI relied upon corruption and forced rural labour rather than antagonize the urban masses, whom they assuaged with clientelism, but the consequent lack of fiscal resources constrained state governments' ability to be authoritarian in the suppression of provincial tax revolts.

Part III shifts to the cultural realm, demonstrating that battles over newspaper coverage, television schedules, ethnographies, and secondary school and teacher-training programs were equally contested as the political and material domains. Guillermo de la Peña's chapter suggests that the ground between official *indigenismo* and its critics was bumpier than it has often been portrayed. Andrew Paxman shows, through his analysis of the emergence of television, that the inculcation of nationalism was not the overriding aim of the PRI, which also sought to curry favour with the business elite. Pablo Piccato's analysis demonstrates the politicization of homicide, as evidenced by the second section of newspapers. Jaime Pensado changes the narrative of the student movement by including the 1956 movement of working class students

at the Politécnico. Tanalis Padilla's chapter investigates the emergence of radical politics at rural teacher-training schools and the attempted containment of this radical identity, a particularly salient topic given the September 2014 disappearance of 43 *normalistas* in the State of Guerrero.

The editors exclude international factors in their definition of *dictablanda*. However, several of the authors not only include "exogenous factors" (22) in their analyses, but find them to be central to the processes they describe. Snodgrass describes how sugar workers' experience of the US Bracero Program fundamentally shaped their interactions with organized labour and government at home. De la Peña shows that Mexican *indigenistas* were heavily influenced by their interactions with US anthropology, and in turn shaped Latin American indigenous policies. According to Padilla's analysis of *normalista* activism, the Cuban Revolution was a significant touchstone for rural teachers-in-training as they sought to understand the meaning of the unfulfilled promises of the Mexican State. These authors demonstrate that one need not subordinate local and national processes to grant that international developments and ideas also played a significant role in shaping politics, work, and culture in Mexico. The emerging literature will show that the editors were wise to state that their argument for the exclusion of external factors is preliminary.

*Dictablanda* is a must-read for students of Mexican history and politics, and provides a useful synthesis of the emerging works on this under-researched period. More importantly, a broad range of scholars would be wise to consult it before repeating tired truisms about the nature of PRI rule in mid-century Mexico. *Pax PRIísta* was a fairytale – the party's hegemony was undergirded by violent

repression. The Mexican Miracle was a myth – the period was characterized growing rates of inequality. What these authors show is *how* the PRI maintained stability in the face of these truths, so evident to those who experienced them, yet seemingly so opaque to contemporary observers.

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**Doug Miller, *Last Night Shift in Savar: The Story of the Spectrum Sweater Factory Collapse* (Ainwick: McNidder and Grace 2012)**

WHEN RANA PLAZA collapsed on 24 April 2013, the ready-made garment sector of Bangladesh witnessed the largest industrial disaster of its history to date; more than 1,130 garment workers were killed, and thousands more injured – workers producing everyday fashion and apparel products for export to European and North American markets, including Canada. Post-Rana Plaza, Bangladesh has witnessed unprecedented partnerships between foreign and local stakeholders, including labour unions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), lobbyists, activists, and companies through corporate social responsibility (CSR) departments. The impact these global stakeholders will have on the industry in the future is so far undetermined, as the Rana Plaza tragedy marks neither the first time a building collapsed and killed garment workers in Bangladesh nor the first time diverse and divergent stakeholders have joined forces to support garment workers and deliver occupational health and safety relief schemes in the country.

In *Last Night Shift in Savar: The Story of the Spectrum Sweater Factory Collapse*, Doug Miller details the Spectrum Sweater factory building collapse that occurred on 11 April 2005, in Savar, a district in

Bangladesh just outside of Dhaka, killing 64 garment workers manufacturing garments for export. In the wake of Rana Plaza, the story of Spectrum reads like a work of fiction – an ominous tale, foreshadowing an industrial disaster of unimaginable size as a warning of consequence for industry stakeholders working within Bangladesh. This story is not fiction, however, and lessons learned were not sufficient to prevent future disasters within the country's ready-made garment sector.

The account unfolds through eight detailed chapters, with both a timeline and list of abbreviations as a roadmap for the reader. Connecting the “sweated labour” of today's global apparel supply chains to European weaving mills of the 19th century, the book opens with a general overview on the development of the garment sector in Bangladesh. Here, the Spectrum sweater factory is framed within the context of an ever-growing buyer-driven industry with unrealistic production lead times required to keep up with consumer demand. The book then moves to detail the night of the building collapse and outline factory operations at Spectrum. From this, the author unpacks the state of occupational health and safety for garment workers in Bangladesh, and overviews the factory compliance strategies of buyers working within the sector at the time of the disaster. Before outlining the post-collapse efforts of organizations located outside of Bangladesh working toward an international solidarity labour movement in support of Bangladeshi garment workers, the author details how the region's civil society groups and individuals mobilized for increased labour rights and worker compensation in the wake of the disaster. Both of these sections highlight the many roadblocks facing organised labour within the sector. What follows from there is an overview of the three relief schemes that emerged

from the disaster, and the challenges they faced in implementing garment labour compensation in Bangladesh. The author expertly questions the long-term impact outside CSR schemes can have on the sector as a whole.

