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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Authors

Mike Parker, Gary Freeman, Martin B. Tracy, Michael Reisch, Kathryn B. Ward, Steve Burghardt, and Patricia Morgan

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ASSEMBLY LINE, by ROBERT LINHART. Translated by Margaret Crosland. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981. 160 pp. \$6.95 paper.

MIKE PARKER

Detroit

Recognizing social problems is only the beginning. Harder is identifying the public policies which will provide a real solution. Hardest of all is finding the social power to make the changes.

For a significant number of intellectuals, the experiences of the late 60's and early 70's led to revolutionary conclusions that the "irrationalities" of society were actually rationally rooted in the social structure of capitalism.

One radical current rediscovered in Marxism the latent power of the industrial working class. The pressing question: How to get this sleeping giant to use its power? The first steps seemed obvious. The walls which protected the intellectual community also isolated it from the working class and had to be broken down. One way was for the socialist intellectuals to become part of working class life to learn from it and be a part of organizing the class struggle.

It happened in every developed capitalist country in the world. Robert Linhart's story is the French version. Following the 1968 uprising in France, Linhart left his life as an academic economist and hired on as an unskilled laborer in a Citroen plant. But what he describes could almost as well be the experience of the radical who ends up working the assembly line of a Detroit Chrysler plant.

From the inside, factory life has little romance. Linhart describes it well. Workers are individuals and there are as many stories as there are workers. There are heroes and cowards and traitors. There are small group dynamics as well as divisions along race, cultural, sexual, age, craft, and job lines. Yet penetrating through all of this is the experience of class relations.

As a description of this industrial working class experience the book is at its best. The central daily objective is nothing more glamorous than basic survival. But the strategies for survival widely differ. Some workers play beat the machine. Some get pleasure out of beating the system. Some live for putting one over on the foreman and some live for getting the foreman's approval. Some find ways to informally change the situation and cooperate among themselves. Some survive by trying to make their work interesting. But others cope by trying to reduce their job to a completely thoughtless rhythm so that the mind is free to wander elsewhere. "The mechanism of habit brings back a small amount of liberty: I look around... I escape in my imagination." (So management tinkering with the work process or paternalistic "job enrichment" programs can actually threaten daily survival.)

A few jobs in auto plants do not require the same kind of daily survival strategies because they involve a high degree of skill and creativity. Linhart tells a story of a metal finisher whose skills and experience have won him considerable respect. "Even the foreman and the section manager modify their usual tones of voice when they speak to him. Almost courtesy." But skill means discretion and a measure of power on the shop floor and therefore a thorn in the side of a system of hierarchical authority. The skilled metal finisher in this case had created his own workbench with special features that enabled him to do a quality job efficiently. But in the name of rationalization and standardization and authority, someone upstairs decides to replace the workbench. The skilled craftsman who took great pride in the quality of his work is suddenly confronted with the task of trying to do his job with a misdesigned workbench. He is surrounded by various levels of management who cover themselves by blaming him. His old workbench and his dignity have been dumped on the junk pile.

Long term survival strategies are also varied. Some workers may believe for 20 years that they are only working "temporarily" in the plant until they can get the money to do something else (return to the home country, open a small business). Others hope to escape by climbing into management.

And still others hope to improve their conditions through the unions and politics. Here Linhart's book is weaker because it covers only a year's events. While qualitative jumps do take place in the class struggle, the long term experience is also a summation of many small victories, defeats, and nonevents. Linhart views the brief period with the impatience that is typical for most of the radical intellectuals who went into the factories.

In Linhart's case it is self conscious. After four months: "I didn't join Citroen to make cars but 'to organize the working class'. A contribution to the resistance, to the struggles, to the revolution. . . . And now, here, it's this very political effectiveness itself which escapes me. Where can I start?" And therefore his story is also about the radical intellectuals in the factory.

