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REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Béatrice Craig, *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists: The Rise of Market Culture in Eastern Canada*
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2009)

AS MUCH A SOCIAL as an economic history, Beatrice Craig's *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists* is about the people – the farmers and their wives, the local millers, the storekeepers, the household weavers, and all the other labouring Madawaskans – whose workaday relationships to markets and capital *made* a modern economy. Reigning historiographical trends represent Madawaska, Madawaskans, and by implication all others on the peripheries of empire, as developmentally delayed in relation to capitalistic development elsewhere. Craig revises such approaches with every chapter, revisiting key issues in economic history in Canada and in international historiography: the staples thesis, the nature of the boundary between production and consumption, the nature of the relationship between 'pre-capitalist' and 'capitalist' mentalités, and the problematic and gendered dichotomies historians tend to draw between, on the one hand, production for the household as opposed to production for the market, and on the other, production for international and long-distance markets versus regional and local ones. Hardly an isolated backwater, Madawaska was well-positioned to address such broad historiographical and theoretical concerns. Located in the Upper Saint John Valley, this important

communications hub straddled the geographic and cultural borders of Lower Canada, New Brunswick and New England, and was well-linked to the wider economic world by travellers, the letters of the literate, and merchant activity. In fact, colonial Madawaska is best compared to "a village at the foot of a ramp off Highway 401" today, in the nature of its connectedness to the wider world. (45)

Canadian historians have now worked for decades to nuance and particularize Harold Innis's staples thesis. Craig makes an important contribution here, demonstrating that in Madawaska staples production in timber not only failed to create the requisite backward and forward linkages, but that the focus of the staples trade – the international export markets – failed to work as a driver of economic growth. Instead, as Craig compellingly proves, and even more provocatively words it, international markets were a "lottery" and the staples producers (loggers) who participated in them were gamblers, not "capitalists," (111) and while they might indeed win a windfall profit, these old-fashioned men perceived the economy as "so many discrete opportunities" to play, or to pass, not as a set of predictable relationships and rules where capital investment would reap steady, measurable, capital growth in return. (95)

Thus, most Madawaskans decided quite rationally to limit their participation in export-market activity or avoid it altogether, and focus instead upon the local, predictable, markets and upon their farms. It is these people and the markets

they created that emerge as the key forces of economic development in Madawaska, and by implication, elsewhere. Farmers certainly participated in savvy ways in outside markets. They diversified just enough (whether in timbering, or in fodder production for the timber shanties, for example) to take advantage of the income opportunities there, without placing all their eggs in that one volatile basket. Diversifying farmers emerge not as examples of failure, as prevailing historiographical trends would have it, but as examples of rational economic decision makers well integrated with the capitalistic economy, while not capitalists themselves. Similarly, women labouring at the loom were hardly evidence of “a stagnant agriculture” in Madawaska, who wove because their farm families were too poor to afford to buy cloth or clothing at the store. (182) Rather, as in Nova Scotia and New England, women’s weaving is evidence instead of women responding to market opportunities: they wove because they made very good money at the loom. They also wove because they could buy “mess pork” at the store after 1851 and be inside at a clean loom instead of outside tending to dirty, ornery animals to get meat for supper. (197) Based on the evidence of cloth production, Craig argues that not only did Madawaskans seem entirely comfortable with women’s increased economic activity in the public marketplace, but that the men showed no signs of elbowing their wives and daughters away from looms as the work became profitable (as they did in dairying elsewhere). Yet, the subtlety with which Craig makes these last two points perhaps undersells their historiographical significance. In terms of women’s history and gender history, this powerful evidence of Madawaskan women’s economic activity in the Victorian era and responses to it warrants a discussion of separate spheres, the gendering of public

and private, and the degree to which such concepts were belied by the everyday lives of working men and women. Weaving women, in short, made a rational, market-oriented, reorganization of their labouring hours. Like men, they chose not to become “output maximizers” but instead balanced production for the market against the demands of household labour. (197)

The real locus of capitalistic economic development lay in just such local responses to market opportunities, and especially in the trade networks created by custom millers and by general storekeepers. Craig makes the important point that mutuality and social connectedness – seemingly pre-capitalistic characteristics – in fact facilitated the entrepreneurship key to the development of a market economy. Custom millers came from the old charter families. They held extensive lands and were often related to each other to the extent that they were “endlessly bumping into one another at weddings and funerals.” (106) They relied upon such networks in which businesses were also viewed as family assets to make the shift to manufacturing. Storekeepers too behaved at times as the very antithesis of competitive capitalists. Storekeeper John Emmerson went to Quebec City in 1863, in the midst of a Civil War induced monetary shortage in Madawaska, to get \$500 in silver. He kept the cash in circulation via his customers and seemed more “a proto-Keynesian interventionist than a stereotypical predatory capitalist.” (129) More generally, as opposed to loggers (whose vulnerability to uncontrollable and unpredictably seesawing forces of international supply and demand made the economy a gamble) custom millers and general storekeepers moved within a “smaller, concrete universe.” (111) They operated at differing levels of the economy, but for each, the markets were comprised of known actors

who behaved according to apparent and understandable rules in response to economic fluctuations. Madawaskan millers and storekeepers knew all about ruined harvests and timber trade collapses and they made contingency plans. Since their decisions about the economy were thus subject to the laws of reason, custom millers and storekeepers were best positioned to “evolve into capitalists” – that is, to invest money to make money and to “not so much engage in a series of discrete successive adventures, as in a continuous process of capital accumulation and economic diversification.” (111) In Madawaska the entrepreneurial side of modern market culture rose from old-fashioned social mutuality rather than competitive individualism and from markets created by the demand of local customers rather than those of staple-based long distance export markets.

Based on family reconstitution data (done by hand before the availability of software applications!), real estate registrations, tithing records, agricultural censuses, schedules and reports, a handful of letters, and general store account books and ledgers, the range, depth, and interpretative originality of Craig’s research is extensive, impressive, and fresh. And the account books, in particular, sparkle with real people – their names, their practical needs, and their more esoteric desires for consumables after mid-century. It is these that show the consumption driven side of the rise of a market culture. Madawaskans certainly participated in the market for luxuries well before 1800. Jean Robichaud, for example, bought some pewter pieces and red camlet cloth in 1779, goods made expensive and desirable as status-markers through their rarity. (27) But the true consumer revolution in the Upper Saint John Valley occurred beginning in the mid 1840s. Men, to be sure, but also women and teenagers changed the culture of consumption.

Here Craig nuances too an older historiographical certainty that men “produced to consume,” while women “consumed to produce.” (207) Men also bought the tools, equipment, and materials needed to build, make, and provide – they too “consumed to produce.” And women did the same, purchasing, for example, the prepared warp and carded wool necessary to weave; but they also “produced to consume.” One of the rewards of market participation was the “carpeted floors, gleaming stoves, and saucers under tea-cups” that men and women alike deemed desirable by the middle of the 19th century. (219) Instead of buying rare, expensive items meant to last forever as a material demonstration of status, the new Madawaskan consumer emphasized fashionability and value, and increasingly shopped to create domestic markers of 19th-century respectability. Teenaged Marie Legace, for example, spent a whole month’s wages at the store in 1845 on a pair of French shoes and a silk kerchief – far from sensible purchases and ones that suggest a degree of adolescent freedom at odds with our historiographical sense of familial roles in the mid-19th century, especially for daughters. As consumers growing a market economy, women were key, and it was a role both problematised in contemporary observation and valued. Women’s autonomy as consumers, Craig suggests, reveals how “the counter of the general store marked one of the limits of patriarchy.” (220) The same evidence suggests the analytic limits of drawing hard and fast lines between production and consumption as economic drivers.

Still, more specificity about gender would have been welcome. Given the Introduction’s emphasis upon the household as “a site of genuine market activities,” the initial and exclusive foci upon “principal men,” male enterprises, millers and shop-keepers comes as a surprise. (9, 50). Were women ‘farmers’ too? What

was women's participation in the household economies of custom millers and general storekeepers? Although gendered economic dynamics are clarified toward the end of the book with the discussions of dual 'his & hers' farm economies and the distaff economy specifically, a fuller integration with the very strong historiography on gendered relations in pre-industrial and pre-capitalistic societies would further ground the analysis and widen its scope.

The author could have been better served by the University of Toronto Press. The index is terrible. In a book about a region's particularistic relationship to a capitalistic economy, Louis Bellefleur – Madawaska's first capitalist – is a key individual. One might expect the Index to refer to the discussion establishing him as such, but it sends the reader merely to a passing reference to his mill, and to the Conclusion. And there are far too many typos, of the absence-of-editorial-proof-reading sort (see for example pages 75, 76, 108, 115, 206). The most glaring error in the book is the title of Chapter 3. In the Table of Contents and on the chapter's title page it is "A Connective Enterprise: Madawaska Lumbering." On every subsequent header the title becomes "Collective Enterprise," which seems interpretively different. And while the author's Appendix on sources and methods is clear and erudite in its description of the potentialities and limits of each, the text might inform the reader of its existence, so that that first reference to "grain bonus payment records," as if the reader should know what they are, comes as less of a shock.

Craig's is an important book, a very significant contribution to the literature and a must-read for economic and social historians of all periods and places, pre-Confederation Canadian specialists, and graduate students. It makes the creation of a capitalistic economy in 19th-century

Canada come alive. Certainly consumers emerge in tandem with producers as participants in the creation of a modern economy, a significant historiographical point. But who knew, before Craig's work, that well-dressed Madawaskan "dandies" so deeply desired the same red flannel shirts handed out by British Poor Law Commissioners in England that their consumption shaped local and regional markets and facilitated the rise of a market culture in eastern Canada?

JULIA ROBERTS

University of Waterloo

Alvin Finkel, Sarah Carter, and Peter Fortna, eds. *The West and Beyond: New Perspectives on an Imagined Region* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press 2009)

THE WEST AND BEYOND: New Perspectives on an Imagined Region is drawn from a 2008 conference at the University of Alberta that was something of a rebirth for the Western Canadian Studies field. The original Western Canadian Studies Conference ran between the years 1967 and 1990; and in the Introduction, editors Alvin Finkel, Sarah Carter and Peter Fortna recall how these earlier conferences helped to define a generation of Western Canada history as it matured and found its voice. The early years were marked by responses to regionalist feelings of alienation and discontent. But the meetings grew in their scope. Over the years the conferences played host to an ever-expanding field that chronicled the history of western Canada, including histories of First Nations people, the working class, and women. Thus, the 2008 conference functioned as a way of taking stock of the status of Western Canadian Studies, nearly twenty years on. The essays in this volume are a fascinating snapshot of current scholarship about western Canada

and reveal a crop of emerging historians who have expanded the reach of Western Canadian Studies beyond its earlier regional and analytical confines.

The first section of the collection addresses western Canadian historiography, featuring articles by Gerald Friesen, Lyle Dick, and Winona Wheeler. Friesen's lead essay provides a historiographical overview of a century of western Canadian history. This brief piece will be invaluable to scholars attempting to understand how writing about the region has developed, focusing on five primary methods by which western Canadian history has challenged more national patterns of interpretation. Dick and Wheeler add to this overview by considering the contributions of non-academic voices, including those of oral historians, to the historiographical portrait of the west.

Part Two explores portrayals of Aboriginal history in the west. This includes a very creative study by Matt Dyce and James Opp, who explore photography so as to address the European gaze and its contributions to colonial constructions of race. Their piece highlights the potential and pitfalls of using visual evidence, particularly in terms of the fluid meaning of the photographic image. A second standout is Kathryn McKay's chapter on European perceptions of insanity regarding British Columbia's Aboriginal populations. McKay argues that there were multiple normalizing discourses that contributed to colonialism, including those of madness; and she finds a key example of such in records from psychiatric wards between 1872 and 1950. She also locates an invaluable source, namely the Department of Indian Affairs patient files, exploring them to discover how race, colonialism, and medicine contributed to differing colonial constructions of madness among First Nations people.

In Part Three, we see how the history of western Canada has expanded

beyond its traditional borders. Jeffery Taylor takes a very long view by exploring different modes of production and how these modes have shaped class formation and social development from the mid-17th to the early 20th century. Taylor's article links western Canada to the processes of global capital in ways that are vital to our understanding of this region. This broader view is well matched by Elizabeth Jameson's piece about western labour developments from a cross-border perspective. Jameson reminds us that for workers the border has always been a porous entity, and she challenges historians to think beyond the confines of national or regional history. An outstanding piece by Esyllt Jones illustrates how the perspectives employed by Taylor and Jameson may combine to create a truly expansive definition of Western Canadian Studies. Jones explores disease and working class bodies in early 20th-century Winnipeg, examining public health crises to argue that epidemics are potential sites of resistance and social transformation.

Part Four deals with marginality in the west and includes topics that would not have appeared on the program of the first Western Canadian Studies Conference. Valerie J. Korinek writes on sexuality and the value of employing a queer-eye of the Prairies in what serves as a notable addition to the other historiographical essays in this volume. Korinek's piece is another example of an international historiography opening doors to new understandings of the West, this time through an exploration of gay communities on the prairies. Dan Cui and Jennifer R. Kelly contribute an article that addresses the urban experiences of a different marginalized group, that of African-Canadian communities in Edmonton during the early 1920s. They examine a regular newspaper column written for African Canadians in Alberta to better

understand community, identity, and racism. The piece draws on Henri Lefebvre's theoretical approach to everyday life that finds meaning in seemingly insignificant details. This approach helps the piece give voice to citizenship practices enacted by members of this community, strategies and tactics that certainly deserve to be recovered from the margins of western Canadian history.

The final section addresses "Cultural Portrayals of the West," inquiring into aspects of prairie culture. Two pieces offer particularly interesting answers. Robyn Read compares different modes of collecting by juxtaposing the work of Eric Harvie, who founded the Glenbow Museum, with Robert Kroetsch's novel *Alibi* (1983). Read uses both Kroetsch's fiction and Harvie's Glenbow collection to ask "what is collectable?" Bruce Dawson considers similar issues in his article about the conservation of historic places in Saskatchewan between 1911 and 2009. Collection and commemoration, as they show, both raise issues of power relationships behind the criteria about what a society values.

When the original Western Canadian Studies Conference was discontinued, it was due in part to splintering within the field and a declining interest in the idea of the region as a unifying thematic force. The diversity of this new collection is certainly evidence of how this twofold process has shaped newer scholarship about the west. Undoubtedly the articles collected here would also fit in anthologies dealing with medicine, the working class, race, colonialism and other topics. Indeed, given this multiplicity of perspectives, one might ask whether the chapters in *The West and Beyond* actually belong together under the banner of Western Canadian Studies. In one sense, its articles do speak to a changed notion of region, one that has moved beyond the monochromatic distinctions that helped

historians define the west a generation ago. In another sense, though, the current diversity of western Canadian history suggests the need for a conversation about the West among participants who may have developed their interests in very different analytical and disciplinary camps. *The West and Beyond* is a promising opening statement in this discussion.

TED MCCOY

Trent University

Rhonda L. Hinthorpe and Jim Mochoruk, eds. *Re-Imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2011)

ETHNIC IDENTITY in Canada has always been a contested area. Of late, even the term 'ethnicity' has sparked both academic and popular debate. The current preference is 'diasporic communities.' This work is an important study of one such diasporic community, whose history in Canada goes back 120 years. The editors point out that there is a new generation of revisionist historians who seek to challenge previous accounts of the Ukrainian-Canadian community, and these are the historians they feature.

The book has five sections and thirteen contributors, whose major focus is the Ukrainian left in the 20th century. The book is very much a study of diasporic institutions and their leaders – how they came about, what ideologies they espoused, how they operated, and how they came to meet their end. The editors argue that "ethnic, hyphenated histories should be viewed as major currents in what collectively constitutes the mainstream of Canadian history." (i) This is a bold proposition, which the articles are meant to support. A corollary of this thesis is their claim that they are carrying on the second wave of Ukrainian-Canadian scholarship, which was

developed in the past few decades. This generation of scholars is no longer bound up in the Cold War conflicts of their predecessors, allowing its practitioners to explore the nuances of various topics and to offer new interpretations of past developments. This review tries to answer whether or not they have succeeded in both propositions.

The first section begins with co-editor Rhonda Hinthier describing the Ukrainian left as creating "one of the most dynamic working-class movements in Canadian history." (26) With a peak membership of 15,000 and a base of 87 Ukrainian Labour Temples across the country, this movement paralleled the main labour movements and parties in the country. She considered this history to be marginalized in the mainstream Ukrainian-Canadian narrative. The section concludes with a cultural study by Lindy Ledohowski of the problematic equation between Aboriginality and ethnicity in certain literary works.

In the second section, dealing with major figures in the community, the articles on Albertans Paul Rudyk and Illia Kiriak are contrasting studies. Rudyk was an icon of socio-economic success, while Kiriak achieved his stature through his epic trilogy, *Syny zemli* (1939–45) that was translated in abridged form as *Sons of the Soil* (1959). Jars Balan provides an engaging portrait of the peripatetic journalist and writer, whose work has yet to receive its literary due.

The third section contains the most provocative article in the book. Orest Martynowych's "Sympathy for the Devil" is a study of two ultraconservative organizations in the inter-war years and their connections to nationalist organizations in Ukraine, whose leaders he describes as "fugitives," and the organizations themselves as "terrorist." The reader would have been helped in assessing these claims if the article had contained

a bit more historical context, which has to be gleaned from other articles. Matynowych's analysis of the Ukrainian-Canadian press allied with the nationalist cause concludes that anti-Semitism was a minor topic for this press, especially when compared to such vicious publications as *Le Fasciste Canadien*. He also points out that this limited anti-Semitism was allowed to stand by the non-communist Ukrainian community.

The third section moves from a history of the right to the history of the left with three articles on Ukrainian-Canadian relations with the Soviet Union after 1918. Since this diaspora was the third-largest immigrant group in Canada in the mid-20th century, this topic is worthy of research, especially since it touches on relations among an ethnic community, Canadian government policy, and the efforts of the Soviet Union. The most interesting of the three articles is Jennifer Anderson's "Polishing the Soviet Image," a detailed account of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society and its grassroots operations. It is an excellent study of how the USSR related to its expatriates, as well as of the responses of the Canadian government to both segments as it tried to maintain relations with each.

The fourth section has two fascinating essays on internal battles within Ukrainian-Canadian organizations allied with the Communist Party of Canada, exploring issues relating to the ethnic makeup of these organizations' leadership. Both articles indicate that the diasporic community had its own political attitudes and that it was not afraid to voice them, especially in the years prior to World War Two. The final section, titled "Everyday People," grounds the political in daily life. While the majority of the book's articles deal with western Canada, this section shifts focus to Ottawa and Sudbury. Stacey Zembrzycki's "I'll Fix You" is an excellent study of domestic violence

and murder in the latter city. Her analysis of the construction of foreigners in the popular press provides valuable insight into the coded language of the dominant society. By focusing on crime, her article redresses the celebratory orientation of the immigrant experience.

This is a large book, almost 500 pages, and an important addition to University of Toronto's Canadian Social History Series, which has published 20 titles since the mid-1990s. It is true, as the editors claim, that the book's contributors continue, on the whole, with the construction of a revisionist history of Ukrainian Canadians. However, their major claim that diasporic community histories belong to mainstream Canadian history, is only partially validated by the articles. The internal dissensions in left-wing organizations are worth studying, but the editors and the contributors do not indicate convincingly how such information is a reflection of mainstream Canadian politics and society in general. The activities of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, so well-documented here, were not a significant institutional player in Canadian history, though they did have a tangential relationship to Cold War politics.

What this means is that the integration of diasporic community histories into the fabric of Canadian history operates well within the field of social history research, but this approach's contributions to an understanding of the general formation of Canadian political and cultural life continues to be debatable. Nonetheless it does allow for new possibilities for historians who want to move beyond particular case studies in order to create broader interpretations of Canada's socio-political evolution. While this book does not achieve that noble goal, it certainly points the way.

GEORGE MELNYK
University of Calgary

Seemah C. Berson, ed. *I Have a Story to Tell You* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2010)

I HAVE A STORY TO TELL YOU comprises the transcripts of interviews with 37 Jewish Canadians who originated from Eastern Europe, most of whom worked for many years in the garment industry in Montréal, Toronto and Winnipeg. The interview subjects were mostly born in the 1890s and early 1900s, and arrived in Canada between 1905 and the late 1920s as children or young adults.

The interviews were completed in 1974 as part of Seemah Berson's research for a Master's thesis in Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, on immigrants' experiences. She taped the interviews in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, and finished her thesis in 1980. While Joshua Gershman and Jim Blugerman, at least, were interviewed by Irving Abella, Ruth Frager, and others, Seemah Berson deserves much credit for taping and transcribing her interviews with Jewish-Canadian garment workers, few of whom are evidently alive today.

About three years ago, as a result of her growing sense of responsibility to the interviewees who had been so generous, Berson transcribed the interviews without alterations. She wanted to convey the impression in this book of the interviewee talking informally with the interviewers and readers. Almost all the people interviewed (17 women, 20 men) were on the left, not only because a socialist vision was common to union workers in the garment industry, but also because Berson's contacts originated from secular and left-wing elements of the Jewish community in the mid-1970s.

The interviews confirm many familiar staples of the working-class Jewish immigrant experience, as analyzed in Ruth Frager's *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Jewish*

Labour Movement in Toronto, 1900–1939 (Toronto 1992). Most of the interviewees came from harrowing conditions in Eastern Europe, largely from imperial Russia before the 1917 revolutions. Dire poverty and violent anti-Semitic pogroms helped to push out Jewish migrants, as did the desire to avoid Tsarist army service. Russian military officials during World War I regarded Jews with suspicion in the face of German incursion and occupation. Early deaths of parents and siblings are a common thread in the recollections. One woman, born in Gomel in 1899, says rather painfully that “[l]ife was very complicated and it was a very bad childhood. It was cruel, and...nothing to talk about. I don’t want to discuss those things.” (51) The interviewees also remember the immigration process as extremely unpleasant: dirty conditions, lack of food, seasickness, and seemingly endless train rides to Canadian destinations. Families were commonly divided between Europe and North America for long periods of time.

During her graduate research, Berson was preeminently interested in exploring why Jewish immigrants gravitated to the needle trades, and some of her interviews offer insights into the connection. Many Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe were needle-trade workers as youths before they left for North America. While typically most of the work was done at home or in very small shops, many Jews did have some industrial experience, which was often lacking in other immigrant groups who came from a more rural background. Parental or school training in sewing, as well as family connections, helped ease entry into the field, often via unpaid apprenticeships. Once in Canada, many felt that they were not strong enough to work in heavy industry. But in the deskilled, industrialised environment increasingly dominant in the Canadian garment industry, limited skill

levels in a particular aspect of production were relatively easy to acquire. As Jim Blugerman recalled, “you didn’t have to learn for long a trade because there was the development of technology and production the technology and development of the know-how is split up.” (143)

Above all, as Blugerman, Gershman and other interviewees stated, kinship, friendship or local old-country ties (*landsmen*) were crucial factors in job contacts and recruitment. Because so many “manufacturers, foremen, and important tailors, designers and so on, happened to be Jews, they would bring in Jewish immigrants to work. It was through contacts and relatives, or youngsters who were under protection of someone, who were taken into the trade.” (142) One woman from Montréal recalled, “Like all other people, if you know somebody, they take you in...When a new immigrant would come, a friend, or somebody who was staying where you were staying, would know somebody who works in the trade, and so that is how you found a job. You had no choice of what you wanted to do. You just had to go to work.” (206–7) Her husband added, “About the only place you could get a job was in the needle trades. So, naturally, through some recommendations of acquaintances, most of the youngsters ended up in the needle trades.” (252)

Job options were limited due to language barriers – the overwhelming majority of immigrants spoke Yiddish, with no English – as well as to discrimination, religious beliefs on avoiding Sabbath (Saturday) work, a lack of professional skills and credentials, and a dearth of money. Nonetheless, some garment workers did work up a little sum. Gershman and others discussed the transition to Jewish business ownership in the interwar period, based on a small group of bosses who rose from the ranks, sometimes to crash and burn. But the workers

in Berson's book take no pride in the Jewish ethnicity of their bosses, with several stressing what one called "the class point of view," (111) referring to the the inevitable, sharp division between workers and owners. "A boss is a boss, like they say. It doesn't matter if he is Jewish or not. His interests are more important to him than all the Jews all around. He doesn't care about this. Never." (231)

Berson had to do some digging to clarify the names of towns and cities in imperial Russia, as well as other references mentioned by the interviewees. It was not an easy task. "Yekachinyoslav" (147) is presumably Ekaterinoslav (the pre-Communist name of Dnipropetrovsk), the river "Neman" (24) in Kaunas is actually the Nemunas, "Henry Julian" (186) street in Montréal is Henri-Julien, and "Mike Buhey" (79) should be Buhay, either Michael or Becky, interwar Communist activists in Montréal. Berson appended a useful glossary of Yiddish and Hebrew words that appear in the interviews.

The most dominant impression that emerges from these interviews, at least for this reader, is a sense of gloom. Life for most seemed to be a grim, unrelieved train of hardships, and it seems striking that there are few if any references to the compensations of love and family. "In those days, it was go to work, and work, and go home," says one man. "That was it." (258) In the tales they tell about their lives, their husbands, wives and kids seem simply to arrive; family life, recreation and other compensations are not recalled. There is grim satisfaction in survival, and almost perfunctory comments on class struggle, but a sense of joy or happiness seems to be in short supply, at least in what the interviewees chose to discuss.

GENE HOMEL
British Columbia Institute
of Technology

Jim Blanchard, *Winnipeg's Great War: A City Comes of Age* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2010)

EARLY ON IN *Winnipeg's Great War*, Jim Blanchard notes that "This book is the story of Winnipeg during the First World War, of some of the men who went to fight, as well as the people and the city they left behind, of the sacrifices they all made, the role they played in winning the war, and the profound impact the war had upon them and their city." (8) It certainly is that – but it is also quite a bit more.

To begin with, *Winnipeg's Great War* is a particularly fine example of popular history. Blanchard, who is already well known to many readers for his award-winning book, *Winnipeg 1912* (Winnipeg 2005), approaches his topic with the sensibilities of a serious scholar, but also with the well-honed writing skills of one who knows how to write for a broader audience – a combination that serves both him and his readers well. Neither a fawning account of Winnipeg's contributions to, and trials and tribulations endured on account of, the Great War, nor a diatribe against the war and the élites who were responsible for the particular way in which Winnipeg's contributions were made, Blanchard's work evinces an even-handed approach which pays attention to many important aspects of life in Winnipeg during the war years, an approach which includes the stories of those who served, those who stayed home, of men and of women, of the well-to-do and the humble, of committed pacifists, and of those who just wanted to stay alive. Nor does it shy away from an analysis of how civic patriotism and other forms of boosterism and patriotism were used as often crude bludgeons against those who did not support the war effort with what some viewed as enough 'true British' spirit – but perhaps even more remarkably, it does not automatically disparage

the idealism and the spirit of those who wielded such weapons.

