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Citizenship and Employment: Investigating Post-Industrial Options. Jocelyn Pixley. Reviewed by James Midgley, Louisiana State University.

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managers have the prerogative to reduce or increase salaries based on results. This distortion of incentives destroys morale and productivity.

Similarly, incentives can be used to reward success among public welfare recipients. The authors observe that "if a welfare recipient saves enough to buy a car so she can work, her grant is reduced. If she finds a job, she not only loses her welfare check, she loses her Medicaid coverage, her food stamps are reduced and, if she lives in public housing, her rent often triples." Such a distortion of incentives rewards failure. Michael Sherraden's concept of Individual Development Accounts comes to mind as an alternative to such perverse incentives.

In sum, this is a highly important and timely book that advocates a fundamental change in the way governments are working. In light of the reforms that are sweeping many other governments, its relevance extends well beyond the American situation and should be required reading for anyone on the public payroll.

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Maurice Roche. *Rethinking Citizenship: Welfare, Ideology and Change in Modern Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992. \$19.95 paperback.

Jocelyn Pixley. *Citizenship and Employment: Investigating Post-Industrial Options*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993. \$54.95.

In a series of lectures in 1949, the British sociologist T. H. Marshall, used the concept of citizenship to formulate an engaging conceptual representation of the emergence of the Western welfare state. The welfare state, he suggested, personified the attainment of full citizenship rights. Civil (or human) rights which were first secured through political struggle in the 18th century, were augmented by the granting of political rights in the 19th. In the 20th century, the institutionalization of social rights in the welfare state guaranteed that basic human needs would be met.

Although Marshall's work has been cited frequently over the years, it has become particularly popular in recent times. It is rare to find a social policy text that does not make reference to the concept of social citizenship today, and the current emphasis which some writers place on the obligations rather than rights of citizens, has heightened the concept's topicality.

Maurice Roche's timely book *Rethinking Citizenship* offers a comprehensive overview of the concept of citizenship in social policy. Its sympathetic treatment of Marshall's original work and its extension by Titmuss and others is accompanied by an incisive analysis of its more problematic aspects. Demonstrating a dexterous grasp of the theory of citizenship and its ramifications in the practical field of American and British social policy, Roche shows that a once beguilingly straightforward organizing principle for the analysis of social welfare now raises very difficult questions indeed.

Some of these difficulties have emerged as a result of the radical right's critique of the welfare state in the 1980s. For example, right wing exponents of welfare reform such as Lawrence Mead have attempted to rephrase Marshall's ideas to legitimate coercion as an acceptable means of insuring that citizen work and be productive. In his account, the notion of citizenship is more closely associated with the notion of obligation than rights. Other difficulties are related to the non-ideological structural and economic changes taking place in western societies. For example, Roche shows how de-industrialization has generated high rates of chronic unemployment which appear to be impervious to the meliorative effects of Keynesian demand management. Those who have lost their jobs and have no prospects of ever finding renumerative employment are condemned to the status of non-citizens. Other equally problematic aspects of the social citizenship concept are explored in this detailed, informative and highly recommended book.

Jocelyn Pixley's book uses the concept of social citizenship to examine the issue of structural unemployment in post-industrial societies. She is not entirely sympathetic to Marshall's conceptual schema, but she recognizes its significance as an organizing concept when writing about chronic unemployment. Pixley

challenges the view that the separation of income from work offers a solution to chronic unemployment and that the destruction of the work/cash nexus offers a liberating alternative to the drudgery of daily work. She is emphatic in her claim that citizenship can only be meaningful in capitalist societies when people have access to secure and remunerative jobs.

Pixley shows that numerous experts now believe that structural changes in Western post-industrial societies have irreversibly eradicated regular employment. These writers have argued that this development requires major social and economic adjustments involving changes in leisure time, the emergence of job sharing, and the evolution of alternative mechanisms for the generation of income. While many regard the demise of employment as problematic, others celebrate the changes which are taking place. They believe that the alienating consequences of daily work will be obviated and that the demise of employment offers rich prospects for individuals to create congenial alternatives and meaningful opportunities for self-actualization.

The author vigorously criticizes this attitude as unfounded and naive. While routinized employment may be alienating it offers a steady income, a basis for social life, access to social rights and, for women, liberation from the grind of housework and dependency. In addition, she demonstrates that programs designed to foster alternative sources of income have not succeeded. Examining three alternative approaches (guaranteed income schemes, communes and worker cooperatives) she effectively demolishes the post-industrialist's optimistic belief that the need for regular employment can be circumvented. As Pixley argues in this provocative and important book, there is no alternative to full-employment in modern societies. This fact, she argues, should be recognized and the resources of the state should be harnessed to promote employment and citizenship for all.

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