The book is a remarkable contribution to the literature on the labour rights of garment workers in Bangladesh and to that on CSR. The author successfully moves beyond simply detailing an account of the sequence of events that occurred leading up to and after the collapse; he effectively humanizes the entire global apparel industry supply chain. The book also tells the story of the individuals who worked, and continue to work, tirelessly to support the victims and their families to ensure global fashion and apparel companies are held accountable for the health and safety of the garment workers making their clothing. In addition, the reader comes away better equipped to conceptualize what it meant to work the nightshift at Spectrum, and to understand how industry stakeholders are connected to the worker on the factory floor with respect to occupational health and safety. However, and perhaps most significantly, the author pays tribute to the victims of the Spectrum factory collapse, as well as to all those effected by the garment industry accidents that came before it.

Although the book so greatly contributes to interdisciplinary debates on the responsibilities for worker health and safety within global apparel production, it uses industry jargon that will potentially challenge novice readers; the book will be most valuable to readers with some experience unpacking the complexities of labour rights in relation to CSR within global fashion and apparel supply chains. The title of the book itself may turn away readers who stand to benefit most from learning its contents, as even Savar is a name not commonly known outside

industry circles; novice readers searching for insight into the nature of complexities surrounding industrial disasters in Bangladesh's ready-made garment sector may not locate the text within the literature. In addition, the author only briefly outlines the political developments that enabled the growth of Bangladesh's export-oriented garment sector following independence; the text jumps ahead rather quickly to land on the Spectrum building collapse. As a result, overarching themes within CSR agendas come away relatively unchallenged. Perhaps this is the point; wider cultural, socio-economic and historical frameworks are not the focus of this book—this is the story of the Spectrum collapse, and the people most impacted from it. Readers will quickly forgive these minor shortcomings, however, as the author succeeds at the momentous challenge of untangling the multiplicity of moving parts connected within such a complex event as the Spectrum building collapse, while paying tribute to all those involved.

In the aftermath of Rana Plaza, it is clear that industry stakeholders working both inside and outside of Bangladesh will be hard pressed to secure the occupational health and safety of garment workers without a clear understanding of the barriers that challenge the development, delivery, and maintenance of safety initiatives and relief schemes within the country. In *Last Nightshift in Savar*, Doug Miller successfully breaks down key barriers and offers crucial takeaways through lessons learned from Spectrum. This text is recommended as required reading for individuals concerned with labour rights in global fashion and apparel supply chains.

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**Jamie K. McCallum, *Global Unions, Local Power: The New Spirit of Transnational Labor Organizing* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2013)**

IN *GLOBAL UNIONS, Local Power*, Jamie McCallum draws a very detailed account of the international union campaign launched against G4S, the largest security services company and second largest private employer in the world. Relying on extensive fieldwork and numerous interviews, the book documents a major development in the field of labour internationalism. The G4S campaign led to unionization and an improvement in working conditions for thousands of workers across the world, as well as the signing of a Global Framework Agreement between the company and UNI Global Union.

In addition to that empirical contribution, McCallum aims at further theorizing international labour activities in an era of globalization. He makes three main claims in this regard: globalization does not automatically lead to a weakening of workers' power, but calls for a different type of struggle; transnational activities can foster local power; and labour internationalism often needs local restructuring of workers' organizations. The author makes the broader argument that contemporary labour internationalism should not be about rights but about rules. He calls these strategies "governance struggles" and sees them as more promising and adapted to the diversity of the working class than campaigns for universal rights.

McCallum is critical of the "Neo-Polanyian" approach popular within labour internationalism literature. He refuses the idea that globalization would almost automatically provide constraints and opportunities for workers. Instead, he argues for an analysis of structural and associational workers' power which

would highlight the importance of changing the rules that structure capital-labour relations. The historical review of labour internationalism provided in Chapter 1 points at the major obstacles met by rights-oriented initiatives at the international level (such as social clauses and codes of conduct). He then turns to Global Framework Agreements signed between multinational corporations and Global Union Federations in order to implement minimal labour standards, including neutrality during unionization drives. Despite their flaws, the author considers those agreements as the most promising form of labour internationalism, hence his interest in the G4S campaign.

The campaign itself is described in detail in Chapters 2 and 3. The former chapter focuses on the centrality of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) in the genesis of the G4S campaign. McCallum shows how that campaign has to be approached in the context of the “organizing model” promoted for years by the SEIU. He demonstrates how the internal politics of the SEIU, its commitment to an aggressive, efficient, but also criticized mode of mobilization and recruitment, explains the development of an international strategy that would lead to the G4S campaign. In Chapter 3, the story of the campaign is told, starting from an organizing drive for security workers in the US, and expanding internationally with the involvement of UNI Global Union and ultimately the signing of a Global Framework Agreement.

Chapters 4 and 5 illustrate how the campaign turned out in different countries from the Global South, more precisely South Africa and India. These two contrasting examples reveal the various ways labour internationalism can unfold in so-called developing countries. In South Africa, the G4S campaign mostly led to a restructuring of the pre-existing labour movement organizations. At a

time when the COSATU, South Africa’s leading labour confederation, was going through an important renewal process, the G4S campaign offered opportunities for one of its affiliates to develop new strategies and gain recognition from hostile employers. In India, the local configuration of organized labour prevented the campaign from taking the same form as in South Africa. Met with distrust and sometimes hostility by the major Indian institutional players, UNI and the SEIU had to turn to alternative alliances and focus their efforts on legal changes that would facilitate organizing informal workers, rather than work with the already established unions.

In the final chapter, McCallum wraps up his argument around three main themes: the shift away from rights-oriented campaigns and toward the creation of new governance rules; the connection and interactivity between labour internationalism and local dynamics; and the fact that Global Framework Agreements can be efficient tools for workers as long as they are included in a broader strategic campaign. He also points to the limits of the G4S campaign, in particular its incapacity to foster a long-term commitment from the leadership of the SEIU to international action. Also, the G4S campaign was not adopted as a blueprint to follow by other sectors of UNI Global Union.