Linhart stuck it out until he was fired ("dismissed"). For a year it was a personal challenge just to stay at the job. The difficulties of basic survival, the frustrations with all of the obstacles to action, and the impatience with the pace of events as well as management (and in some cases union) harassment, combined with the attractions of returning to intellectual lifestyles, drove most of the radical intellectuals like Linhart out of industry. But some successfully found ways to survive and are a part of the collective working class history, experience, and future.

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THE CRISIS IN SOCIAL SECURITY: ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ORIGINS, by CAROLYN L. WEAVER. Durham, N.C.: Duke Press Policy Studies, 1982. 320 pp. \$36.75 cloth

GARY FREEMAN

University of Texas at Austin

This provocative and pathbreaking book is a major contribution to the political analysis of the American social security system and of the welfare state more generally. Employing an analytical framework derived from the theory of collective choice, Carolyn Weaver poses a number of intriguing and important questions about the founding and growth of the nation's public retirement system. Like Martha Derthick (Policymaking for Social Security, Brookings, 1979), the author locates the engine of social security expansion in governmental actors, especially bureaucrats and key congressional figures, rather than in public opinion, interest groups, or the political parties. In at least two respects, however, Weaver moves beyond Derthick. On the one hand, her book is more self-consciously theoretical and thus develops an argument that aspires to applicability beyond a single government program. In this way Weaver generates numerous hypotheses that may be tested in other contexts and avoids the impression which Derthick leaves that social security

is an anomaly in American politics. On the other hand, she produces a bold and original interpretation of the circumstances of the introduction of the program, a period Derthick mostly ignores. It is with this part of Weaver's book, where her contribution is potentially most significant but also most vulnerable to criticism, that I will deal.

Weaver begins by laying out two competing models of the political process drawn from the public choice literature. Demand-side interpretations argue that "political outcomes reflect the demands of citizen-voters as transmitted and aggregated by the political process...The demands...generally result from the inefficiencies and inequities created by market failures" (p. 5). Weaver deduces from this perspective two explanations for the emergence of a compulsory federal old-age insurance program in 1935. One is that socio-economic transformation increased poverty among the elderly and "generated demands for an institutional means of enforcing upon the individual the obligation to ensure against the financial hazards of old age" (p. 6). The other interpretation suggests that the Great Depression, by undermining public faith in the market and the viability of private savings and insurance institutions, demonstrated the necessity of non-market provision of old-age income security. Supply-side interpretations, on the other hand, focus on the role of bureaucrats as actors who seek to preserve and enhance their organizations. The key environmental characteristic of a public bureau as opposed to a private firm is that it has a type of monopoly power because it is "generally immunized from the efficiency generating forces of the competitive market process" (p. 7). The hypothesis that this model suggests is that the monopolistic and compulsory character of the 1935 program were the means by which program advocates sought to insulate themselves from competition and evaluation.

Weaver, to her credit, argues that demand and supply-side frameworks need to be integrated and she develops a complex process-model of the evolution of public programs. However, her primary purpose is to discredit the demand-side explanation of the introduction and expansion of social security. Toward this end she tries to demonstrate that in the pre-Depression era, there was no broad-based popular support for a program like social security, that the emergence of a notion of the "elderly" as a distinct class of citizens with peculiar needs was an artificial and false rhetorical symbol, that the vast majority of elderly were either self-supporting or cared for by family or friends and not dependent on private charity or almshouses, that though poverty among the aged was real it was not clearly linked to age and would be likely to decline with further industrialization, that aggregate savings rates remained steady up to the Depression, and that there was rapid growth and innovation in private life insurance and pensions in the period. Weaver concludes that the market failure hypotheses of the demand-side model cannot be sustained. She goes on to assert that "in all probability the basis for compulsory insurance, as envisioned by early advocates, would have been weakened over time had it not been for the Great Depression and Franklin Roosevelt" (p. 56). But the Depression created only a generalized demand for

some kind of action; bureaucrats and "reformer-zealots" gave the program its particular character, as she argues in a detailed legislative history of the Social Security Act.