Relying upon a mix of primary and secondary sources, the author carefully charts the economic, political, demographic, and social changes Winnipeg and its diverse population experienced during this extremely traumatic period, acknowledging those changes which were unique to the city, those which were directly attributable to the war, and those which were linked to certain larger, structural factors. In this regard Blanchard does a masterful job of helping readers understand how the Great War and other major developments of this brief time span changed Winnipeg from the boom town it had been from the 1890s to 1913 into the somewhat less dynamic (at least in economic and population terms) city that would emerge in the interwar years. But having said this, *Winnipeg's Great War* is not concerned exclusively or even primarily with economics. Rather it is more a social and political history of Winnipeg that emphasizes the changing relationships between citizens and the state (on several different levels), between Winnipeg's various ethnic communities and the dominant Anglo-Celtic group, and the changes wrought in the city's social and political structure as the city's élite (and its sons and daughters) addressed the myriad crises of a city, a nation, and an empire at war.

Blanchard has mined the correspondence and papers of several prominent Winnipeg families to give a sense of what the war meant to them, and how this meaning and the attendant attitudes towards the war changed over the course of four terrible years. The élite's response to news of the outbreak of the war is particularly well handled, often in the form of letters written from "the lake" by such local notables as the Reverend Charles Gordon, the Sanford Evans family, and Nellie McClung. But most poignant of all

is the use of such sources to tell the story of Alex Waugh, son of Winnipeg's Mayor Richard Waugh, whom Blanchard uses to illustrate a certain process of growth, maturation and, ultimately, to underline the tragic loss of potential – for the individual and the city – when this young officer was killed by a sniper's bullet late in 1917.

The author is also particularly adept at using newspaper sources to cover groups who did not leave quite so many diaries and letters behind. The responses of many of Winnipeg's ethnic groups to the war, especially their organized and collective responses, as well as their treatment by the powers that be, is fairly well handled via press reports. Blanchard is also very good at using the press and various government reports to cover major political developments such as the fall of the Roblin administration, the rise of the TC Norris government and its various reform-oriented successes and failures as well as its most controversial decisions, most notably its abandonment of bilingual schooling. The ethnic, class, and political animosities which festered during the war years were also carefully documented, allowing the author to lay the groundwork for the city-wide conflict that would erupt with such force in 1919.

Still, this book is not without its flaws. Many scholars will find the book's utility hampered by its paucity of source citations and the somewhat arbitrary nature of what got cited and what was left without any reference whatsoever. It is also surprising that a few more MA and PhD theses were not utilized; Kurt Korneski's 2004 Memorial University PhD dissertation, "Liberalism in Winnipeg, 1890s–1920s," leaps to mind in this regard. Finally, there were also a few too many instances of antiquarianism scattered throughout the book. To be honest, one really does not need a 25 line account of a young Canadian officer's shave in a British barbershop!

Having said this, *Winnipeg's Great War* is a fine piece of work which will be *the* popular source on the Great War era in Winnipeg for many years to come. Moreover, its research base is solid enough that, despite the lack of a more fulsome scholarly apparatus, this book will be a valuable resource for serious students of Canadian history for the foreseeable future. In short, it is well worth the read by a very broad audience.

JIM MOCHORUK

University of North Dakota

Melanie Buddle, *The Business of Women: Marriage, Family, and Entrepreneurship in British Columbia, 1901–51* (Vancouver: UBC Press 2010)

IT IS COMMONLY believed that married women in Canada did not typically participate in the labour force a century ago. In *The Business of Women*, Melanie Buddle challenges this view by showing that in British Columbia in the early 20th century, it was not unusual for married women to support their families through self-employment and business ownership. While self-employment was more common for women in BC than elsewhere in Canada, the experiences of these women were not entirely unique. Through her look at women's entrepreneurship in BC in the opening half of the 20th century, Buddle not only sheds light on a little-studied phenomenon, but also provides many insights that promise to enrich our understanding of both women's history and the history of business.

Buddle's book can be divided into two parts. The first provides context and draws on census data and secondary historical sources to document (white) women's entrepreneurial activity. The second examines both wage-earning and self-employed women's involvement in Business and Professional Women's

Clubs in Victoria and Vancouver to learn more about entrepreneurial women, consider their activity within these clubs, and, in one of the book's most interesting chapters, explore the challenge of being a woman in the masculine business world.

In the first part of the book, Buddle shows that women working in BC were more likely to be married than those living elsewhere in Canada, and that most married women in the BC labour force were self-employed. Buddle explores the regional factors that drew married women into the labour force in BC, especially early in the century. Although these factors remain a little murky, Buddle emphasizes the province's frontier status, the gender imbalance that meant that, especially at the turn of the 20th century, men far outnumbered women, and a resource-based economy which often led men away from their homes to earn a living in more remote locations. In combination, these factors created a situation where most BC women married, but many did not have a spouse at home to provide a steady income. Abandoned, widowed, separated, and married women whose spouses could not provide a sufficient income, needed to find a way to support themselves and their children. Buddle explains that, for these women, wage work was not an attractive option: not only were employers often reluctant to hire married women, but wage work required long hours away from home and children. Some women, then, turned to self-employment, and found a way to support their families through work in and around the home – keeping a boarding house, running a hotel, sewing, dressmaking, taking in laundry, or farming. Others established businesses or took over those started by their husbands; although these businesses took them out of the home, they nonetheless provided them with some flexibility to meet the competing demands on their

time. The frontier environment and gender imbalance provided opportunities for women to take on these roles, and ensured a demand for many food, housing, and laundry services that women could provide.

In these opening chapters, Buddle's analysis is important in two ways. First, it encourages us to expand our traditional understandings of 'business' to include women's entrepreneurial activity which was often small-scale, and entailed tasks – such as running a boarding house, or making dresses – that could be viewed as 'feminine' (although Buddle is careful to point out that these women were challenging norms of femininity through their business activity). Second, it highlights that historically married women did work, and not only was their work not entirely incompatible with family, but it was frequently motivated by family responsibilities. This latter insight is an important one. Because, nationwide, it was uncommon for women to be reported as working in the census, it has been easy to conclude that married women did not or could not work. In contrast, Buddle's research encourages us not to dismiss married women's work as uncommon, but to explore further under what conditions, and in what ways, married, widowed, and separated women did work for pay.

Buddle's analysis is not without limitations. Due to a dearth of sources, the author must rely predominantly on census data, and hence we have little opportunity to learn more about the qualitative nature of these women's experiences. To provide a fuller picture, in the second half of the book, Buddle draws on the detailed records of the Business and Professional Women's (BPW) Clubs in the province. However, these records only shed light on the experiences of some women: membership in the BPW clubs was selective – composed of wage-earning and

self-employed middle-class women – and thus, was not representative of business-women in the province more broadly. In chapter 4, the author traces the history of BPW clubs, reviews their BC membership, and sketches the nature of club activity. She argues that the clubs provided a valuable opportunity for working middle-class women to meet, network, and socialize, and allowed a safe space within which they could occasionally mock gender conventions. Nonetheless, the outward face of these organizations was a conservative one. These groups walked a delicate line, advocating for the rights of women in the workforce, while at the same time agreeing with social norms that women with young children belonged in the home – if they could afford to be there. These women did not overtly challenge the gender order; indeed, it would likely have hurt their careers if they had tried. How can women succeed in business when it is socially defined as masculine? The answer according to one woman was to 'think like a man, and act like a lady.' In chapter five, Buddle shows that because women were deviating from gender norms by simply engaging in business, they felt compelled to display femininity in their appearance and public life. This chapter adds to (but does not reference or draw from) a fairly large literature on the gendered nature of work by outlining the strategies that women pursued in their efforts to be perceived as both good women and successful entrepreneurs.

Overall, Buddle has produced an interesting book that adds to our understanding of women's experiences of working, especially in the British Columbian context, and to the history of business in Canada. The book is generally well written and accessible to a broad audience. Unfortunately, the data and sources used are fairly limited so there is still a great deal about women in business that we do not know. As Buddle acknowledges,

there is little attention to class, race, and ethnicity here, and we still lack a clear picture of precisely how the BC environment shaped women's decisions about work. The book is short on details, and limited in its comparisons. How are these women similar to or different from other wage-earning women in the West, and elsewhere in Canada? How are they different from women working in male-dominated professions, another group of autonomous women working in a man's world? These questions remain. Nevertheless, the book makes a significant contribution to the field, providing new insights into women's entrepreneurship and married women's work in BC in the early 20th century.

TRACEY ADAMS

University of Western Ontario

Sharon Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920–55* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 2009)

SHARON WALL SETS an impressive standard of interdisciplinary inquiry, situating summer camp in twentieth-century rural Ontario in the larger context of modernist and anti-modernist thought influencing Canadians' lives. Her study of summer camps enriches an already lively body of historical work on class, race, gender, and sexuality, and Indigenous-newcomer relations; nourishes emerging areas like childhood and youth, medicine and psychology, food, and the environment; and strengthens long-established fields such as education and sport, including the influence of camps on pedagogy, the connection of camps to K–12 schools and universities, and the history of professions, and religion, particularly spirituality in camp. The question Wall asks is put most eloquently on the back of the book: why have children “been packed off to camp?”

To explore summer camps, the temporary home of 150,000 or five to seven percent of Canadian children annually by 1950, she sets out to understand the effect of intellectual currents on camping and the outdoors. In the first chapter, Wall casts the rural Ontario summer camp against modern Toronto, made up of families residing on cramped, unhealthy, and frequently unsafe streets. There, people's worth was determined by their wages. At the same time, though, the upper middle class of the city were concerned for these families and marshalled secular teachers, public health nurses, and social workers to name and investigate a problem: the health and wellness of families, particularly children. Nature began to be seen as a remedy to the perceived poor health of families. The summer camp was the practical solution and became the thread sewing the fabric of city and countryside together.

Chapters 2 and 3, case studies of three camps, show how the pedagogy of camps solidified class consciousness. In the three camps, Ahmek and Wapomeo for the upper middle and upper class, and the Bolton Fresh Air Camp for the working class of Toronto, the goal was to ensure campers understood the importance of proficiency in English literacy, numeracy, and citizenship to be workers. Nature was fertile ground to ensure that city life and a growing youth culture did not corrupt the minds of youngsters. Despite segregation of children and youth by class, there indeed was a connection among the working, middle, and upper classes. The *Toronto Daily Star* administered the Fresh Air Fund, founded by philanthropist Joseph Atkinson, to support attendance of deserving children and sometimes parents at camp. The newspaper relied on the middle and upper-middle class to donate, and depicted children attending Bolton as “[u]ndernourished, underweight ... undersized

... unfortunate" and delinquent." (111) Charity operated to remake the working class as needing intervention by social workers.

Wall returns to intellectual predicaments in chapter 4, comprehending the ideas shaping summer camps and their implications for pedagogy and practice. Camp became necessary for learning and thus evolved from being a place of fun only to a space where playing would nourish desirable qualities in modern girls and boys: "courage, perseverance and self-confidence." (308–108) Childhood was anti-modern in that children were exempt from earning wages. Chapters 5 and 6, on gender and sexuality, and Indigenous "themes" at camp, suggest that being effeminate, "butch," homosexual, and "Indian" were also anti-modern. However, these were acceptable behaviours, perhaps necessary for children to ensure a normal transition to adulthood.

Camp contributed to "a modern notion of childhood" and facilitated children's smooth passage to adolescence and adulthood, following acceptable, classed behaviours. (252) To support this conclusion, Wall draws from records of private, fresh air, and agency camps (such as the Young Men's Christian Association), newspapers, Ontario and Canadian camping associations, an oral history collection, and her own interviews with eighteen former campers and two former camp directors and owners. However, the philosophy and practice could have been conveyed better to readers by rearranging the chapters to set the entire intellectual history of modernity and camps (chapters 1 and 4) in one place. Then, she could have set up the case studies (chapters 2 and 3) and the findings from the case studies (chapters 5 and 6), so that they were arranged thematically in terms of gender and sexuality, and comprehension of the influence of First Nations and Métis on camps. Wall refers in chapters 2

and 3 to an "Indian theme" but does not discuss this theme clearly until chapter 6. A discussion of the "Indian theme" could have been located in chapter 1 of the book to better set the context of modernizing Canada, a period when Indigenous peoples were seen as a noble but "dying" race. Since chapters 1 and 4 both deal with the effect of modernist and anti-modernist thought on the landscape, they belong together to help readers grasp the influence of the ideas on camps.

Wall plans to break down the middle class to observe the differences within the group. However, she misses the opportunity to do so when she discusses counsellors, cooks, guides, and directors, failing to consider where these workers sat within the camp hierarchy. The author does not discuss payment of camp staff. It is likely that compensation rates varied among camps, and low pay may have resulted in the failure to attract highly qualified, capable, and dedicated counsellors, a failure that Wall discusses toward the end of chapter 4. It would have been helpful to see an inventory of the camps in Ontario, identifying them as either faith-based or secular and if faith-based, the denomination of the camp. Private, secular camps are depicted as the most expensive, but I do believe that fees for Christian and agency camps did vary, affecting parents' options. As well, cadet camps came into their form in the 20th century. Yet they are not even considered by the author. Cadet camps offered the chance for children and youth to travel around Canada and the world and did not cost a lot of money for parents. A demographic breakdown of her participants in terms of gender, age, region, race, class, and Indigenous ancestry would have been helpful, especially when Wall refers to the camps' role in teaching boys lessons in masculinity and girls lessons in femininity. Had the class background of the participants been made clear to the reader,

it would have been easier to understand if curriculum in camps for girls and boys was influenced by class.

The interdisciplinary strength of this book is also its weakness. Although Graeme Wynn, in his foreword to the book, suggests that it contributes to environmental history, especially the history of society and nature, it contributes also to the understanding of camps' effects on education, and on Indigenous-non-Indigenous relations in the early-20th century. I wonder if the author could have, at least in the conclusion, spelled out the contributions of her scholarly work more precisely. Although the problem being dissected in interdisciplinary projects is oftentimes more important than the disciplinary anchors supporting it, it is important never to lose track of the disciplinary threads sewing the piece together. The author successfully sets out a new path, charting the history of summer camps and their influence on modern Canada. What she does not do consistently though is connect summer camps to nature, history, and society, assuming instead that the connection is evident.

JONATHAN ANUIK
University of Alberta

Joan Sangster, *Transforming Labour: Women and Work in Postwar Canada*
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2010)

JOAN SANGSTER'S book is a welcome addition to the growing body of research on women's work and family lives in the three decades after the Second World War. Its main aim is to explore the changing landscape for working women in Canada in a period in which, despite the prevailing social assumptions that women's lives were largely bounded by domesticity, married women entered the

labour force in far larger numbers than before. Some women entered work covered by the Fordist accord in which they were unionized and had some legal protection, whereas others, usually recent immigrants or Aboriginal women, found themselves in employment that was far more flexible, low paid and insecure. All of them worked in the context of the Cold War, which created a climate in which dissent of any kind was treated with suspicion. A theme running throughout the book is the contradictions faced by women workers in this period; for example, many who were supporting families from their paid labour did so in a context in which the ideal of the male breadwinner was still pervasive. Within the trade union movement, labour beauty contests were a validation of women's role as organized workers, but at the same time promoted contemporary ideals of femininity that were based on attractiveness and appearance. This can be contrasted with more serious representations of the male worker and confirmed women's subordinate position. The book explores these contradictions and analyzes the different and very complex ways in which women responded to and interacted with them. Women themselves of course were not an undifferentiated group and throughout the text it is argued that race and ethnicity, intertwined with class and gender, affected the options, pattern and place of women's labour.

These issues are examined using a number of case studies that exemplify the experiences of different groups within the workforce. After a discussion of the representation of women's work in this period, and the varied reactions to it, there are chapters on the textile workers of Dionne, retail work and union protest in the department store of the paternalist Dupuis Frères, and Aboriginal women's work in prairie communities. Other chapters look at women's role

within the labour movement during the Cold War and the grievances lodged by women workers in meat packing, the Bell telephone company, and public sector employment. It is argued that the contradictions between representation and reality, present in the postwar years, became more visible and contentious by the late 1960s. Women's paid work was now at the centre of social debates and organizing, with some women within unions, and feminists outside the labour movement, pressing for change. The evolving and competing discourses about women's waged work were exemplified in the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, established in 1968, which is the subject of the final chapter.

Although there is a wealth of detail in this book about women's working lives, its real strength lies in its conceptual approach and its stimulating new insights. Indeed, the analysis is multi-layered, engaging the reader on many different levels. The conceptual framework that holds the book together is one that is familiar to those who know Joan Sangster's work. She roots her analysis in a materialist feminist perspective which, while taking on board the insights from post-structuralist and linguistic theories, assumes "a dialogue between social being and social consciousness" in which human agency and lived experience are still significant. (13) Throughout the book, therefore, there is an attempt to bring to the fore the voices of working women as well as to provide an analysis of official discourses and concerns. Imaginative use is made of a range of sources, including grievance files, evidence from Aboriginal women to committee hearings, and personal letters to the Royal Commission. These provide fascinating details of individual lives, revealing three dimensional human beings and their concerns rather than women who are ideological constructs of the government, media

or employers. All the sources are subject to a rigorous and nuanced critique. Perhaps the best example of this are the papers of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. There is a discussion about the ideological "filtering process" that guided its work, since it both shaped the answers it received and also created knowledge about women workers, while the letters sent to it from working women were also geared to a specific audience. (240) Nonetheless, Sangster provides a reading of these sources that enables us to see the anger and resentment that underpinned women's experience of employment. Again there were different voices; some married women expressed the view that they had an entitlement to work whereas others were more defensive about combining paid employment with motherhood.

This book also contributes to recent approaches in feminist historiography which have challenged the familiar narrative of two waves of feminism with a rather quiet period in between. Sangster suggests that if labour and socialist politics are highlighted then we can see that far from being a time when little happened there were many attempts in the postwar years to seek equality for women. She argues that a more appropriate metaphor might be one of different streams of activity which ebbed and flowed in intensity, but nonetheless provided some continuity between generations of feminists. The analysis stops in 1970, when, it is claimed, the discontent that had become increasingly visible during the preceding decades led to a more widespread and persistent challenge to the established gender norms at the workplace.

Some of the chapters in this book work better than others. The discussion of women in the labour movement, for example, is very detailed and the overall argument can become lost, whereas the chapter on the Royal Commission on

Labour provides a clear account and is an excellent example of the overall approach taken in the book. As the author notes herself, there are many areas of work that have not been addressed and the evidence used is based on documentary rather than oral sources. Some readers may want to take issue with the chronology chosen; for instance the mid-1960s could have been seen as the crucial point of transition. Others might question the overall approach. But a key strength of the book is that, at every stage, the approach and methods used are discussed explicitly and the reader is invited to engage in debate and critique.

It is refreshing to find a book that still sees working women as historical subjects rather than as abstract constructs and one which examines emotional labour and the “structure of feeling” as well as material conditions of work. It is to be hoped that it will stimulate further work into the areas that are not covered, and also encourage an exploration of the impact of the changes detailed in these pages on the exciting period of upheavals in the 1970s.

JUNE HANNAM

University of the West of England,
Bristol, UK

Lawrence Aronsen, *City of Love and Revolution: Vancouver in the Sixties*
(Vancouver: New Star 2010)

THE LAST FEW YEARS have witnessed a substantial increase in scholarship on Canada in the 1960s. Most recently several local histories on the subject have seen print including Sean Mills’ *The Empire Within* (Montréal 2010) and Stuart Henderson’s *Making the Scene* (Toronto 2011). Lawrence Aronsen’s study of Vancouver is a welcome addition.

Aronsen, a former Vancouver sixties radical himself, is a professor of history

at the University of Alberta where he teaches courses on US and world history, including a senior seminar titled “The Sixties Revolt.” He has published several books on US-Canada relations. His background is US history has likely contributed to what is most refreshing about *City of Love and Revolution*: the absence of maple leaves and beavers. Aronsen does not try to dress up Vancouver in the 1960s within the cloak of scholarly nationalism or Canadian exceptionalism. Aronsen repeatedly indicates that the cultural and political phenomena that occurred in Vancouver from 1963 to 1975 were by and large American imports.

City of Love and Revolution is composed of six short chapters, each addressing a particular topic. The first chapter chronicles the rise and fall of Vancouver’s hippy population from its emergence in Kitsilano in 1965. He credits the countercultural influence of San Francisco with the development of Vancouver’s hippy communities. Chapter two tells the story of the Vancouver Free University (VFU), an alternative institution grounded in the new left ideals of participatory democracy and opposition to hierarchy. Again, American influences leading to the establishment of VFU are clear. Founded in 1969, VFU traced its roots back to the establishment of free universities in Berkeley and New York in 1965. The influence of the United States, and again, San Francisco in particular, is also apparent in the chapter on the sexual revolution. Chapter Four links the appearance of new music with the proliferation of psychedelic drugs. Aronsen argues that the two were inseparable. And he attributes their appearance in Vancouver to influences south of the border: “In almost every case,” he asserts, “Vancouver’s rock’n’roll scene followed trends in the United States.” (88) The concurrent proliferation of drugs he argues was largely the result of two phenomena:

Canadians travelling to San Francisco, getting 'turned on' there, and returning home with a generous amount of samples; and American draft dodgers who began arriving in the city mid-decade.

Chapter Five chronicles Yippie activism. The Yippies – radicalized hippies – are best remembered for their political theatrics and colourful leaders such as Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman. Emphasizing US influences, Aronsen tells us that the Yippies were important because "they highlight the cross-border transfer of American popular culture." (108) They first rose to prominence in Vancouver with a visit by Ruben to the University of British Columbia in October 1968, where he led 1,200 students in an occupation of the faculty club. Yippies also distinguished themselves in May 1970 when they trashed the town of Blaine, Washington, in response to the US invasion of Cambodia and the deaths of four students at Kent State University. They figured prominently, as well, in the August 1971 Gastown Riot. The final chapter traces the transformation of the ban-the-bomb movement into the anti-Vietnam War movement.

There is much to like about this book, but there is also much to question. What is particularly good is that Aronsen places the old left, or at least part of it, within the narrative of the 1960s, an important facet that other scholars often leave out. In his chapter on hippies, he presents the Communist Party as one of the only two alternatives available to those challenging middle-class values in early 1960s Vancouver, the other being the Beats. But his depiction of the Communist Party, its motives, and its accomplishments projects an outmoded Cold War thinking, portraying Party members as merely carrying out the objectives of the Soviet Union, without any sense of agency or sincerity. Sometimes there are errors in fact as well. For instance, in referencing

Berkeley's Free Speech Movement (FSM), which served as a substantial spark for political activism in Vancouver and elsewhere, Aronsen states the organization's formation was a response to the University of California's decision to ban "a pro-communist group from operating on campus." (37) In fact, the University specifically went after the burgeoning civil rights movement. In another instance Aronsen would have us believe that the Paris Peace Accords were signed in December 1972 and ended the war. (141) They were, in fact, signed in January 1973 and the war continued, albeit without U.S. troops, until the liberation of Saigon in 1975.

Other questions the reader is left with concern the Vancouver Free University. Originally established to offer vocational training to the poor, the mandate of the institution quickly shifted to a middle-class though countercultural orientation, offering courses in print making, designing psychedelic posters, and how to play the stock market. Aronsen does not address how the school's curriculum was hijacked from serving its originally intended clients. Similarly, by the time the VFU folded in 1972 a considerable part of its programming was directed at a clientele of increasingly empowered women. Was this a result of women taking over the leadership of VFU? Questions of power, control and gender regarding the leadership of VFU are not discussed.

Most interesting is Aronsen's chapter on the struggle for peace, particularly his section on the anti-Vietnam War movement. This is a subject that until now has been largely ignored by historians of Canada in the 1960s. In the past if the subject came up it was usually in reference to Americans who immigrated to Canada to avoid serving in the military, rather than Canadians who mobilized opposition to the war. Aronsen focuses on the latter. Refreshing as well is his portrayal

of the antiwar movement in Canada as an active partner, albeit a junior one, with its US counterpart. He refers to this relationship as “a continentalization of dissent.” (144) But there are problems with his account of the antiwar movement. Most significantly, Aronsen ignores or minimizes the influence of radical elements of the old left in the role it played. In addition to downplaying the seminal importance of the Communist Party in organizing opposition to the war, no mention at all is made of the work of the Trotskyists who played a vital role, first in the establishment of the Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee, and later the Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee, by far the city’s two most significant antiwar coalitions. Absent too is any mention of the organization Voice of Women, a significant player in the antiwar movement. Aronsen’s portrayal of the movement in Vancouver would have us believe that it was largely an NDP project.

Aronsen’s sources are generally well used, but at times he leaves the reader wondering as to his choices. This is especially evident regarding web sites. While he makes use of oral history, his number of interview subjects is limited. He makes good use of newspapers, especially the student, Communist, and labour presses. But Aronsen best captures the atmosphere of a youth-charged culture through his use of what was then Vancouver’s major underground paper, *The Georgia Straight*. His use of the archival collection of the Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee is especially important in relating the rich history of the city’s antiwar movement, but one suspects that his use of it has been overly selective.

What is best about this book is that it is accessible. It is refreshingly free of theoretical expostulations and the latest scholarly nomenclature. Aronsen tells us the history of Vancouver in the 1960s. It

is also a short book (173 pages of text). Another feature is the large number of photographs. This book would be an excellent resource for an undergraduate class on the 1960s.

CHRISTOPHER POWELL

Kwantlen Polytechnic University

Ian McKay and Robin Bates, *In the Province of History: The Making of the Public Past in 20th-Century Nova Scotia* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press 2010)

THIS IS A LONG awaited and much anticipated book, especially for historians of Nova Scotia, and although much of the material has already been published in article form or presented as public talks, the book is greater than the sum of its parts. McKay and Bates develop a compelling narrative of the development of what they call “tourism/history” from the 1930s to the 1960s to argue that in Nova Scotia “a decisive shift in representational strategies took place during the second quarter of the twentieth century, connected both to the province’s profound socio-economic crisis and to the correlative rise of a new consumer capitalism exemplified above all by the advent of tourism.” (19) Nova Scotia, their province of history, was “extraordinarily precocious in commodifying its past.” (20) The authors offer *In the Province of History* as a sequel to McKay’s monograph *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montréal and Kingston 1994) which it is in both theme and in its call to action to develop a critique of tourism/history.

The book’s six chapters are sandwiched between a Prologue (“The People of “Canada’s Ocean Playground”), and a Conclusion, which asks, “Is the Romance Ended?” After a theoretical and historiographical

first chapter and an examination of Nova Scotia's first foray into tourism/history as the land of Evangeline, the central chapters provide detailed studies of the three men whom Bates and McKay present as the central figures in the creation of tourism/history in the province. They describe the first two, publicist, journalist and novelist Will R. Bird and novelist and amateur historian Thomas Raddall, as "the cultural cartographers who mapped the Province of History – or, perhaps the songwriters who most fully developed many hits beloved with tourism history." (252) The final figure is Nova Scotia's long-serving Liberal premier Angus L. Macdonald, who was a zealous proponent of a Scottish origin myth for the province. He was, the authors argue, the paramount "organic intellectual" of tourism/history." (354) The final chapter brings the triumvirate together through an examination of the Nova Scotia Historic Sites Advisory Council.

