

BOOK REVIEWS

The Brave New World of Work

Ulrich Beck

Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000 (first published in German 1999), paper, v + 202 pp.

There is no shortage of books about the future of work. This one is well worth reading. It greatly extends and develops Beck's discussion of the 'destandardization of labor' in his *Risk Society*, and makes a contribution which is original, complex, subtle, wide-ranging, sometimes repetitive, but always stimulating.

We are moving, Beck argues, from a first to a second, reflexive, modernity, from a work society to a knowledge society, from a Fordist regime to a risk regime. The Fordist regime, which became fully developed after the Second World War, was based on mass production, mass labour and mass consumption, involved 'workforce participation, free collective bargaining, strong trade unions, government intervention and Keynesian macro-economic policies' (p. 69). It aimed to sustain full employment and a welfare state, and it meant that paid work could be and was the prime source of activity and identity in society. However, this employment system, which 'took shape in Europe over the past hundreds year, partly through fierce social conflicts, rested upon a high degree of both temporal and spatial standardization of work contracts and labour deployment. With risk regulation, what is now developing is a destandardized, fragmented, plural "underemployment system" characterized by highly flexible, time-intensive and spatially decentralized forms of deregulated paid labour' (p. 77). The Fordist scenario is no longer possible in a world where technological developments have eliminated and continue to eliminate so many jobs, where the mobility of capital and global competition undermine national strategies to protect levels of employment, and where 'the order-book situation, investment decisions and management strategies change from one year to the next, from one quarter or sometimes even one week to the next' (p. 77).

Neither can any of the other scenarios for the future of work in which paid work remains central – Beck outlines eight of them – be regarded as plausible. Indeed one prospect he identifies is the 'Brazilianisation' of the West: an ideal type of a society characterised by extreme inequality, great labour market insecurity and much underemployment in the informal economy, little by way of 'normal', 'standard' paid work, and an excluded and very poor underclass.

Beck suggests that an alternative vision is possible around the notions of 'multi-activity', 'civil labour' and the development of 'transnational communities' and 'postnational civil society'. 'The counter-model to the work society is based not upon leisure but upon political freedom; it is a multi-activity society in which housework, family work, club work and voluntary work are prized alongside paid work' (p. 125). Civil labour is an alternative source of activity and identity, and one which in Beck's vision is voluntary, creative, materially as well as socially rewarded, quite possibly political in the sense that it may take up issues such as the civil rights of minorities, organised by 'social entrepreneurs', and strongly international in orientation. It is a complement to not a substitute for conventional paid work, and both paid work and civil labour should be distributed more evenly in society. In addition to the solidarities which arise within families and in relation to paid employment Beck envisages the growth of networks of transnational political communities around shared concerns and shared risks, such as climate change. Such a development could and should lead on to the creation of institutions for the regulation of transnational and international conflicts.

Accounts of 'the future of work' are inherently speculative and can only be fully assessed at some appropriate time in the future. However, they can be judged in relation to a number of crucial criteria, especially their understanding of the past and how the present situation has developed, their assessment of current trends – and possible obstacles to them, and the imaginativeness and plausibility of their vision of the future. Beck's account scores highly in all respects but is not immune from criticism. The 'work society' is seen as a more or less recent phenomenon. It is contrasted with the Greek experience, but the different significance of paid work in Europe until well into the nineteenth century, and the absence of secure jobs and careers for the majority until well into the twentieth century, get inadequate attention. Yet, how one understands the past greatly affects the assessment of present trends and challenges. The inevitability and irreversibility of current trends seem exaggerated, as does the extent to which people can be replaced by 'smart technologies'. There are more constraints and contradictions than Beck recognises. We are to some extent living on borrowed social capital, for example in the training and skills, including tacit skills, of the current workforce acquired in earlier times of regular employment; how will they be replaced? Money capital may be highly mobile but fixed capital is not, or only at a cost. A regime of accumulation involves consumption as well as production and it is not altogether clear how adequate levels of consumption are sustained within a risk regime.