The forcefulness and clarity with which Weaver argues her case lend it a not fully justified air of conclusiveness. She persuasively shows that the social insurance movement had not yielded success on the eve of the Depression, but she is much less convincing when she tries to argue that there was no objective evidence of market failure before 1929. The data she cites are too skimpy to answer the specific questions about living standards of the aged that she asks. Moreover, some of her interpretations of existing evidence are suspect. That the "vast majority" of elderly were not public or private wards tells us little about the economic strains they imposed on their "families and friends." Nor can one accept the author's rosy descriptions of private insurance and pensions as a viable road to income security, especially when she herself notes that aged poverty was primarily the result of "low income" during working lives, making adequate provision beyond the means of the majority. Weaver treats the Depression and the political transformation it generated as an historical accident that unfortunately led us to adopt a non-market, redistributive policy from which we have not yet deviated. The Depression might better be seen as part of the normal cyclical behavior (in extreme form to be sure) of the unregulated market. Finally, her attempts to show that life insurance companies and industrial pensions were able to weather the economic crisis miss the point: The Depression shattered the faith of Americans in the market. Whether this was completely justified by the facts, and whether it was good or bad, are separate issues.

While Weaver's emphasis on bureaucratic supply represents a distinct improvement over highly simplistic demand-side models, it is appropriate to consider the utility of the public choice approach more generally. I believe the tendency to dissolve the government and bureaucrats into nothing more than rational self-interested actors and to treat the public and private sectors as conceptually and empirically opposed rather than systematically and symbiotically linked are serious deficiencies. Nevertheless, Weaver's impressive study should stimulate lively and fruitful polemic and research.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AGING: THE STATE, PRIVATE POWER AND SOCIAL WELFARE, by LAURA KATZ OLSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. 288 pp. \$25.00 cloth, \$12.50 paper.

MARTIN B. TRACY

University of Iowa

The general theme of this text on aging policies and programs is the vulnerability of particular population groups in a capitalistic society. Of most concern are persons who work for low wages, are irregularly employed, or who receive no wage compensation for labor (homemakers). The point is made that economic insecurity during the working years is carried over into old age.

The source of inadequate income levels for many older persons, according to the author, stems from inherent inequities characteristic of a capitalistic economic system. Business manipulation of labor and technological displacement along with sex, race, and age discrimination combine to restrict employment opportunities and earning capacities. As a result many people face old age with few assets and very limited pension rights.

It is argued that current income maintenance programs tend to increase the inequalities between capitalists and workers, older and younger generations, and among the elderly. Benefit increases in old age pensions, for example, disproportionately raise the income levels of workers who earned good wages during their careers. Those who had low wages or who were unable to work, on the other hand, are subjected to poverty in old age. Their poverty is, in fact, exacerbated as employment possibilities diminish with advancing age and as increased living costs are incurred by gaps in health care and housing policies.

This informative and well-written book clearly presents the most important present and potential issues facing the elderly. The provisions of current public and private income maintenance programs, housing policies, and human services legislation are more than adequately covered. Moreover, the reader's understanding of the forces behind the development of programs for the elderly is enhanced by a thorough historical view.

This book is set apart from other descriptive texts by the thematic forces on the root causes of economic and social insecurity in old age. The author argues that structural contradictions in our advanced capitalistic society not only contribute to inequities but impede any realistic hope for

improvement through normal change processes. Particular criticism is aimed at the false hopes of either free-market mechanisms or liberal reforms.

While many legitimate concerns are raised about the limits of income redistribution in a capitalistic economy, some questionable conclusions are drawn relative to program policies and capitalistic manipulation. The Social Security earnings test, for example, is cited as a tool of capitalists to create a part-time pool of labor. In fact, however, earnings tests are used even more extensively in socialist economies as a mechanism to open up job opportunities for younger workers. Similarly, such arguments that capitalism is the primary cause of the absence of physicians in rural areas are quite spurious, as comparable problems prevail in socialist economies.