The Prologue offers an alternative analysis of a montage of seven portrait photographs published on the inside back cover of a 1936 tourism promotion booklet, "A Postcard from the 'Shore of Songs.'" They argue that the montage is unified by a "particular kind of whiteness," most strongly exemplified by the largest constituent element, a Scottish man at the centre. (6) The authors reject the original description as error-filled, oversimplified, and deliberately emphasizing of the five white races that tourism/history treats as representative of the people of the province. In their alternative version they create fictitious biographies for each of the portraits which emphasise themes of progress and conflict in Nova Scotia history. The first chapter, "How a Land without Antiquities became the Province of History," functions as an introduction to the book, and defines the concept of tourism/history as influenced by Bird, Raddall and Macdonald. Chapter Two

explores the route by which Nova Scotia became the Land of Evangeline. Longfellow's poem of the same title, with its themes of pastoralism and romance, they argue, became the *locus classicus* of tourism/history and laid the groundwork for the commodification of history in Nova Scotia. The Evangeline phenomenon was transformed in the period from the late 1880s to the 1920s by corporate campaigns of the Dominion Atlantic Railway and Steamship lines. But the Evangeline story was complicated by Acadian interpretations of both the poem and the impact of the deportation of 1755. For tourism/history promoters, Acadians did not represent the essence of Nova Scotia's ethnic heritage.

Chapters Three and Four provide biographical information and a close analysis of the historical fiction of Will R. Bird and Thomas Raddall, highlighting the historical subjects they wrote about: the Yorkshire settlers of Cumberland County in Bird's case, and the Yankees and Planters of the south shore in Raddall's. I personally found these chapters especially interesting as their books, along with those of Helen Creighton, formed a significant part of my childhood reading. The purpose of these chapters, when combined with the chapter on Angus L. Macdonald, is to delineate the racial and gender ideologies that permeated these writers' works. While the authors draw important distinctions between the writing of each of their subjects, collectively they made particular groups of white men in the 18th and 19th centuries the subject matter of tourism/history.

The chapter on Angus L. Macdonald explores "tartanism and the cultural politics of whiteness," and explains how through Macdonald's intervention the Highland Heart of Nova Scotia replaced the image of Nova Scotia as the Land of Evangeline. (258) McKay and Bates argue that before "the 1930s" there was

"no single ethno-cultural vocabulary of 'Nova Scotianess.'" (261) However, Macdonald worked tirelessly to ensure that Scots became the essential Nova Scotians. "The public history that Macdonald championed was, in large part, an exercise in ethno-racial re-description. Tartanism – a matrix of ideas about and images of nature, history, and race, all testifying to the Scottishness of Nova Scotia – stands out as the most visible and obvious element of a more general antimodern dispensation in which history became a function of racial and ethnic identity." (254) Macdonald took an active role in promoting his myth of the Scottish origins of Nova Scotia, both through the promotion of the Gaelic language, which he apparently spoke "haltingly" (296), but also through his suggestions, often made to Bird directly, for better representations of Nova Scotia as Scottish. One example of this was his plan to plant large patches of heather in the highlands of Cape Breton. (292)

The final chapter ties the narrative together with a detailed study of the provincial Historic Sites Advisory Council, established in 1947. Bird, the chair of the Board, and Raddall controlled the Council's decisions and ensured that "the Macdonald government held true to its pattern of placing tourism interests first." (332) The recurrent theme of creating tourism/history as a commodity offered for tourists' consumption is solidly supported by the evidence in this chapter, which begins with public debates about a putative relic of Leif Erikson's equally putative colony in Yarmouth County in southern Nova Scotia, a relic convincingly debunked in the late 1930s. The strong local support for the relic clearly exposed the enthusiasm for "cashing in on antiquity." It comes as no surprise to learn that the Council emphasized Britishness apparent in the ideas of Bird, Raddall and Macdonald, and the importance

of celebrating whiteness is clearly argued. Under Macdonald's leadership and into the 1950s and 1960s Raddall and Bird's defined the history of Nova Scotia. The authors also argue that there were winners and losers in the tourism/history sweepstakes that reinforced older inequalities. The winners tended to be communities with a well organized middle class and a nearby highway. The losers tended to be working class communities, often with numerous visible minorities. "Sites that lacked direct commercial impact fared poorly." (352) Collectively the decisions of the Council constructed a specific version of Nova Scotia history. Sixty-eight percent of the sites commemorated pre-Confederation history. Only one woman, Flora Macdonald, beloved of Angus L. MacDonald due to her association with the male hero Bonnie Prince Charlie, was recognized. There was no historical commemoration for African Nova Scotians and "Bird and Raddall shared a pronounced distaste for Acadians," which was reflected in the Council's decisions. (362) It did however commemorate a large native encampment at Shubenacadie.

Bates and McKay do an excellent job of demonstrating the centrality of whiteness, and therefore racism, in tourism/history. While the authors do address the issue of gender, pointing to the essentializing gender ideology that is both implicit and explicit in tourism/history, I would have liked to see a fuller interpretation of this theme. For example, in the three largely biographical chapters on Bird, Raddall and Macdonald I was struck by the absence of any discussion of their personal and family lives. The second wave feminist mantra, "the personal is political," could have been usefully employed here. The most explicitly misogynist was Thomas Raddall, although variants of sexist ideas clearly permeated the work of all three of these men. It is regrettable

how infrequently historians explore the family context of male intellectual development.

Although the narrative of *In the Province of History* ends in 1964, the book also has a contemporary political agenda, and includes a call to action. The concern about tourism/history parallels the concern about antimodernism in McKay's *The Quest of the Folk* because "it placed the present condition of Nova Scotia beyond all possible critique." (372) McKay has taken up this challenge personally. For example, in 2007 he addressed the annual conference of the Nova Scotia Federation of Heritage with a version of the prologue of *In the Province of History*. The enthusiasm his talk received affords a cautious optimism about the interest in developing possibilities for interpreting the diversity of the province's history.

JANET GUILDFORD

Mount Saint Vincent University

Leslie Main Johnson, *Trail of Story, Traveler's Path: Reflections on Ethnoecology and Landscape*
(Edmonton: Athabasca University Press 2010)

TRAIL OF STORY, Traveler's Path is an important addition to the discussion of ethnoecology and traditional environmental knowledge in Canada. Leslie Main Johnson examines the cultural landscapes of the Gitksan and Witsuwit'en of British Columbia, the Kaska Dene of the Yukon, and the Gwitch'in of the Mackenzie Delta with the goal of uncovering opportunities for communication between Euro-North American constructs of "space" with indigenous perceptions of "place." According to Johnson, Western mapping delimits and defines a specific physical space within a larger systems of grids. In contrast, indigenous place is complicated and multivalent, incorporating aspects

of culture, history and belief systems in relation to both animate and inanimate beings. She contends communication between these two epistemologies is essential as indigenous peoples adopt or are forced to employ technologies such as GIS in support of their land claims and other legal and political endeavours.

The first chapters detail the various methods these northern peoples employ to inhabit and understand their landscapes. Johnson maintains that ethnoecological knowledge is encoded in language. She convincingly demonstrates this theory with tables of Gitksan, Witsuwit'en and Gwitch'in words. Each of these tables illustrates how the language combines root words to indicate concepts such as "big square boulders on the side of mountains" (45) and "where the water barely covers a rock" (46), or to distinguish various types of swamps. (70) Johnson continues with an examination of seemingly simple concepts such as a berry patch or a moose lick. Combining geographical descriptions with oral histories Johnson establishes that these areas have a significance that extends beyond the mere utility of a resource gathering area. Building on this ethnographic information, the middle section of the text envisions ethnoecology as a "movement through place and season." (108) In successive chapters, Johnson provides a detailed investigation of the interconnections between the peoples and their lands. The strength of this section lies in the discussion of the seasonal variations in the landscape. A frozen river presents different opportunities and challenges than does a flooding or a nearly dry river, yet remains described as a river on a typical map.

Johnson builds to her central argument concerning the introduction of GIS technology in the field of land claims in the final portion of the text. She explains that after the success of the Delgamuukw case in British Columbia, GIS mapping

became an important and expected component of First Nations' legal arguments. However, Johnson outlines the many pitfalls of reliance upon this technology. First, she argues that GIS employs the structure of the polygon as the fundamental unit of measurement. Unlike a trail that can be described as "nodes in a matrix of movement" through a cultural and spiritual landscape, the polygon does not recognize the "fuzzy patches" of knowledge. (176) She observes, "The probability that caribou may be encountered in a given area ...is neither spatially nor temporally determinate...but it may have considerable significance to the prepared and aware Gwich'in hunter." (186) Further, she argues that GIS "makes land an abstracted thing, not a locus of power and agency." (188) This technology constructs a limited interpretation of the physical world and does not accommodate crucial intangible information. She notes that for a Gwich'in man to "walk well" indicates competency not only in negotiating the physical aspects of the landscape, but also his understanding of place and moment, such as an ability to successfully hunt in the area and provide for his community. She maintains, "landscape... is a partner in the business of living." (203)

Johnson admits she is unable to ascertain if the ethnoecological perspective she so passionately describes can be combined with the western scientific technologies in the communities she studied. (215) This is not only a question of the compatibility of epistemologies, but includes the political landscape involved in the many-faceted land claims processes. First Nations perceive the landscape as an integrated entity, yet are also expected to address specific issues of fishing, or logging as separate and unrelated issues. For some this unresolved question might represent a weakness of the work, while others may be intrigued by the possibilities she briefly mentions. (213–215)

This work is not designed for a reader with little knowledge of the First Nations people Johnson discusses. She expects familiarity with cultural practices such as the ownership of stories, the significance of specific resources, and patterns of land usage. Much of this text is densely packed with minute details that could easily have become overwhelming. However, Johnson skillfully lightens the tone with references to the stories that inform the data and personal reflections. She is careful to give credit to the Elders and others who shared their wisdom with her. Further, although the text examines peoples of northwestern North America, Johnson situates her study in the larger examination of indigenous epistemologies. She maintains that despite diversity in the biological landscapes, many indigenous cultures share commonalities in their relations to the land through "the integration of the sacred or spiritually powerful, with other aspects of the lived world." (206) As well, these peoples are also grappling with the problem of incorporating geographical technologies into their legal and political arguments.

The book has a physical presence. It is printed on glossy paper that serves as the perfect, if rather heavy, medium for the numerous colour and black and white photographs, maps and drawings accompanying the text. These illustrations are an invaluable tool demonstrating the concepts Johnson describes. For example, photographs convey the difference between "hilly water" (38) and "swelling water" (39) on the Skeena River. A map indicates the relation of berry patches to the location of village sites where the Gitksan and Witsuwit'en territories intersect. Johnson depicts an idealized Witsuwit'en landscape containing trails, beaver dams, moose feeding areas, swamps, and lakes. She includes both indigenous and English terms on all of the plates. These representations offer a

physical translation of the text especially useful for a non-indigenous person lacking familiarity with northern landscapes.

The curious title refers to the First Nations' perception of a trail as more than a physical route to a specific destination. According to Johnson, indigenous peoples imbue the trail with personal history and oral narratives. (41) Thus, a trail is not only a physical route, but also a connection to the history and significance of the landscape. In much the same way, a traveler's path reflects not only movement through the terrain, but also traverses the cultural and sacred geography of the land. Johnson employs this metaphor throughout the text as both a method for the non-indigenous reader to begin to understand the indigenous cultural landscape as well as a reflection of her own personal journey of "un-learning," revising her academic and scientific knowledge with indigenous perspectives. (3)

KATHRYN MCKAY

Simon Fraser University

Tom Warner, *Losing Control: Canada's Social Conservatives in the Age of Rights* (Toronto: Between the Lines 2010)

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS (especially access to abortion services), lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans rights, sex work, sex and safer sex education in the schools all continue to be major flashpoints in battles between the socially and morally conservative right-wing and progressive social movements. Even when we thought these battles were won and settled long ago there continues to be a resilient conservative opposition to gender and sexual liberation movements. As someone actively involved in these progressive sex and political struggles it has sometimes seemed like the moral conservative movements will just never go away. In *Losing Control* Tom Warner provides

us with an important history and analysis of the moral conservative right wing our progressive social change movements are up against and why they can be such formidable and persistent opponents.

An activist himself in gay rights and related struggles, especially through his long and important involvement in the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Ontario, Warner provides us with an invaluable mapping and tracing out of relationships among the different currents within this moral conservative right-wing, ranging from Protestant and Roman Catholic evangelical activists, to powerful actors in the Conservative government including Stephen Harper and Jason Kenney. He introduces us to many of the cast of characters animating this right-wing. Warner also begins to detail connections between social conservatives and broader right-wing politics.

Warner's important argument is that the social movements and social transformations of the 1960s and 1970s (to which I would add the continuing transformations within neoliberal capitalism) that influence gender, sexual and familial relations have provoked significant counter-movements of right-wing evangelical Christians organizing at more community levels and also within established political parties and state institutions. These groups have attempted to re-assert patriarchal and heterosexist relations in the face of feminist and queer revolts and broader social transformations. Our social movements with the support of allies, including by the 1980s major sections of the union movement, were able to make significant progress in achieving formal legal rights and equality on a number of fronts, especially with the shift in Canadian state legal formation signalled by the Charter and its equality rights provisions. The Charter created a much more favourable terrain of struggle for formal legal rights, making it possible to

challenge laws on constitutional grounds if they conflicted with equality rights. Warner characterizes this new terrain of struggle and advancement as the "Age Of Rights," which I come back to more critically later on.

In the context of our social movements, the coalitions we built, and the Charter, the moral conservatives began to lose control of the agenda regarding important aspects of the regulation of sexuality and gender relations, and suffered a series of important defeats, most notably regarding women's legal access to abortion and lesbian and gay rights. In response they built a persistent long-term movement to try to seize back the agenda but fortunately with only limited success so far. While the major moral conservative groups have not had much success in bringing about their stated objectives of an end to women's access to abortion services and prohibiting lesbian and gay rights, they are also present in and have friends, allies and supporters in very powerful places within established political parties and state relations which has allowed them to both begin to push back progressive social change movements and also to make the terrain of struggle more difficult for our movements. While the moral conservatives are frustrated with the slow pace of the more official conservative incremental strategy of slowly trying to re-establish a moral conservative agenda they have provided much of the political and social momentum for the success of this strategy.

Moral conservatives have played a part in the cutting of the Court Challenges Program which had been used by social justice groups to push forward some of our struggles on the legal front; in the pushing for cuts to funding for women's groups including for work on reproductive and lesbian rights; in the adoption of the youth pornography law which has operated to deny young people access

to safer sex and sexual information and knowledge; in the criminalization of communication for the purposes of prostitution which has opened street prostitutes up to more violence; in the raising of the sexual age of consent to 16 which has done nothing to protect young people from sexual violence but has prevented them from getting the safer sex and other sexual knowledge they need; in the continuing of efforts to restrict sexuality education in the schools; in the removal of abortion from Canada's maternal health initiatives leaving women worldwide at risk of death and injury from unsafe abortions, most recently in the defunding of International Planned Parenthood. Warner warns us quite correctly that we cannot ignore the moral conservative right-wing and that we need to take it very seriously indeed since it still may still be possible for it to seize control of the agenda and to hold back the progress of our movements. In response we must both pay attention to those on the right as formidable opponents and also confront them with "organizing uncompromising opposition to their disturbingly retrograde moral agenda." (250) As Warner tells us this struggle is far from over.

Warner details many of the struggles since the 1960s between progressive gender and sexual political movements, on the one hand, and the moral conservatives, on the other. This includes the battles between the anti-choice right-wing, which he sometimes gives ground to unfortunately by referring to them as "pro-life" forces, and pro-choice feminists. Here a broader socialist feminist reproductive rights analysis would have been very helpful in broadening out the analysis Warner develops.

One of the areas moral conservatives have been most successful in, in part precisely because of the weakness of the left and sex political movements in this area, is in relation to schooling and sexuality

education. They have often been successful in using the rhetoric of “parent’s rights” to restrict and limit what young people can learn in the schools, about bodies, eroticism, and relationships. In Ontario in 2010 their mobilization led the provincial government to withdraw its proposals for revision of the sex education curriculum. In all these areas they continue to shape the social relations of struggle in which we need to engage.

Despite its major insights Warner’s analysis of the “age of rights” is limited and one-sided in not recognizing the limitations of the very rights that have been won. The form these rights have been given to us in is not always what we were struggling for. We wanted social equality and the ending of sexism and heterosexism but what we have gained is far more limited. Central to this limiting has been the ways that the Charter has been used to steer struggles toward a legal rights direction and away from other possible ways of organizing. In this sense the advent of the Charter has reshaped our struggles, allowing us to move forward in some areas but not in others. This “age of rights” is only about certain types of rights, with a focus on formal legal equality and not substantive social equality. These formal rights, while they are crucial victories, do not really get at the social roots of sexism and heterosexism which continue to be produced in our society. In many areas we now have our formal rights but continue to face very substantive forms of oppression and inequality. Often when you scratch the surface of liberal tolerance there is still a rapid mobilization of sexism and heterosexism. This is also what gives continuing life and vitality to the moral conservative right-wing.

This “age of rights” has also benefited some women and some gays and lesbians far more than others. In general white, middle class women and queers have benefited far more from these rights

than have those of us living in poverty, or those of us who are working class, or those of us who are people of colour, or those of us who are transgendered. This “age of rights” has also helped to create the social conditions for the emergence of new middle class strata in our communities that can be integrated into neoliberal capitalism. In addressing moral conservatism we need to move beyond a politics of legal rights to a politics of substantive social equality and a meeting of people’s needs and desires.

Warner’s impressive progressive and human rights commitments are also limited by his general lack of an anti-capitalist and anti-racist perspective. He does not really address class relations and the impact of class on moral conservative right-wing organizing when class has been central. Right-wing sexual and gender politics are tied into a right-wing racial and class politics and a defence of capitalist social relations. The moral conservative right is profoundly committed to white supremacy, and often its gender and sexual politics are racially coded and profoundly committed to the colonization of indigenous peoples. While this has been investigated in the US context more investigation of this is needed in the Canadian context.

Warner tends to write as if sexuality and gender can be abstracted away from racializing and class relations but in practice these relations are organized in and through each other in a highly mediated fashion. A transformative sexual and gender politics that is able to take on moral conservatism also needs to be an anti-capitalist and anti-racist one. If not it will be limited in its ability to combat the right and can all too easily be accommodated with neoliberal capitalism.

Despite these limitations Warner’s book is an essential must read for all those engaging in battles with the moral conservatives today. *Losing Control*

provides us with valuable ammunition in our struggles.

GARY KINSMAN

Laurentian University

Marco Adria, *Technology and Nationalism* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2010)

CANADIAN TRADITIONS of philosophy and political economy have tracked the connections among national identity, technology and communication, extending back at least to Harold Innis; related ideas come down to us through George Grant, Marshall McLuhan, Ursula Franklin, Arthur Kroker and Maurice Charland. Canadian communication studies thought is characterized by ontological concerns of the place of individuals within the whole, as well as a dialectic between metropolis and margin, within an ongoing focus on nature and space born of a preoccupation with mediation over distances. Although scholarship on technological nationalism has declined since the 1990s, a growing interest in media ecology points to the continuing relevance of understanding the ways that technologies nurture and support social environments and broad changes in patterns of social action.

Marco Adria's *Technology and Nationalism* is grounded in the premise that the technologies and institutions of the modern nation state mediate experience and social relations. Since technology is not a given entity but a complex process of thought and action by users, its design and adoption demand critical deliberation about the kind of society and nation we are or wish to be. The central contribution of this book is its investigation into how practices and discourses on technology actually work to encode and decode social experience in specific context. It offers a detailed account of historical and

contemporary nationalist projects that shaped the place of mediating technology in Canadian society, with an important focus on the dimensions of local and regional cultures as equal players in the development of national policy and identity.

Adria situates his analysis in related modernist concepts of the construction of nationalism and nationality, drawing on the ideas of core thinkers who have proposed that a national, homogeneous culture provides the shared discursive practices and subjective individual relationships that are the basis for industrialization and thus nationalism. If communication is a process mitigated by economic, political and social practices, the social meaning and application of technology, like iterations of social identity, come to be naturalized through discursive and other practices linking social experience with formal institutions. Adria thus refines the modernist concept of nationalism through the argument that the modernist idea of nationalism does not account for the negotiation of social identities and the role of culture and social actors in widely variable conditions and contexts. In Canada, the "mediating and demonstrational uses of technology" have supported a broadly instrumentalist approach suited to commercial, corporate and bureaucratic logics. Adria argues that the logic of nationalist organization in practice seeks the "symbiosis of nation and state in local, regional and national spaces." (94)

The Canadian state's historical adoption of technology as a nationalist project frames the book's case studies. An account of the 1962 Missile Crisis details the controversy over Canada's partnership with the United States in a cold war Ballistic Missile Defence program. As part of the contemporary American military buildup, Canada received a request to station jets and nuclear warheads on Canadian soil.

The reluctance of Prime Minister Diefenbaker to assent led to a debate that developed a discursive framework of national autonomy during which symbols of imported technology became entwined with the question of Canadian self-determination and critical argument that technological development in Canada was shaped by economic and military dependency. Issues of national autonomy and self-determination served the discourse of subsequent cultural programs to define a national social identity. Among critics of the 1960s and 1970s, the destabilization of nationalism by technology inspired both idealism, in the case of George Grant, and pragmatism, in Ramsay Cook. Where Grant lamented the threat of imported technologies to cultural cohesion and democratic citizenship, Cook felt that technological development was justified by the positive effects of advanced industrialization on social equality.

While Cook's view has guided Canadian policy, Adria suggests that Grant's work represents important unexamined questions about national autonomy. Though the missile episode and its fallout fueled a growing nationalism, it presented no real challenge to the legitimacy of the state's participation in technology importation and use, which increased dramatically in the decades to come. In fact, contrary to popular perception and the myth of rejecting nuclear warheads, the nation has long been complicit in BMD programs of development, testing and implementing in numerous international systems. However, the author avoids the position of technological determinism, pointing out that, while technology can constrain autonomy and cultural identity, it is continually redefined and made unpredictable in its effects by a complex assemblage of materials, symbols, actors, networks and developing social relations. Reiterating the argument that the literature on Canadian national culture has

largely not examined practices that connect daily life and narratives or myths, Adria proposes a model explaining how national cultural ideas and projects emerge and take root at regional and local levels. For example, antecedents of nationalism include media capable of supporting a high literate culture in regional spaces. It also relies on demonstration effects concerning the local benefits of the adoption of technology and new organizations. The case studies that follow draw upon this framework to elaborate on how technology has been used in the development of social identity within nationalist logics of organizing.

The province of Alberta, with which many of the chapters are concerned, possesses a well developed social identity drawing in part on regional alienation. While radio became recognized as a crucial cohesive instrument in shaping a national identity during the 1920s and 1930s, the bureaucratic and corporate logics supporting the dominant conception of radio was contested in Alberta. Conceptual space remained for alternative social meanings of the technology as what McLuhan called a "tribal drum," sustaining regional democratic ideologies arising between the wars. Both the Social Credit party and University of Alberta built programs of participatory public deliberation around radio broadcasts. The university's Canadian Farm Radio Forum and Citizen's Forum of the 1930s and 1940s coordinated radio broadcasts with printed materials and contributions from organized discussion groups. The groups discussed social problems of the Depression and postwar reconstruction including the economic system and health services, the latter influencing movements that led to a national health plan. More famously, radio contributed directly to the formation and election of the Social Credit party that would steer Alberta for almost four decades. Evangelist William Aberhart

began to broadcast weekly Bible Institute sermons in the 1920s, shifting with economic decline toward relentless social critique of political and social élites. Like the university forums, radio mobilized and mediated ideas gathered from regional discussion groups, circulated through the postal system and shared with the wider audience. These rhetorical activities were reliant on high literacy levels and the new technology of radio, which also provided an ideological counterpart to the traditional press which typically took an anti-Aberhart stance. Aberhart's methods, which included distributing free radios in rural communities, nurtured a wide audience receptive to the formation of the Social Credit party and its successful election campaign of 1934–1935. Following the election, the opposition demanded an end to the political use of radio and federal policy made broadcasting the subject of state regulation and sovereignty.

The discussion here provides a succinct overview of a tumultuous period of economic and political change in the region, although it would be helpful at this point for a wider audience to have somewhat more information about the history, demographics and resource capacities of the province. The reader's sense of the power of contemporary radio to host a vigorous rhetoric of difference to prevailing nationalist logics would also benefit from a selection of sample broadcast scripts. Overall, though, the study represents an adroit account of how radio anchored media networks of public education, political ideologies, and new technology to powerful social effect. It also strongly supports the core argument that technological practices in regional space directly influenced those in national space.

After the discovery of oil in Alberta in 1947 enabled new economic development strategies and issues around revenue use, in 1954 the Social Credit government created the Alberta Gas Trunk Line

Company Ltd. (later Nova Corporation) as a private organization institutionally linked to the provincial government. The incorporation of resource ownership into the Social Credit ideological framework resonated with Alberta regionalism, long based on the perception that the federal government siphoned off a large share of regional resource benefits. With a monopoly on exporting natural gas, Nova Corp was a visible demonstration of the benefits of individual affinity to principles of regional autonomy and social identity.

The case foreshadows the increasingly corporate bias of the Alberta government over the next decades, and also its investment in communications technology. Nova Corp moved directly into the field of communications when it and the provincial government formed a joint venture in the early 1980s to operate NovAtel, a cellular telephone company. In the 2000s, the internet offered new capacities to connect users across local, regional, national and global spaces. The 2002 National Broadband Task Force proposed linking rural communities with urban economies and public institutions, citing a strong economy as fundamental to nation building. In fact, Alberta was the only province to pursue the 2002 Task Force's ideal of universal access, its 2005 Super Net project combining public and private capital to promote both competition and rural growth. The Super Net was thus constructed with an emphasis on a consumption rather than community model of the internet, parallel to the 19th century business strategy of aligning telegraph and continental railways. Certain potentialities for political, cultural and social uses of mass media were, and are, accordingly curtailed over time.

Examining the implications of the internet for national organization and social identities, Adria notes its capacity to realign what Innis termed monopolies

of knowledge. While government regulation offers protection of pluralism and free expression, the internet's universal rather than local culture tends to escape state power and its primary influence on social identity. The potential of the internet for citizen communication and redefinition of boundaries resonates with the value of autonomy presented by the missile discourse in 1962, the participatory, democratic use of radio for political change in the 1930s and 1940s, and with the impact of regional economies in decision making about resource development.