*Global Unions, Local Power* is an important contribution to the growing field of global labour studies. Contrary to what its title suggests, the book goes beyond the commonly used slogan “Think globally, act locally” and offers an in-depth analysis of one of the most extensive international campaigns conducted so far. The data provided by McCallum alone would make the book worth reading, as it is uncommon to have access to such comprehensive and long-lasting fieldwork, which covers a major multinational corporation in a growing sector.

It is also refreshing to read a study that seriously tackles the internal contradictions and politics at play within labour internationalism. The central role played by the SEIU in that campaign and the frictions it led to with other unions who would either not share the SEIU's vision or fear its hegemonic tendency are particularly well exposed and unfold in a convincing argument. At a time when many authors claim to perform "multilevel analysis" without effectively connecting the various scales of action, McCallum brilliantly demonstrates the continuity between the SEIU's domestic strategy and the G4S campaign, and its various and contrasting consequences in the field. In that sense, he achieves his goal of highlighting the interactivity between the global and the national/local levels of action.

The argument around "rules" vs. "rights" is interesting but less powerful, at least at the theoretical level. It mostly helps frame a commonly accepted idea that Global Union Federations are more "efficient" than the International Trade Union Confederation in providing workers with tools to resist neoliberalism. The insistence of McCallum on actors' agency also raises questions about the importance of context and institutions on unions' ability to organize internationally. Although he does provide considerable background information in each chapter on the different unions involved, it seems to get a bit lost in a too general argument about the capacity of unions to generate power almost by themselves. Finally, one would have expected more on the internal politics of UNI Global Union. UNI and the SEIU are sometimes used interchangeably whereas the former is definitely more than a mere international expansion of the latter.

Despite such shortcomings, *Global Unions, Local Power* is a must-read for those interested in labour

internationalism. Its analytical grid and methodology, in particular that which investigates the global-local connections, are a model to follow and should be reproduced to study other cases. But more fundamentally, its commitment to approach unions and their international activities from a dialectic perspective should be an inspiration to other works in the field.

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**Marcel van der Linden and Karl Heinz Roth, eds., *Beyond Marx: Theorising the Global Labour Relations of the Twenty-First Century* (Leiden: Brill 2014)**

CAPITALISM, IT SEEMS, is back in fashion in North American universities; along with it has come renewed interest in its enduring prophet and prognosticator, Karl Marx. And although this might seem altogether uncontroversial, it is nonetheless curious that Marx still reigns over so much of what is written about the modern economy. After all, most scholars are quick to concede the flaws and deficits of his original body of work. Few, if any, still unreservedly embrace the inevitable teleology of capitalist development, the primacy of purely materialist analysis, or the falling rate of profit and the ineluctable demise of capitalism itself. What then, is and is not salvageable from Marx? What might a new theory of "global labour relations" entail?

It is these questions that animate this set of twenty theoretical and historical essays. As the editors boldly declare in the volume's introduction, "We urgently require a critical theory that allows us to analyse the development of the capitalist world-system and work out prospects for a comprehensive reordering of society ... Marxian theory provides important elements for such a reorientation. But is

not sufficient, as it leaves open, or fails to comprehensively address, too many questions.” (8) Although it will not be possible to summarize every essay in this collection, it is worth looking at some of the important themes it explores: the “five problem-areas” the editors identify within the Marxist tradition. (445)

The first will perhaps be the most obvious to Canadian and American labour historians: the fact that Marx was foremost a scholar of capital and not one of labour. As a result, working-class agency in Marxist theory is, at best, often reductive – at worst, a mere caricature. A series of essays on just this problem written from the perspective of Italian workerism – a 1960s intellectual and social movement that sought to reconceptualise working-class struggle as a central agent in the dynamics of capitalist development – make this all too clear. Sergio Bologna, Jean-Louis Prat, Massimiliano Tomba, Riccardo Bellofiore, and Steve Wright all demonstrate the centrality of working-class activism to everything from monetary development to the creation of revolutionary politics. Additionally, an extended essay by Detlef Hartmann explores how the “innovation-offensive” of “mature” capitalism has sought to commodify workers’ very agency: to tap the “immaterial resources” of subjectivity itself – creativity, knowledge, and “self-optimisation” – in the quest for capital accumulation. (175–178)

Two other related “problem-areas” explored here are Marx’s use of teleological laws to structure his theory of capitalist development as well as his concomitant Eurocentric outlook. Max Henninger, for instance, argues that Marx was too quick to privilege Europe as objectively more “advanced” than the rest of the world; he thus criticizes Marx’s followers for too quickly dismissing non-monetary or subsistence economies as impoverished backwaters desperately in need of

revolution. Subir Sinha also contributes an essay on working-class struggles in contemporary India, showing how Indian “forest workers” and “forest dwellers” have made powerful insurgent coalitions based on a “worker” identity, though neither group fits the traditional Marxist definition of “worker” nor evinces a desire to advance along the lines of European economic development. A thoughtful essay by Maria Mies also argues that, just as Rosa Luxemburg analyzed how capitalist production depended on the unremunerated socially reproductive work of women embedded in non-capitalist family relations, one can see today’s “advanced economies” as analogously feeding off the “non-capitalist” forms of subsistence production in the so-called global periphery.

