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# Review of Jennifer Klein, For All These Rights: Business, Labor and the Shaping of America's Public-Private Welfare State

Frank W. Munger
*New York Law School*, frank.munger@nyls.edu



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focus on harm reduction actions, and interpretations of short and long term gains and consequences. Following essays address the diversity of subjective and community experiences.

The section titled Cultivation of Fear includes three gendered stories. Low income Latina women in Texas tell of dealing with the experience of an "at risk" pregnancy as expressed in 29 interviews carried out by Hunt and deVoogd. The authors discovered that the ambiguity of "at risk" dissipated with definitive action and intervention of amniocentesis testing. Egyptian couples searching for a test-tube baby speak of fearing impoverishment, doctors, divorce, and unnatural offspring; this is discussed by Inhorn, who has carried out classic ethnographic research in this community for many years. Oaks examines the fear-threat efforts of antiabortion advocates seeking to link abortion to increases in breast cancer risk through documentary analysis. These compelling stories highlight diverse subjective experiences of risk and risk meaning and the social processes that create assaults on trust.

The Health, Safety, and Hazard section includes three essays that examine community, group, and social perspectives on experiences of risk perception, risk experience, and risk regulation. Jerome, utilizing vivid ethnographic field research, analyzes the role of WHO in the cultural politics involved in regulating traditional medicines in Fortaleza in Northeast Brazil. Satterfield, in her ethnographic and qualitative research on a technological accident that led to arsenic pollution of an African American community, studies risk discourse, remediation, and stigma that merged fear of contamination of one's neighborhood and home with fear of racial discrimination. Harthorn, arguing for a structural violence analysis in her study of the risk subjectivities of Mexican-origin farmworkers exposed to agricultural chemicals in California, critiques behavioral interpretations of "risk takers" and "risk makers" and proposed greater focus on the production of health inequality.

Regulating Risk and the Public's Health presents three chapters on public action and discourses on risk, intended to foster social regulation through changes in public behavior. Chua, in his essay on condom use campaigns in Southeast Asia, moves well beyond Asia in drawing on comparative data to argue for a managerial explanation to understand how sex workers and truck drivers (the identified carriers cross nationally) become the subjected site for monitoring, data collection, and public campaigns in AIDS policies in order to divert attention from the inequalities of capitalist development. Bray, a participant in the anti-GMO coalition takes on the biotech companies, as she reviews EU social responses as well as the hype around vitamin enriched "golden rice": the food industry's golden egg perhaps. Murphy-Lawless examines how citizens stand in relation to the state through her analysis of mad cow disease, foot and mouth disease, and general elections in Britain, in an excellent paper on "how food becomes a complex source of risk and danger" and how the state, in this case Britain, responds to secure public trust (p. 226).

This collection brings together contemporary stories on risk and health. Most authors strongly state their positions, although variable in their success of organizing, documenting, and presenting substantive argument. Although the papers are uneven in the quality of analysis and empirical substance, they contribute new material of contemporary relevance, with an occasional innovative formulation, for our larger social and cultural discourse on the meaning and subjective and community experience of ever dynamic environments of risk.

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*For All These Rights: Business, Labor, and the Shaping of America's Public-Private Welfare State,* by **Jennifer Klein.** Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003. 376 pp. $35.00 cloth. ISBN: 0-691-07056-3.

FRANK MUNGER
*State University of New York-Buffalo*
*fmunger@acsu.buffalo.edu*

Americans have become accustomed to employment in a labor market offering no security for retirement or medical need, the most basic and highly valued entitlements of a mature welfare state. As pillars of corporate America downsize or declare bankruptcy at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the promise of long term social welfare for employees often becomes an early victim of the bottom line. Jennifer Klein's masterful history of the emergence of the private-public welfare state from the crucible of the New Deal shows us that the American worker's dependence on employment-based benefits was a strategy chosen by corporations to thwart the power of labor and the growth of a welfare state.

Klein documents the maneuvering and conflict among business, labor, and other interests in forging foundational New Deal social welfare policies. She examines how corporations committed to welfare capitalism, welfare as corporate largesse, prevailed over labor and community leaders in the debate about principles of welfare state development. The powerful influence of large employers and insurance companies led legislators and early administrators of the Social Security system, who shaped its future development, to accept a large measure of employer control over welfare rather than viable alternative principles of public, universal welfare. As a result, welfare capitalism's principles have retained their hold through and beyond the New Deal.

Klein's history illuminates the policy debate about the meaning of security. The New Deal established a "politics of security" as a lasting theme in American life, but in the early 1930s the meaning of security remained unformed. Employers prevailed, promoting the limited meaning of security under the Social Security Act, namely social provision in proportion to worker contribution and employer supplementation of a minimal public pension. The legacy of this choice is still visible through the wreckage of today's corporate scandals: The welfare state has regulated but never seriously threatened deference to employer choices about the scope and terms of social welfare for the vast majority of Americans.