While these debates concern the roles of national policy, the book extends the understanding of national projects of social mobilization to include the workings of agency and response based in regional identities. Adria repeats the important point that social identity remains shaped not only by virtual connections over national space but by the experience of local and regional place. The currently vigorous and broad scholarship on matters of space and place is obviously relevant here, and readers of this volume would likely be interested in an elaboration of how communication technologies contribute to a lived sense of regional place. As well, the so-called "new regionalism" suggests a less formal response to regional governance involving new partnerships beyond the state, market and civil society. With a fragmentation of metropolitan political authority, and technologies and mechanisms that make interactions between communities less limited by physical location, municipalities and other regional alliances increase in capacity relative to the nation state. As the literature on nationalism increasingly recognizes, the organizational logic of the nation increasingly seems only one among others that include economic, political, technological and cultural patterns.

Taking an instrumentalist approach to technology through history, Canadian

governments at the levels of region and nation alike promote the capacity to involve citizens in marketplace competition and productivity. In response, Adria reiterates the call to develop new ways of thinking about culture and social identity beyond their market relevance. Historical critiques of technology and nationalism can inform public consultation and participatory decision making in managing the applications of new technologies to challenges of national life.

Technology and Nationalism is clearly written and accessible while nuanced and reflective on a complex theme. The title is unfortunately generic and does not impart an immediate sense of the specific argument and contribution of the text, perhaps to the detriment of capturing the attention of a broad readership. As well, most chapters are drawn from previously published articles, which results in sometimes repetitive presentations of central ideas over the course of the discussion. However, this framework also serves to reinforce the narrative thread and to propel the argument that links the case studies, which enhances its appeal as a potential text for students of Canadian studies and history, political science and, most obviously, media and communication studies. The discussion of specific Alberta histories is also a welcome addition to the renewed interest in the region among scholars, as well, of course, of being directly relevant to a broader audience with an interest in the impact of the province's booming oil economy. *Technology and Nationalism* is a timely contribution, both in its historical consciousness and critique of the relevance of Canadian philosophy and experience to understanding the current and future place of mediating technology in our society. It is a worthwhile addition to the literature warning that technology is us.

KAREN WALL
Athabasca University

Robert Fossier, *The Axe and the Oath: Ordinary Life in the Middle Ages.*

Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press 2010)

WHAT CAN ONE make of a book in which the author, a distinguished European medieval historian, confesses at its end that he is not sure who his intended audience is, that his book most likely is “simplistic for the erudite, confusing for the student, [and] obscure for the non-initiate”? (384) The book contains no footnotes, no index, and no bibliography, although Fossier states frequently that he relies heavily on archeology and iconography to construct his narrative. Specialists in medieval history will recognize the author’s erudition, but his style is informal, the author seemingly engaged in a casual conversation with the reader.

Readers of this journal most likely will be interested in his “materialistic” focus on the “poor everyday man” (xii), the “little people” of the Middle Ages (his story covers the 10th to the 14th centuries, mostly in France), and most likely will find the first part of the book more satisfying than the second. Fossier divides his book in two, Part One covering “Man and the World,” and Part Two “Man in Himself.” The first part describes man’s body and environment, while the second reaches for his brain and his soul.

Fossier’s starting point is “naked man,” the “human beast” whose “life is an unceasing combat to avoid death.” (xi) A fragile, ungainly being, man the animal has only one “exceptional zoological” (5) advantage over other animals, his opposable thumbs and thus his tool-wielding capability. From this unflattering portrait, Fossier explores what perils the environment holds for this creature – Chapter One is largely about illnesses – and then leads us through Chapter Two, “The Ages of Life.” We learn that medieval man was amply but poorly fed (a high carbohydrate

and protein poor diet consisting of bread, beans, peas and lentils, and little meat), thus causing, in part, his vulnerability to the threatening forces of nature. Further reflecting his materialistic premise, Fossier draws a direct link between the fragility of the human condition amid uncontrollable perils, and the importance of family. Man alone was lost, so he fashioned a “protective outer layer” (107) of blood relations, friends and neighbours.

It comes as no surprise that medieval man was “born to toil,” (117) nor is it surprising, again given the precarious state of human existence, that food-related activities represented half of the known trades, and scarcely one in ten occupations involved “services.” More controversial is Fossier’s description of the meaning of work for everyday man. Competition as we know it, he contends, did not exist, for the objective of work was “the common profit” and “good commerce.” (120) Work, quite simply, was “the fruit of an effort and involved a result.” (121) Perhaps this was true for the isolated villager, but it is hard to accept these notions in the thriving towns of the High Middle Ages. “Little people” populated these areas as well, after all, and we have ample evidence that a market economy was operating there.

From his focus on the body of man, Fossier shifts to the environment, “Nature,” in Chapter Three and “The Animals” in Four. Always with an eye cocked toward the precarious condition of man in the face of a hostile environment, Fossier explores the elemental importance of fire and water. “Fire was at the heart of every human group,” (157) its control essential for survival. The same could be said for water. Testimony to their importance, both were laden with life-giving, purifying symbolic importance. Fossier remains true to his materialistic focus in his description of the “products of the earth” (164) that sustained life.

Of course, these came from agriculture (grains, grasses and vines), but Fossier also devotes considerable attention to the “forest, necessary and nourishing.” (180)

Naked man’s natural fragility made him a fearful creature, instinctively eyeing his environment with a defensive knowledge that its perils could harm and kill at a moment’s notice. Animals, only a handful of which were domesticated and no more since Neolithic times, posed constant threats, and the repeated scorn of animals in popular tales and insults reflect fear, as “scorn is a palliative for fear.” (188) So what was man’s relationship with the beasts? “Utilize and destroy” (202) is Fossier’s succinct answer, a reflection of a broader unfortunate characteristic of Fossier’s man: “a taste for killing that inhabits the soul of man.” (211)

Fossier admits that he remains “more persuaded of the role of horseshoes than that of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas in the march of humanity.” (221–222) What, then, can such a materialist approach offer about the mind and the soul of medieval everyday man? Fossier admits he finds this uncomfortable terrain, but the link he sees between the material and the mental is fear. “All culture, even all civilization, is a struggle against fear – a struggle to guard oneself from danger from any quarter, from hunger, from pain.” (228) Fear drove him toward life in groups, and it impelled him into the arms of Christianity and the “universal quest for eternal salvation.” (256)

Fossier’s exploration of knowledge – its nature (memory, imagination, measurement) and acquisition (by imitation, writing, schooling) – seems a detour from the central thrust of the second part of the book, and one is inclined to agree with his own estimation of this chapter that “few surveys have left me as unsatisfied as this one.” (347) It is only when we turn to the soul in the final chapter of the book that we return to the key link between the

natural and mental aspects of Fossier’s man: fear and God. “The extreme weakness of man’s means of defense against nature...plunge him into the trammels of religiosity,” (350) and in a pervasive Christian world this meant a God who was “the supreme form of superiority of spirit over matter.” (349) Such a religion was precisely what a fearful, vulnerable creature demanded. For Fossier, this is “the key to the Middle Ages,” and perhaps for our own time, for he is “persuaded that medieval man is us.” (383)

How can one critique such an idiosyncratic book? The English version of the book is oddly titled (the original is *Ces gens du Moyen Age*, literally *These People of the Middle Ages*), for it treats axes and oaths only briefly and in passing. More essential is Fossier’s pessimistic assessment of medieval man, one he knows will annoy many readers for it stakes out territory quite at odds with many humanistic perspectives on the human condition. Readers may find his materialistic explanation for religious belief channeled through fear equally disturbing. Accepting Fossier’s argument requires granting him the validity of a premise that one can locate historically a natural man by stripping away layers of culture he wraps himself in. But should we grant him this premise? Is there really an archetypal everyday medieval man? Such a construct is useful to think about, but specialists of the Middle Ages no doubt will see ubiquitous exceptions to this type. But maybe it is enough that, as Fossier writes at the end of this book, he “felt like saying all this, and that is enough.” (384)

JAMES R. FARR
Purdue University

Michael C. Connolly, *Seated by the Sea: The Maritime History of Portland, Maine, and Its Irish Longshoremen* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida 2010)

FOR THE SONS of Ireland, crossing the Atlantic in mid-19th century often meant entering a world of hard and hazardous labour. Landing in New Orleans, New York City, Boston, St. John (New Brunswick), Halifax (Nova Scotia) or Quebec City, scores of them found a living among the coasts and wharfs of these thriving port cities. Mainly Catholics, these Irish reacted strongly to exploitation by building local longshoremen's benevolent societies, which, by the turn of the century, began to reach out to the International Longshoremen Association's coast-wide unionism. Portland dockers followed a similar route.

In this book, Michael C. Connolly goes beyond his 1988 PhD dissertation on Portland longshoremen by weaving together the dockers' history and Portland's strenuous but unfortunate quest for commercial prosperity. The city rose "on a sheltered, ice-free, deep-water port nearer to Europe than any other major American port." (24) Not surprisingly, port activities grew by leaps and bounds. Yet, at the end of World War I, commerce started to shrink, driving down longshoremen's job opportunities and their union's fortune, till nowadays the labour's body is only a shadow of its former self.

Connolly's investigation makes use of an abundance of primary and secondary sources. Yet, the reader will rapidly notice that the core data is based on Portland Longshoremen's Benevolent Society's records and minutes (1880 to 1980s), oral interviews with ten dockers (realized by the author between 1982 and 1986) and some research in local newspapers. Precious data on Portland's imports and exports, on wharfs improvements and on the ethnic and racial structures of

its population, are also derived from publications of the port authorities, the City of Portland and the American Census Office. The final product is a long term analysis of Portland's port and freight handling starting in 1633, that is to say the arrival of the first Europeans, until 2009, with a special emphasis "on the critical years of 1880–1923." (3)

The first of this six-chapters book paints an overall picture of the port of Portland until the Civil War. The city became a major exporting centre for its rapidly developing hinterland. The completion of a narrow-gauge rail link with Montréal in 1853, under the authority of the Grand Trunk Railway, resulted in a major boost and Portland became the metropolis winter port. There is not much emphasis on longshoremen in this section, but we learn that the Irish, in the famine and post famine years, rapidly replaced African Americans, dominating the longshoremen trade. The regular steamship service between Portland and Liverpool, via Queenstown (Cork County, Ireland) accelerated this process by shipping Canadian grain east and, on the return passage, bringing Irish immigrants on affordable passage.

Under the title "Black Fades to Green on the Waterfront: Nineteenth-Century Social, Racial, and Ethnic Change," the second chapter looks at the impact of this racial and ethnic upheaval. Strengthened by their numbers, the Irish established a Longshoremen's Benevolent Association in the mid-1860s, thus following the example of their brothers in New York, Boston and New Orleans. Not much is known about this organization except that its members struck for a pay increase in May and July 1864, and that the body had a permanent meeting place two years later. In 1880, the Portland longshoremen cemented their alliance by incorporating as the Portland Longshoremen's Benevolent Society (PLSBS). Connolly rightly

argues that because African Americans constituted such a tiny fraction of the city's global population, the PLSBS members were able to officially exclude them, in 1881, by adopting a bylaw to that effect. Until the end of the century, the PLSBS increased its membership (868 members in 1900) and felt strong enough to maintain its independence from larger longshore organizations.

In the third chapter, on the turn of the 20th century, the author mainly addresses commercial problems that haunt the city's longshoremen and the shipping interests. Portland depended excessively on Canadian grain exports and lacked exports stemming from Maine itself. This brought pressure from the Board of Trade, the local shipping agents and even the PLSBS to improve the waterfront. But, argues Connolly without significant supporting facts, the growing tourist industry diverted local energy and capital. The next chapter dwells on the PLSBS fortune. Reductions on Canadian grain exports cut membership in half between 1900 and 1910. As recovery settled in, longshoremen confronted stevedoring firms and shipping companies, in 1911 and again in 1913, about salaries and work rules. The threat of strike-breakers and rerouting cargoes to other ports brought them to affiliate with the International Longshoremen Association (ILA) within two months of the conclusion of the second strike. Within this new protective fold, the old PLSBS, renamed local 861, managed to enforce local work rules and increase membership to a historical peak of 1366 individuals in 1919.

But things started to get ugly. In chapter five, Connolly stresses that Canadian grain exports fell dramatically between 1919 and 1923, with the end of WWI and the nationalization of the bankrupt Grand Trunk Railway. Henceforth, Canadian grain was exported increasingly from Halifax and Saint John, and

disappeared altogether from Portland in 1934. Portland's shipping suffered as a consequence. Pushed to strike to ward off a wage reduction, in 1921, local 861 fought confidently under the ILA umbrella but needed the mediation of Bishop Walsh to achieve a compromise.

The last section dwells succinctly on the port's declining business, from the 1920s until the end of the 20th century. Portland opened its first publicly owned waterfront facility, the Maine State Pier, in 1923. But it was too little, too late. ILA 861 settled in for a protracted decline, only momentarily reversed by WWII. The introduction of containers and the standardization of the new shipping mode, from the 1950s onward, increased the volume by which goods were handled, but required less physical labour. As small a port as Portland became less and less viable. Membership of ILA 861, we are told, dropped dramatically to 231 members in 1958, 100 in 1970, and stagnated afterwards.

In his conclusion, Connolly recalls that the Irish longshoremen of Portland for "at least two or three generations" had "guaranteed work in their new home." (182) Things got sore after 1923, with the rupture of the "Montreal connection." Where put the blame? He answers, "while Portland was responsible to a large degree for its maritime decline, it was simultaneously the victim of circumstances somewhat beyond its control." (184) The book is then brought to a close by a surprisingly lengthy musing on the port's improvements projects and initiatives, started during the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Scholars who remember reading in the introduction that the "book represents a social history of a relatively large group of predominantly ethnic and unskilled labourers. It is essentially a study of this seemingly powerless group and its efforts to adapt and survive in the potentially

hostile environment along Maine's rugged coast" (2) will probably raise their eyebrows at the end. Portland dockers are expected to shine more strongly throughout the book. The union records could have been utilized to produce a more detailed view of PLSBS everyday experience including frequencies of meetings over months and years, overall views of the participation rate at meetings, the duration of these gatherings, and so on. Also, only a couple of words are said about PLSBS/ILA 861's relations to other Portland's labour bodies. We are not told, for example, how exactly it connected to the Maine State Federation of Labor and the Portland Central Labor Union. (135) Connolly is also silent on Portland unionized longshoremen participation in local Labour Day festivities. Analyses of strikes are, further, a bit sketchy: strikers' organization on the wharfs is unclear, and longshoremen's proverbial use of violence and intimidation appear to be downplayed. Finally, a quick look at the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, through ProQuest, disclose three strikes that were omitted from the study (those of 1908, 1955 and 1957). Connolly bravely opened an uncharted field in Portland history. But there is still work to be done on its longshoremen.

PETER BISCHOFF

University of Ottawa

Alison K. Hoagland, *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2010)

COMPANY HOUSING along with the company town and the company store are touchstones of control in the history of mining communities. Management policies, be they autocratic, paternalistic, or otherwise, found expression in the places miners slept and ate. Traditionally, housing

in mining communities served to attract and retain miners, especially married men with families. In general, the more of the housing stock controlled by the companies, the greater their control over the lives of the workers. The places where miners ate, washed, slept and eliminated were as important to the men and their families as the places they worked. Given its total control of the landscape beyond the scope of the Michigan mining companies, Hoagland argues that paternalism as practised on the Copper Range between 1890 and 1918 was 'a two-way street' allowing workers to make rational choices in where they lived, what rights they held to their residences, and what conveniences they might claim as their due.

Mine Towns is a useful and engaging study of company housing available to miners and others employed in the Upper Michigan copper mines. The majority of the existing studies of miners and housing focus on coal mines in which the company town was the norm. In most of the coal camps, there were no independent housing opportunities, public or private. The material culture of a single industry town was limited. One employer and one place to buy the necessities made for a limited existence. The mixed pattern of land ownership in the Michigan copper mines and the number of different companies providing housing for employees allowed a more nuanced approach to housing, furnishings, and the other trappings of life in a hard-rock mining community.

The mining companies never exercised complete control over housing in the Michigan copper fields. Private property and self-governing communities were mingled with mine properties. By 1913, slightly more than 3,500 houses were rented to employees by the 21 active mining companies. The three largest mines – Calumet & Hecla, Quincy, and Copper Range – accounted for about half of the

company-owned rental housing stock. The earliest homes built as early as 1848 were rude affairs, constructed out of necessity as the mines opened raw land. By the early 20th century company housing had changed from small, two-room log affairs to larger frame structures with more rooms, frequently on two floors, and some creature comforts. The amenities available to the renters changed over time. Privies and the wash pail were increasingly replaced by running water and indoor toilets. Mine workers and their families in company housing could start obtaining other amenities previously reserved to the middle class. The installation of the three piece bath – toilet, tub, and sink – set the standard, as the full bath usually required the presence of other, necessary pleasantries such as hot water, sewage, and electric power.

Mine workers could occupy company housing by various means, which Hoagland identifies as strategies amenable to negotiation between company and employee. While renting a company house was the primary means of occupying company property, some elected to rent only the land and erect their own houses, paying only a ground rent. Most rented the house and land. Some mining families capitalized on the company's investment in housing and transformed their homes into boarding houses for other miners, thereby increasing the family income. Amenities such as indoor toilets were not installed uniformly. Rather, individual renters would petition the company for newer facilities. At first, many of the installations were ad hoc; toilets were located in basements accessible by ladders. Separate bathrooms came later. The examples of requests for improvements reveal a marked deference to the company. Even when renters obviously felt the new conveniences were theirs by right, be it a toilet or electrical power, there was an assumed need on the

part of the renter to demonstrate the utility of the improvement, the worthiness of the petitioner, and the long-term benefit to the company.

Getting a company house was not a sure thing. Prospective tenants reminded the company how long they had been waiting and how long they had been working for the company. Ten years was not uncommon. Long and loyal service was usually essential to obtain company housing. Company housing was cheaper, closer to the work site, and only available to families. These benefits were not dispersed casually. Since the housing stock was always smaller than the demand, there was a long waiting list.

Hoagland's study provides a typology of housing constructed by the companies. The early two-room plan gave way to salt boxes, T-plans, and a variety of entry ways and roof plans. The floor plans became more complex as kitchens were set off from living areas and dining rooms. Clothes closets and water closets were added as the miners' standards of living – as seen through the eyes of management – improved. *Mine Towns* also provides a close discussion of how housing policies were implemented. As often as not, housing was seen as a necessary burden on the mine operators, not simply as an instrument of control. Still, the hierarchical relationship between management and miner was obvious. Within certain limits, renters were able to negotiate the details of their rental arrangements to their advantage. They were also able to utilize the housing in ways not intended by the company. While selling liquor from a rental property was frowned upon, selling accommodations to boarders was not. Most important, a miner's rights in a house were dependent on continued employment in good standing.

The threat of eviction was ever present during strikes and other labour

confrontations. Yet, during the 1913 strike there were few strikers thrown out of company houses. In part, injunctions stayed the hand of the sheriff; in part, some of the companies, notably Calumet & Hecla, declined to evict strikers as part of their response to the strike. In fact, there would have been few strikers to evict as there were few strikers renting from the company. The long wait to obtain housing on the company, the selection process, the lower costs of living associated with company housing, and a policy of rewarding loyal employees meant few strikers called a company house home.

Comparisons can be made between the Michigan mines' housing policies and those of other metal mines throughout the west. Boom towns are of interest in this regard, but the true comparison is with longer-lived mining communities. Was company housing usually available alongside private sources or was greater control through housing policies the norm? How did western mining companies in Kimberley, British Columbia, or Bingham, Utah, house their miners and their families? Do the Michigan mines provide a template or a point of departure to discuss miners' housing in Butte, Montana, or the less accessible copper mines at Anyox, British Columbia? Hoagland's study provides a point of departure for such studies.

LOGAN HOVIS

United States National Park Service

Jonathan H. Rees, *Representation and Rebellion: The Rockefeller Plan at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 1914–1942* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press 2010)

THE BLOOD SPILLED during the notorious Ludlow Massacre, nadir of the 1913–14 Great Coalfield War in Colorado, is

well remembered. The state's National Guard, functioning as gun thugs for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I), consigned eleven women and children to fiery deaths as they cowered in makeshift tent encampment. Even by the troubled standards of early 20th century industrial relations, such incidents of raw class warfare amounted to a black mark on CF&I primary shareholder the Rockefeller family. Given that these events occurred less than a decade after the Rockefellers found need to rehabilitate their public stature following Ida Tarbell's scathing investigation of corporate malfeasance, published in 1904 as *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, the deaths in the Colorado demanded a new approach.

John D. Rockefeller Jr., scion of the family's vast empire, took up the task with considerable vigour and introduced the nation's first employee representation plan. The Colorado Industrial Plan, more commonly the 'Rockefeller Plan,' functioning between 1915 and 1942, became widely influential as North American businesses looked to secure the cooperation, rather the animosity, of their workers. Jonathan H. Rees sets out to analyze the Rockefeller Plan, and, in effect, rehabilitate our general perceptions of what many scholars perceive as the problematic alternative of company unions to bona fide trade union representation. For this, Rees draws upon a colossal stash of 21,000 linear feet of CF&I records abandoned when the company declared bankruptcy and liquidated its remaining assets in 1993. The study that results from this inquiry raises a worthwhile set of questions regarding the efficacy of employee representation plans. CF&I merits scrutiny as it was Colorado's largest employer by the 1920s and comprised coal mines, lime and calcite quarries, a major steel mill, and a railroad.

In *Representation and Rebellion*, John D. Rockefeller Jr. emerges as a stubborn

paternalist determined to assuage inherent class tensions brought on by monopoly capitalism. This proved something of a quixotic endeavour as the gap between employer and miners remained. In the end, Junior may not have enriched the bottom line as much as restored some lustre to the Rockefeller name tarnished by his father's ruthless business actions. Understandably, as this is not the focus of the book, Rees offers perfunctory coverage of the Ludlow Massacre itself. In order to grasp the sheer brutality of the Great Coalfield War, and why CF&I turned away from carnage to negotiation, *Representation and Rebellion* should be read in conjunction with the useful analysis of either Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (2008) or Scott Martelle, *Blood Passion: The Ludlow Massacre and Class War in the American West* (2007).

Many are aware of the Canadian element to this history as a young William Lyon Mackenzie King was retained by the Rockefellers to draft the language of employee representation. While King's formative experiences with Jane Addams, Thorstein Veblen, and the British Fabians is noted, it is surprising that Rees did not consult *Industry and Humanity* (1918) for additional clues into the mind of the advisor who so influenced Junior on industrial relations. Mackenzie King's peculiar amalgam of organic societal unity, managerial coercion, mysticism, and Venn diagrams affords insight into the prescription offered to mitigate the CF&I dilemma.

Rees states his goal was to offer a nuanced appraisal of the Rockefeller scheme as the model for employee representation plans, while avoiding the conventional endorsements of business scholars or the predictable dismissals of most labour historians. Indeed, with the advent of right-to-work legislation in the 1940s and decades of decline in

union American density, many might now endorse a Rockefeller Plan in their workplace. To a large extent, the book is successful and the historical role of ERPs is better appreciated. Notably, the thoughts of the CF&I workers are included and this provides a unique insider perspective on the functioning of the plan. Upon completing *Representation and Rebellion*, one is less inclined to dismiss company unions (a term Rees prefers to avoid) as cynical class cooptation. Yet the CF&I plan failed to prevent independent unions. The United Mine-workers of America, who along with the Industrial Workers of the World were one the groups at the centre of the 1913–14 struggles, gained official recognition by 1933. The ERP, however, could not thwart strikes, such as the 1919 walkout, nor could it prevent further massacres at the hands of the Colorado National Guard, as witnessed in 1927.

The Rockefeller Plan offered much more than an alternative to miners as it also involved the CF&I steel mill at Pueblo, where workers attained the eight-hour day by 1918. Other forms of company largesse included improvements in health and safety, a Steel Works YMCA, CF&I 'field days' and picnics. These were tangible gains in an era that lacked statutory protections. In this respect, the ERP straddled the 19th and 20th century concepts of paternalism and more modern business administration. Some workers were even so emboldened as to voice their opinions during stockholders' meetings. That form of participatory democracy met with less enthusiasm from the managers. John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s notion of creating "something absolutely democratic," while laudable, was never fully achieved. Junior's plan would ultimately be deemed a failure, not the least for the shareholders who often claimed the soft-peddled CF&I did not earn sufficient return on investment.

In *Representation and Rebellion*, Rees observes that ERPs can help bring about independent unions even in workplace settings where such an outcome was deemed undesirable. Perhaps this is true, but if ERPs were the carrot, no doubt the stick was unyielding corporate resistance. The Rockefeller Plan had some currency after World War I as worker productivity and cooperation were paramount to the home front, but by the 1920s, the open shop movement encapsulated by the National Association of Manufacturers 'American Plan' demonstrated that union busting was far from passé. The New Deal era introduced overdue reforms such as the National Industrial Recovery Act (1933) and National Labor Relations Act (1935) that led to efflorescence in union organization. This momentum continued into World War II. It was during the latter period that a 1942 US Supreme Court ruling on the statutory test of independence invalidated the Rockefeller Plan in favour of the United Steelworkers Union.

Employee representation was never enough and all the advisory boards and corporate welfare benefits could not alter the imperative of dialectical materialism. Exploitation by any other name is still what it is. Rees does refer to more recent subsequent employee representation initiatives, such as the appealingly named (but not implemented) Teamwork for Employers and Managers legislation. Call it TEAM, Quality of Work Life (QWL), Total Quality Management (TQM), or Japanese-style *Kaizen*; the workers' skepticism may well be understandable. In 1997, following CF&I's demise, new management at the Minnequa Works engaged in a bitter seven-year strike against the United Steelworkers, which claims the use of replacement workers and unfair labour practices.

PETER S. MCINNIS

St Francis Xavier University

Teresa Gowan, *Hobos, Hustlers and Backsliders: Homeless in San Francisco* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2010)

SINCE THE LATE 1970s homelessness in North America has grown substantially. Over this period research has not only documented the extent to which homelessness has increased, but has offered a range of explanations that purport how to make sense of the phenomenon. According to Gowan, these explanations can be categorized into three categories – “sin talk,” “sick talk” and “system talk” – which will be further explained below. In many respects her rich and extremely well written ethnography is organized around these particular constructions.

Grounded in an astonishing 1,700 hours of fieldwork carried out in San Francisco between the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, Gowan's book follows the lives of a group of homeless men, mainly African American. The book is comprised of three parts, contains seven chapters, and is informed by an ethnographic discourse analysis. Cowan adopts discourse analysis because it “opens a path around social science's interminable tussle between the concept of a self-reproducing culture of poverty and the nearly as old counter argument that deviant practices among the poor represent common sense adaptations to difficult circumstances.” As a way of by-passing this apparent worn out debate, Gowan's text is intended to reveal how “competing discourses on poverty and homelessness affect poor people themselves, organizing and defining their existence and leading them to present themselves in archetypal terms upon the stage of the street” (xx).