Perhaps the most interesting theme explored here is Marx’s privileging of certain sectors of the working class: namely, the so-called “doubly-free wage worker” (that is, those “free” of their own means of production and “free” to sell their labour-power on an open market). Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker contribute an essay outlining some of their recent work on Atlantic seafarers, renewing their call to abandon labour history as merely a history of male artisans or industrial workers – history “from the lower middle up,” as they (somewhat scathingly) put it. (26) Other essays explore the range of freedom and unfreedom historically experienced by workers across the globe: from coerced military workers and seamen (Niklas Frykman and Peter Way) to the inescapable importance of slave and indentured labour to capitalist development. Moreover, a series of important essays highlight Marx’s blindness to the crucial role of so-called “social reproduction” – in everything from child-rearing to elder care – to capitalism’s endurance from generation to generation. As these essays make clear, from slaves and peasants to housewives



and soldiers, Marx's so-called hegemonic "wage worker" remains – on a global scale – a distinct minority.

Perhaps the least explored theme in this work, however, is the "methodological nationalism" the editors see as endemic to Marxist scholarship. Although contributors Ferruccio Gambino and Devi Sacchetto attempt to provide something of a global overview of the ways in which capitalist development has historically shifted workers around the world to fuel its ever-expanding labour demand, the editors and contributors nonetheless remain clearly torn between their commitment to honouring the diversity of the working-class experience the world over and their political desire to craft a more capacious, global understanding of the world's working peoples. Caught between duelling commitments to multiplicity and universality, most of the essays remain nationally grounded. References to a more global working-class experience remain more vague, agent-less, and theoretical.

Ultimately, this will be a useful work for scholars who want a theoretically nuanced critique of – and relevant examples demonstrating – the shortcomings of Marxist theory. Although many of these criticisms will be familiar to those schooled in the labour historiography of the United States and Canada (particularly those arguments criticizing Marxist teleology and lack of working-class agency), it is nonetheless useful to have them compiled in a single, trans-national volume. However, for those looking for a sign of what is to come – what a theory of "global labour relations of the twenty-first century" might look like – it would seem that more work remains to be done.

In some sense, an argument could be made that the volume – rather than pushing "beyond" Marx – unintentionally makes a case for why his work remains so important. After all, when

these essays engage in careful analyses of working-class specificity, what emerges is an incommensurable global "multiverse" of working *classes* with seemingly little in common. (448) Yet, when the authors try and generalize from this diversity towards any kind of positive theory of global labour relations, they often revert back to the same agent-less, abstract terminologies and theorems they condemn in Marx. "Capital" becomes concretized as agent; working-class "revolutionary subjectivity" becomes its eternal foe. (456)

It seems to me that this is precisely why the Marxist theoretical and historical tradition remains so powerful in the academy: despite its shortcomings, what it provides is a set of questions, analyses, and vocabularies that help make possible just these sorts of global exchanges and comparisons. Moreover, it seems to me that the time has come to move not beyond "Marx" specifically, but from theorization to execution: to begin the process of actually putting together a concrete body of work from which we might evaluate what is gained and lost in approaching the history of the working class on a truly global scale.

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**Maurizio Atzeni, ed., *Workers and Labour in a Globalised Capitalism: Contemporary Themes and Theoretical Issues* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2014)**

*WORKERS AND LABOUR in a Globalised Capitalism* is an important work that confronts the structural and ideological aspects of labour at the beginning of the 21st century. In ten chapters that span the Global North and the Global South, the contributors look at how neoliberal, globalized capitalism has restructured work and the working classes, and at how

workers in different geographical and social locations are organizing for their rights under these new conditions.

If the industrial era concentrated and made working classes, the neoliberal era has unmade and fragmented them. The protections that industrial workers won for themselves in the Global North have crumbled as outsourcing, informalization, subcontracting, illegalized migrations, and temporary contracts of different sorts have allowed employers to increase profits at the expense of workers.

Marx and Engels analyzed the early decades of industrial capitalism in Europe and argued that labour, under capitalism, was characterized by alienation, exploitation, and class struggle. They had no way of foreseeing the 20th century reforms that would make these concepts seem anachronistic to many workers in the Global North, especially the United States. Even less could they have predicted the precise contours of late-20th century neoliberal globalization that is in the process of undoing many of these reforms?

Yet their theories, and their vocabulary, are central to most of the authors in this book. Can 19th-century theories explain 21st century phenomena? Part of me is skeptical when I see entire chapters dedicated to interpreting Marx's ideas about the alienation of labour under capitalism, or trying to show how Marx's writings can be applied to contemporary situations. As a historian, I can appreciate Marx's analysis of his world without feeling compelled to "apply" it to later events. Do we really need to be told, once again, that "trade unionism is ... a collective expression of the fundamental conflict of interest that exists between workers and employers over the terms of conditions and employment"? (115)

And yet there is something compelling in the authors' arguments that as the welfare state and the consensus between

labour and capital in the industrialized world broke down at the end of the 20th century, concepts like exploited labour and class struggle are perhaps becoming newly applicable.

Some of the essays reflect the optimism of the 2006 immigrant May Day mobilizations in the United States, the Arab Spring (late 2010 to mid-2012) and Occupy Wall Street (late 2011), seeing these protest as evidence of a resurgence of labour-based class struggle. Presumably the chapters were written in the heat, or the recent aftermath, of these movements. With even the small degree of distance of 2014, both the optimism (for revolutionary change) and the interpretation of these as exemplifying class struggle seem a bit harder to defend. The authors don't provide much evidence regarding either the class make-up and identities, or the ideologies, of those involved. While economic issues certainly played a role in all of these protests, does that necessarily make "class struggle" the most analytically useful concept for understanding them? It is not clear.