Where Beck is strongest is in his vision (the word is apposite) of the future. Too many discussions of the 'future' of work amount to little more than a selective extrapolation of some current trends, and his is more imaginative, comprehensive and coherent than that. But in arguing for the possibility of transnational political action he opens the door to the possibility that 'fierce social conflicts' on a global rather than national stage might lead to a system of employment with a less unequal balance of capital and labour and which could be regulated internationally. There may be other possible futures ahead!

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The Future of Career

Audrey Collin and Richard A. Young (eds.)

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, £40.00, paper £14.95, xiii + 321 pp.

This edited collection aims to examine the concept of career and the changes in work, identity, organisation, economy and society which are necessitating revisions to the concept. The collection of eighteen papers offers a range of perspectives on career from various disciplines and applied areas such as psychology, sociology, education, management, social policy, human resources, careers guidance and counselling. These different perspectives are not brought together or even contrasted in any way and instead the editors' objective is to celebrate diversity and multi-disciplinarity.

The papers are distributed between three sections. Chapters in part 1 ('Changing Contexts') consider changes in the economic and social environments as well as the academic and practitioner contexts. Storey (chapter 2) identifies the current and emerging economic, social and demographic changes that are affecting labour markets, organisations and employment. Maranda and Comeau (chapter 3) argue that sociology has been uniquely able to contextualise career and demonstrate how certain sociological theories of career actually mirrored and reflected the social

and economic contexts in which they arose. Savickas (chapter 4) examines how vocational psychology as a discipline and practice emerged in concert with the development of work organisations and organisational careers in twentieth-century America. Patton (chapter 5) argues for the life-work intersection as a renewed place for the examination of values. Collin (chapter 6) identifies the changing construction of time and space as even broader contexts in which to understand career, and which challenge career as a personal temporal trajectory.

Chapters in part 2 offer new constructions of and perspectives on career. Littleton, Arthur and Rousseau (chapter 7) show how the enactment of career reflects an intersection of self-organising and social phenomena. Riverin-Simard (chapter 8) argues the appropriateness of chaos theory to career behaviour. Höpfl and Hornby Atkinson (chapter 9) draw on the literature on gender and work to examine power in the workplace and its implications for women's careers. O'Doherty and Roberts (chapter 10) address the ontological insecurity implicit in career, as individuals struggle to make sense of their world and themselves. A literary theme is developed by Collin (chapter 11) who uses discussion of the traditional epic, the novel and the modern epic to examine the construct and rhetoric of career.

Part 3 contains chapters from the perspectives of career theory, counselling, management and policy. Young and Valach (chapter 12) link career to the constructs of action and project as representing both the social-embedded and goal-directed behaviours of short, intermediate and long duration. Richardson (chapter 13) foresees a different future for career counselling by shifting the focus from career to the 'place of work in people's lives'. Leong and Hartung (chapter 14) propose a specific approach to career counselling that addresses the cultural diversity of the United States and, by extension, other countries also. Doyle (chapter 15) addresses the nature of the changing employment relationship in organisations through notions of the psychological contract which demands new skills of managers and new opportunities for negotiation among employees. Law (chapter 16) combines policy and practice in arguing for a critical place for education in the future of career as well as the future of work. Watts (chapter 17) identifies the challenges for governments and social policy of increased labour-market flexibility and supports career guidance and counselling as offering possible solutions. Finally in chapter 18 the editors take up various issues raised by the contributors and propose ways forward for those concerned with careers.

In commenting on the book, I should say that I found the title to be unfortunate since, to me, it seems to indicate a speculative or even crystal-ball gazing perspective which is not, for the most part, the objective of the contributors. Also the discussion is confined to work in western post-industrial (post-modern) societies – in fact mainly to Canada and Britain. The editors claim that the largely western focus is inevitable since it is prevalent in the career concept itself. Since the editors also assert, however, that the informational global economy is one of the imperatives necessitating changes to career, then the claim is less convincing. Then the idea that the book might enable a better understanding of career 'to achieve emancipatory praxis' (p. 15 and p. 296) might be appropriate only for the practitioners in the field. Others might be more interested in the ideological aspects of careers. In general then, the book has some interesting things to say from several different perspectives both academic and practitioner-related, though it might be of more interest to practitioners than academics. The final chapter makes some sensible and important policy recommendations for different stakeholders, as well as providing a useful summary of the book's main themes and issues.