Chapter 1 is an excellent review of the key shifts that have taken place in responses to poverty and homelessness in the United States, mainly from the New Deal to today. Most interesting about

this chapter is the claim that the anti-homelessness movement is now a victim of its own success. The growth of emergency shelters and drug rehabilitations programs, within a context of little government intervention and a charity ideology, has institutionalized the problem of homelessness, doing little to prevent it. Gowan goes so far as to say that even in more professionalized, non-secular shelters, the homeless are treated in patronizing and disrespectful ways. Moreover, the growth of the emergency shelter system movement has not, contrary to expectations, given rise to affordable housing. This claim applies equally well to the situation in Canada.

It is now well known that the homeless are a heterogeneous population, and the homeless in San Francisco are no exception. The street people that Gowan spent a considerable amount of time with were recyclers. Perhaps the most interesting and perceptive parts of the book focus on men who walk the streets of San Francisco daily with shopping carts in tow, collecting various recyclable materials which are then taken to depots in exchange for small amounts of cash. Interestingly, Gowan argues that this was the group of homeless men who were the most likely to adopt a 'system analysis' to explain their poverty, pointing to lack of affordable housing and decent employment opportunities. After all, the recyclers came to define their lives in terms of the work they did. Being engaged in physically demanding work which resulted in modest financial rewards led to the creation of occupational identity, as opposed to a homeless identity. Thus, unlike other homeless people in the city who were caught up in the shelter/drug rehabilitation system and came to understand their homelessness in terms of *sick talk*, blaming mental health problems and employing addiction language, or through *sin talk*, blaming the hustlers

(drug dealers and petty criminals) for their lack of homes, the recyclers believed that it was not their fault that they were homeless. At the same time, however, they also felt that there were zero credible options available to them in order to get off the streets. Such findings will be of interest to readers familiar with the literature on class consciousness.

In other sections of the book the author does a fine job linking together the lived experiences of homeless men in San Francisco with a number of important issues that have been associated with urban poverty and homelessness, including policing, incarceration, deindustrialization, neoliberalism, medicalization, and urban renewal. In the conclusion of the book Gowan returns to many of these concepts in light of the Obama presidential victory, where she expresses careful optimism that measures may now be taken to reduce inequality and social suffering in the United States.

Absent from the conclusion, however, is a discussion about how the findings of discourse analysis make a contribution to the debate about the culture of poverty thesis versus the counter argument suggesting that the survival practices engaged in by the poor represent common sense adaptations to harsh material conditions. As someone who is familiar with this literature, I was a little disappointed that Gowan did not return to this discussion at the end of the book. Such an absence may reveal that a postmodern approach for understanding homelessness needs to be thought through more systematically. This weakness aside, I thoroughly enjoyed reading the book and it should be essential reading for anyone interested in the political economy of homelessness.

BILL O'GRADY
University of Guelph

Sean Wilentz, *Bob Dylan in America*
(Doubleday: New York 2010)

WHEN BOB DYLAN played his first Massey Hall concert in Toronto in November 1964, he was already a star among the new “folk singers” of the time. He had released his first four albums, with their mix of folk and blues, ballads, broadsides, personal whimsy, imagistic poetry and social commentary. He had written a score of searing anthems and other songs that are permanently embedded in the memory tracks of the early 1960s. My own vague recollection is that the Toronto show was at least partly promoted by the Young Socialists, and the *Toronto Star* reviewer described it as “almost like a peace rally,” observing that various factions in the audience – “pacifists, socialists, beats and Dylanites” – each exploded in their own rounds of applause as he made his way through the familiar material, as well as several long new songs from the as yet unreleased *Bringing It All Back Home*. In settings such as this, Dylan was performing for what cultural historians would call a contemporary version of the “folk,” in this case an audience of like-minded people, not all of them young, who believed that Bob Dylan was the voice of their movement for social change. Although Sean Wilentz does not discuss this particular concert, it very much resembled the Halloween concert at Philharmonic Hall in New York City a few weeks earlier, which he attended as a teenager. Like many of us, Wilentz has continued to listen to Dylan, with greater interest at some times than at others, but always with an appreciation that somehow Dylan was one of our own, even when he went wrong. Almost half a century later, it is that shared history, and especially that moment of his emergence, that has continued to make Dylan a relevant subject of interest and curiosity – even fascination. Historians will take a special interest in Wilentz’s *Bob Dylan in*

America, because it is not only the writing of a sometime “fan” (and lately “historian in residence” at Dylan’s official website) but also the work of a leading practitioner of American social and political history whose titles include the classic *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (1984) and the more recent *Age of Reagan: A History, 1974–2008* (2008).

Wilentz’s first four chapters give a highly contextualized presentation of the roots of Dylan’s America. Perhaps the most striking fact about the book is that it begins not with Dylan but with the composer Aaron Copland (1900–90), like Dylan a descendant of Lithuanian Jewish immigrants who made his way into the main streams of American culture. The young Copland actually spent the summer of 1934 (the same year Dylan’s parents Abraham and Beatrice Zimmerman settled in Duluth) in the Minnesota north country before he went on to participate more fully in the cultural popular front of the times, producing orchestral work such as *Fanfare for the Common Man* (which Dylan himself has used to introduce live concerts). Among other things, this is a way of pointing out that Dylan (b. 1941) was not a baby boomer but a child with roots in the era of the Great Depression and the New Deal. Wilentz argues that Copland and Dylan shared “common origins and sensibilities” in their attempts to rescue and renew American folk traditions, which Copland once described as an aesthetic of “imposed simplicity.” Of course, the general point is that this was a much broader cultural effort and that “the old radical America” reached Dylan in other ways, most directly through Woody Guthrie and his legacy. Indeed, Wilentz may even understate the relevance of the old left to the environment Dylan encountered in New York City upon his arrival in 1961. Dave Van Ronk introduced him to the

traditional and contemporary folk traditions, and Pete Seeger brought him in contact with groups such as SNCC's Freedom Singers, with whom Dylan famously joined hands and voice on occasions such as the March on Washington in 1963. Since the appearance of her recent memoir, *A Freewheelin' Time* (2008), we are also coming to recognize the importance of the late Suze Rotolo; she was not only the subject of several of Dylan's lasting love songs but also brought him in contact with the broader cultural left, in part due to her own interests in theatre and her own family background (her mother was an editor for the Italian-language communist press; her father had been a union organizer and artist and a close friend of Ralph Fasanella). Meanwhile, another fine chapter focuses on Dylan's relationship with the Beat poets, whose repudiation of convention and celebration of improvisation was another one of the alternative Americas that attracted Dylan in the early 1960s and gave him the inspiration to give full voice to his inner imagination. Interestingly, his lifelong friendship with Allen Ginsberg, another key figure with a leftist family background, started at a Boxing Day party in 1963 upstairs from the Eighth Street Bookshop owned by Wilentz's uncle. Dylan drew amply and creatively from both these sources, and by the time of his famous "electric turn" in 1965 he had married them to the even earlier influences of rhythm and blues and rock and roll that he had grown up with and performed in high school in Hibbing. The resulting new Dylan had an enormous impact on the direction of popular music, and in retrospect, only the purest of folk purists could consider an album such as *Highway 61 Revisited* anything less than a howl of relevant social criticism.

Documenting these kinds of overlapping influences and affinities is the strong suit of social history, and Wilentz

pursues the changing Dylan from a selection of observation points in the following decades, capturing him at moments such as the Rolling Thunder Revue (1975), "Blind Willie McTell" (1983), "Lone Pilgrim" (1993) and *Love and Theft* (2001), right up to the unexpectedly sentimental *Christmas in the Heart* (2009). The performer who emerges from this tour is described as a kind of "modern minstrel" who drifts through the back alleys, town squares and high plains of American popular culture without ever quite finding the right place to take his rest. In this itinerary Dylan's apparent abandonment of "folk music" for "rock and roll" has less significance than in most popular treatments. Instead, Wilentz demonstrates that this transition was beside the point for those who had followed Irwin Silber's "Open Letter to Bob Dylan" in *Sing Out!* after the release of *Another Side of Bob Dylan* in 1964. Silber famously complained that Dylan had produced too many "inner-probing, self-conscious" songs and appealed to him not to become "a different Bob Dylan than the one we knew." That was a critique of a very spare acoustic album, and in retrospect, it is clear that Dylan was already changing perspective and persona well before he "went electric." The unsubtle claim in Silber's critique was that Dylan "belonged" to the social movement that had nurtured and promoted his success as a cultural figure. After that, Dylan seemed to be more concerned with his onward and inward journey than about forging a lasting partnership between performer and audience. As he reinvented, amplified and accelerated new versions of himself, there would be lots of different Dylans to consider, but he was never going to be a Field Commander or even a common foot soldier in a new left cultural front. His fellow musicians knew this early on, and most of Dylan's audiences, including those who counted themselves part of

a new left culture, came to the realization that Dylan had all their own flaws of self-absorption and political detachment. “We Shall Overcome” gave way to “I Shall be Released,” observed Brian Morton in a 1991 novel entitled *The Dylanist*, in which the main character is summed up in these words: “You’re a Dylanist. You don’t believe in causes. You only believe in feelings.” By contrast, another character, a self-described “union guy,” spends his time “talking about solidarity and other corny ideas to people who are just too hip to believe in anything but their own feelings.”

Wilentz’s own approach to these matters is more circumspect than rendered here, though in his chapter on the Rolling Thunder Revue of 1975, a decidedly non-commercial production, he detects a level of nostalgia for that fractured relationship. Cultural studies tell us that the identity between performer and audience becomes increasingly difficult to sustain for an artist living in the bubble of tour schedules, hotel rooms, studio dates and album releases. At the time of his Canadian tour in the spring of 1997, for instance, Dylan had already recorded *Time Out of Mind*, one of the more sure-footed productions of his career, but he shared none of this material with audiences, who were treated instead to a superior road show of his classic music. The timing in turn has given rise to the myth that *Time Out of Mind* was a response to his own brush with serious illness later that spring (the album was released in the fall). This is worth dwelling on as it illustrates the disjuncture between creation and reception that arises with the commodification of culture. The “folk” performer, whatever the instrumentation or genre of the music, needs opportunities to present and revise material in response to audience reception, thus cementing a relationship between performer and community. “Blowin’ in the

Wind,” for instance, entered the culture long before Dylan himself released a recording of it, and much of his early repertoire was practised and polished in the interactive settings that one can still hear on the live recordings of early concerts. Other performers have also faced the same loss of engagement but none have experienced the contradictions on the same scale as Dylan. He has carried on brilliantly in many ways, but there is no doubt his muse has deserted him more than once along the way. The disengagement of his relationship to anything but a very generalized “folk” may be at least one part of the answer. Yet because Dylan’s songwriting is unusually allusive and metaphoric (or can be listened to as such), when it works well it still manages to capture the mentalities and moods if not the actual moments of our history, and this in turn is more evidence of its success as modern poetry.

These days there is a small industry in Dylanology, and it is no easy challenge to keep up with the production of titles, not to mention the various archives of bootleg recordings. With the appearance of his own well-received *Chronicles* in 2004, and with more recollections to come, the subject himself has also entered the field. Wilentz has delved deeply into the roots and has also advanced bravely, though selectively, into more recent history. In these pages there is much to learn about the influences and meanings contained within Dylan’s various voices, and it is a sign of his cultural significance that Dylan continues to attract such informed and intelligent commentary. Wilentz does not claim *Bob Dylan in America* to be a major contribution to historical scholarship, and his general conclusions are surprisingly modest. Dylan is more or less reduced to “a musical modernist with strong roots in traditional forms,” and accordingly, he takes his place in the pantheon of American popular music. This is

perhaps how Dylan himself might want to see his legacy assessed, but shall this be all? There is little doubt this will not be the last word on the man.

DAVID FRANK
University of New Brunswick

Robert Cohen, *Freedom's Orator: Mario Savio and the Radical Legacy of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press 2009)

THERE ARE TWO pieces of oratory that surpass in eloquence the many iconic speeches of 1960s America. The first is Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream." The second is Free Speech Movement (FSM) leader Mario Savio's "Bodies Upon the Gears." Delivered in December 1964 at the University of California, Berkeley, the speech invited Savio's fellow students to confront the impersonal, repressive machine that the university had become. He incited students to acts of nonviolent civil disobedience to challenge the limitations the university had imposed upon students' freedom of speech.

There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part; you can't even passively take part. And you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all! (326)

Freedom's Orator recounts Savio's life. But this book is more than biography. Savio serves as a vehicle to examine the period he arose from and the impact that 1960s protest had on future generations.

"It would be difficult to imagine," writes Cohen, "a movement and a leader that better embodied the New Left ideal of participatory democracy than the FSM and Savio." (7) Savio's rhetoric, "much like the FSM itself," says the author, "transcended ordinary politics. It embodied a mass movement rooted in moral principle." (3)

Cohen is no newcomer to this subject. An historian at New York University, he is co-editor of *The Free Speech Movement: Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s* (2002). Also of note is his study of an earlier student movement, *When the Old Left Was Young: Student Radicals and America's First Mass Student Movement, 1929-1941* (1997). Cohen attempts to provide a biography of Savio, while at the same time presenting a detailed account of the FSM from its birth in the fall of 1964 to its dissolution in April 1965. While highly successful in the latter, there are gaps in the former.

Born 8 December 1942 in New York City to working class Italian immigrants, Savio faced many challenges. As a child he suffered a debilitating stammer. This was compounded by sexual abuse, which led to a lifelong battle with depression. Despite such hurdles he excelled in school, overcoming his speech disability, and graduating as valedictorian. His post-secondary education was unsettled. Berkeley, where he arrived in 1963, was the third college of his undergraduate career. There he joined the University Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (UFSNCC). Through UFSNCC he enlisted in the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer project. Returning to Berkeley that fall, he continued his activism. When the university enacted regulations prohibiting students from engaging in political speech on campus, the issue united students in opposition. The FSM was born when 4,000 students rallied on 1-2 October after police

arrested civil rights activist Jack Weinberg for staffing an information table. Students prevented the police car from moving and used its roof as a stage for speakers for the next 32 hours. When the university initiated expulsion proceedings against Savio and others for their role in the October actions the FSM rallied on 2 December. Savio gave his "Bodies Upon the Gear" speech. The brilliance of the speech, notes Cohen, was in its universal transferability. (182) The machine metaphor transcended campus, local, and national realities. The contest between students and the university finally ended when the Faculty Senate voted its support of the FSM. With that, Savio resigned from the FSM's leadership and the organization voted itself out of existence. Savio eschewed further leadership roles. Following the death of his mother sometime in the 1970s he attempted suicide, resulting in a lengthy period of hospitalization. Experiencing a degree of recovery in the 1980s, he again became politically active, most significantly over the crisis in Central America. In 1996 he campaigned against a proposed student fee increase at Sonoma State University. It was during this time that he succumbed to a long-standing structural heart defect.

Most refreshing about *Freedom's Orator* is its treatment of the left. Not surprisingly given his earlier work, Cohen establishes continuity between the old and new. Several FSM leaders emerged directly out of the old left, notably Bettina Aptheker, daughter of renowned Communist historian Herbert Aptheker and herself a member of the Du Bois Club. Aptheker played a crucial role in the FSM. Cohen indicates that Communists exercised a restraining influence on the more militant elements in the FSM, Savio included. For instance, during negotiations with the university, Savio could often be "impatient, tempestuous and militant," whereas Aptheker was "calm and cordial."

Cohen quotes Berkeley historian Kenneth Stamp, who argues that Aptheker, coming out of a Communist family "knew something about political discipline." (141) Also significant is Cohen's assertion that the FSM provided the spark for mass mobilization among young, white Americans during the 1960s. While many credit Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) with this, the FSM had already captured the imaginations of young Americans before SDS attracted national attention in the spring of 1965.

Cohen employs a range of sources. He makes extensive use of Savio's personal papers, drawing heavily upon his unpublished autobiography. He also uses the FBI files on both Savio and the FSM. In addition to the many interviews he conducted, Cohen relies on materials available through the Free Speech Movement Oral History Project and draws upon interviews collected during the making of the 1990 film *Berkeley in the Sixties*. Conspicuously absent from the book is any discussion of Savio's highly principled rationale in refusing to participate in the film after learning that its creators had excluded Aptheker, fearing her status as an out lesbian, and possibly her former Communist affiliation, would negatively impact the narrative of the film.

Cohen is to be commended for his detailed account of the FSM, which makes up roughly a third of the book. The other two thirds are evenly divided between telling the rest of Savio's life story and an appendix containing a collection of his speeches. But several questions are left unanswered regarding Savio's biography. For instance, it was the civil rights movement that was the engine behind the FSM, yet no mention is made of the earlier movement and its impact on Savio in the period prior to 1960. Also missing is much of Savio's life post-FSM. Other than giving a speech at the 1965 Berkeley Vietnam Day Teach-In, little is

said about Savio's relationship with the antiwar movement. Also lacking is any substantial accounting of his life during the 1970s. It would have been helpful, too, to have seen more on Savio's involvement with the Central America solidarity movement. Other than a single speech and his unsuccessful proposal to initiate a Freedom Summer-style Central America project, not much is said about Savio's involvement with this movement.

Still, *Freedom's Orator* is an essential book for historians of America in the 1960s and beyond. It is well written, engaging the reader in the many struggles Savio himself engaged in. Savio's participation in the civil rights movement prior to his emergence as a leader of the FSM highlights the influence of the African American freedom struggle on subsequent movements. His participation in the FSM shows that organization's impact on the development of the new left and antiwar movements. And his activism in later decades shows the continuity of his and others' commitment to making the world a better place. Whether campaigning for peace and justice in Mississippi, Berkeley, Vietnam, Central America or Sonoma State University, Savio's lifelong commitment to speaking truth to power has earned him the title that Cohen has bestowed upon him: freedom's orator.

CHRISTOPHER POWELL

Kwantlen Polytechnic University

Steve Early, *Embedded With Organized Labor: Journalistic Reflections on the Class War at Home* (New York: Monthly Review Press 2009)

IF IT SEEMS ODD to read a review of book reviews, bear with me; or, more accurately, bear with author Steve Early, who has organized and written on behalf of the North American labour movement for the past 35 years.

Early is a participatory journalist of the first rank: an individual with deep first-hand knowledge of the workers' movement, and a thoughtful chronicler of people, ideas, and events. The 38 book review essays that comprise *Embedded With Organized Labor* represent Early's continuing search for ways to build a movement that is truly run by and for workers, but that also commands the resources and organizational heft required to credibly challenge capital. Reviewing books about the workers' movement allows Early to weigh in on vital debates and events, and to pose intriguing questions of his own.

Early is a graceful writer with a generous spirit. He is careful to acknowledge the strengths of people and positions he opposes and to confront in very frank terms the shortcomings of those he supports. He is able to argue passionately for principles (rank-and-file democracy, in particular) without letting readers forget that in messy real-world struggles, success frequently hinges on the support of powerful, well-resourced organizations. For example, when Early reviews an edited collection of rank-and-file activist Martin Glaberman's writings, *Punching Out* (2002), as well as an edited collection of activist Stan Weir's works, *Single-jack Solidarity* (2004), he hails the books as a "welcome antidote" to the technocratic, top-down style of union reform so in vogue today. Glaberman and Weir (both deceased) advocated anarcho-sindicalist-style workers' councils during the 1930s through the 1960s, and Early contends the two would have dismissed today's union reformers as "union centralizers trying to consolidate power in their own hands." But when Alice Lynd and her husband Staughton Lynd (editor of *Punching Out*) propose their own similar strategy of decentralized, bottom-up union reform in their *The New Rank and File* (2000), Early takes quite a different

tack. It is one thing to admire historic efforts to combat business unionism. It is quite another thing to suggest practical strategies for today, and Early takes the Lynds to task. He praises their book for reminding readers that union officialdom did not wake up one day progressive and enlightened, and somehow chose John Sweeney to head the AFL-CIO. As the Lynds show, Sweeney's election and other promising changes in U.S. labour resulted from decades of difficult grass-roots organizing by radicals and progressives in neighbourhoods and work sites, large and small. But Early argues that the Lynds err badly in proposing a strategy for union reform based almost entirely on building horizontal networks among the union rank and file. This strategy, he says, writes off "all bids for organizational power above the local union (or even steward) level." Had rank-and-file Teamsters adopted that strategy, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union would never have elected Ron Cary, who delivered the 1.4 million votes that put Sweeney in office. "Where is the roadmap for large-scale movement building?" Early asks.

Early chides leftist critics who insist that union reform movements must "challenge the fundamentals of capitalism." Valuable political spaces have opened up for debate and rank-and-file activity because of Sweeney's election and related changes in the top ranks of labour – changes brought about through mass campaigns that did not articulate an anti-capitalist message. But Early also faults an official history of the U.E. for failing to acknowledge the role communists played (and continue to play) in that union and in the larger labour movement. Early recognizes that the root problems facing workers and unions flow from the "multiplying crises of capitalism," and he cites case after case of labour radicals who, fearing rejection and persecution, buried themselves and their quest for a

just social order in the mundane chores of running a union. Reviewing a biography of Oil Chemical and Auto Workers' Union leader Tony Mazzocchi, Early poses a question that continues to haunt labour leftists: "How can a trade unionist with strong anti-capitalist views – usually not shared by the workers he or she represents – make his or her politics relevant to workplace struggles in the absence of a mass-based left-wing party?"

Early has little patience for pat answers and does not offer any, and he rarely takes cheap shots even at fat inviting targets. One unfortunate exception is his treatment of the New Communist Movement of early 1970s. Thousands of radicalized youth abandoned the college campuses to start new lives in the factories, mines, mills, and unions in hopes of building a mass-based revolutionary movement. In his review of Max Elbaum's *Revolution in the Air* (2002), Early recounts the many blunders and misadventures of these young, idealistic leftists. But how could things have gone differently? Early knows his history, and understands how completely communist and socialist organizations were crushed during 1940s and 1950s. The left's organic connections to the working class, its institutional memory, and precious lessons learned all had to be rebuilt and relearned by a new generation of young, inexperienced radicals. It is inconceivable that such a process could unfold without people falling into dogmatism, sectarianism, adventurism and all the other blunders characteristic of a newborn radical movement. It is a simple matter to identify and deride those mistakes and here, at least, Early can not seem to resist.

My other major disappointment with Early's book was his failure to address labour movement media. Perhaps this omission jumped out at me because labour media is my life's work and passion. But Early *is* a labour writer, and

his book is subtitled *Journalistic Reflections on the Class War*. So it seems odd for him to write so extensively about the importance of building rank-and-file organizations between and across unions and among the unorganized without discussing the central role of labour media in making those things happen. Early complains about the “pallid institutional propaganda” dished out by most unions today and he lauds Mary Heaton Vorse, the writers at *Labor Notes*, and other activists, past and present, for wielding “a rebel pen.” He even closes his book with an essay about how to build a larger market among workers and other readers for *books* about labour. But he never explores how the workers themselves can develop and utilize media on their own behalf.

Even so, I was able to add half a dozen books to my reading list on labour communications by reading *Embedded With Organized Labor*. The range of Early’s interests and the sweep of ideas expressed in his book are that broad and deep. Whatever your specific interests in labour may be, Early provides a valuable communications lesson: he shows how to argue a case with intelligence, grace, good will, and gentle humour.

MATTHEW C. BATES

Trinity Washington University

Paulo Drinot, ed. *Che’s Travels: The Making of a Revolutionary in 1950s Latin America* (Durham and London: Duke University Press 2010)

THIS BOOK EDITED by Paulo Drinot provides a new angle on one of the most charismatic and iconic revolutionary figures in 20th-century Latin America, Ernesto “Che” Guevara. Drinot introduces eight essays covering different countries visited by Guevara during his two early 1950s travels through Latin America, before his participation in the Cuban revolution.

The authors, all historians and specialists on the countries they write about, use his travelogues as their analytical tool to explore three main themes: the societies Guevara encountered in his travels, how he represented those societies, and his legacy in each of these countries later in the 1960s and beyond. Those themes provide the framework for analyzing “how Guevara’s Latin America *produced* Che and how Che simultaneously *produced* Latin America through his travelogues,” as well as “how Latin America has *reproduced* Che by examining the various roles assigned to him and the claims made on him by various actors.” (2)

The result is an attractive book that follows Guevara in his errands across the continent. Written in a clear and engaging manner, the essays locate Guevara’s observations in his diaries within broader historiographical and historical frameworks. Indeed, one of the book’s achievements is its appeal for a wider audience. While more general readers may be interested in the personal details of his travels and the sense of intimacy they convey about one important historical figure, historians and social scientists can engage with several of the themes advanced by the authors.

In particular, the book brings us to Latin America’s turbulent 1950s, a critical decade that, as Drinot rightly argues in the introduction, has not received the same degree of attention from scholars as previous or subsequent decades. The authors show Guevara traveling through countries that were reaping the results of major social, political, and economic changes unleashed since the 1930s and that prelude the violent upheaval that afflicted the region in the 1960s and 1970s. Eduardo Elena convincingly locates the origins of Che’s travels within the mass tourism and nationalist ideas of Juan Perón’s Argentina, while Patience Schell shows how Chile was experiencing

significant changes such as the increasing participation of women in labour and politics. In Venezuela and Chile respectively, Judith Ewell and Eric Zolov describe Che stepping into societies undergoing rapid urbanization and capitalist development. Ewell, Drinot, and Malcolm Deas analyze his arrival to Venezuela, Peru, and Colombia during repressive political regimes while Anna Zulawski and Cindy Forster show him in Bolivia and Guatemala during revolutionary periods. The rising power of the United States in the emerging Cold War clearly appears in the counterrevolutionary administration of Miguel Alemán in Mexico and, more dramatically, in the CIA-backed coup in Guatemala that deeply impacted the Argentine traveler.

The essays thus provide excellent and updated accounts of the societies visited by Guevara, opening the way for a discussion of how he represented these societies and how they impacted him. While Walter Salles's 2004 movie, *The Motorcycle Diaries*, popularized Guevara's first trip in the 1950s as a journey of self-discovery at the personal and ideological levels, from young Ernesto to revolutionary Che, the travelogues analyzed by the different authors reveal a more complicated, far less hagiographical picture – and, for that reason, a much more human and compelling perspective. In fact, several essays reveal that Guevara usually depicted the different societies through the lens of a young and arrogant Argentine who, despite his efforts to differentiate himself from what he considered ordinary tourists, more than frequently resorted to middle-class sensibilities and crude racist and sexist stereotypes. Moreover, Guevara only glimpsed the social changes that were transforming Chile, made scant comment on the political situation in Peru, and paid very little attention to the 1952 revolution in Bolivia, while his Venezuelan experience

“did not obviously contribute to the evolution of his political thinking.” (150) His political awareness and radicalization were more decisively awakened and shaped by his experiences in Guatemala and Mexico, and the former provided many useful lessons for Guevara and the Cuban revolution. On the other hand, as Zulawski provocatively argues in the chapter on Bolivia, his “ignorance of, or wilful disregard for, the country's situation in the 1950s ultimately contributed to his defeat there in 1967.” (182)

In this sense, for several of the essays it is easier to see how Guevara “produced” Latin America rather than the other way around – the latter is clearer in the essays on Argentina, Guatemala, and Mexico. Deas's essay on Colombia is particularly notable not only for the negative view of Guevara, his travelogues, and his influence in the country's history but also because it shows that Guevara minimally referred to or was influenced by Colombia's situation. In this case, the figure of Guevara loses its centrality in the narration, to be replaced by the description of the national context. This highlights a central tension in the essays: using Guevara's figure as the analytical tool when, in several cases, he marginally “produced” Latin America or “was produced” by it.