Two of the most compelling chapters were Silvia Federici's on "The Reproduction of Labour Power in the Global Economy and the Unfinished Feminist Revolution" and Immanuel Ness's on "Labour Migration and the Emergent Class Conflict: Corporate Neoliberalism, Worker Mobility and Labour Resistance in the U.S." (Many of the chapters, like these two, suffer from overly long and jargon-ridden titles.) Federici examines the role of reproductive labour and the different ways it has historically been, and is today, externalized from many analyses of the labour market. The labour of women in the home, the labour of women in the colonies reproducing workers who will migrate, and the migration of women to perform invisible reproductive work in an informalized market in the Global North, have been essential

to the functioning of industrialized economies. Neoliberal globalization, with its undermining of social services, has only increased the burden of unpaid or informalized domestic labour.

Ness's essay looks at the rise of immigrant, undocumented, and guest workers in the Global North, in particular the United States. The presence of new workers under all of these categories benefits employers, who can pit them against each other, create a domestic race to the bottom, evade paying for the social reproduction including the education of their labour force, and displace popular resentment away from themselves and towards these workers. US unions weakened themselves when they tried to close ranks against immigrant workers, but structural factors work against them when they have switched to organizing immigrants, despite some notable successes. Ness points to the May 2006 protests as a sign of immigrant worker organizing capacity. Yet those protests were aimed at Congress (opposing anti-immigrant legislation), and mobilized in large part by Spanish-speaking churches and radio. It is not clear to what extent the participants shared Ness's hope for "a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society." (247)

*Workers and Labour in a Globalised Capitalism* is dense with theory in a way that casual readers or students may find off-putting. From a historian's perspective, too, the emphasis on theory sometimes overwhelms. This is a shame, because the book addresses crucial issues that deserve more attention in the public debate, and has important and new things to say about them.

The book's introduction does a good job of outlining its themes and contents. A conclusion could have helped readers to consider the collective implications of the various essays. Although all of them used a common theoretical language and

stance, it was not always clear what they all added up to.

I read this book as workers at the New England-based Market Basket chain of supermarkets joined management and customers to close down the chain in support of its popular CEO. Some labour analysts argued that workers were fighting for what workers always fight for: their jobs, wages, and benefits, which they reasonably feared were at stake with Arthur T.'s departure. Others shook their heads as they acknowledged that one of the largest labour uprisings in recent US history was carried out by non-union – even anti-union – workers, in support of their boss. *Workers and Labour in a Globalised Capitalism* was not written for, or even about, them.

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**Robin Truth Goodman, *Gender Work: Feminism after Neoliberalism* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2013)**

ROBIN TRUTH GOODMAN is intent on reviving an old-fashioned political, ethical, and social project for feminism, yet one that is attuned to the differences and multiple inflections of the postmodern subject. That was a central goal of her 2010 book, *Feminist Pursuit of the Public* (also Palgrave Macmillan), and it remains so today, with the publication of *Gender Work: Feminism after Neoliberalism*. In the earlier book, Goodman traces and despairs of feminism's "retreat" into the private, proposing that a critical appropriation of Habermas can help us imagine a genuinely open-ended, democratic, re-publicized feminism. She writes from a concern that the retreat has left feminism not only defanged in the struggle against neoliberalism, but also (unwittingly) culpable in furthering its agenda

of economic liberalization through reprivatization – which, she argues, promotes and sustains the absorption of the private realm into the public.

*Gender Work* deepens that quest to (re) ground feminism in a critical, materialist tradition without forfeiting the insights of poststructuralist accounts of the self. As in her earlier book, Goodman closely analyzes an impressive array of second wave and poststructuralist feminist texts, and draws cultural critique into conversation with political economy. In *Gender Work*, however, her analytic lens is not the public/private distinction, but work – specifically, the distinction (or not) between production and reproduction. And her muse is not Habermas, but Hardt and Negri, as well as Marx.

The book in fact begins with Marx. Goodman revisits the *Grundrisse* and Volume One of *Capital*, highlighting passages in which Marx identifies the time spent on a workers' reproduction as an essential but unacknowledged element of the capitalist drive to accumulate. This leads her to a claim that will astonish (and possibly be too quickly dismissed by) some feminists: "I believe that Marx not only includes women in his story of surplus-value, but makes that inclusion into the crux of the process." (22) He does so, she explains, by illustrating how the generation of surplus value, and thus capital's continual expansion, depends upon its capacity to "capture" time, and women's reproductive labour time in particular. The forms of this expropriation shift as capitalism develops. Women's time is initially captured in the private sphere of working class households, where it creates, sustains and "stores" (until its later realization on the market) labour power for capital. Capital then undermines that very structure, as it draws women into waged labour, first in their own homes and later in factories and mines. This is a direct expropriation of women's time, an

expropriation that, as Marx makes clear throughout the first volume of *Capital*, is essential to capitalist expansion in the 19th century.