The real strength of the book is more in the clarity and thoroughness of the issues than in the persuasiveness of the critical assessment of capitalism. Perhaps an even more important contribution is the discussion and debate that its arguments should generate. It is highly recommended as a policy course text or as a resource book on programs for the aged.

THE OTHER SIDE OF ORGANIZING: RESOLVING THE PERSONAL DILEMMAS AND POLITICAL DEMANDS OF DAILY PRACTICE, by STEVE BURGHARDT. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1982. \$18.95 cloth, \$9.95 paper.

MICHAEL REISCH

University of Maryland at Baltimore

Steve Burghardt's The Other Side of Organizing is a groundbreaking effort to redefine the nature of community-based practice in the face of the rightward drift of U.S. social policies and the social work profession over the past decade. Rather than asking whether community organization will be "fact or fiction" in the 1980s, Burghardt explores the more trenchant question of how community organizers can make their work both more effective and more rewarding in an increasingly conservative context. Burghardt's answer is the major focus of his book: that effective practice requires an understanding of the dynamic interaction between the personal and social/political aspects of work and the development of skills which translate this ongoing reflection into action. In Burghardt's view, a successful community organizer must synthesize the analyses of such diverse theorists as Karl Marx and Carl Rogers, Sigmund Freud and Paulo Freire. The Other Side of Organizing is an attempt to formulate the framework for that synthesis. Its purpose and vision are to be

applauded; its accomplishments, while less grand, certainly merit commendation and, above all, serious analysis.

Burghardt's thesis rests on two interlocking assumptions: (1) that the context of practice reflects the tension between the forces of stability and the forces of change in any given era and (2) that social work methods tend to reproduce either "dominate-subordinate" or "self-determining" social relationships. That is, social work serves either to reinforce or to replace prevailing ideologies and the structural arrangements from which they derive.

His first assumption--with its implication that community organizers must view the larger context of their practice as dynamic--is a necessary precondition for practice in all social work methods. In fact, Burghardt recognizes this throughout his book, particularly in chapters 2 and 8, in which he attempts to develop a dialectical framework for practice that cuts across traditional methodological divisions. The problem lies in how to translate this awareness into action. Burghardt struggles throughout the book to formulate this framework and is only partially successful. Three factors limit the attainment of what Burghardt identifies as his primary goal.

One factor is a consequence of Burghardt's second underlying assumption. Despite his efforts to integrate the "personal" and the "social," to find common ground between caseworkers and community organizers, Burghardt's formulation of social work cannot fully escape the dichotomization of practice that has plagued the profession since the 1960s. A dialectical conception of practice (and of the "collective practice" of the social work profession) must recognize that the work of individuals and of the profession as a whole often simultaneously reinforces and challenges existing values and institutions. The contradictions of society, which Burghardt admirably describes in several chapters, are reproduced within the work of individuals, the organizations in which they practice and, all too frequently, in every step of the helping process. Burghardt emphasizes the need for organizers to examine their work through a multi-dimensional lens and to engage in an ongoing process of overcoming their personal weaknesses and the external forces of resistance. He slips into oversimplification at times, however, such as the subsection of chapter 3 which charts "organizing situations and their dominant personality demands." Further work needs to be done to expand upon these categories and "instructions".

A second obstacle is the book's utilization of theory. Burghardt begins by citing Corrigan and Leonard who advise social workers to look outside as well as within their practice for the theoretical insights that will produce practice breakthroughs. Burghardt heeds their advice by attempting to incorporate within community organization theory material from casework literature, Freudian and Rogerian psychology, Marxist political-economy and the pedagogical theories of Paulo Freire. At times, the effort works well and produces important insights. The chapter on leadership development, which applies Freire, is particularly valuable. Chapters on "The Changing Context of Practice in the

1980s" and "The Class Character of Social Work in the 1980s" use a Marxist analysis to explicate the relationship between national and international economic developments to local crises and even the daily dilemmas of practice. This material should be required reading for all students of social work (and their professors) to broaden existing perspectives on the environmental context of practice and the relationships between policy and practice.