And yet, beyond his biases and prejudices, the essays do point out several aspects of Guevara's experiences that set him apart from other travelers and contributed to his personal and political formation. Unlike other travelers, he commented on lower class women in Chile and frequently visited hospitals and clinics in his travels. His idealized, paternalistic, and modernizing views of Indigenous populations nevertheless reveal that he recognized their presence in the nations and was concerned with their poverty and exploitation. All these elements eventually would add to his

political radicalization, which happened relatively late. As Zolov reminds us, at the time Guevara arrived in Mexico to finally join the Cuban revolutionary movement, he was still more concerned with escaping married life and sudden fatherhood rather than involvement in left-wing politics. (246)

Historians will also find appealing the excellent sections in each essay on Guevara's legacy, as revolutionary Che, in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s. This influence did not play only at the level of international relations, the Cold War, and national politics, but also at those of popular culture and experience. This is nicely captured, for example, by the essays on Venezuela, Guatemala, and Bolivia, which point out the material and symbolic elements that made Che a popular figure for vast sectors of the population. This articulation of politics, culture, and personal experience is connected to recent studies on Latin American cultural history such as Gil Joseph's edited volumes on the cultural Cold War in Latin America, Lauren Derby's study of the Trujillato in Dominican Republic, and Matthew Karush and Oscar Chamosa's edited book on the cultural history of Peronism. The essays' emphasis on the complex relationship between race, class, and gender in Guevara's travelogues as well as the use of his and other testimonies also build upon contemporary scholarly interests in the Latin American field regarding representation, identity, power, and the possibilities and limits of testimonial literature. All these themes not only highlight the book's important scholarly contributions but also make it an innovative and highly readable perspective on the life of one of Latin America's most famous historical figures.

JORGE NÁLLIM

University of Manitoba

Alex Khasnabish, *Zapatistas: Rebellion from the Grassroots* (Black Point, NS and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2010)

THE EARLY 1990S were a difficult time for many on the left. The collapse of the Soviet Bloc as an alternative model to capitalism, the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, and the proclamations of free market triumphalism deprived many of hope for the future of socialist projects. It was a time when only author Gabriel García Márquez seemed prepared to defend the Cuban Revolution and when Mexican political commentator Jorge Casteñeda denounced the aspirations of the armed left in Latin America as "utopia unarmed." From this apparent gloom emerged a new vision emanating from the Lacandón Jungle in the Mexican state of Chiapas. Alex Khasnabish's *Zapatistas: Rebellion from the Grassroots to the Global* examines the regional, national, and global appeal of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), which took up arms against the Mexican state on the first of January 1994 after a decade-long period of clandestine organizing.

Khasnabish's work is part of the new "Rebel" book series from Fernwood Publishing. This rebel qualifier essentially defines the parameters of his analysis. That is to say, the book seeks to analyze the Zapatistas as a rebel movement on their own terms, which permits Khasnabish to demonstrate their political uniqueness in the post-Cold War era. Immediately after the EZLN's New Year's uprising which seized a number of cities in Chiapas, the Mexican state denounced the masked insurgents as narco-traffickers and terrorists. Khasnabish rejects this claim and places the EZLN within a historical heritage of rebellion in Mexico which permitted them to be "adopted by Mexican and international civil society as *rebels* with all the allure, legitimacy, and righteousness

the term implies.” (2) Khasnabish spends no time theorizing the rebel characteristic or placing it in conversation with works such as Eric Hobsbawm’s classic *Primitive Rebels* that sought to historicize the rebel mystique of pertinent figures such as Pancho Villa. Rather, he takes the Zapatistas’ rebel status as given and places it alongside indigenous resistance to Spanish colonization since the 16th century, the *proceres* of Mexican Independence, and the martyred folk heroes of the Mexican Revolution. In this way, Khasnabish views the Zapatistas as part of a revolutionary pantheon buried deep within Mexican history.

Khasnabish argues that the trans-generational ruling clique that formed the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which ruled Mexico in slightly different guises from the late 1920s until 2000, tried “laying claim to a revolutionary legacy they had actively sought to subvert” (44) so as to legitimize their efforts at state formation. And armed with appropriated revolutionary iconography, the PRI set upon a corporatist model through which they quelled dissent by way of co-optation. The author suggests the corporatist state experienced difficulty perpetuating its claims to the revolutionary heritage as it was crippled by successive crises after the so-called Golden Age of the 1930s to the 1960s. Indeed, structural adjustment programs and the default of 1982 revealed that the PRI’s association with the Revolution was ideologically bankrupt and its corporatist model was incapable of subsisting. The neoliberal technocrats’ *coup de grâce* that ended any pretenses to being the inheritors of the revolutionary tradition was the implementation of NAFTA, ostensibly guaranteeing Mexico’s entrance into the First World. However, NAFTA required changes to the Mexican Constitution that threatened small-scale farmers, leading the EZLN to take up arms to end what they labeled a “death sentence” for

Mexican indigenous people. In so doing, the Zapatistas seriously challenged the legitimacy of the established order in Mexico by rejecting the continued usurpation of symbols of the Revolution by those who betrayed its radical spirit.

After detailing the origins of the Zapatistas, Khasnabish examines their influence as a rebel movement, dedicating a chapter each to the effects that they had on local, national, and international events. Khasnabish’s most compelling contribution is his treatment of Zapatismo as a coherent political philosophy, for it is here that their rebel significance resides. Khasnabish views Zapatismo as an alternative to neoliberal capitalism, the state socialist model of the Soviet Bloc, as well as insurrectionary guerrilla movements in Latin America. Khasnabish contends that the program of Zapatismo has not altered significantly since 1994 and that the hallmarks of their ideology – concern for indigenous rights, gender critique, notions of dignity, radical democracy, and inclusivity – were present from the beginning. He argues that “Neither the EZLN nor Zapatismo is a product of a pure revolutionary trajectory” (73); instead they form a composite of revolutionary principles stemming from the experience of urban guerrillas and migrant indigenous communities that make up the movement’s ranks, placed within the new socio-economic context of late 20th century Mexico and the waning legitimacy of the old order. Moreover – and perhaps most significantly for contemporary political movements as Khasnabish suggests – Zapatismo has not advocated the seizing of state power and, apart from twelve days in January 1994, has not relied on militancy. Rather, it has sought to pluralize the possibilities of radicalism by making revolution on its own terms rather than imposing it upon others. And, as Khasnabish demonstrates, herein lies

its greatest transnational influence: the weapons that produce change are many and multifaceted.

Khasnabish's *Zapatistas* is refreshing in its attempt to understand the movement as rebels on its own terms. His inclusion of lengthy passages from EZLN spokesperson Subcomandante Marcos' political treatises reveals the movement's place within the hemisphere's rich literary culture occupied by the revolutionary poetics and words of the likes of Octavio Paz and Eduardo Galeano. Moreover, the treatment of Zapatismo as a political philosophy ties together the disparate ideological contributions of the EZLN in ways that other analyses fail to connect. The work, however, is not without its shortcomings. There is, of course, a question of sources. The historical accounts of the revolutionary origins of the Zapatistas rely very heavily on two works, almost exclusively in places: James Cockcroft's *Mexico's Hope* and Adolfo Gilly's *The Mexican Revolution*. Other works, such as Alan Knight's two-tome history of the Revolution, are excluded entirely, perhaps to the detriment of the historical analysis. Further, there is no evidence of Spanish-language sources, short of those that have been translated to English. As such, when detailing the local, regional, and national impact of Zapatismo, the book lacks domestic commentary drawn from newspapers and periodicals.

Elsewhere, Khasnabish follows a well-rehearsed historical account that would provide few insights to readers familiar with the subject material. And, in places, these historical shortcomings raise serious questions about seemingly incompatible narratives. One such example is the author's reliance upon the oft-repeated trope that "the [Mexican] Revolution did not reach Chiapas" (45) while also insisting that the collapse of the corporatist state – a product of the Revolution – precipitated the EZLN uprising.

Nevertheless, Khasnabish does well to navigate the rough political terrain of the last quarter century of Mexican politics, and the rebel theme provides a new perspective on subject matter that possesses such natural appeal. For activists, casual readers, or newcomers to the EZLN, the work functions as a wonderful introduction and engaging political primer.

MICHAEL D. KIRKPATRICK
University of Saskatchewan

Don Stillman, *Stronger Together: The Story of SEIU* (Vermont: Service Employees' International Union 2010)

THE SERVICE EMPLOYEES' International Union (SEIU) has become famous for doing things its own way, for calling on the labour movement to shed the positions of the past in pursuit of a more fluid, relevant models of organizing, unionism, and progressive politics. With that in mind, is almost a surprise it has issued something as traditional, as 20th-century, as the glossy in-house union history, packed with inspiring photos, boilerplate inspirational prose, praise for leaders and jeers for enemies. However, much has changed since 1992, when the union last issued a history. The union has added about a million members since 1997, for a total of 2.1 million in the US and Canada, often under controversial circumstances. *Stronger Together: The Story of SEIU* is evidently an effort to communicate the SEIU story and message to these new members; however, SEIU workers would be well-advised to look elsewhere to learn about their union. Workers and observers of SEIU, however, will find much of interest here, although not in the way the author intended.

The book's content is heavily weighted towards the past two decades, during which SEIU grew exponentially and became a significant force within the labour movement. Indeed, only 24 of the

book's 265 pages of history concern the union's existence before 1990, while 180 are devoted to the period since 2000. Instead, the decisions and contests that fuelled SEIU's spectacular growth are recounted in detail. Famous battles like the California "Justice for Janitors" fight and the battle to organize service workers at the University of Miami in the face of vigorous resistance from former Clinton cabinet member Donna Shalala are celebrated. In places, the work SEIU members do is lauded, particularly in chapters on health work and the courage shown by SEIU workers helping to rescue others during the 9/11 attacks, sometimes at the cost of their own lives.

SEIU members reading *Stronger Together* will also get a brimming cup of praise for union leadership. Several chapters focus exclusively on SEIU conventions and the strategy, mission statements, eleven principles, New Strength Unity Plans, Seven Strengths and other lofty initiatives arising from them. The message is consistent: SEIU has transcended the old, excessively confrontational form of worker activism, and found a new, better path, based on providing solutions for employers in the workplace, and achieving political change by building coalitions with nontraditional partners, including corporate leaders and Republicans. The approving quote from *Business Week* magazine "often at odds then with unions" used to praise early president William McFetridge is an early and characteristic example of this orientation.

In fact, the book is probably most valuable and revealing as an example of SEIU's unique vocabulary and outlook. After all, it's a rare union history that features an entire chapter on branding. Workers do not "join" SEIU or "organize"; they "unite with" the union. This rhetorical device allows SEIU to dodge some of the tricky questions about how the union's growth has been achieved. In many

cases, adding new workers is a top-down process that is not driven by the concerns and priorities of the workers themselves, but by a top-level negotiation between SEIU management and large employers. These negotiations produce agreements that transcend neutrality agreements by allowing companies to decide which workplaces can be organized by the union, and which workers will not have the opportunity to "unite" with SEIU.

The union's aggressive approach to growing its membership has often also produced unhappiness with the resulting contracts. Workers protest that their issues have been ignored in favour of simply getting a deal done that allows SEIU to collect dues and pad member numbers. Pressed on the issue of union democracy in 2008, Stern dismissed criticism by saying "These workers have no unions; that's where we start from." That vision – getting a guaranteed slice rather than fighting for a loaf – is central to *Stronger Together*, which approvingly quotes Stern's philosophy as outlined in his book *A Country That Works*: "Learning to appreciate employers competitive reality and attempting to create or add value to their business models became a basic operating principle of SEIU's strategies." The historically minded will note that this was also the basic operating principle of what older generations of radical workers used to call "labour fakirs": leaders that collected the dues of the worker while protecting the privileges and profits of the boss.

The SEIU has often argued that it has a different approach to electoral politics which results in real gains for working people. Strangely, the specifics of this catholic approach are largely absent from *Stronger Together*, which lauds the union's "issues-based political program" but limits itself to discussions of SEIU support of Democratic politicians, especially Barack Obama, whose victory SEIU takes a great deal of credit for. Unfortunately,

Obama's unwillingness to fight for the Employee Free Choice Act, organized labour's number one priority for his first term, and the abandonment of a public option healthcare plan suggest nothing so much as the politics as usual of unions working to elect a Democratic president who then ignores labour's preferred policies. However, the SEIU has helped change the political game in America – by helping elect Republican governors like Mitch Daniels of Indiana, one of the leaders in the state-level assault on public sector unionism that has imperiled the labour movement's last bastion of strength. Stern's contribution of 500,000 of SEIU funds to the Republican Governor's Association in 2004, made them the RGA's largest donor the year Daniels was elected. While Stern boasts about this in his own book, it is not mentioned here.

Stronger Together does tackle the internal strife that has plagued the union in the last decade. Locals across the country have been placed into trusteeship or forced into mergers, allowing national leadership the opportunity to transform locals from the top down. Critics charge that elected leaders have been replaced by connected SEIU staffer, most hired from outside the union, with little connection to the local and no experience as a worker in the represented industry. The book portrays trusteeships as a way to strengthen accountability and protect members from the misuse of their funds. However, the chapter seems to disingenuously muddy the waters by equating cases of nepotism and graft by SEIU leaders with resistance to the positions and practices of the union leadership, like former SEIU leader Sal Rosselli's dissident United Health Care Workers West faction, who made headlines from its outspoken disagreement with what they saw as undemocratic practices by Stern and SEIU leadership. In *Stronger Together*, those issues are ignored, and the reform

campaign presented as a criminal power grab. SEIU members who want to read a more complete and nuanced take on these controversies should read Steve Early's books *Embedded With Organized Labor* (2009) and *The Civil Wars in American Labor* (2011). It will be much easier than getting answers from their own union, who Early recently criticized for abandoning servicing 800,000 of its members with a steward or union representative in favour of a system of call centres, where poorly trained workers dispensed inaccurate advice about contracts, benefits, and grievances. It all fits with what Stern calls "a new model less focused on individual grievances, more focused on industry needs." Statements like this do nothing to allay suspicion that the SEIU is more concerned with swelling its ranks and dealmaking with corporations than with mobilizing to improve the lives of its membership and their communities.

Even when SEIU does something traditional like a union history, it still, even unintentionally, reveals a portrait of an unconventional union mired in controversy and conflicts with the labour movement, politicians, and its own membership. Besieged by these adversaries, focused on branding, market share, and employer solutions, SEIU increasingly resembles nothing more strongly than the corporations it partners with. *Stronger Together*, indeed.

JEREMY MILLOY

Simon Fraser University

Andrew Battista, *The Revival of Labor Liberalism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2008)

POLITICAL SCIENTIST Andrew Battista divides the story of labour liberalism in the United States over the past thirty years into three parts. Part 1 traces "The Rise and Decline of the Labor-Liberal

Coalition,” covering the period from the New Deal into the 1970s. Part 2, “The Revival of the Labor-Liberal Coalition: Case Studies,” examines three major efforts in the late 1970s and early 1980s to reconfigure and revitalize labour liberalism. Considered here are the Progressive Alliance (PA; 1978–81); the Citizen Labor Energy Coalition (CLEC; 1978–1984); and the National Labor Committee (NLC; 1981–). Part 3 addresses “The Past and Future of Labor-Liberal Politics” and treats the more recent past. It chronicles the forging of labour-led liberal initiatives, notably Jobs with Justice (JWJ; 1986–) and the Economic Policy Institute (EPI; 1986–), the victory of dissident unionists over the AFL-CIO establishment in 1995, and the split in the US labour movement that occurred with the secession in 2005 of the unions that now form the Change to Win (CTW) coalition.

Battista believes that despite its long-term decline and its marginalization in public discourse, organized labour remains critical to the fortunes of American liberalism. He also believes that cooperation between the labour movement and various strands of liberalism is essential to labour’s revival. In the 1960s and 1970s, the New Deal era labour-liberal nexus broke down as a new generation of liberals, focusing on civil rights, the environment, and foreign policy, increasingly perceived the labour movement as an impediment to social justice. Underlying this disaffection was a demographic reality that found widening disparities between the age, race, gender, and educational characteristics of liberal voters, on the one hand, and those attributes among union members. The victory of Richard Nixon in 1972 and the triumph of Ronald Reagan eight years later, along with declining Democratic presence in Congress, signaled the death knell of the New Deal labour-liberal coalition.

Battista’s recounting of the efforts of labour movement activists to rebuild the coalition in the 1970s and 1980s is an important contribution. While the PA and the CLEC were short-lived, both stimulated grassroots labour-liberal cooperation. The NLC, which still functions as a labour-liberal foreign policy advocacy body, sent the message to anti-war liberals that they had allies in the labour movement, despite the anti-Communist fixations of the AFL-CIO establishment. Battista points to specific, if limited, legislative victories such as plant closing legislation, resistance to natural gas deregulation, limitations on aid to the Nicaraguan Contras, and the initial defeat of “fast track” trade agreement authorization as in part a result of the efforts of these labour-liberal initiatives. The Jobs with Justice campaign and the Economic Policy Institute, both launched in 1986, evidence the success of the labour-led effort of the 1970s and 1980s to reconnect with liberal activists. Battista singles out Douglas Fraser, William Winpisinger, and Jerry Wurf, presidents respectively of the UAW, Machinists, and State, County, and Municipal Employees, for their leadership in these efforts. At the same time, Battista is measured in his claims for the accomplishments of the emerging labour liberal nexus. Organized labour’s continuing membership decline, conservative electoral success, and rightward drift of the Democratic party insured that such successes were defensive in nature and often only temporary in effect.

Battista sees the successful challenge of union dissidents to the AFL-CIO establishment, capped in 1995 by the election of John Sweeney to the federation’s presidency, as solidifying the labour-liberal coalition. The victory of Sweeney and his allies, Battista holds, represented the triumph of the vision

of organized labour associated initially with late UAW president Walter Reuther, an unrelenting critic before his death in 1970 of the George Meany-led AFL-CIO. The Sweeney-led federation launched new organizing efforts that often linked membership drives to gender, race, and environmental concerns. The new leadership also substantially increased labour's political operations, pouring millions of dollars into voter registration, voter education, and candidate support in the late 1990s. Initially these initiatives seemed successful. Union membership edged upward and the elections of 1996, 1998, and 2000 (despite the disputed outcome of the presidential tally) suggested that the Republican tide had crested.

The new century, however, has not been kind to labour-liberal hopes. Membership and political gains have proved ephemeral. Political defeat in 2002 and 2004 spurred opposition to the Sweeney agenda among service sector and building trades unions, a development that culminated in 2005 in the defection of unions that represented about forty percent of the AFL-CIO membership to form a new body, the Change to Win (CTW) coalition. The split in the labour movement has raised questions about the long-term survival of initiatives such as the creation in 1996 of the Campaign for America's Future (CAF), a promising effort to give institutional identity to the loose labour-liberal alliance that Sweeney and his associates were fostering.

In this final chapters, Battista, whose tone thus far has been cautious and measured, becomes more prescriptive. He laments the actions of the CTW coalition, believing that they could have registered their legitimate criticisms of the Sweeney-led AFL-CIO without disaffiliating. He steps forth as an advocate of pro-union legislation, declaring that "labor law reform [along the lines of the current

Employee Free Choice measure that has passed the U.S. House of Representatives] is necessary for substantial union survival." The existing labour law regime, he believes, fails to protect workers' right "to freely form or join a union." (190) Since success in attaining reform depends on political and legislative muscle, CTW's criticism of AFL-CIO's recent emphasis on political action seems misplaced.

In his discussion of these recent developments, Battista provides a useful framework for understanding a division in the House of Labor that often seems unclear and arcane. He notes, for example, that it is the old CIO-type industrial unions and the public employee unions, both more dependent on governmental support and public policies, that have remained loyal to the AFL-CIO, while CTW is comprised largely of service sector organizations, along with some key building trades unions. Since these organizations are less troubled by the threat of plant relocation, they are perhaps less inherently "political" than are unions such as the Steelworkers and Auto Workers; and since in the service and construction sectors, privatization is not the threat that it poses for public employees, they see less need for direct access to government. Battista might have elaborated on this point, noting perhaps the willingness of CTW unions such as the Carpenters, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and Service Employees to make deals with conservative politicians in the interest of gaining or protecting membership. Thus, while the AFL-CIO remains wedded to a version of the mildly social democratic politics reminiscent of the heyday of the New Deal coalition – which in turn strengthens ties with non-labour liberals – CTW appears to be reverting to the political strategies historically associated with the AFL building trades and the railroad brotherhoods.

The Revival of Labor Liberalism is a thoughtful guide to recent developments in the US trade union movement. By establishing the broad context for labour-liberal interaction, this book will be illuminating even – perhaps especially – to those who followed closely and perhaps even participated in the organizations and initiatives the author so carefully describes and analyzes. Andrew Battista is a careful, judicious scholar who has examined a wide range of materials and whose judgments are always balanced and well-argued. In so ably demonstrating both the necessity for and the problems impeding labour-liberal alliance, he has provided an important source both for historians and labour-liberal activists.

ROBERT H. ZIEGER

University of Florida (Emeritus)

Ruth Milkman, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro, eds. *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy* (Ithaca: ILR Press 2010)

OVER THE PAST two decades, no city has produced a more fruitful interchange among unions, workers' centres, and other worker advocacy projects than Los Angeles. This useful volume pulls together the first scholarly fruits of reflection on the rich variety of contemporary workers' movements based in California's sprawling metropolis. The eleven case studies included in this volume, the product of a two-year collaboration among academics and activists, point the way toward the workers' movement of the future, while simultaneously illuminating a number of the obstacles that movement will need to overcome.

The 19 contributors to this volume bring a diversity of experiences to bear. Almost half of them were doctoral candidates at the time they submitted their essays. Some of these young scholars

have had careers in activism working in organizations whose campaigns they are now studying. Most of those were members of the Public Sociologists Working Group, affiliated with the UCLA Sociology Department, where they have been influenced by the work of Ruth Milkman, who co-edited this volume and whose book, *L.A. Story: Immigrant Workers and the Future of the U.S. Labor Movement* (Russell Sage Foundation 2006) provides the scholarly foundation for a number of the studies undertaken here. An array of lawyers, worker center organizers, and urban planners round out the list of contributors to this volume, among whom Victor Narro, project director of the UCLA Downtown Labor Center, stands out.

The volume is organized in three parts. Part I treats immigrant worker advocacy efforts undertaken within ethnic communities. Jong Bum Kwon examines the struggles of the Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA) to improve the lot of market workers through agitation, a union organizing campaign, and a class action lawsuit. Nazgol Ghandoosh recounts the efforts of the Pilipino Workers' Center on behalf of parking lot attendants, home care workers, and Filipino immigrants who sought less exploitative ways of sending remittances to the Philippines. An essay by Caitlin C. Patler offers a 20-year history of the Coalition for Human Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles. And Cinyere Osuji analyzes the Multiethnic Immigrant Workers Organizing Network, which led the annual May 1 immigrant rights marches that culminated in the turnout of 600,000 demonstrators in 2006.

Part II of the volume consists of four case studies of occupational or industry-focused organizing campaigns. Jacqueline Leavitt and Gary Blasi study the Los Angeles Taxi Workers Alliance. Susan Garea and Sasha Alexandra Stern look at the LA Car Wash Worker Campaign. The

National Day Laborer Organizing Network is the subject of a study by Marie Dziembowska. And a quintet of researchers, Nicole A. Archer, Ana Luz Gonzalez, Kimi Lee, Simmi Gandhi, and Delia Herrera analyze the history of a campaign taken on by the Garment Workers Center.

The collection's final section contains three essays on the efforts of unions to organize low-income workers. Joshua Bloom's contribution tells a story of cooperation between the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and black community leaders during the union's effort to organize the largely black workforce of private building security guards. Forrest Stuart recounts the largely successful campaign of UNITE HERE to organize the hotels adjacent to Los Angeles International Airport. And Karina Muñiz writes about the Maintenance Cooperation Trust Fund, a joint project of SEIU and unionized janitorial employers that monitors practices in California's building maintenance industry and presses for enforcement of fair labor standards regulations.

Several points stand out in this collection of essays. The most striking is the amazing diversity of campaigns and organizations that have proliferated in Los Angeles over the past two decades. Readers of this volume are likely to have difficulty keeping straight the blizzard of organizational acronyms that fill these pages. This problem testifies to the vitality of organizing in this multicultural city and to the many initiatives that have erupted from the immigrant neighbourhoods of greater Los Angeles. Some of these efforts have emerged from workers' centres, others from unions, and still others from progressive lawyers and activists. Together they have improved the lot of workers across many sectors, including hospitality, retail, service, clothing, health care, and casual employment.

As one sifts through this array of initiatives, a second point emerges: the

particularities of the workforce, labour market, and community structure matter in influencing the success or failure of campaigns, as does activists' choice of targets. Jong Bum Kwan's description of KIWA's failed campaign to organize a union Koreatown's Assi Supermarket is a case in point. Undertaking the Assi campaign was a departure for KIWA, which had achieved success in pressuring owner-owned restaurants to improve conditions for workers. Taking on a larger foe, KIWA quickly ran up against the limitations of federal labour law, sophisticated corporate antiunion tactics, and broad-based opposition from employers in Koreatown. Campaign strategies that worked in one setting were not easily transferable, this and other cases studied in this volume show. But one great strength of the workers' centre model, these essays demonstrate, is its adaptability to changing conditions.

A third point concerns the complex relationship that has emerged between LA workers' centres and unions. In most cases, workers' centres have arisen to serve the needs of immigrants who lack access to union representation – often because unions have concluded that some labour markets are too fluid or precarious to organize or that efforts to unionize workers in these sectors would not repay the significant investment of resources necessary to overcome employer opposition. In sectors neglected by unions, workers' centres have proven adept at mobilizing opinion, exerting community pressure, and developing creative legal leverage points during individual campaigns, but they have had a difficult time building ongoing vehicles for worker empowerment that can rival traditional unions. They are often under-networked, usually underfunded, and almost always dependent on foundation support. While workers' centres and unions are potentially complementary forms of organization, forging successful partnerships

between them has not been an easy task, these case studies suggest.

And yet there are signs of a growing convergence between workers' centres and unions, if the LA experiences is any indication. Indeed, this is the final point that stands out. Perhaps the greatest indicator of this possible convergence is to be found in the car wash workers' campaign now underway in Los Angeles, described in an informative essay by Garea and Stern. The Steelworkers have now become engaged in that campaign. If successful, it could provide a model for similar collaborations aimed at organizing low-wage workers.