Streetlife China

Michael Dutton (ed.)

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, £37.50, paper £13.95, 272 pp.

With an attempt to build on Walter Benjamin's radical insights by drawing on the architecture of Geremie Marme and Linda Javin, Michael Dutton in *Streetlife China* builds a picture of contemporary Chinese society in transition. The issues dealt with are greatly diversified. Human rights, Confucianism, work-unit regime, household registration system, beggars, homosexuals, prostitutes, tattoos, Mao badges for sale in the market etc. All this helps Dutton create his own mosaic of the 'socialist market economy' in China at the end of the twentieth century. Apparently chaotic though, the themes are clear: the emergence of a market-driven consumer culture and how such a culture intersects with social groups of 'outsiders' in today's China.

Theoretical ground is laid at the start of the book with discussions on human rights and the traditional Chinese emphasis on individual obligation. Examining the roots of the lack of production of conception of human rights in Chinese history, Dutton suggests that it was primarily because in Chinese tradition, pushing forward humanism and seeking 'Great harmony' turned on individual obligation rather than the rule of law. Indeed within the cultural arena, ancient China lacked the Western notions of an atomised, antagonistic and absolute conception of the individual. The centrality of the Confucian notion of harmony within traditional philosophy leaves no room for the articulation of clearly individually based right that can be fought for. The Chinese Communist Party's inheritance of such a tradition is clearly demonstrated in its position on human rights. The Party insist that the 'subsistence rights' are the most basic of rights, that collective rights should prevail over individual rights. The Party's theory of human rights owes both to Marxism and to Confucianism.

Then, work unit, the Chinese Marxist organisation shaped in Mao's time, is given a large space for discussion. Dutton attempts to theorise the structure of the post-Revolution Chinese society. Complementary to one another, the three collections cited analyse the institution from different perspectives with powerful arguments. The work unit is certainly a most striking part of the Chinese socialist characteristics. Theoretically, it is expected to 'function as the basic social unit of accounting [to] enable central planners to calculate the totality of productive society as the sum total of all these units'. To Chinese, the work unit is their 'Iron Rice Bowl', the very basis of their existence. In practice and in daily life, however, the work unit functions beyond the 'Iron Rice Bowl', which satisfies the desire for stability, as one of Dutton's authors' notes. It is also the unit sponsored by state for production and reproduction of social 'face'. The work unit therefore provides the individual with a vital social space in which the individual's legitimate status is set.

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, in China, without a work unit is to be an outsider, a stranger, a vagrant, a second-class citizen. Dutton is right to say, 'In this scope of social life, to be an outsider in any sense is to be a potential danger.' The work unit, therefore, perverts the initial intention of the Chinese Communist Party that claims to strive to build an equal society, hence create extensive social exclusion. The household registration system contributes to the formation of a caste society in socialist China, throwing peasants that consist of the majority of the population to the bottom of the social hierarchy. All those who are not covered by work units such as beggars, prostitutes, pre-criminals and peasants are treated as second-class citizens and discriminated in nearly all aspects of their social, economic and political life.

The market economy introduced by Deng Xiaoping some twenty years ago has shaken such a caste social arrangement. The sea change brought about by the economic reform in recent twenty years has impact on all social groups. Workers protected by work units in Mao's China are exposed

to risks of the market. Piece by piece, they are losing the privilege they enjoyed in those 'good old days'. In today's China, peasants can leave their land and move to cities as 'free' labourers. Despite the strong prejudice of the city and restrictions of state, the shackles tying peasants to their land have been loosened, peasants can sell their labour power on the newly formed labour market. Prostitutes now can hawk their bodies to real or potential buyers. Tattoo, once a means of punishment and a form of disgrace, has become a fashion – Chinese can pay money to have their bodies engraved and inked. Mao's badges, worn and worshipped by millions of Chinese during the Cultural Revolution, disappeared for about a decade, have made their return since the mid-1990s. People buy these badges or other forms of Mao image for various reasons. Some spend the money to cure their nostalgia for the pre-reform years; others for protection – they believe that Mao, even after his death, still has supernatural power over individuals' lives in this world; still others spend money on Mao's image in order to make more money. Indeed, at the end of the twentieth century, in the market-driven China, the trends are for everything to be commercialised. Everything can be put up for sale, including Mao badges or Madonna calendars, sometimes side by side on the same shelf in the market.