Burghardt is less successful in his attempt to synthesize "personal/psychological" and "social/political" perspectives. Although his critique of existing practice theory is instructive, his alternative framework is incomplete for several reasons: (1) Burghardt strives to create "critical reflection" by linking intellectual/rational with intuitional/emotional (and unconscious) abilities. Yet he fails to identify what constitutes practice "intuition" and, especially, how one can cultivate it and incorporate it into practice. Many of the practice illustrations used throughout the book which purport to prove certain generalizations derived from theory are, in fact, subjective interpretations of the personal experiences of Burghardt or his colleagues. The attempt to demonstrate the application of "tactical self-awareness" to the situations presented often suffers from the self-consciousness of hindsight. There is not convincing evidence that the workers in the case studies consciously applied the techniques Burghardt presents. (2) Burghardt relies heavily in his development of a dialectical framework (chapters 2-4) on his understanding and appreciation of certain concepts from Freud, Rogers, and Helen Harris Perlman. Inasmuch as the assumptions and universal applicability of their theories have been effectively challenged by others, the attempt at integration of these ideas into a model of radical community organization rests on shaky foundations. As helpful as the insights derived from Freudian therapy may have been for Burghardt (as he acknowledges they were), there is no evidence that Freud's view of the unconscious has the subversive quality that Burghardt attributes to it. (3) Burghardt calls for a reevaluation of how one experientially combines theory and practice. Yet, much of his framework for practice rests on a narrow, highly personal empirical base. There is too much reliance on personal incidents and "informal surveys" to "prove" key points of analysis. More work needs to be done not only to spell out in greater detail the practice principles which Burghardt outlines but also to validate their effectiveness in a broader range of practice situations. Although the book has value as a personal statement on community organizing, it will have far greater value when that statement reflects a broader range of experiences.

A final problem stems from Burghardt's implicit definition of community organization, which, despite his critique of existing practice theory, does not reflect the full reality of community organization practice. Burghardt's experience, his illustrations and, by implication, his model largely focus on community organization within a "grassroots" level organization. Many social workers who consider themselves organizers and even activists work within existing social service agencies, governmental or quasi-governmental

bodies, industry and labor unions. Further work needs to be done to assess how (and when) the practice principles Burghardt constructs can be applied to these diverse practice settings.

None of the above criticisms detracts from the importance of Burghardt's book. Rather, they reveal how new and how significant is the territory he is attempting to chart. The measure of the success of a work like The Other Side of Organizing is not only its immediate utility but also the extent to which it stimulates new lines of inquiry and analysis. Burghardt raises far more questions than he answers. That, in itself, is the mark of an important and worthwhile book.

THE RADICAL FUTURE OF LIBERAL FEMINISM, by ZILLAH EISENSTEIN. New York: Longman, 1981. 260 pp. \$19.95 cloth, \$10.95 paper.

KATHRYN B. WARD

Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Zillah Eisenstein, a feminist and political scientist, has written a very important book for the future of the women's movement in the 1980s. This book is important for those of us teaching women's studies, social and political movements, and social policy and for those of us who, in the sense of praxis, wish to combine our feminist knowledge with action in the women's movement.

Her book is divided into two parts. The first considers the origins of liberal (mainstream) feminist thought in the works of early political philosophers such as Locke and Rousseau and early feminist writings of Wollstonecraft, Taylor, Mill, and Stanton. The second half reviews the ideas and actions of reformist feminists through the writings of Friedan and the early statements of the National Organization for Women (NOW). Finally, Eisenstein examines the increasingly prominent contradictions among the social relations of patriarchy (male dominance), liberal or democratic ideology, and liberal feminism. These contradictions become more apparent with the entry of women in the paid labor force and the efforts of the state to defuse the subversive and potentially radical nature of the women's movement through limited and symbolic legal reforms.