Only time will tell if such models will flourish in the years ahead. But, if they do, then future historians will no doubt see the past 20 years of labour activism in Los Angeles as having provided a seedbed for the rebirth of the labour movement. The essays in this volume thus offer us not only an informative account of the some of the most vibrant and creative organizing campaigns to have emerged in recent years, but they may also provide a glimpse of labour's future.

JOSEPH A. McCARTIN

Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor
and the Working Poor
Georgetown University

Amanda Tattersall, *Power in Coalition: Strategies for Strong Unions and Social Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2010)

THE TITLE OF THIS book makes clear Tattersall's two prime objectives in writing it – to gain a better understanding of how community-union coalitions pursuing social justice initiatives can succeed, and to provide unions with a rationale and a game plan for forming positive-sum coalitions with community organizations in order to increase their power and promote renewal. She accomplishes these

objectives by analyzing the dynamic forces that shaped the outcomes achieved by three such coalitions, each active over a four to five year period. The three case studies were situated in Australia, the United States and Canada.

The layout of the book is quite straightforward. It begins with an introduction that explains how the author's background as a community and union organizer fueled her interest in coalition-building, which eventually became the topic of her doctoral research and subsequently resulted in the authorship of this book. The introductory chapter contains a brief discussion of the research methodology employed – documentary research, observation and interviews – and briefly summarizes the main findings of the study. In Chapter One, the literature underpinning the study is reviewed, and the research variables defined. The next three chapters are devoted to the case studies. In Chapter Five, the overall study findings about how coalitions succeed, and some of the implications of union participation in such coalitions for increasing union power and for union renewal, are set out. In the concluding chapter, Tattersall looks beyond her data to other instances of coalition success to reiterate her point that coalitions can be extremely effective at bringing about social change. She also provides practical tips on how to make them work.

The three case studies are the book's centrepiece. Tattersall begins by situating each within its political and institutional context, then describing it in detail. From the community unionism literature she identifies what she claims are three elements shared by all coalitions: the existence of common concerns, the types of organizational relationships and organizational structures developed, and the geographic locations and level(s) at which the coalition operates, whether it be local, state or provincial, or national.

From her own experience as a community and union organizer she identifies four types of successful outcomes that can be achieved by coalitions: realizing targeted goals, developing a greater ability to influence the political structure, sustaining long-term positive relationships among coalition partners, and increasing the capacity of each coalition partner to act, for instance by increasing the abilities of its leader(s). Her analytical strategy is to examine the interplay between the elements and the outcomes achieved in each case study and to infer possible relationships between them. Useful summary tables of findings are provided within each case study to help the reader navigate the level of detail reported.

In Chapter Five, through within-case and cross-case comparisons, Tattersall identifies five coalition strategies that lead to success: choosing fewer, rather than more, coalition partners; choosing strong coalition leaders; connecting the mutual self-interest of coalition partners with a justice agenda; carefully planning the timing of coalition activities, taking advantage of legislative and electoral opportunities; and getting the local organizations on-side to increase political influence. These recommendations, derived from her extensive and transparent analytical process, and based on data collected from multiple sources, appear to be both credible and specific enough to be useful to coalition organizers.

Her findings give rise to three theoretical propositions, two of which appear to be fairly non-controversial: "First, coalitions are most successful when they achieve social change while operating in a way that builds organizational strength for their participating organizations ... Second, a coalition's ability to achieve success is shaped by the strategic choices of coalition participants whose actions are affected by their particular political context." (158) On the latter point, she

notes that coalitions are constrained by their histories as well. These two propositions could be applicable in a variety of contexts, and could lead to the development of new theory or the extension of existing theory, serving academic interests as well as providing guidance to coalition activists.

Her third proposition states unequivocally that coalitions help renew unions: "coalitions are a source of power for unions, not simply because they supplement a union's objectives with the resources of another organization but because they help renew unions." (3) That assertion, I feel, is somewhat debatable. Tattersall's own study indicates that achieving and sustaining the positive-sum coalitions required for union renewal is extremely difficult. She also admits that, in her experience, unions are more likely to form what she calls transactional coalitions, whereby they cooperate with community groups primarily to serve their own interests, resulting in the formation of short-term, utilitarian relationships. She further acknowledges the existence of union members who question the legitimacy of union efforts to pursue anything other than the narrow economic interests of their members, and recognizes that lack of membership support is a significant obstacle to the formation of the type of long-term, mutually beneficial relationships with community groups. So while I can agree that coalition formation *could* help renew unions, that source of renewal is only available to those unions willing and able to pursue social unionism in coalition with community groups.

Overall this is a solid study, well-designed, well-implemented and well-presented, useful to both activists and academics. It has credible conclusions and demonstrates convincingly that carefully chosen case studies can be useful for theory generation. Nonetheless, social

movement theory would also have had considerable relevance to the research question being addressed, given that all the community-union coalitions Tattersall studied appear to be a particular type of social movement organization. While the work of social movement theorists was cited throughout the book, the literature reviewed in Chapter One leaves unclear the extent to which social movement theory actually informed this study. Had it played a more prominent role, this study might have been a theory-testing as well as a theory-generating study that might have enriched our understanding of how *all* social movement organizations, not just community-union coalitions, can achieve success. However, this in no way detracts from the obvious strengths of this study. Given the richness of the case data collected, perhaps some propositions along broader lines can yet be developed.

JANICE FOLEY

University of Regina

Robyn Magalit Rodriguez, *Migrants for Export: How the Philippine State Brokers Labor to the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2010)

A GROWING NUMBER of scholars have focused on the conditions and struggles of migrant workers, new immigrants and racialized communities in regard to globalization, the reconstituting of capitalist relations and labour. Most of these studies have tended to focus upon the host countries in which they work. However, Rutgers University sociologist Robyn Rodriguez applies ethnographic methods to study the Philippine state and the migration of Filipino workers, which highlights the roles that the state plays in preparing, mobilizing, sending and regulating its citizens for work abroad.

Almost 10 per cent of the Philippines' total population is employed in over

two hundred countries across the world. Philippine citizens have come to be the most globalized workforce on the planet. Situating her analysis of the emergence of this system of state labour brokerage in a framework which attends to its historical antecedents of the US colonial labour system in the early 20th century, as well as the broader context of contemporary global capitalism, Rodriguez notes that "[s]everal institutional precursors to the contemporary labor brokerage state can be identified in the colonial labor system, including the expansion of training programs, the role of labor recruiters, and the role of the state in facilitating out-migration." (6) She describes how the process has become institutionalized and intrinsic to the Philippine state's neoliberal logic, its marketing strategies aimed at host countries and employers, and the ways in which it encourages sustained linkages between overseas workers and the Philippines. The Philippine state, Rodriguez contends, has reconfigured and redefined citizenship, rearticulating ideas of nationalism and national belonging for the purposes of brokering labour to the world. This construction of citizenship fosters a sense of national belonging through migration. Indeed, migrant workers are held up as '*bagong bayani*' – new heroes – who must dutifully sacrifice to send remittances back to the Philippines.

Rodriguez vividly illustrates how workers are reduced to commodities to be bartered and traded globally: "As a labor broker the Philippine state gives over its citizens' livelihoods to the vagaries of global labor markets even as it expects them to support their loved ones who themselves are subject to the precariousness of everyday life under conditions of neoliberal globalization in the Philippines." (27) Her book exposes and analyzes the sophisticated mechanisms, structures and disciplines through which

the Philippine state exports workers. The Philippine state's transnational migration bureaucracy includes state-created training and education programs such as TESDA (Technical Education and Skills Development Authority) to prepare Filipinas and Filipinos to meet demands of specific labour markets across the world, from Fiji to Florida, and all points in between. Meanwhile, official agencies such as the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration and the International Labor Affairs Service generate and monitor immigration intelligence, collecting data on trends in immigration policies, monitoring trends (and projections of future trends) in labour markets, as well as drawing on racialized and gendered logics in order to be able to effectively market workers to foreign employers and governments. Rodriguez highlights the gendered dimensions of exporting migrant workers, as women workers (especially those out-migrating as domestics) began to outpace the out-migration of male workers from the Philippines.

In a neocolonial, neoliberal state like the Philippines, labour brokerage functions to address the failures of so-called 'development.' "It is a peculiar kind of 'trickle up' development as individual migrants' earnings abroad become a source of foreign capital for the Philippine state." (*xviii*) Indeed, drawing on evidence from interviews with officials and official policy documents, Rodriguez contends that labour brokerage and export is part of an explicit strategy which attempts to contain the social impacts of neoliberal globalization and act as a safety valve to limit the growth of militant social movements in the Philippines in response to widespread social, political and economic injustices.

Rodriguez exposes the contradictions between claims that the government safeguards the rights of migrant workers

and its interests in sustaining outflows of migrant workers. Indeed the state uses repatriation and other disciplinary actions such as sanctions against workers, who are viewed as threats to the Philippines' relations with host countries and foreign employers. She shows how Philippine embassies and consular staff play an active role in constituting migrant workers as a privileged community with a special set of obligations to send remittances to the Philippines. The limits and contradictions of the rights which the Philippine government supposedly extends and protects to its citizens who labour overseas are vividly explored in a chapter on Filipina and Filipino workers in Brunei. Here (as she does throughout the book) Rodriguez draws from archival research of Philippine government documents, interviews with Philippine migration bureaucrats and migrant workers, ethnographic observations of the migration bureaucracy and research in Brunei to investigate how the Philippine government intervened in a strike by hundreds of Filipina and Filipino garment workers in 2001.

Rodriguez writes accessibly and engagingly, deftly linking 'big picture' analysis of international political economy, geopolitics, and the reconfiguration of the state with the micropolitics of the actual practices and lived experiences of the everyday, mundane bureaucratic processes and actions which govern them. In this way, attending to both policy and legislative frameworks which regulate and authorize the lives of migrant workers, as well as the micro-politics of power, the book is a richly textured critical ethnographic study.

The Philippine state has arguably developed the most advanced, sophisticated model for transnationalizing labour brokerage as an institutional form. It plays a key role in promoting the liberalization of mobility of labour through regional

and multilateral trade, investment and economic forums such as ASEAN and APEC, and is now a key player in UN initiated "Global Forum on Migration and Development." It is held up as a model for migration management to other labour-exporting countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, and China. The book points the way forward for further country-specific studies.

Rodriguez's work is informed by, and grounded in, her own critical engagement with migrant justice movement networks. The book's final chapter turns to a discussion of how, through mobilization and movement-building in networks like *MIGRANTE* or the newly-formed International Migrants' Alliance, migrant workers are confronting capital and state power in struggles for justice and dignity in both labour-sending and labour-receiving countries, as well as constituting important forces within broader national and international struggles for social change. Through their activism, migrant workers and their organizations also contest the concepts of rights and citizenship promoted by the Philippine state, what Rodriguez calls "a radical revisioning of citizenship based on a noncapitalist order." (151)

Migrants for Export is not only an important contribution to scholarship on migration and labour. It also challenges analyses which suggest that states are no longer significant players in a globalized and transnational world. This book deserves to be read in a wide range of disciplines at university and college levels, as well as by organizers and activists involved in immigration and labour (in) justice struggles.

AZIZ CHOUDRY
McGill University

Jane Will, Kavita Datta, Yarra Evans, Joanna Herbert, Jon May, and Cathy McIlwaine, *Global Cities at Work: New Migrant Divisions of Labour* (New York: Pluto Press 2010)

BY FOCUSING THE LENS on the capital city of London, U.K., and its world of paid work, authors of this book are able to present a close-up picture of the lives of migrant ('foreign-born') workers within the city's labour market. In fully understanding the picture, the authors connect local and national realities to transnational trajectories within which they operate. The latter is what characterizes London as a "global" city.

The book presents a complex and comprehensive analysis in that it begins with political economy discussions (Chapters One and Two), yet it is very accessible, including some of the most lucid descriptions of a neoliberal system that I have seen, as well as a thorough engagement with relevant theoretical literature. The density of this discussion is balanced in the middle sections (Chapters Three through Six) with narratives of life, relationships and survival from low-waged, precarious workers themselves. The latter include migrants from within the European Union (EU) as well as beyond it; asylum-seekers, whom we might refer to as refugees or refugee claimants; students with limited work visas; visitors with work permits; and a whole range of irregular migrants or undocumented workers. The complexity and comprehensiveness of the information in the chapters comes alive through the experiences of workers drawn from 429 conversations including longer encounters with over 100 workers. Chapter Seven focuses on finding a voice and collective organisation among these migrant workers which are different from their predecessors of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Finally, Chapter Eight reflects on the role of the

trade union movement in the UK. These historical and contemporary realities are framed within the machinations of the British state with particular reference to its migration, immigration, citizenship, labour and social wage policies as well as that of supra-state institutions, such as that of the EU. Apart from being informative, I found the chapters to be extremely helpful in making sense of what may be happening in other global cities, such as Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver.

The main argument of the authors is that global cities like London now have a 'migrant' division of labour, thus adding to the racial, gender and ethnic division of labour characterizing the labour force before the 1980s, which included 'new Commonwealth' immigrants from independent nations of Africa and Asia who took up the least desirable jobs in health-care, transportation, factories and mills; however they had citizenship rights. In contrast to that, by 2006, about 35 per cent of London's working age population were born overseas, many of whom are not eligible for citizenship status, some being of irregular status. By 2001, it is estimated that there were about half a million "irregular" migrants (undocumented) in London alone. This is largely a result of U.K.'s 5-tiered immigration policy which has encouraged highly skilled and professionalized immigrants and deterred less skilled immigrants. This is not unlike other immigrant-receiving countries, such as Canada and Australia. Among unskilled workers, the state (and employers) have a clear preference for EU workers who happen to be white and who have the legal right to work in any European country. The least preferred are those who are beyond the EU and those who are undocumented, who are by and large people of colour. Details of this system are clearly presented in the book.

Changes made by New Labour government in April 2000 have made foreign

students, tourists, work permit-holders, asylum-seekers and of course undocumented workers ineligible to a whole gamut of rights that cover those who hold citizenship status. These include labour rights, access to welfare benefits and rights to family re-union. Moreover, low-paid, what we would call precarious workers, in London are "super-diverse," in the authors' words, in that they include those from the A8 countries of Eastern Europe that joined the original EU15 in 2004; Bulgaria and Romania that joined them in 2007; asylum-seekers and irregular workers from sub-Saharan African countries, Asia and South America, concentrated in the lower end of the labour market. In contrast, those from the original EU15, Japan, Korea, the old Commonwealth countries and the US are doing well in skilled, professional and highly paid jobs, partly because the immigration system draws from the upper classes of these countries. The other key feature of this labour market is the unemployment and welfare-dependent British citizens who are the traditional working class, displaced due to restructuring and neoliberal policies of British employers and the state. Most of them have opted to rely on welfare payments rather than on low-income jobs that keep them hovering around the poverty line. This 'native' group includes members of earlier immigrants who have settled and become citizens, including ones from newly independent countries in Asia and Africa. The ones who are in the labour force are those who have no recourse to welfare or other state-sponsored programs, that is non-citizens. This is the basis of the authors' argument for a "new migrant division of labour."

The book also points to innovative forms of organizing of this new working class, many of whom are in temporary and precarious job situations which challenge traditional trade union strategies.

This book is valuable for comparative studies of the labour market and organizing strategies in global cities. In this sense, the book could be useful not only for academics but also for activists. An interesting issue raised is the strategic importance of faith-based organizing.

The only sticking point I have with the authors is the characterization of a migrant division of labour which is supposedly new. There is an implication that there was no migrant-citizen dynamic in the pre-1980s period and that what we have today is something categorically novel. It is implied that in earlier decades, immigrants and asylum seekers became British citizens, therefore the politics of being migrant or citizen was not significant. This is debatable. Citizenship does not only consist of a legal document. It involves inclusion of 'outsiders' into a (white) nation and is a highly contentious process. Despite having citizenship on paper, were earlier immigrants accepted as Britishers? Part of the racism they faced was that Blacks, which included Asians in those years, were never considered as part of the 'Union Jack.'

As against that, today's non-white precarious workers are not only racialized socially but also legally by being denied British citizenship. EU workers who are part of the migrant working class hold a 'European' (white) identity and are preferred by employers over their non-white counterparts. Employer preference of white workers over non-white workers continues. Old and new forms of exclusions could be analyzed in a more nuanced manner.

No doubt, the class divisions in migrant and immigrant communities have become more significant, which have inevitably changed the forms of racism experienced by them and their identification as 'British,' 'Black,' 'Indian' or 'Bangladeshi.' There are highly skilled, middle class immigrants who are eligible for

citizenship rights unlike their unskilled working class counterparts. The issues of class divisions among migrant/immigrant communities and its impact on anti-racism organizing could be further explored.

Overall, I recommend this book highly for activists and researchers, and for undergraduate and graduate courses.

TANIA DAS GUPTA
York University

Fred Magdoff and Michael D. Yates, *The ABCs of Economic Crisis: What Working People Need to Know* (New York: Monthly Review Press 2009)

IN THE PREFACE to their book, Magdoff and Yates write that they aim to "describe and explain the 'The Great Recession' ... in straightforward and easy to understand language." Another aim of their book is to provide labour and other activists with an understanding of economic crises that helps labour activists to organize against employer and government efforts to let working classes pay the bill for capitalist crises. Regarding this goal, the book could not be timelier. Written and published in the midst of the recession, 2009, the fallout from it, including lay-offs, cuts in social spending and slashing of labour rights, is just coming down. Though there were massive mobilizations, from Greece to England, Ireland and Wisconsin, against this latest wave of anti-labour policies, effective responses are still lacking. What do Magdoff and Yates provide to the development of such strategies?

In the first chapter of their book, they remind readers of how complacent the public was before the crisis hit. The networks of corporate media, government spokespersons and business-friendly economists spread the word of ever-lasting prosperity while the small number of left-leaning economists who warned of

the dangers of escalating debt and speculative bubbles were either completely ignored or considered cranks. As a result, most people, no matter how rich or poor, educated or uneducated, were taken by complete surprise when the Wall Street crash of 2008 sent the world economy into a tailspin, with increasing numbers of people losing their jobs, homes, and pensions. While the crisis was still unfolding, a surge of crisis-literature filled the bookstores. Most of these publications, often written by the same folks who had denied the possibility of a crisis just a few months earlier, focused on financial markets and government regulations. Without showing much, if any, interest in the effect the crisis had on ordinary people, they argued about the question whether the crisis was caused by too much government intervention or too little. At the most, they considered the 'irrational exuberance' of financial markets, supposedly caused by greed and misinformation among investors, as a problem for the otherwise smooth functioning of markets for consumer goods, services, and labour.

Magdoff and Yates take a different route. In subsequent chapters they explain how the production of goods and services is organized, how income is distributed in capitalist economies, how such economies develop, and why these developments led to an explosion of debt and speculation. Along the way, they stress the impact of conflicting social interests and politics on capitalist development and put forward political alternatives that, instead of worsening the working and living conditions for many, could help to make the world better for them. The suggestions they advance in this respect are very similar to the ones that were on the agendas of reformist labour movements and social democratic parties before these groups turned to neoliberalism, and they include

job creation, progressive taxation and public health care. Among the authors' more controversial suggestions, at least from the point of view of classical labour reformism, is a non-imperialist government and an ecologically sustainable overhaul of the entire economy. Magdoff and Yates invite their readers to discuss and extend their suggested wish list for progressive change as an exercise to free their minds from the profits over people mentality that the above mentioned business-media-government complex relentlessly propagates.

Yet, and this distinguishes them from the labour reformism that seeks to reach a compromise with the rich and powerful, Magdoff and Yates also point to the fierce opposition that attempts to achieve social reforms of any kind will meet and historically has met. Such opposition does not result from lack of persuasion, as social democrats often argue, but from the social interests of wealth-owners and bosses in capitalist economies that are torn by the imperative to accumulate capital, imposed by competition between companies, and diminishing investment opportunities that lead to stagnation and squeeze profits.

The economic analysis that informs the authors' skepticism about the room for compromise between social reform and capitalist claims of power and profit continues the tradition of Paul Sweezy, Paul Baran and Harry Magdoff. These three authors developed the theory of capitalist stagnation in a number of books and a stream of articles in the socialist journal *Monthly Review* from the 1940s to the 1980s. Fred Magdoff, (Harry's son) and Yates reiterate these ideas and apply them to developments from the 1980s to today, a period widely associated with neoliberalism. They remind readers of the growth potential that came with industrialization in the late 19th century and with the Cold War arms race and mass consumer

society from the 1950s to the early 1970s. They also show that the end of such periods of expansion, when the tendency towards stagnation became dominant, capitalists tried to retain profits by means of wage and tax cuts, lay-offs and speed-ups for the remaining workforce. This is exactly what happened, for example, in the 1970s when capitalists in the US and elsewhere embraced neoliberalism as a profit-retaining strategy, which, in order to be successful, turned them against the welfare state compromise of the post-wwii period.

The accumulation of financial wealth, Magdoff and Yates explain, that unfolded since the 1980s was the result of successful redistribution from wages to profits on the one hand and a lack of profitable investment opportunities on the other. To keep the economy going, albeit at a much lower growth rate compared to the post-wwii prosperity, a significant share of this financial wealth was lent out as credit to households whose disposable incomes were in decline as a result of the neoliberal wage-squeeze. The capitalist turn against social reform and the complementary growth of financial wealth and debt were the ingredients that eventually made the Great Recession. Attempts to contain the crisis after it had broken out led to large-scale bailouts of shareholders and banks and, as a consequence, an explosion of public deficits. In effect, the financial crisis of the capitalist economy was transformed into a fiscal crisis of the state. Since the time Magdoff and Yates finished their book the fiscal crisis has become the pretext for austerity measures on an unprecedented scale. This radicalization of neoliberal policies, which was triggered, ironically enough, by a crisis of neoliberal capitalism, shows clearly that there is no room for compromise between labour and capital, at least not in the foreseeable future. The sheer defense of current income standards

and working conditions, which are dire enough for huge numbers of poor workers, requires a dedicated fight-back; any effort to improve these standards and to create new jobs, social security measures and an ecologically sustainable economy is up against even greater opposition. Magdoff and Yates help labour activists understand the odds; whether these will be taken on is not a theoretical but a practical question.

INGO SCHMIDT
Athabasca University

Mitchell A. Orenstein, *Privatizing Pensions: The Transnational Campaign for Social Security Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2008)

MITCHELL ORENSTEIN'S book, *Privatizing Pensions: The Transnational Campaign for Social Security Reform*, focuses on the role of national and transnational actors in shaping pension and welfare state policy. It will be of interest to pension policy scholars, especially those interested in the recent spread of support for mandatory individual savings accounts.

Orenstein investigates the recent growth of pension reforms, including the introduction of individual accounts in the 1990s and early 2000s. He notes that in the past two decades, over 30 countries have implemented changes to their pension laws. He contrasts these rapid changes with the relatively slow initial adoption of social security pensions, which occurred primarily between the 1880s and 1990s. The introduction of social security pensions, as he shows, moved from place to place, with higher income countries adopting pensions in earlier decades, and lower income countries in later years. The dates that Orenstein provides regarding initial adoption of social security pensions, together with

the dates of more recent privatization reforms, constitute significant contributions to pension policy research.

Most traditional explanations of welfare state and pension policies focus on the role of political actors within nations. Yet as Orenstein argues, many transnational figures have been influential in privatizing pensions. Transnational policy actors have no formal decision-making authority in the countries whose policies they wish to influence, so they rely on informal means. This influence includes expert and moral authority as well as resource leveraging. Orenstein demonstrates that policy-making processes have distinct stages, including development, transfer, and implementation. The role of different actors, including transnational policy actors, change from stage to stage.

Orenstein explores three case studies of pension privatization in detail, namely Hungary, Poland, and Kazakhstan. These studies demonstrate conclusively that transnational policy actors have played a significant role in policy change. Orenstein also shows that of the 30 countries investigated, only three, Korea, Slovenia, and Venezuela, were able to rebuff transnational actors' efforts. Moreover, two specific countries' privatization programs, Sweden and the UK, had no apparent involvement of transnational actors. The fact that these latter are higher income countries than those where the transnational actors are more influential leads Orenstein to suggest that transnational actors may be more influential in middle and lower income countries.

Factors that make transnational policy actors particularly effective, according to Orenstein, are the abilities to unify disparate people around a distinct set of policy ideas, to use multiple lines of persuasion, and to adapt to changing political and economic pressures. The World Bank has been particularly successful

in maximizing these abilities. As Orenstein shows, the Bank has typically used seminars and conferences to identify key officials in finance departments, and to persuade these officials to act as champions of pension reform in their countries. The Bank has also provided technical support to such figures so as to help them convince other key actors in their national government, as well as to argue persuasively in discussions with stakeholders and the public. In some cases the Bank has placed its staff in ministries so as to assist with reform processes. On occasion, leading staff of the ministries have been recruited to work for the Bank. And in some cases, the expert and moral leadership of the Bank has been reinforced by making pension reform a condition of loans from the Bank or from the International Monetary Fund.

Transnational policy actors have tended to act in coalitions, and Orenstein identifies a number of actors who have supported the Bank in its reform efforts. These include the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), regional development banks, the former Chilean Labour Minister who introduced individual accounts in that country, José Pinera and financial institutions like ING and Citi Group which funded conferences, and think tanks like the Cato Institute.

Orenstein makes it clear that researchers should look beyond the role of domestic policy actors in trying to understand pension and welfare state reform. Thus he emphasizes the importance of transnational actors in shaping policy. But, even if one accepts his interpretation of the role of the World Bank in recent pension reforms (and his evidence is very strong), it is not clear whether one is looking at the impact of a particular organization in a particular temporal and ideological context (neoliberal), or whether one is

looking at a more general phenomenon of transnational influence.

Some evidence that might cause caution regarding transnational influence is provided in *Privatizing Pensions* itself. Orenstein notes that throughout the time that the Bank was promoting privatized pension reform, there was a rival coalition of transnational policy actors centred in the International Labour Organization and the International Social Security Association. This coalition tended to promote reforms to existing pay-as-you-go social security pensions rather than privatization. The two coalitions tended, on balance, to be opposing forces and they could not both get their way. For a variety of reasons including the greater resources of the Bank, the latter tended to be more successful. But, the point is that being a transnational policy actor – even ones with a great deal of expertise and moral standing like the ILO and ISSA – is not enough to guarantee influence.

It is also not clear whether the Bank's pension reform proposals are themselves a stable unit of analysis. In 1999 the Bank held a pension conference that provided a display of disagreements on pension policy within the Bank. A Vice-President of the Bank, Joe Stiglitz, co-authored a paper that provided a strong critique of the Bank's privatization efforts. This development is important, and might have led Orenstein to suggest that the Bank's position has changed over the years. Orenstein does cite the adaptability of the Bank and its willingness to learn from its experiences, but he does not explore the evolution of the Bank's views through time.