Streetlife China is a unique collection. Drawing together pieces from newspapers, government documents, academic writing and interviews on topics as diverse as Mao badge collectors, vagrancy, tattoos and architecture, Michael Dutton skilfully offers us an interesting reader on and a dynamic picture of Chinese society in the late 1990s. In recent years, a huge amount of literature has been generated on China's economic reform. Scholars and commentators have been stating economic facts, noting the State's decision to shift from the production of capital to consumer goods, analysing the adoption of the labour contract in cities or the household responsibility system in the countryside, evaluating the impact of the dynamic restructuring of the country's economy on workers in work units in various sectors of the economy. Focus of attention, however, has always been laid on the 'mainstream' of the population, men and women employed in work units. Little light has been shed on social groups marginalised in contemporary Chinese society and labelled as 'outsiders' or 'strangers' in their own land. *Streetlife China* clearly contributes in filling the gap.

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Women and Scientific Employment

Judith Glover

Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000, £42.50, hardback, pp. xi + 190 pp.

This book represents a major contribution to the literature on the sociology of professions and addresses the perennial, vexed question of why there are so few women in science. More specifically, Glover is concerned to explain how it is that so few women manage to percolate through to the upper echelons of scientific ladders. Despite the fact that women now have the right to equal access to education, subject choices remain highly segregated by gender. None of the special initiatives designed to encourage girls to take up scientific careers in the UK appear to have had much effect. Moreover, even where women do outnumber men at the undergraduate level, such as in the biological sciences, they fall by the wayside in disproportionate numbers at each stage in the academic career.

The 'wasted talent' of women in science is receiving considerable attention at European Union

level at the moment. The Research Directorate of the European Commission has recently published a report by women scientists on mainstreaming gender equality in science and has imposed gender balance quotas on its own scientific committees. It is currently seeking to ensure that better attention will be paid to the gender dimension of research supported by the Sixth Framework Programme than has been the case under the Fifth. Some Member States, such as Germany, are investing considerable resources into measures designed to address the issue of recruiting, retaining, attracting back and promoting women in the sciences. The 'Helsinki group' of civil servants from the Member States, co-ordinated by the European Commission, is seeking to generate better data on women and science and to pursue best practice policy initiatives. This meticulously researched book is therefore very timely for informing current debates and policy development at EU and Member State level on this issue. However, it also has much to offer academics in its extensive review of the literature, its clear presentation and analysis of data and in its theoretical innovation.

The book focuses on 'getting in, staying in and getting on'. Glover argues that far too much attention has been paid to getting girls into science, and not enough into ensuring they retain their position and indeed get promoted. She provides convincing evidence to demonstrate that simply getting more women into science is not correlated with either retention or promotion. The total number of women in a discipline does not appear to be related to the proportion of women professors. Neither is it the case that if there are more women in a science, then the agenda or the methodological approach necessarily changes. Glover draws upon data from the UK, France and the US to demonstrate her points; knocking on the head ideas such as critical mass and confronting the dangers inherent in arguments of essentialism that inevitably creep into such debates, en route.

In addition to drawing upon a wealth of literature and data, Glover offers an exciting, new analysis of US data, drawing upon Witz's concept of patriarchal exclusion in the medical profession (Witz 1992). Rossiter has collected and analysed a considerable body of historical data on women in science in the US, generating an enviable data set not paralleled in other countries. Glover applies Anne Witz's notion of patriarchal exclusion to Rossiter's data with revealing results. Glover is able to find examples of, *inter alia*, exclusionary and demarcatory mechanisms in Rossiter's data and adds a new category to those of Witz. Glover also explores possible explanations for women not resisting their exclusion.