The first part of the book is primarily of historical interest. It traces the 17th and 18th century use of liberal ideas to break away from the patriarchal ideology of divine right and feudal authority toward the liberal notions of individualism, freedom, and autonomy for men under capitalism. Early feminist writers, however, argued simply that similar liberal rights and ideas should be extended to women. They stopped short of seeing that the patriarchal underpinnings and the redefinitions of patriarchy under capitalism merely benefited men. Only after the second wave of the women's movement were some feminists able to see that underlying contradictions existed between patriarchal mechanisms of control of men over women and the full extension of liberal citizenship rights to women.

This earlier analysis is useful when Eisenstein sets her sights on these contradictions in Friedan's work and the pursuant politics of liberal or reformist feminism. In other words, she argues that liberal feminism must come to grips with the problem of bringing about change within liberal states that seek to uphold patriarchy and capitalism. For example, the liberal state allegedly provides equality of opportunity, even though, as a consequence of patriarchal relations, women and men start from different, unequal places in society. As Eisenstein notes, "The problem is that the liberal state can

grant equality of opportunity to women in the legal sense without creating the equality of conditions for them to participate" (p. 162).

Hence, efforts that focus on incorporating women into political and state activities or the extension of equal rights for women will not address the underlying inequality and conflict between women and men generated by patriarchal relations. For example, no law mandates that women must go out and work in the paid labor force and then return to work a second, unpaid shift at home. Yet, legal equality only addresses this first form of inequality. This situation provides the major contradiction between women's lives and the liberal ideology: women are supposedly granted equality of opportunity in the labor force, but at the same time, they confront patriarchal relationships and inequality within the home and have no support of law to overcome such inequalities. At the same time, if single female parents fail to meet certain 'social norms' for raising their children, then the law can and does intervene in the home.

Thus, under this system, the effects of reform, especially legal reforms to enhance the position of women, are limited when the state grants minimal reforms that defuse the revolutionary implications of feminist activities and condones conservative efforts to restrict women's rights. For example, under the onslaught of the right wing in the 1980s, with its emphasis on controlling women's reproduction through legislation and constitutional amendments, Eisenstein notes, "...the struggle to control women's reproductive activities and the limiting of her choices related to the institution of motherhood, reflects the centrality of patriarchy to Western society" (p. 224). As a consequence, under so-called liberal governments, women's right to control over their bodies is severely threatened, while a Supreme Court decision barely protects our 'right to privacy'.

Thus, the major point of Eisenstein's analysis is that although feminist activities directed toward legal and symbolic reforms such as the ERA are essential to improve the status of women, feminists should not direct all of their activities solely toward political reforms and integration within liberal states. Instead, feminists should incorporate within their analyses and political activities the contradictions inherent in capitalism between women's work in the labor force and in the home and between women and men. This prescription is particularly timely, given the recent setback for the ERA and the determination of the National Organization for Women to engage in intensive political activity oriented toward increasing the number of politicians who are sensitive to feminist issues. Her analysis also raises the question about the possible outcome of the recent campaign for the ERA, if feminists had chosen to organize around the issues and realities of women's work in capitalist patriarchal society. Finally, such analysis raises questions about the ability of a movement guided by Friedan's liberal yet delimited ideology as outlined in her recent book, The Second Stage, to bring about widespread and needed change in the relationships between women and men without resolving the inherent conflicts noted above.

At the same time, several important themes of the new research on capitalist patriarchy are missing from Eisenstein's analysis. For example, Heidi Hartmann's (1976) pioneering research on the relations among capitalism, patriarchy, and job segregation is notably missing in Eisenstein's discussion of the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy as a mechanism of social control over women in the home and in the market place. Likewise, Natalie Sokoloff's (1980) research on the dialectics of home and market work is not cited (although this could be due to the close proximity of publication). As a consequence, Eisenstein's book draws upon only a limited amount of theory and data on the economic relationships governing the position of women under capitalism and patriarchy. Although it is important to consider the ideological dimensions of liberal ideology and their relationship with feminism, explicit consideration of the economic relationships such as those noted by Hartmann and others is also necessary. For example, if we are to use Eisenstein's work to organize women working in the labor force, analyses such as Hartmann's on men's direct control over women's access to and position within the labor force and men's indirect control over women through male dominated unions and occupational segregation should be essential components of the new feminist analyses of the 1980s. As so many of us finally discovered in the 1960s and 1970s, we can change ideology or sex role attitudes only minimally without large scale changes in the economic organization of capitalist society that is based on the continued patriarchal and racist exploitation of women and persons of color.

