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BOOK REVIEWS

Labour Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas, Edited by Wilbert E. Moore and Arnold S. Feldman, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1960. Pp. xv + 378. $ 3.75.

The subject of this collection of papers could best be described as "social psychology of industrialization." The book resulted from a conference in Chicago, 1958, sponsored by the Committee on Economic Growth of the Social Science Research Council. Of the 20 chapters in the book, the first four and last were prepared by editors Feldman and Moore. The remaining chapters by the other authors are treatments and tangents based upon the editors' opening chapters.

The word "commitment" in the title means "the acceptance and adherence to....novel (industrial) patterns of social activity" largely by people with little or no experience in industrial life. This commitment is the intended focus of the chapters in the volume, but as so frequently happens with conference anthologies, the authors often make substantial variations on the principal theme.

Feldman and Moore analyze various norms and actions associated with a commitment to an industrial organization and an industrial way of life in terms of (1) "social forms and contexts" (the loci of commitment) and (2) stages of socialization through "agencies of exposure." Social contexts are in turn broken into (a) the work place, (b) the market place (c) and a catchall termed the social structure. Agencies of exposure are sub-divided by stages i to (a) pre-commitment agencies and processes, (b) transitional phenomena and (c) ways of inducing "internalization" (reinforcing acceptance). In successive chapters they analyze the work place, market and society. Their objective is to determine how the attributes of an industrial society impinge upon the individual and his acceptance of a new way of life.

In their chapter on the market, Feldman and Moore avoid economic factors in general and prices in particular. Emphasis is placed on the sociological impact of the labour market on the worker's mobility and adaptations to urban life, or upon his job loyalty and forms of reward. The commodity market is likewise interpreted in terms of its impact on the individual's commitment to the particular exchange relationships of the industrial way of life. The economics of consumer behaviour, according to Feldman and Moore, have "shaky theoretical foundations" because ".... forms of preference analysis, including 'indifference curves', have been developed as analytical models in economics, but it is perhaps not unfair to say that the models have virtually no empirical foundation." Sociologists, unlike economists, but also misguided, assume "strictly limited wants, largely supplied by particularistic exchanges." They conclude : "Some middle course is no doubt more nearly correct."

In their chapters, Feldman and Moore concentrate on normative influences on the theory that "internalization" (acceptance, deepdown) of the worker's commitment to the factory and all that it stands for is of primary importance. External sanctions (presumably including wages) have relatively slight influence on the worker's mobility, loyalty, or effort.

Although Feldman and Moore, as well as a number of the other authors, acknowledge a difference between economic development and industrial development, little rigour is applied to the distinction. This somewhat limited view of one of the problems of economic development is both virtue and fault—virtue because it permitted concentration on a specific problem, fault because the relationship of labour force commitment in industry to overall problems of economic development was not adequately demonstrated. If specialists in other fields—say, agricultural economists—were part of the intended audience, a more direct statement of the assumed relationship would be helpful.

Throughout the book, industrialization is stereotyped by mechanical, impersonal, assembly lines that characterize some types of factories. As a result, commercial and service activities are to a large extent omitted from the industrial organization and way of life. Yet commercial and personal service activities represent important aspects of industrial development. In their analysis of the three intrinsic work factors—machines, other workers, and bosses—Feldman and Moore limit themselves to the factory. Hence their observations about pace and rhythm, levels of skill, and property differ from what they might have observed about the personal and professional services which are also part of an industrial society.

Following the opening chapters by the co-editors are four chapters assembled under the heading "Organization of Work." Stanley H. Udy, Jr. concludes from a classification of pre-industrial organization—familial, custodial, contractual, and voluntary—that the contractual form of social organization is the best base for industrialization but that it requires an effective central government found usually in a custodial system. Thus industrialization may require the central government to commit custodial suicide while developing the contractual system needed for industrialization. Cyril S. Belshaw treats personnel policies in newly developing societies. Peter B. Hammond illustrates cultural differences in management labour relations with the Mossi labour force of the Niger Irrigation Project in the Sudanic Republic. Failure to obtain commitment of the Mossi was a failure of management to understand, and to provide for, cultural differences. Melville Herskovits, as a commentary on the previous chapters, focuses on cultural rather than institutional factors and thus stresses the importance of individual values. He points up some important features of lines of authority and illustrates differences between European and African organizational authority.

Two chapters by Peter Gregory and Morris D. Morris deal with some aspects of the labour market in Puerto Rico and India, respectively. Gregory, mainly on the basis of a 1953-54 labour market study, indicated that the Puerto Rican was successfully committed to industry because (1) change from pre-industrial organization was not radical, (2) factory work had some positive status value, (3) wages were higher than other work, (4) industrial organization did not require family disorganization and (5) effective management provided training and adaptation. Morris D. Morris, using data from the Bombay cotton textile and Tata Iron and Steel industries, demonstrates that commitment to industrial organization in India has not been seriously obstructed. Richard Holton follows with a chapter on the relation of patterns of consumption to urbanization, industrialization and increased incomes.