Whereas human capital, such as qualifications, is clearly significant for advancement in science, Glover illustrates how the importance of reputational capital and more particularly cultural capital are underestimated. While the importance of networking and the phenomenon of invisible women scientists are well known, the analysis of Rossiter's data sheds considerable light upon how the gendering of patterns of accumulation of cultural capital works for men and against women in the sciences. Human capital in terms of appropriate qualifications may be needed for entry, but for progression, cultural capital appropriate to the habitus is essential. This is important in seeking to understand differences between the sciences in terms of women getting in, staying in and getting on. Glover pays particular attention to physics, the science where women have made least progress. She argues firstly that the lack of a cadre of junior staff undertaking data entry or routine analysis has made it more difficult for women to gain access. However, she also draws attention to an historic link between science and religious orders, both being engaged in a quest for a theory to explain creation. She argues that western science produced a male, celibate, homo-social and misogynous culture that has had little experience of women. Glover makes the case for ethnographic studies of physics departments to be undertaken to explore these ideas further.

Glover uses theoretical pluralism to address the issue of women in science. Some elements

work better than others but overall this is an immensely convincing account of the position of women in science. Her argument that the concern should be with the lack of women getting promoted in science, rather than the numbers of girls entering scientific disciplines is well supported by the empirical data she presents. The book is accessibly written and well organised (apart from a little repetition in the early chapters) and has an extensive bibliography. It will make a sound contribution to the sociology of professions literature but should also inform policy at EU, Member States and indeed individual university level.

REFERENCE

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TERESA REES

Men's Work and Male Lives. Men and Work in Britain

John Goodwin

Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999, xi + 244 pp.

John Goodwin's book should be welcomed by those with an interest in masculinities and by those with an interest in the sociology of work, because it is relatively unusual in using quantitative data for the critical study of men. The book is based on the author's analysis of the fifth sweep of the National Child Development Study (NCDS). The discussions of men and work are therefore based on 5593 men who were aged thirty-three in 1991. The main themes are men's attitudes and work orientation, their experience of training, their domestic work and psychological health. The author rightly insists that men cannot be treated as a homogenous group. The discussion is strong on the significance of social class, and the diversity of men across the demographic range. He asserts that there are differences between groups of men, but also keeps in mind the big picture, so, for example, he emphasises that domestic work and child care are still overwhelmingly the responsibility of women. It is good to see a book on work that also encompasses what goes on at home, since this is so central to gender relations.

I agree with Goodwin that much existing research uses men as a yardstick against which to measure the experience of women, rather than exploring men's experiences for their own sake. I do not, however, agree with his oft-repeated assertion that little empirical work has been done on men's lives. He has some grounds for arguing that empirical research on masculinity has been dominated by voices from outside the UK, but his own single trawl of an academic database that reveals such a paucity of work on men stops in 1993, for some reason. In fact, the mid and late nineties have seen a mushrooming of empirical research on men, as can be seen from databases of journals and conference programmes during this period. Even in the period covered by Goodwin's trawl, there was substantial research being carried out on certain issues, such as fatherhood, for example. He strangely dismisses Connell's (1995) important book *Masculinities* as only 'theoretical', when most of it is in fact taken up with reflections on data from life history interviews. Much of the existing empirical research on men has of course been qualitative, with an emphasis on the situational specificity of masculinities, to the extent that Connell (2000) has argued there is a danger that the global picture will be missed. Where Goodwin should be claiming an original contribution is not through doing empirical work *per se*, but in terms of *quantitative* research on men in society.

I would also take issue with him over his discussions of non-standard men's work. He claims that the nature of work is changing for many men. Undoubtedly it is, but he perhaps overstates the conclusions that can be made about masculinity. In the context-setting chapters, he makes a lot out of relatively small increases in men's part-time working from large data sets, but the NCDS data, around which the book is based, shows only 1 per cent men working part-time. The large majority of the 'non-standard' workers in the NCDS are self-employed and working full-time. I would suggest there is nothing non-traditional in terms of masculinity about being a self-employed craftsman.