Despite these omissions, Eisenstein's book contains the blueprint and the analyses for a feminist movement in the 1980s that can provide a powerful counter-offensive to the pressures of the right wing while potentially bringing about more revolutionary change for women and men. As such, this book should be required reading for advanced undergraduate and graduate courses on women, policy analysis, and so forth; radical and socialist feminists will find their previous analyses confirmed. Finally, I can only hope that the membership and the new leadership of the National Organization for Women and other major reformist feminist groups read this book.

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SETTING NATIONAL PRIORITIES: THE 1983 BUDGET, edited by JOSEPH A. PECHMAN. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1983. \$11.95 cloth, \$4.95 paper. CRISIS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, edited by UNION FOR RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMICS. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981. \$7.50 paper.

STEVE BURGHARDT

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Public policy analysis, especially when it concerns fiscal budgetary matters, has long fallen into two camps: the large, university-and institutionally-based Micro and Macro Fiscal School of Facts, Figures, and Behaviors; and the small, radical, and marginally-based Marxist School of History, Contradiction, and Struggle. The two books discussed here are fine representatives of each faction, solid enough in their distinctive ways to keep the other side from falling asleep often--no mean accomplishment in the land of fiduciary dialectics.

Setting National Priorities: The 1983 Budget, edited by Joseph Pechman of the liberal Brookings think tank, is an exemplar of school number one. For the reader wishing to understand both the short-term objectives and budgetary options before the president and the marginal liberal alternatives to Reagan's supply side ax, the work fully analyzes defense, nondefense (how's that for a new name for social welfare?), and the New Federalism proposals in great detail. Some of this is good enough to interest anyone: for example, Henry Aaron on "Nondefense Programs" and Edward Gramlich and Deborah Laren on "The New Federalism" analyze the various forms of block and categorical grants, tracing their history, the role they have played between the federal and state systems, and why Reagan's proposals, given the particular economic strength of certain states, will have such a diverse--and socially negative--impact on so many states with once relatively large social welfare programs. Similar discussions on the largesse in defense expenditures, the draconian cuts and their implications for education, health, and income maintenance, all give the work some short-term, descriptive value.

But, gee, what about things like, um, race? Or sex? Or class? Are there any clear social implications behind any of the proposals, that is, do the cuts fall disproportionately on one social grouping or another? Why? You won't learn anything about these issues here--after all, they're not in the budget.

Likewise, what about the liberal alternatives? Here is where the reader keeps falling asleep. Charles Schultz, ex-President Carter's fiscal wizard (and no mean budget slasher himself) begins by agreeing with the need for real increases in defense, real decreases in social spending, and the need to end deficits through the closing of some loopholes and a lot of regressive consumer taxes. The language is sweeter, but the pill will still be bitter to

most people. His main reform interest--in the midst of international economic crisis, 10% unemployment (at least double for Blacks and Hispanics) and heightened suffering for millions of Americans--is reform of the budgetary process itself! He wants better, more streamlined relations in Congress and the Executive. To read all this is to understand why liberalism is dead.

For those wanting to grapple with genuine alternatives and who also wish to deepen their understanding of the history of the economic and fiscal crises, URPE's (Union for Radical Political Economics) Crisis in the Public Sector is much better, livelier reading. Instead of just facts and figures, the reader seeks to place the fiscal crisis in a larger national and international perspective, analyzing not only the crisis of capital but presenting a broader analysis of the state, its institutions, and their role in capitalist development. The tax revolt--just assumed by Brookings--is looked at for its social and political meanings, and various organizing case histories are presented which detail the longer term behavior of politicians, business leaders, public sector unions, and rank and file and community groups. Instead of emphasizing budgetary figures, its emphasis is on the political and economic actors and what their history of activity means for the future. Above all, the roles of the public sector unions and workers are analyzed, in part because they are viewed as important elements in future strategies of social welfare reform, in part because they have received little attention in the past.