Bert Hoselitz's chapter on "the Market Matrix" acknowledges the importance of the allocative function of the market and thereupon stresses the effect of the market as an institution for the commitment of labour. In this context what is important about the market is : "who meets whom, under what conditions, in what surroundings, for what kinds of contractual arrangements ?" He includes in the structure of the market : commodities customarily traded, prohibitions or impediments, and market criteria which govern persons trading or wishing to trade. He shows the importance of the cash crops as a factor for preconditioning labour for industry.

Chapters by Walter Elkan and Lloyd A. Fallers, Milton Singer, and Melvin M. Tumin, deal respectively with labour mobility, craft traditions and industry (in India), and stratification in industrial change. Elkan and Fallers, illustrating with Uganda, argue that the 19th century experience of today's developed economies are poor models with which to predict the commitment of labour of today's backward countries. In criticizing the uniform sequence theory of development, Singer argues that the separation between traditional and industrial often is artificial. Thus he would argue, along with Elkan and Fallers, that each country will have its own combination of motivational resources and problems in industrialization. Tumin discusses the stratification changes that take place as a society industrializes. He supports the position in traditional societies the way of work is the way of life, hence resistances to change extend beyond the work place.

Consistent with Tumin, therefore, is William H. Knowles' conclusion "Labour unrest in developing areas is in large measure a protest against the existing way of life." However, Knowles does not attribute labour unrest as a reaction to change. On the contrary, he says, "Labour protest is against the failure to industrialize at a pace in keeping with population growth and rising aspirations." According to Manning Nash, voluntary associations and the family structure, if appropriately channeled, can help to reinforce the commitment of the labour force.

Despite his factual orientation towards Africa, David E. Apter's treatment of political organization and ideology will be worthwhile for the Indian reader. The political importance of industrialization, often without regard to comparative advantage, will be particularly interesting in the light of India's matured nationalism and mixed socialism. Having achieved the goals contained in Apter's "Decalogue of Nationalism," India could add perspective to his analysis.

Clark Kerr in his chapter, "Changing Social Structures" sweeps across the entire subject of the book and in the wake leaves two important departures from the modal viewpoint. Paraphrasing his own conclusions : (1) the commitment of workers will be determined more by what the future holds out to them than their past and (2) the problem is not the adaptability of man but the suitability of his institutions. Exhibiting none of the fear (or distaste) for generalization shown by the cultural relativists, Kerr treats commitment as a process (with stages, of course). There are (1) uncommitted workers, (2) semi-committed workers, (3) committed workers. This reviewer was happy to see he extended the scope of the book by adding : (4) the over committed workers who are committed not

just to industrial life but to seniority rules, pension plans, and welfare programmes. In India, for example, the transition from the traditional work rules of the village to the contractual work rules of industrial life probably is not as great as commonly assumed.

The book is a helpful contribution to the growing literature on the non-economics of economic development. However, its style is mainly assertive and speculative, with empirical demonstration such as Udy's exceptional rather than common-place. Emphasis is on cultural and psychological rather than institutional factors. The authors have addressed their research peers so the policy-maker will find few ready-made recommendations on, say, factory training programmes, public education, housing or transportation.

Agricultural economists may find valuable insights into some important features of the exits from agriculture, so crucial for agrarian development in some countries. Solutions to many industrial recruitment and employment problems perhaps extend to the farm and village. If so, policies for an industrial labour force might well be an important feature of agricultural development programmes.

Merits or demerits of this particular volume aside, one might speculate the value of the published conference or seminar as an epistemological device. What is the probability of one or two dozen specialists simultaneously having something so important to say, and so cogently developed, that nothing can be omitted? Is an author, committed to an editorial deadline for a chapter, likely to produce as thorough and polished a work as he might have for a journal ? Can an editor maintain a central line of argument (of any useful specificity) and yet permit each of a collection of specialists to develop a subject in the way he sees fit ? The collected papers of conferences, symposia, and seminars appear to be a growing proportion of social science literature.

Those concerned with the transmission and storage of research results might question the relative advantages of these anthologies *vis-a-vis* other media. Since the energies of research authors and readers are limited, serious thought should be given to the combination of media desired. One would inquire about the book under review, for example, how many of the ideas should have been (or have been) transmitted through the journals.

G. WUNDERLICH

Blossoms in the Dust : The Human Element in Indian Development, Kusum Nair, Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., London, 1961. Pp. xxv + 201. 21s.

In these days when a student of social sciences is apt to look with disdain any writing which is innocent of random sampling, standard error and multiple regression, it would come as a surprise to many what a perceptive observer with no other scientific tool than an intelligent mind, an observant eye and sympathetic disposition can accomplish in bringing to surface the many hidden obstacles to plans of social and economic development of rural areas. The author of this book is a journalist by profession—but with a difference. Her interest lies not so much in the news of the day, but in human attitudes to work and life which, in