As it was in the 19th century, so it is in the 21st. Neoliberalism, Goodman proposes, rests on a similar absorption of the private realm into the public, a further blurring of the boundaries between reproduction and production. And again, women's work is in the vanguard of this ever-shifting relationship. Goodman cites the deregulation of waged work which increases women's care work at home, the move from fulltime, permanent (men's) jobs to part-time, insecure (women's) jobs in the recent US recession, the informalization of work globally, the increasing significance of "immaterial" labour to capital's profits, and the rise of microfinance as evidence of capital's capture and storage of women's labour time "both inside and outside production." (25)

Goodman thus resuscitates and builds on a tradition of Marxist or socialist feminism, engaging with works by Maria Mies, Sylvia Federici, Leopoldina Fortunati, and Nancy Hartsock, among others. Unfortunately, she doesn't pause to grapple with some of the difficulties arising from certain articulations (including her own) of the relationship between reproduction and production, most significantly the tendency to conflate labour that is directly productive of surplus value and that which is *essential* to its production, but not *productive* in specifically capitalist terms. That there can be an integral relationship between these two forms of labour which are nonetheless distinguishable in how they sustain capitalism is never considered. Rather *all* labour produces surplus labour in Goodman's account, and women's labour is especially productive because of its "ties" to reproduction. Not only does such a position (which is consistent with the social factory tradition associated

with Hardt and Negri) risk neglecting the theoretical, economic and political significance of the distinction between abstract and concrete labour, Goodman's discussion of how and why such ties play out in the workplace feels assertive. Similarly, her characterization of the feminization of work under neoliberal regimes slides over certain contradictions, such as the very material labour on which so-called immaterial labour rests. (An illuminating mapping of the relationship between productive and reproductive labour in the current juncture can be found in Ursula Huws' contribution to the 2014 *Socialist Register*.)

Happily, this conflation is not all that significant for the central chapters of the book – those that explore feminist theories rejecting Marxist political economy in favour of theorizing the production of the subject. Goodman suggests that by the 1990s, feminist philosophy had lost its innovative edge, and its theorization of the self-creating, performative subjectivity uncomfortably dovetailed with neoliberal models of personhood and citizenship. She finds hope, however, in revisiting works by Julia Kristeva, Judith Butler, and Donna Haraway, among others, tracing implied and/or untaken paths that provide openings (while at the same time closing these down in other ways) to a materialist grounding of subjectivity that does not reduce the subject to a simple, or simply determined, unity. The greatest advance, she claims, lies in Aihwa Ong's theorization of the global feminine female worker, for whom "work comes to function like a language" (86) in that the economic is determinate, but in ways that foreground the open-endedness of bodies and flexibilities of subjectivities.

Weaving through *Gender Work* is a preoccupation with bringing cultural critique into dialogue with political economy. Goodman does this most effectively in a discussion of the dominant discourse

on girls' schooling, moving across social science, literary and popular media texts produced over the last two centuries. She documents how the texts challenge girls' potential as reproductive and productive workers in the first instance, in order to ultimately consolidate new forms of femininity that better advance the goals of capitalist imperialism. Language and labour markets, in this reading, are constantly shifting, but in ways that reinforce processes of capitalist accumulation, while actual girls can and do resist these inscriptions. Goodman's claim that the production of subjectivity is not simply a symbolic affair, and that capital has a stake in producing femininity leads her to a critical defense of the significance of gender to Hardt and Negri. Against their critics, she suggests, they posit capital as working "through gender, endowing the body with gender as value to exploit" (171) while also allowing bodies the power to resist. Although I question the political economy informing Hardt and Negri's social factory analysis, *Gender Work* succeeds in setting the table for a much needed critical re-engagement with Marxism.

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**Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2014)**

THOMAS PIKETTY has been dubbed by the Economist magazine "a modern Marx." But, Piketty is no Marxist. Coming of age in 1989, on the heels of the collapse of the USSR, he asserts that he is immunized against communism. (31) Nevertheless it is also clear that he is inspired by Ricardo and Marx who put capital accumulation and distribution at the centre of their writings. Unlike them,

Piketty has had the advantage of working with a few dozen researchers who joined him in compiling and analysing an immense economic and historical data set covering three centuries to better back up his study of economic history, predictions for the future, and policy recommendations.

The heart of this 700-page masterpiece is captured by Figure 10.9. (354) It shows the historical fact that, without exception, from antiquity to the present, the return to capital ( $r$ ) has been greater than the rate of income growth ( $g$ ). This fundamental inequality,  $r > g$ , is dubbed the central contradiction of capitalism. It is indeed an astonishing empirical truth. Inclusion of progressive income tax changes the picture, and the inequality is reversed to  $r < g$ , accompanied by reduction in inequality of distribution. That is the story of much of the 20th century. A combination of three factors contributed to this reversal: wartime destruction of capital, progressive taxes, and high growth rates. Piketty asserts that circumstances are changing: capital has been rebuilt and accumulated, progressive taxation is weakening, and growth is slowing. It means that the fundamental inequality  $r > g$  will reassert itself, accompanied by high levels of inequality in the 21st century. Public policy does not have much control over growth, which partly depends on population growth, but it does have some control over taxation. Therefore Piketty calls for the restoration of a more progressive income tax, and more importantly the introduction of an annual progressive tax on capital.

A sign of a seminal work is the avalanche of genuine commentaries it attracts from all directions. I will restrict mine to three remarks: the definition of capital, the role of the labour movement, and primitive accumulation.

Piketty uses capital synonymously with wealth. It includes land, real estate,

inventory, machinery, patents, financial assets, and slaves for antebellum America minus debt. Piketty's concept of capital is broader than that of neoclassical economics, and narrower than the Marxist concept. Given the centrality of capital for this study a section on different definitions and forms of capital would have been useful. At a minimum, sufficient references should have been provided in the endnotes. Nevertheless, critiques regarding his concept of capital are largely academic. While theoretical purists may find his notion of capital problematic, it is an appropriate definition given his focus on empirical analysis and inequality.