The work isn't perfect. Some of the articles will be perceived as too parochial and localist to have value on a national scale, and there isn't much attempt to draw out national and class-wide implications of various strategies; macro fiscal types' eyelids will droop here. But no one can leave the work less informed about the seriousness of what is clearly an unresolved political and economic crisis, nor fail to recognize the key role certain actors must play if progressive alternatives are to take place. One may not agree with all the prescriptions here (personally, I did), but there is far more vitality and hope in URPE's pages than in Brookings's.

ALCOHOL AND THE FAMILY, by JIM ORFORD and JUDITH HARWIN. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982. 200 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

PATRICIA MORGAN

University of California, Berkeley

Alcohol and the Family is everything a good anthology should be. It offers the reader articles which not only represent the contours of the field, but articles which also introduce the varied conceptual and theoretical facets of the problem. The key to the richness of this book also lies in the editors' ability to weave in both the more traditional methodologies, with historical

and cultural analyses of alcohol's place in the family. Starting with a chapter on the historical perspective, the book then follows with one chapter on alcohol and the family in literature, runs through discussions of social influences, sex roles, organization, legal aspects, children, systems, services, prevention, and treatment, and closes with an overview chapter by Harwin and Orford.

The value of Norman Longmate's opening chapter on "Alcohol and the Family in History" lies in the breadth of his presentation. Alcohol's historical relationship to the family is historically situated within the culture as well. Thus, we not only learn about the threat posed to the family in 18th century England, but how it entered the culture, the legal ramifications, and the effects on different social classes. In the same manner we learn how the concern over drinking in the family in the Victorian era was an integral part of Victorian culture itself.

Ghinger and Grant's interpretive essay on "Alcohol and the Family in Literature" analyzes through novels and plays, not only the effects of popular perception of alcohol in literature, but its significance. Shaw takes a different tack in the next chapter to ask what are the social, cultural, historical, and economic influences on the role of alcohol within the family. The strength here is that Shaw defines "social influences" broadly enough so that the reader is able to integrate information from the first two chapters.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 8 all discuss various aspects of the problem as it exists in contemporary society. Davies talks about the transmission of the problem (here defined mostly as "alcoholism"), weighing genetic, social, environmental, and contextual factors. Sex roles and family organization are discussed next by Leland in a concise and comprehensive review of the issues in this literature. Jacob and Seilhamer, in Chapter 6, take a look at how spouses cope, locating the literature nicely in an historical context, for both male and female spouses. In Chapter 8, Wilson discusses the various theories on the impact of the problem on children.

Chapter 7 takes the problem into the family systems perspective with Steinglass attempting to focus attention on to the organizational structure of the family rather than the individual as the actual site of the problem. John's analysis of family law and alcohol in Chapter 9 provides a major contribution to the book. She shows how the law looks at alcohol problems in the family in several oblique ways: domestic violence, divorce, and custody and welfare maintenance.

Chapters 10, 11 and 12 deal with services, treatment and prevention respectively. Ritson, in Chapter 10, asks why the family is rarely involved in services involving alcohol and family problems. He then analyzes various barriers to family oriented services, from help seeking and recognition to the structural. In Chapter 11, Harwin analyzes treatment approaches in terms of the excessive drinker and the family, locating the various alternatives. Orford presents a comprehensive overview of prevention issues in Chapter 12,

arguing that the barriers to prevention lie in an amalgamation of factors related to the traditional narrow focus of the problem and problem intervention.

The book closes with an overview chapter by Harwin and Orford, who attempt to integrate the various chapter presentations into a comprehensive discussion of the problems in establishing a family perspective. It is this attempt at synthesis, at drawing out the relevant questions and problems, that mark the unique contribution of this book.