Too much of the presentation in this book was scrappy. There are far too many typographical errors, leaving sentences that do not scan, and inaccurate or missing references. There is also too much reliance on unnecessary direct quotations from the literature. I had a mixed reaction to this book. The tackling of quantitative data like that from the NCDS was a very welcome contribution to the literature on men's lives. However, I found some of the author's emphases puzzling in the light of the evidence.

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JONATHAN SCOURFIELD

Black Workers Remember: An Oral History of Segregation, Unionism and the Freedom Struggle

Michael Keith Honey

University of California Press, 1999, £18.50, xxi + 402 pp.

This book is a pleasure to read and gives a rich, detailed and precise account of the long struggle of Black workers to freedom. The oral stories are very emotional and shocking. The book is an up-to-date contribution to historical understanding of Black workers' struggle. It describes the position of Black workers in the Southern American States economy and labour market. This book demonstrates that the history of Black workers is a history of struggle (see also Hiro 1992 and Harris 1982).

Michael Honey used a very comprehensive and easy style. Through his well-written oral narratives, he reveals how Whites in the Southern States of America used all evil methods to keep the White supremacy alive and undermine Black resistance. They used the racist and supremacist Ku Klux Klan to assassinate, intimidate and terrorise Black activists to give up their fight for freedom and equal rights. Michael Honey also describes how the whole establishment from the police to the trade union conspired and encouraged White employers and White workers to keep segregation, to discriminate, to underpay and keep Black workers at the lowest rank of the ladder and to perpetuate their subordinate position.

The book covers all the major forms and techniques of struggle and resistance that Black workers have used to fight racism and discrimination in the factories and within the American society. It also depicts the deep roots of racism among the White Americans who remained committed to discrimination and segregation even centuries after the Civil War. This has always puzzled me about the history of the United States: how a civil war could be fought and won to end

slavery, but full civil rights and human rights were still denied to Blacks up to the late twentieth century.

Michael Honey interviewed a variety of Black activists and used their personal stories, to reveal the impact that racism had on their lives and struggle to freedom. Throughout the book Black workers reveal how White employers, White politicians and even trade union leaders tried to dominate them by keeping in a state of poverty and powerlessness. Each testimony in the book is a fascinating story on how White employers, White workers and White politicians tried to deny Black workers their rights for a decent human working environment, their rights to join the unions, their rights to protest and enjoy freedom of expression.

Black Workers Remember reveals that the slavery in America has never really ended but has taken different forms and shapes according to the different stages of capitalist development and expansion. The stage covered here is the period from the 1930s to the present time and most of the narratives are originated in the Mississippi River Delta where Black workers were systematically discriminated and segregated. The book begins by describing how Black workers strive to start a new life by escaping from the countryside to city and from the plantation to the factory. Unfortunately, they found themselves facing the even more evil, cruel and brutal 'Jim Crow' system. Black workers discovered that the 250 years of slavery had been replaced by a racial and discriminatory system whereby the people were denied basic human needs and refused basic human rights. The book demonstrates through the narratives of the Black workers of Memphis and Tennessee that the history of Black working class has been one of struggle and resistance. At the same time the book shows how White capitalism has always succeeded in surviving and accumulating profits through its capacity for appropriating a new cheap labour reservoir by creating new forms of slavery, exploitation and the segregation of the workforce. The employers often use the 'divide and rule' principle not only to increase the productivity but also to weaken any form of solidarity between White and Black workers. White workers' solidarity becomes a weapon against Black workers, and loses its effectiveness in the struggle against the employers. The lack of class solidarity between these two working-class strata in the manufacturing industry in Memphis has more often been used as a divisive tool against each other rather than in the struggle against the employers. It appears, as many key witnesses in the book assert, that the trade unions were complacent in this division and segregation of the working class.