Central to Klein's narrative is the maneuvering among contesting groups. On the employers' side, she describes not only the debates among policymakers and the advocates for business but within the business community itself. Tracing the business practices and advocacy of particular corporations, she describes the steps by which employers awakened to the possibilities for exploiting welfare state development for their own purposes. Insurance companies early on perceived the potential of the welfare state to underwrite their own expansion by promoting the importance of security for vast, previously uninsured sectors of the society. In turn, insurance companies made it their mission to persuade business clients to address welfare needs of workers and at the same time to persuade Congress to leave the field of employee security largely to private exploitation. On both fronts, they were largely successful.

Employer-controlled welfare prevailed, but only after protracted struggle by labor unions and community activists for social provision free from employer domination. Responding to the New Deal, social workers, child welfare advocates, consumers' unions, women's groups, labor, and farmers supported an array of innovative local experiments in community welfare provision, including community services, community-rated healthcare, and many others. As Klein reads the historical record, the risk-sharing and cost-sharing initiatives of community reformers were public in conception, not private, and thus constituted a viable, community-based element of the welfare state. The resistance to this alternative vision, and the marginalization of these initiatives in the late 1930s, is a critical turning point in her narrative. Klein takes issue with scholars who have emphasized the absence of labor advocacy for socialized welfare after World War II. She argues that unions remained militantly committed to a broader social vision of worker and community welfare, but the range of alternatives open to them was narrowed by politics and not by choice, namely by decisions of the War Labor Board and by labor laws that channeled advocacy into contract negotiations in which management prerogatives were carefully protected. While Klein asserts that awareness of class and race were central to the most ambitious community welfare alternatives, the marginalization of these proposals in the thought of social security policymakers was attributable to the evolving professional discourse of healthcare policymakers who supported contributory social insurance and advocated individually dispensed medical care. Thus, professionals who guided the debate about healthcare economics had a profound influence in deflecting class issues that might, as such, have had a broader appeal.

While strong in many respects, Klein's narrative strategy is particularly effective in tracing these critical debates and conflicts through descriptions of the participants. Conflicts over policy were never a contention among generalized interests alone, but depended on strategies, capacities, and personalities of leaders and organizations. By presenting the contenders, her narrative leads beyond the immediate contention among interests to broader social history of the evolution of corporations, labor, professions, and government administration. Thus, Klein's history not only explores an important thesis with great narrative power, but also intersects other accounts of welfare state evolution at many levels. Complementing labor, business, welfare, and political history, the book makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the origins of the American welfare state.

# THEORY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

*Structure, Agency, and the Internal Conversation,* by **Margaret S. Archer.** Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 370 pp. $65.00 cloth. ISBN: 0-521-82906-2. $23.99 paper. ISBN: 0-521-53597-2.

JOHN P. HEWITT
***University of Massachusetts at Amherst***
***hewitt@soc.umass.edu***

This work, which unites a project in social theory with an illuminating bit of exploratory research, is the fourth in a series of books on structure and agency by University of Warwick social theorist Margaret S. Archer. Arguing against both the simple determination of agency by structure and a free hand for agency in relation to structure, Archer carves out an important role for reflexivity—the "internal conversation"—in the micro-macro link. The theoretical project examines the nature of reflexivity and argues strenuously for its centrality to the explanation of how society and persons shape one another. The exploratory research —interviews with twenty Britons of varying age and social class—discerns three major forms of reflexivity in late modern society and theorizes how each links the person and the social world.

At the risk of drastic oversimplification, the argument runs as follows: Individuals are not merely conditioned by social forms over which they have no control. Involuntarily placed in a social class, for example, persons must nonetheless subjectively confront the circumstances in which they find themselves and adopt a "stance" toward society. They must, in effect, decide how they will conduct themselves in relation to the constraints and opportunities with which the social world confronts them. Their doing so necessarily involves conversations with themselves; reflexivity entails consideration of self in relation to society and culture, of what one can, will, or must do in relation to obstacles and enablements.

The internal conversation varies from person to person, but its forms and varieties can be studied and described. "Communicative reflexivity" entails an active internal conversation that inevitably seeks confirmation from important others. Communicative reflexives by and large grow up in contexts of social continuity, where important others remain present over time and confirm their concerns and projects. Working class communicative reflexives, for example, have lived and developed their initial plans in the stable context of others, such as family and friends, who are important to them, and who confirm personal identities grounded in careers and choices that will probably keep them within a working class orbit. Social class does not simply determine mode of reflexivity, however, for discontinuities in social contexts (family disruption, a move from village to market town, social rejection by peers) can and do engender "autonomous reflexivity." Unlike communicative reflexives, whose internal conversations generate decisions and plans that must be confirmed by significant others, autonomous reflexives need no such confirmation. They live in a social world, of course, but their focus is typically (though not inevitably) on work, and their stance toward society is strategic: They work out for themselves what they must do in order to achieve performative skills and the rewards they will confer. Whereas communicative reflexives consciously accept the limitations of their cir-