One of the reasons for the success of Piketty's *Capital* is its explicit combination of history and economics. The reduction in inequality in the Golden Age of capitalism, Les Trente Glorieuses (1945–1975), is explained as an outcome of the destruction of capital during the two world wars and ensuing policy changes. Piketty argues that the social democratic policies that dominated this age were the result of the reduction in capital relative to income caused by the wars and the introduction of progressive income taxes. The threat created by the Bolshevik revolution, third-world liberation movements and, above all, the history of the labour movement in the West, are ignored. Piketty rightly rejects the famous Kuznets curve which stipulates that capitalism will naturally decrease inequality at some midpoint of its development. He restricts his reasons, however, to the paucity of data used by Kuznets and underscores the centrality of the destruction caused by the wars and the introduction of progressive taxation. But even mainstream economists have claimed that the decline in inequality, helped by progressive policies, were responses of the political elite to the threat of mass revolution (D. Acemoglu and J.A. Robinson, "The Political Economy of the Kuznets Curve,"

*Review of Development Economics*, 6, 2, [2002]: 183–203). One may argue that World War I produced the Bolshevik revolution and that, in turn, the combination of radical revolutions and the world wars gave labour better bargaining power in the West. The victories of the labour movement in France – noted by Piketty in an endnote (605) – and similar concessions for labour in the US in the 1930s were not just gifts of circumstances but the result of organized labour movements and strikes.

A similar comment can be made regarding Piketty's suggestion of a global progressive tax on wealth, and democratic control of capitalism. The suggestion of a wealth tax itself is bold and Piketty shows that there is no technical obstacle to implementing it. But he is reserved about the actual possibility of the policy coming into place because it requires global agreement. Nevertheless if the labour and other progressive movements take up this cause, a different scenario is possible. Furthermore, Piketty does not consider other forms of response to the concentration of wealth – such as worker-managed firms, cooperatives, and credit unions – all institutions that currently exist within the capitalist ambit. In general, Piketty's political economy gives the stage of history to the interaction among Western states, and not much to the struggle of working classes and other social forces.

Finally, Piketty does not say much about primitive accumulation. His data does include the value of slaves in pre-civil war America, and he discusses oligarchs in developing countries and the role of theft in wealth accumulation. He maintains “outright theft is rare, as is absolute merit.” (443–447) He mainly views theft as individual problems, and not a systemic political economy issue. Interestingly he uses the term “primitive accumulation” once but in the sense of Adam Smith's previous accumulation,

i.e., savings by the rich to finance investment. His focus is on what may be termed the normal market face of capitalism; the violent and predatory face is obscured. In a book devoted to an historical analysis of capitalism covering centuries this is a major omission. Clearly capital does not only accumulate because of the inequality  $r > g$ . As Rosa Luxemburg (*The Accumulation of Capital* [1913; New York: Routledge, 2003]) and David Harvey, (“The ‘New’ Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession,” *Socialist Register 2004*: 63–87) among many have demonstrated, accumulation by dispossession is an integral and complementary part of capitalism. This aspect of capitalism has clearly emerged in recent decades in developing countries in the form of imperialist wars in the Middle East, and violent land grabs in Africa; it also appears in the developed world in the form privatization and commodification of public assets.

Would the book be more complete had Piketty included sections on primitive accumulation, revolutions, and the labour movement? Perhaps. But, one also senses that the book forced an unparalleled response from the full political spectrum of readers because it stayed close to the neighbourhood of mainstream economics. He made it difficult even for the neoclassical scholars to ignore it. For instance, Piketty's *Capital* has received the endorsement of one of the leading neoclassical economists, Nobel Laureate Robert Solow, whom Piketty critiqued while declaring his preference for French social scientists over Solow-type economists. Solow nevertheless titled his review “Piketty is Right.” (*The New Republic*, 22 April 2014) Filling in the gaps and building on the foundations Piketty has laid is an assignment for his admirers on the left. I promise to use his work in the economics courses I teach.

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**Jonathan Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (London and New York: Verso 2013)**

JONATHAN CRARY'S *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* is a short, sharp polemic against the dehumanizing conditions of neoliberalism, the non-stop marketplace, and the concomitant demands for constant productivity and attentiveness. Crary, a professor of art history and a distinguished cultural theorist, reflects on the ways that these conditions are reshaping notions of temporality, intensifying the management and surveillance of individual subjectivities, and undercutting the possibility for dissent and political expression.

Although it is not a conventional work of history, *24/7* is a compelling effort to historicize the always-on character of our contemporary world. This short book, really an essay in four parts, is the most recent installment in Crary's extensive genealogy of attentive norms in the West. *Techniques of the Observer* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990) and *Suspensions of Perception* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999) chart the emergence, rationalization, and normalization of the "observing subject" across the 19th century, revealing new techniques of discipline, such as the regulation of attention in industrial labour and later the pathologization of deviant forms of perception and attentiveness. In *24/7*, Crary adds an analysis of the shifts in attention brought about in the mid-20th century, particularly relating to postwar consumption and television, while mainly focusing on the period from 1990 to the present. This periodization is important as it highlights the concurrence of the political reorientations of the post-Cold War period, the financialization of global capitalism (Crary quotes Gilles Deleuze who calls it "a mutation in capitalism" [71]), and the expansion of the public Internet and other networked

technologies that proposed to remake the self in its relationship to the world. Crary notes that by the late 1990s, the vertically integrated corporations that controlled these technologies were expressly competing for the "eyeballs" of consumers in the new "attention economy" of the 21st century. (75)