A minor, and related, difficulty is Orenstein's use of the terms "multi-pillar approach" and "privatization" as synonyms when characterizing the Bank's pension policy. In fairness, the Bank did promote a three-pillar approach to pensions in which the second pillar would be

mandatory, privately administered individual accounts. But the terms do place the policy accent on different points and at times it is important to know where the Bank was placing the greater emphasis, especially in light of the Bank's internal debate.

Finally, *Privatizing Pensions* touches on a number of important issues that would have benefited from more extensive analyses. These include the strength of democratic governments in view of the role attributed to transnational policy actors, and the question of whether the privatization campaign was an exercise in imposing US values upon the world. Further, given the prominent role played by transnational policy actors in formulating reform and the more limited role attributed to domestic stakeholders, one wonders about the long term viability of the reforms initiated by the Bank. Orenstein notes some partial reversals of reforms but speculates that pension privatization will continue to spread. Nevertheless, since the time of his writing, there have been two dramatic reversals of privatization efforts, when governments in Argentina and Hungary "nationalized" individual retirement savings accounts. Indeed, pension reforms have to be sustainable in a financial sense; they also require sustained and broadly based political support.

BOB BALDWIN

Pension Consultant, Ottawa

Jo Doezema, *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking* (London and New York: Zed Books 2010).

OVER THE PAST 15 years, Jo Doezema has become one of the most important theorists of sex workers' rights. Her latest book is a rich, theoretically-engaged contribution. It does not offer the ease of ready, melodramatic arcs and moral

fireworks of such titles as *The Slave Next Door*, *Invisible Chains*, *The Natashas*, and *Not For Sale* – a cursory selection of books on trafficking in one Canadian university bookstore. Rather, it provides a complex analysis of the social and political functions of just such trafficking narratives.

Trafficking has long deserved a sharp dissection. As Doezema points out, feminists have been among those at the forefront the push to analyze the power involved in constructing social issues. Yet, with a few exceptions, in the case of trafficking most research has been positivist, seeking to lay out the “facts” about trafficking or touching upon power only as much as it is seen as a cause of the “reality of trafficking.” Doezema examines such constructions and the power dynamics between the “discourse masters” who give meaning to “trafficking in women” in research, media, law and policy, and the overlapping categories of women, migrants and sex workers who become “the object of their concern.” To do so, she investigates the genealogy of trafficking narratives within the “white slavery” panic at the turn of the century in Western Europe and North America. She then puts the elements of the latter in dialogue with the narratives being constructed at the negotiations around the UN Protocol on Trafficking.

Doezema has previously argued that narratives of trafficking have often coupled their arguments for women’s protection with narratives that removed possibilities for women’s agency. However, here Doezema goes a step farther in recognizing that not just dominant but oppositional groups have claimed a stake in constructing trafficking. Indeed, law-and-order groups on the right and anti-globalization groups on the left; anti-migration groups and migrant groups; labour activists and anti-labour corporate lobbies; and evangelical Christians and

structural feminists have found common ground in holding up “trafficking” as, in George W. Bush’s words, “a special evil.” In order to account for this complexity and to escape what Doezema terms the rather “bloodless” nature of discourse analysis, she foregrounds the multiple political conflicts at play by turning to theories of myth and ideology.

Doezema does not use myth to signify that individual stories of trafficking are false or that there is some opposing reality or truth to be exposed. The issue is not one of correcting inaccurate statistics, connotations or problematic definitions within trafficking narratives. Rather she seeks to understand myths as the product of (sometimes competing) ideologies. For Doezema, the myth’s interest is sociological not epistemological. She draws her analysis from Laclau’s vision of myths as necessary social phenomena that act as vehicles for expressing social ideals. In this vision, myths can only be countered by new myths. This theoretical framework allows Doezema to engage with trafficking while avoiding reproducing and buttressing the very construct she is taking apart. It also allows her to lay out the “power of political myths” and in this case, “their devastating real-life consequences for migrants and sex workers.” (45)

In applying the concept of myth to ‘white slavery,’ Doezema interrogates both its form and its function. On the level of form, such myths rely on a number of narrative devices, including melodramatic plots, the victims’ whiteness, purity and innocence and the figure of the pimp as a “brutal and sexually rapacious” dark/Jewish/Black man. (85) Implicit in the construction of the innocent victim is her shadow figure, the guilty prostitute, the woman who by virtue of her consent to have sex is both damaged and damaging. Here Doezema begins to weave her second major analytic strand: the way

in which consent has been a historically shifting racialized and gendered marker to distinguish between innocent victims and dangerous whores.

On the level of function, Doezema posits that in the progressive era United States, myths of white slavery were potent vehicles for articulating race and gender relations. In what is perhaps one of her strongest moments, she examines how the Blackness of the pimp figure was used to underscore the white slavery victim's innocence, making it impossible for her to have consented, and could only exist in opposition to Black women, for whom consent was considered irrelevant. The term white slavery marked the issue as somehow different and worse than 'slavery,' that is, than Black slavery. In a twisted flipping of the history of slavery in America, whites were now constructed as the victims and sexually predatory Blacks were the perpetrators, a narrative that fueled the lynching of Black men and the criminalization of interracial relationships. Doezema explains with great nuance how middle-class white female reformers positioned themselves as 'abolitionists' and allied with prohibitionist Christian purity campaigners to rescue prostitutes through reform institutions and state repression.

Doezema then shifts forward to the UN Negotiations around the 2000 Trafficking Protocol in which she participated as a lobbyist for the human rights caucus. While the sudden move almost a century forward is jarring at first, it highlights with great clarity links between the white slavery myth and current constructions of trafficking. Once more, claims around race, gender, sexuality, migration, labour and citizenship are being played out through myth and the familiar "twin figures of the prostitute as chaos bringer and defiled innocent." (109) Indeed, Doezema describes a persistent tension in the negotiations between needing to

protect the state *from* the "dangerous prostitute" or the "innocent victim" who needed to be protected *by* the state.

The current day abolitionists have organized into their own counter-lobby at these negotiations and have sought to have all migration for sex work considered trafficking in the protocol. In order to construct all women who sell sex as victims, Doezema contends that abolitionists attempt to make the figure of the sex worker disappear, either attaching her to children or to pimps and traffickers. The abolitionist lobby found common cause with prohibitionist states in supporting increasingly repressive measures against sex work and migration. Doezema spends some time illustrating the ways in which this partnership has resulted in policy developments that have been highly regressive for sex workers and migrants in many countries.

To her great credit, Doezema also casts a critical eye on the Human Rights Caucus. In their attempts to remove all sex workers from the orbit of those who must be saved or punished, this group distinguishes between consenting and forced sex workers. Here, Doezema contends that the marker of consent again allows the reinscription of innocent victim and guilty prostitute. In so doing, it produces meagre protections (or controls) for sex workers able to fit into the victim category with no rights protections or working condition guarantees for all other sex workers. This is particularly troubling given that Doezema cites a wealth of research that indicates that most cases of forced sex work, debt-bondage and confinement are of women who work or consent to work in the industry, but are lied to about the conditions. One might add to Doezema's analysis that the impact of this construction is creeping into constructs of labour more broadly where issues of whether or not a worker consented to work are being foregrounded

at the expense of discussions of working conditions.

Doezema ends by calling for a new framework and a new myth, one that seeks not state protections but increased power and freedom for those who sell sex; and one that dispenses with the dichotomy between forced and voluntary workers as its organizing fulcrum. However, she stops short of offering up what this myth could be, and leaves readers to ponder for themselves what a more emancipatory myth would look like.

ANNA-LOUISE CRAGO

Liesbeth Sluiter, *Clean Clothes: A Global Movement to End Sweatshops* (London: Pluto Press 2009)

OF ALL THE GLOBAL justice movements over the past twenty years, the anti-sweatshop movement best exemplifies popular transnational resistance to neoliberal attempts to impose 19th century forms of class domination on the world's workers. And if any one industry best exemplifies the global 'race to the bottom' in labour standards through the dynamics of competitive labour markets and the manifold cultures of patriarchy, it is the global garment industry. The story of Europe's innovative and biggest anti-sweatshop network in Liesbeth Sluiter's *Clean Clothes* provides a timely assessment of the Clean Clothes Campaign and introduces us to key debates about where the global anti-sweatshop movement might be heading.

Originating in the Netherlands at the start of the 1990s, the Clean Clothes Campaign has grown into a loose, cooperative network of nationally based organizations in Europe, with links to labour organizations, NGOs and anti-sweatshop activists around the world. The CCC's origins reflect the end of the Cold War and the turn to US-led global neoliberalism.

It was a response to, and mirrored, the rise of a more networked corporate model able to coordinate global production chains, thanks to innovations in communications and transportation technology. Like other NGOs and networks without borders which grew up in the 1990s, it is a child of the internet.

The CCC, like the global anti sweatshop movement generally, was also built on new identities, particularly among Northern youth who intuited new forms of global citizenship. The CCC was, from the outset, internationalist. As Sluiter reports, CCC activists are committed to overcoming consumer-producer and North-South divides. Although child labour has motivated popular outrage in the North against garment sweatshops, the underlying issue is the need to eliminate Northern employers' escape from labour rights enforcement, particularly freedom of association and collective bargaining, in anti-labour regimes in the South.

A central theme of *Clean Clothes* is the gendered nature of garment sweatshops. Sluiter estimates that 84 per cent of the workers in the global clothing and sports shoe industry are women, some 30–40 million women worldwide. They are mostly young, poor, and poorly educated. Many are migrants from rural areas to urban industrial areas in countries such as China, India, Vietnam, and Cambodia. In addition to low pay, long hours, and precarious jobs as workers, they suffer as

women whose children sleep beneath the sewing machine and begin to help out as soon as their fingers can manage to thread a needle; women who wear nothing but black clothes to work when menstruating, because toilet visits are restricted and stains on their clothes will shame them; pregnant women who stand all day; women who are sexually harassed and psychologically intimidated; women who get

paid less than men for the same job; women who have to leave their babies with parents far away. (145)

Much of the book is devoted to assessing the gains and failures of two decades of anti-sweatshop activism. Sluiter provides readers with CCC leaders' own views of their activities. This includes attempts to encourage public institutions in Europe to buy "fair wear" uniforms for their employees. Much of these activists' efforts have focused on "urgent appeal campaigns" to support Southern workers and to inform Northern publics about injustices and production conditions. Some of these campaigns succeeded. For example, when a Taiwanese firm fired union leaders at one of its plants in Nicaragua, an international solidarity campaign by workers at the firm's subsidiary in Lesotho, labour activists in Taiwan and the US, and the CCC, and a court ruling in favour of the fired workers led to them being rehired. The CCC has also been central to international sportswear campaigns, particularly in relation to the Olympic Games and to the European and world soccer championships. And the CCC continues to pressure European governments to adopt legal frameworks to make transnational retailers accountable for labour standards in their global production chains.

The CCC has had important successes over the past two decades, but a major theme of *Clean Clothes* is that, on the whole, too little has been achieved in improving worker rights and working conditions. Despite massive efforts with few resources, and major victories, activists are concerned there has been too much emphasis on mobilizing in the North and that workers and their organizations in the South need to be more central. Some criticize the CCC's focus on corporate social responsibility through

voluntary enforcement of codes of conduct, calling it a "bourgeois tool" that does not fight "capitalism as the cause of workers' exploitation." Indeed, according to Sluiter, "the facts on the ground are sobering."

Overall, wages in the garment sector in developing countries are stagnant or falling. The rights of freedom of association and collective bargaining have to be won again and again, and many battles are lost. Relocations within the industry are rampant, leading to an informalization of economies that undermines workers' lives, including the capacity to fight for a better one. In their support for neoliberal ideology and export led growth, governments fail to enact or enforce labour laws.

Sluiter uses these failures to introduce strategic issues the CCC has been struggling to address. Not least is the impact of competitive pricing by global retailers on the ability of their suppliers to improve wages and working conditions in their factories. Although the wages paid to those who produce clothing are a small fraction of the retail prices consumers pay (an estimated 2.5–5% of the price of sports shoes, for example), the pricing issue remains a formidable barrier. Workers face extraordinary constraints in their struggle to organize. Employers use large reserve armies of workers and cheap labour in many geographic locations to maintain discipline in their factories. To these is added employers' increasing resort to precarious labour markets, particularly through short term contracts, in burgeoning informal labour markets.

The ecological and societal impacts of economic growth and the mass consumerism that has fueled the expansion

of the global garment industry are also challenging the CCC. Yet, as Sluiter points out, criticizing overconsumption means criticizing overproduction, and that goes against improving jobs and even maintaining the jobs of garment workers.

Clean Clothes also analyses complex relationships between CCC activism and corporate cooptation. Where anti sweatshop NGOs face profound financial fragility, and where the power and resources of the retailers, their supply chains, and their political allies seem almost unlimited, the CCC has tried to engage retailers to cooperate with corporate social responsibility. The CCC has limited the cooptation often implicit in this engagement through its principled policy of not certifying brands as 'sweat free' or 'ethical.' A prominent CCC leader explains: "One rack of clean clothes in a sea of dirty ones will lull consumers, while structural change recedes over the horizon." The CCC has also opposed compromising with employers by acquiescing to lower labour standards on the grounds that, among other things, this would legitimate lower standards to the public. However, these refusals have helped to encourage global retailers and employer organizations to circumvent the CCC and other anti-sweatshop organizations by developing their own codes and monitoring programs.

Recognizing that the garment industry "is not going to be cleaned up one workplace at a time," CCC activists are debating new strategies. One orientation, expressed by a CCC activist, is to build links to other non governmental organizations that campaign on related issues including "food, toys, electronics, retail employment, the impact of supermarkets on small shops and on our lives." Another is to extend campaigns to the other links in the global supply chains, including manufacturers and workers. Reflecting

increasing concentration in the industry at the retail and production levels, and geographically in Asia, the CCC is putting more emphasis on developing regional and sectoral approaches. Its Asia Floor Wage campaign is an attempt to unite Asian garment workers in support of doubling the regular wage in each country. There is also stronger emphasis on improving labour regulation through governments and international organizations. Sluiter concludes *Clean Clothes* by arguing that irrespective of the strategy, "there is only one basis for fair and decent working conditions: workers themselves. There will be no respect for labour rights in the garment industry," she emphasizes, "unless workers are able to organize and express themselves freely."

DON WELLS

McMaster University

Leo Panitch and Colin Leys, eds. *Morbid Symptoms: Health Under Capitalism*
(London: The Merlin Press 2009)

THE 46TH VOLUME of the Socialist Register, *Morbid Symptoms*, brings together an eclectic set of papers to investigate health care and capitalism from a "systematically critical standpoint." (ix) In 17 wide-ranging chapters, such disparate topics as medical TV dramas, pharmaceutical industry practices, obesity and the food industry, and maternal mortality in Africa are explored. "Our goal in preparing this volume," write the editors, Leo Panitch and Colin Leys, "was to help develop the historical materialist analysis of health under capitalism." (ix) They note, moreover, that it is imperative to address the "marketisation of public health services, and the way the pharmaceutical, insurance, medical technology and healthcare corporations push to make health care everywhere into a field

of capital accumulation and expand the consumption of medical commodities.” (x) The book is an informative piece of work and generally successful in addressing major medical debates.

Morbid Symptoms focuses explicitly on “the economic, social, and political determinants of health” in an era of neo-liberalism and globalization. (ix) It is an important topic, one justifying further discussion, and the editors duly offer a brief overview of their field. They argue that despite significant and pioneering research by Lesley Doyal, Julian Tudor Hart, and Vicente Navarro in the 1970s, scholars have subsequently failed to build on this line of inquiry. Therefore, *Morbid Symptoms* acts as a corrective and aims to galvanize not only debate in the field but also amongst members of “the Left.” According to Panitch and Leys, it is necessary to shift attention away from the affluent North (especially the United States), where the relationship between capitalism and health produces perverse outcomes, and they also point toward developing countries and economies as constructive categories of analysis. Africa, Cuba, China, Europe and India receive scrutiny and ‘Americanization’ emerges as a predominant theme.

The opening article, written by Colin Leys, establishes many of the book’s governing principles and charts the steady growth of, as the title of this collection suggests, health under capitalism. In an ambitious analysis that connects the recent financial crisis of 2007–2008 with over a hundred of years of history, Leys seeks to explode one core myth: that capitalism promotes health. The myth had its genesis, he suggests, in England’s mortality revolution in the late 19th century. As sanitation, nutrition, and medical knowledge improved so too did life expectancy and physical stature. Thereafter, Leys provides the basic structural frameworks and narratives for many of

the subsequent articles; in sections called “After the Mortality Revolution,” “Public Health,” “Health Care Since the Therapeutic Revolution,” “Health Care and Legitimation: Ideology,” and “The Re-Commodification of Health Care,” Leys chronicles the inexorable rise of capitalism in health care policy-making.

A significant highlight of the book is its emphasis on Africa, as well as such countries as China, India, and Cuba. According to Paula Tibandebage and Maureen Mackintosh, maternal mortality in Sub-Saharan Africa requires further evaluation in the future but also offers a lens – a “gender lens” – to understand the gendered structure of health systems and health policy. Shaouang Wang presents an arresting view of the “double movement” in Chinese health care. In Wang’s estimation, during Mao’s era the health of the population was one of the country’s proudest boasts; with economic reform in the late 1970s, however, a widening gap between regions, between urban and rural populations, and between rich and poor households, invariably harmed the nation’s health. This in turn produced a backlash – a protective counter-movement – that has seen the government allocate more money for health care. Similarly, in a well-researched and compelling overview of health care and policy-making in India, Mohan Rao offers an incisive perspective on the struggle between the public and private models of health care in the context of neoliberal globalization. Rao’s gloomy conclusion holds that at least since the early 1990s the gulf between the two health systems has widened. Consequently, health inequalities have increased. Finally, Julie Feinsilver offers an illuminating and comprehensive account of Cuba’s medical system. Touching on the evolution of Cuba’s health ideology and medical diplomacy, the article provides a well-sourced and refreshing evaluation of

the strengths and weaknesses of Cuban health care.

Morbid Symptoms is not a work strictly of history, but rather a text that adopts an interdisciplinary approach. Indeed, anthropologists, economists, political scientists, physicians, and sociologists all contribute articles; resultantly, the selection of papers is both wide-ranging and haphazard. Problematically, the editors deign not to organize the papers along such thematic lines as geography or to segregate the papers that were heavily weighted with theory. Sometimes this approach works; sometimes it does not. Also, likely to the consternation of historians of medicine, a majority of the articles possess little, if any, original primary or archival research. Nevertheless, scholars of all stripes can surely benefit from this book: the text bridges disparate and innovative subject matters to further expand and enhance the subject of health care policy and economics.

LUCAS RICHERT

University of Saskatchewan

Rod Hill and Tony Myatt, *The Economics Anti-Textbook: A Critical Thinker's Guide to Micro-Economics* (Black Point, NS and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, and London: Zed Books 2010)

IMAGINE BEING AN undergraduate student with a critical social conscience, interested in the all-too-obvious problems of the modern global economy: unemployment, poverty, environmental destruction, financial meltdowns, and the sheer uselessness and wastefulness of so much economic activity. Thinking (reasonably) that the world needs more committed and creative economists working to solve these problems, you enroll in Economics 101 to begin your training. There you are immediately confronted with a contorted and factually erroneous

depiction of human nature (namely that we are motivated by material greed, and nothing else), an analytical method that is other-worldly (the axiomatic assertion of initial assumptions, followed by working out the elegant but irrelevant implications of the resulting theoretical structure), and an endless string of supply-and-demand graphs (which always cross in the middle) or, worse yet, simultaneous equation systems. You would be forgiven for thinking you had accidentally stumbled into a physics class, where the graphs describe the behaviour of atoms, not human beings – except that, in this post-modern era, even physics admits more uncertainty and chaos than neoclassical economics.

Most likely you would abandon the course before the first mid-term, becoming yet another refugee from the dismal science. And the economics profession would thus lose another of what it desperately needs to reverse both declining economics enrolments and the declining relevance of economics: critical-thinking minds determined to apply economic ideas to the solution of real existing crises. A few rare and determined critical thinkers might stick with the discipline, regurgitating what they have been taught in order to pass their exams. Surely, however, in a university, every subject benefits from some debate and challenge, and brave students will want to challenge what they are being taught. But where to begin? Both the subject matter and the methodology are so arcane, and very often so artificially and unnecessarily technical, that well meaning students on their own would be hard-pressed to challenge the orthodox curriculum.

That's where this "anti-textbook" for critical thinking economics students comes in very handy, indeed. Rod Hill and Tony Myatt are members of an all-too-small constituency: heterodox economists teaching in a mainstream

economics department (at the University of New Brunswick). They have assembled an anti-textbook that can be read alongside an orthodox microeconomics course. It provides a needed antidote to the unreal and infuriating doctrines of fundamentalist free-market theory.

Neoclassical economics is traditionally divided (not very successfully) into two broad streams: microeconomics and macroeconomics. (Hill and Myatt cite the old joke that microeconomists are wrong about specific economic issues, whereas macroeconomists are wrong about the economy in general.) In my experience, microeconomics is the more obtuse of the two, particularly removed from the sorts of real-world issues that motivate the interest of many students. However, since orthodox prescriptions, even macroeconomic ones, are ultimately rooted in the underlying microeconomic general equilibrium system, it is essential that even critical economists fully understand that Walrasian micro vision, all the better to critique it more completely and convincingly. So the need for this micro anti-textbook is especially pressing, but the profession could certainly benefit from a companion volume that critiques macroeconomic orthodoxy, as well (which Tony Myatt is currently planning).

The book's introduction states the authors' core thesis: standard textbook treatments of microeconomic theory are an ideologically-motivated distortion of economics, and these caricatures cause great harm by instilling in practitioners and policy-makers a confidence in market mechanisms that is not justified by serious economic inquiry. Their target, they claim, is not mainstream economics in general, but mainstream *textbook* economics. They argue that standard introductory presentations of neoclassical economics oversimplify their subject matter, deny the diversity of opinion that exists even within mainstream circles,

and promotes a unidimensional worship of markets that is neither analytically justified nor appropriate in the real world. All this is surely correct, although in my view there is something more fundamentally off-base with the neoclassical tradition than is implied by this cautiously-stated objective (more on this below).

The next two chapters introduce the reader critically to the methodology of economic analysis: reviewing first the use of abstract models to isolate and analyze the main forces of interest in a complex system, and then the central role of self-adjusting market forces in determining neoclassical outcomes. The authors rightly highlight the unreality of the neoclassical ideal of an anonymous, automatic, ephemeral "market." They show that a market is in fact an embedded social institution and practice, not a neutral automatic omniscient force. Markets embody history, power, and custom – not neutral self-adjustment.

The core of the book then consists of seven chapters that address the most common and important distinct topics covered in a typical microeconomics textbook: consumer behaviour, firm behaviour, market structure, externalities, income distribution, government, and international trade. An appendix considers the 2008–09 global financial crisis, attempting to relate it to the market failures described in earlier chapters. Each chapter begins with a dense summary of the main tenets of orthodox neoclassical textbook material on each topic. (These summaries are useful in and of themselves, especially for those students who might have completed their assigned neoclassical readings and still not have a clue what they were saying!) Then the weak spots of the neoclassical approach are exposed, and the implications of those failures to the overall coherence and policy conclusions of the neoclassical

model are explored. The text is punchy and often humorous; it is illustrated not only with charts and graphs, where relevant, but also with subversive cartoons (by Andy Singer and other illustrators). The book's expansive bibliography provides an awesome collection of heterodox references that will give budding graduate students a huge headstart in surveying the range of critical thought within each subject area. There is some technical material, but it is well-introduced; undergraduate economics students, and even non-economists, should be able to work their way through it. The book thus constitutes a more accessible complement to Steve Keen's wonderful critique of neoclassical thought, *Debunking Economics: The Naked Emperor of the Social Sciences* (Pluto 2001), which pursues similar themes but at a more rigorous intellectual level.

Each chapter even contains a few sample questions that could be posed by a student to their orthodox professor, on the basis of the critique provided in each chapter. It would take a brave student to actually ask these questions. Mind you, I asked questions like them (though not nearly as well-informed) in my own undergrad classes. Luckily, I survived (and even passed the program!), but would have been much successful had I been armed with this book.

My only significant critique of this book probably derives inherently from its basic structure as a topic-by-topic critique of simplistic neoclassical pedagogy. The extremes of neoclassical thought, especially in its stereotypical textbook incarnations, provide an easy target for piece-by-piece disassembly and refutation. The specific critiques catalogued so helpfully by Hill and Myatt are not, for the most part, new. Yet the edifice of Walrasian thought still dominates academic economics and (more importantly) real-world economic discourse

and policy-making. In addition to highlighting the logical failures of specific neoclassical assumptions, models, and conclusions, there is also a way in which neoclassical analysis – rooted in a model of optimizing behaviour by atomistic agents who engage in equal, efficient exchange – fundamentally misportrays the essence of economic activity in real-world capitalism.

We therefore need to do more than just snipe around the edges of the neoclassical edifice – with critiques that ultimately accept the Walrasian portrait of the economy as a place where people exchange things through markets. (My former professor John Eatwell describes this class of criticisms as “imperfectorist” in nature, in the sense that if it were not for some flaw or imperfection in the market mechanism – be it imperfect information, limited rationality, “sticky prices,” or whatever – *then* the assumed mutually beneficial equilibrium would finally come to pass.) That's where we need a textbook that presents a comprehensive and holistic alternative depiction of how the economy actually works. I can imagine one that would start by describing the reality of work, production, accumulation, and innovation under capitalism, highlighting the asymmetry and inequality between different stakeholders (in terms of power and agency, not just income and wealth), describing the core mechanism of production for profit that defines capitalism, explaining the history and institutional reality of money (which neoclassical microeconomic models still have not successfully incorporated), and exploring the dynamics of all these processes for growth, development, cycles, and distribution. This would not constitute an anti-textbook in the sense of refuting specific assumptions and predictions of the Walrasian system. It would, instead, erect a competing intellectual edifice.

There are places in this book, despite the incrementalist mission they set at the outset, where Hill and Myatt do verge on a more fundamentalist critique of neo-classical economics (moving beyond just challenging the formulations of its simplistic textbook variants). For example, in numerous locations in the book they discuss the role of *power* in shaping both production and exchange. That is not an imperfection or a market failure, it is a completely different dimension along which to understand human economic interactions. Their discussion of government and political-economy similarly reveals a more fundamental divergence from the core structures of neoclassical analysis. In this way, Hill and Myatt's catalogue of the many specific failures of neoclassical microeconomics should

hopefully whet the appetite of critical thinking students to pursue completely different, heterodox explanations of how the economy actually works. While many references are provided to examples of this sort of work, Hill and Myatt could be more explicit, in my view, in connecting the dots and guiding the reader to those comprehensive alternative models.

Nevertheless, for students and others who possess a gut-level faith in the potential of economics to make the world a better place, but are constrained by stultifying introductory neoclassical curriculum, this anti-textbook will be invaluable in enhancing their capacity and their confidence to challenge orthodoxy – and ultimately to look beyond it.

JIM STANFORD

Canadian Auto Workers