The Southern industrialists also used their political influence in an attempt to blackmail and perpetuate the exploitation and enslavement of the ill-prepared and vulnerable Black workers and to make huge profits. For instance the influential Edward Crump and the corrupt police conspired not only to keep the union out of Memphis, but also to blackmail and impede Black workers in the Firestone plant from forming their own union. The art of resistance was shown during Earl Fisher's deposition at the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearing (see the transcription of the deposition of Earl Fisher, pp. 213–36), which was set up by the Mississippi's powerful Senator James Eastland to investigate the expansion of communist ideology among Black workers. The Senator accused union activists such as Ed McCrea, Earl Fisher, Larry Larsen and all those who supported the social justice and civil rights movement of being communist agents who are destroying the United States. He even accused all those who supported the more liberal vice-president Henry Wallace during his presidential campaign of being communists.

The resistance and consciousness of the Black community has increased their determination to use all the necessary means in their struggle to freedom. They developed and formed many associations and organisations which became formidable economic, political and social forces of change. The struggle reached a peak in the 1960s with the civil rights movement and the militancy of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The struggle for the affirmation of human rights becomes central not only to better the working conditions of Black

workers in the workplace, but also to their fight against discrimination, racism and marginalisation throughout the United States.

The 1960s changed the balance of the power relations not only between White and Black workers but between the Southern employers and the Black workers. Many Black union leaders were actively involved in the civil rights movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). For instance, Leroy Clark, a Black union leader, was elected as president of the NAACP Memphis branch in 1968. He organised the Black Monday protest in 1969 to ask for more political power.

Everywhere in the Southern States, Black workers kept up a bitter struggle and tightened their iron grip on the paternalistic and servile system. They demanded better working conditions and labour organisation inside the factories and social welfare (decent pension, insurance, school grant for their children, etc.). They were influential in creating new power relations based on the recognition of the right of all workers to better working conditions, fair pay, job security, union membership and consultation. These demands were embodied in many political and social right acts such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which helped many Black leaders to be elected to the American Senate and Congress.

Black Workers Remember is accessible to the non-specialist. Detailed references and some of the argument are left to the footnotes. I had no trouble following it – despite having only a slender background knowledge of Black workers' movement in the American Southern State. *Black Workers Remember*, with its extensive use of oral stories and other texts of the period, both Southern and Northern, paints a vivid picture of White supremacy attitudes to equal rights and opportunity to the Black workers. If you want to understand why race relations in the USA politics is the way it is (or, as some would put it, the 'racialisation and ethnicisation of everything'), then I cannot think of a better starting place than *Black Workers Remember*. It should be compulsive reading for anyone interested in Black history, Black unionism and civil rights movement since the 1930s. I definitely recommend reading this book.

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FAÏÇAL DALY

Globalisation and Labour Relations

Peter Leisink

Cheltenham (UK) and Northampton (USA): Edward Elgar, 1999, xii + 259 pp.

Leisink's collection of ten papers from the 1996 conference on 'Globalisation and the New Inequality' presents eleven authors from Great Britain, the Netherlands, Australia and Belgium discussing the concept called Globalisation and its effect on labour relations. After Leisink's introduction, the first chapter discusses the question of what globalisation is and presents an empirical testing of present concepts. The political economy of the changing firm under globalisation is analysed by Vilroix followed by Gay's discussion on enterprising up the nation, organisations and the individual. Before Rubery examines the internal labour market, Hyman

discusses trade union solidarity, while Beukema and Coenen look at logistics chain management. The last three chapters discuss the global market of the media (Leisink), the mining industry (Heycock) and the Australian waterfront (Lambert). In sum, the collection discusses globalisation and labour relations from several different perspectives.

In Leisink's introduction, he positions the perceived trend towards globalisation of the last twenty years within the rising neo-liberal ideology in Europe. The impact of globalisation and neo-liberalism on labour relations can be summarised thus, 'in the Anglo-Saxon countries successive neo-liberal governments cut back on the welfare state on ideological and financial grounds and the labour movement was unable to prevent this'. In 'Frequently Asked Questions', Hirst and Thompson view globalisation as 'an open international economy with large and growing flows of trade and capital investment between countries'. Upon empirical testing, they challenge many of the uncritically accepted assumptions about globalisation. For example, 'foreign direct investment remains largely locked between advanced countries', while Africa and parts of Asia (cf. Bangladesh) are excluded. Worldwide trade and transport figures for the so-called 'globalised' economies support their main conclusion that 'globalisation' is happening but largely between three blocks: North America, Europe and Japan including some Asian countries. Therefore 'globalisation' is 'triadisation'. In other words, ideology (globalisation) covers reality (triadisation) once again!