Crary begins and ends *24/7* by arguing that sleep is our last refuge from the affront of neoliberalism and its "morass of simulated needs.... Sleep is an uncompromising interruption of the theft of time from us by capitalism.... The stunning, inconceivable reality is that nothing of value can be extracted from it." (10–11) This is a captivating argument and a rousing call for workers of the world to take a nap, but although sleep appears in the book's title, it is not really its subject. Rather, it is used to point to other human temporalities that were first transformed by capitalism and then, Crary argues, obliterated by late capitalism and neoliberalism. Crary draws on Marx's *Grundrisse* to define capitalism as a reordering of time, a series of ever more elaborate "alignments of lived temporalities with market needs." (79) The daily and seasonal cycles of agricultural labour long ago lost any meaningful capacity to organize production or consumption, but Crary argues that under late capitalism even the notion of everyday life – long a bastion of habits and rhythms beyond and beneath the regimentation of time by work and other institutions – has been thoroughly occupied by the logic of participation in an unremitting globalized economy.

Crary writes, "there is a relentless incursion of the non-time of *24/7* into every aspect of social or personal life. There are, for example, almost no circumstances now that *cannot* be recorded or archived as digital imagery or information." (30–31) He is unequivocal about the "cumulative harm" of this condition. (31) Crary



ruthlessly counters popular notions of the revolutionary potential of digital tools and social networks. He notes that political activism requires creatively using the tools at one's disposal, but argues "it should not entail imagining the tools themselves to have intrinsic redemptive value." (120) He provides a vivid reminder that these systems are owned and controlled by transnational, neoliberal corporations and that using them only perpetuates that system by increasing their profits. We cannot be beyond neoliberalism while our personal and professional lives are enmeshed in its novelties. Moreover, contrary to arguments that we are currently in a transitional period that will eventually stabilize (i.e. that within a few generations humans will be comfortable digital natives), Crary argues what Marx also knew, that capitalism is "incompatib[le] ... with stable or durable social forms" and that it thrives on the "calculated maintenance of an ongoing state of transition." (37) A society in constant flux, in which status is predicated on the ability to stay "up-to-date," and in which everyone is distracted by playing catch-up, diminishes the potential for meaningful challenges to the system. It also reduces our forms of response "to a small inventory of possible gestures or choices. Because one's bank account and one's friendships can now be managed through identical machinic operations and gestures, there is a growing homogenization of what used to be entirely unrelated areas of experience." (59) Crary argues that the promoted benefits of an online presence are merely "a cover for the transfer of most social relations into monetized and quantifiable forms." (104)

Crary's celebration of the premodern holdover of sleep and his sorrow over "a world in which long-standing notions of shared experience atrophy" (31) already suggest where we will find his antidote to the abominations of neoliberalism: in

the past, particularly in the 1960s. Crary positions neoliberalism as an explicit dismantling of notions emergent in the 1960s that happiness could be unrelated to material wealth, ownership, or individual status, and that collective forms of mutual support were valuable and practicable. He writes, "the 1980s saw the start of a sustained campaign to turn material poverty into something shameful and repellent" (113) and "one of the main forms of control over the last thirty years has been to ensure there are no visible alternatives to privatized patterns of living" (115). Crary urges readers to reclaim these forms of mutuality and cooperation, which were themselves a "resurfacing of the half-buried dream of the nineteenth century, when the possibility of a socialism of mutual support, of a world divested of private property, flourished as visible elements of a contested collective imagination." (114) He argues that the possibility to imagine another world is diminished by the rhythms and demands of 24/7 capitalism.

This longing for the past, particularly for the 1960s, is not unique to Crary and he does not always successfully walk the fine line between radical cultural critic and cranky man shaking his fist at kids these days. His dystopic claims about the neutralization of cultural expression have a basis in truth but are often laughable exaggerations that undermine the force of his otherwise extraordinary analysis – though they do make for very fun reading. Moreover, it is not clear exactly who these dupes are, complicit in their own undoing. Surely not the author himself. Crary's positioning of himself as somehow outside the apparently all-encompassing culture that he seeks to critique (his operative pronoun is *one* not *we*) reaches its nadir in his ill-formed condemnation of "blogging." In a piercing bit of analysis, Crary writes that in its promotion of individualization,

neoliberalism has eliminated temporalities that demand responsibility for other people. “24/7 has produced an atrophy of the individual patience and deference that are essential to any form of direct democracy: the patience to listen to others, to wait one’s turn to speak.” (124) Regrettably, he chooses blogging as his target here (rather than, say, 24/7 Fox News), writing that it is symptomatic of “the triumph of a one-way model of auto-chattering in which the possibility of ever having to wait and listen to someone else has been eliminated.” (124) Reading this passage, just pages before the end of the book, one might be confused to find blogging – a platform for interaction that traditional media could never achieve – described as one-way chattering. More importantly, one is left to wonder just

how long women of colour, Palestinian teenagers, or sex workers, among others who use blogging as creative and political outlets, are expected to wait for their “turn to speak” while affluent white men like Crary are busy publishing books and giving lectures. And it would be a hard sell to suggest that publishing and academia are any less imbricated in the violence of neoliberalism than blogging is.

To be fair, this bizarre slippage is an outlier. A strong counterpoint to the reification of digital everything, *24/7* is vividly written, eminently quotable, and filled with stunning cultural analysis. Crary’s book is a stirring challenge to complacency and an invitation to log off, to sleep, perchance to dream “of a future without capitalism.” (128)

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