Advanced countries which deploy wage reduction policies do not compete with Third World countries, but among themselves. In short, the magic world 'globalisation' is largely an OECD theme to legitimise the current management fashion but it is by no means global. How the current fashion in management ideology effects workers in firms is analysed by Vilroks: 'workers are increasingly defined as service providers to the clients of the company and also, as service providers to their fellow workers as clients within the company'. Under this model the labour process is reduced to 'imperative coordination', where management regulates the interests of clients. Industrial relations vanishes and the class conflict is eliminated as workers become stakeholders. According to Gay in his 'enterprising up the nation', paid work and alienation are transferred into HRM ideologies such as 'path to individual responsibility, freedom and self-fulfilment'. All of this is designed to eliminate the prevailing forms of domination in the minds of working people by individualising work and breaking solidarity among workers.

In 'imagined solidarity', Hyman discussed the current state of workers' solidarity and trade union resistance under globalisation. 'My argument is that any simple conception of solidarity ("mechanical solidarity" of the working class) is and was imaginary in the first sense; that mythic solidarity ("solidarity forever") may historically have provided inspiration and perhaps helped generate a reality approximating to the ideal, but probably can no longer do so; and that collectivism, particularly of an encompassing character, is therefore a project demanding new forms of strategic solidarity.' After discussion the crisis of mechanical solidarity, Hyman concludes that 'organic solidarity' needs to be introduced. Borrowing from Durkheim, Hyman suggests that 'society becomes more capable of collective movements, at the same time that each of its elements has more freedom of movement'. Such new unionism replaces organisational conformity with co-ordinated diversity demanding new efforts of imagination. Hyman, asserts that this 'poses new demands in respect to union intelligence'. In short, trade unions in the twenty-first century need to farewell the marching working class of the film classic 'Metropolis' and move on to broader coalition building establishing solidarity among diverse groups.

A diversity of groups of worker can also be found in Rubery's analysis of labour markets which conclude that unions should avoid falling into the trap of defensive behaviour under 'triadisation'. Beukema and Coenen argue that even under the effects of 'management by stress' in logistic chain transport businesses, assertive strategies are required to prevent the cattle-sale like

commodification of labour. Among the last three chapters on the media industry, potash mining and Australia's maritime conflict, Lambert's discussion of the Australian government's attempts to destroy the Maritime Union of Australia is the highlight of the whole collection. His detailed analysis shows how a government using a coalition of military and capital acted almost in a quasi Pinochet-style (thanks to the British government this lifelong torturer of trade unionists – including the infamous 'caravan of death' – could 'walk' (sic!) home). The government used ex-soldiers, SAS commandos, riot gear, shields and batons, CS-gas, etc., to support the company's lock-out of the complete workforce at mid-night on the 7 April 1998. But despite this massive attack, solidarity among the Australian working class and trade unions, including international solidarity among maritime unions and large sections of the population, stood firm. Capital and the government lost.

In summary, the collection presents an insightful and critical discussion on the present stage of globalisation and labour relations. It even rejects the uncritical acceptance of the term by illustrating that trade and economic data supports the concept of triadisation but not globalisation. Unfortunately, no chapter critically reflects on the ideology and use of the concept as a signifier for the advancement of systems of domination, including the push towards 'system integration' of trade unions. While Hyman's discussion of solidarity strongly suggests 'social integration' under the concept of 'organic solidarity', he lacks a theoretical model such as Habermas' concept of 'lifeworld' and its colonisation (1987). Even though Hyman discusses 'society', he does so in a rather conservative Durkheimian sense (1933). In short, Habermas' new theory would allow him not to 're-invent' but to 'reconstruct' solidarity in, and beyond, the concept of society in traditional industrial relations thinking – for too long 'society' has been conflated with 'workplace'. Even though, the collection lacks a final conclusion, the book is still a valuable source of critical thinking on globalisation or triadisation and labour relations.

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