

Important as all these findings are, this book is rather disappointing. The theoretical framework does not go beyond those developed in the Cold War period by the school of totalitarianism. This is not to say that the Soviet Union under Stalin was not a dictatorial or even a totalitarian state, aiming at the total control of its population. But an explanation of the widespread (though probably minority) identification with and/or assimilation to the system by a religious-like total belief or by individual psychological (ahistorical) reactions does not seem totally satisfying. In many of her conclusions, Adler relies only on hypotheses. She does not make clear either how she chose her corpus of sources, or her narrative excerpts. Undoubtedly, her conclusions would have been much more convincing had she chosen to develop complete cases, such as the interesting life story of Gertruda Chuprun (pp. 159–163). I wished there had been more of those.

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QUIRKE, CAROL. *Eyes on Labor. News Photography and America's Working Class*. Oxford University Press, Oxford [etc.] 2012. xi, 358 pp. Ill. \$99.00.  
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Among labor historians and supporters of the American labor movement, the signal phenomenon to be explained is the absolute decline in the proportion of the workforce that is unionized and in actual union membership since the middle of the twentieth century. The proportion of unionized workers grew steadily from 7 per cent in 1930 to 28 per cent in 1954. In the almost six decades since that peak, labor's share of the overall workforce has declined steadily, to 20 per cent in 1980 and to less than 12 per cent in 2011.<sup>1</sup>

Scholarship in the past three decades has examined this decline which clearly has multiple roots. Cultural issues have been understandably significant in the discussion. Carol Quirke's new book, *Eyes on Labor*, while focused entirely on the period of labor's growth, speaks to an important dimension of the origins of the labor movement's decline. She does not make the connection as strongly as she might, but in her analysis of the impact of labor and news photography from the 1930s to the 1950s she provides an important new view of the success of employers and the corporate media in the United States in setting a framework for viewing trade unionism and labor conflict in negative terms. Even during the period of the labor movement's greatest growth, its phenomenal success was undermined by the ability of capital to set the terms of the debate and to place trade unions on the defensive.

*Eyes on Labor*, by exploring the depiction of labor's organizing in news photography and unions' use of photography in their own publications, provides an original and

1. Gerald Mayer, "Union Membership Trends in the United States" (31 August 2004), pp. 22–23, [http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1176&context=key\\_workplace](http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1176&context=key_workplace), last accessed 14 January 2013; United States, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Union Members Summary" at <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.nro.htm>, last accessed 27 January 2012.

convincing view of the cultural war that developed in the 1930s and 1940s to frame Americans' views of the labor movement and collective bargaining. It shows employers and corporate media on the offensive, and trade unions retreating to a defensive, bureaucratic position as they articulated their goals and methods to members. Succeeding chapters offer case studies of distinct campaigns and sources that speak to change over time in the depiction of labor struggles and the labor movement's construction of its identity in its publications for members.

Quirke's account begins with an overview chapter that traces the depiction of labor conflicts from the 1877 railroad strike to the 1919 strike wave, and labor conflict during the early New Deal years. Then she moves into more fine-grained case studies of *LIFE* and other news magazines' treatments of labor struggles in the 1930s and coverage of a sit-down strike at Hershey's Chocolate in April 1937 and the Memorial Day Massacre in Chicago later that year. Two final substantive chapters explore the United Steelworkers' publication, *Steel Labor*, and the use of photography among rank-and-file members of Local 65 of the United Wholesale and Warehouse Workers' union in New York.

Quirke offers a particularly rich treatment of labor photography in *LIFE*, setting the magazine well within emerging consumer culture and examining its evolving treatment of the labor struggles that dominated headlines in 1936–1937. *LIFE* embraced labor as a part of its prospective mass market, with coverage of labor and labor struggles appearing in fully two-thirds of the magazine's issues in its first year (p. 58). Still, *LIFE* emphasized the domestic aspects of sit-down strikes, rather than the motivations and goals of the strikers. *LIFE* photos focused on Henry and Edsel Ford, titans of industry, even though the Flint sit-down was aimed at General Motors. Sit-downers were worthy of attention but photo journalism avoided serious treatment of the issues at stake. Quirke's analysis extends to other strikes, uses generous photographic spreads, and provides close "readings" of the visual sources. In the end, she concludes, "*LIFE*'s lighthearted approach muted class hostility and portrayed management as sympathetic to labor's needs" (p. 74), hardly a reasonable rendering of the broader meaning of the sit-down movement in the United States in the late 1930s. In further coverage of labor into the early years of World War II, *LIFE* emphasized labor violence on the one hand and de-emphasized rank-and-file agency in comparison with the unions' bureaucratic, even managerial, leadership.

Equally valuable interpretations emerge in Quirke's analyses of photo coverage of the sit-down strike at Hershey Chocolate and the Memorial Day Massacre at Republic Steel in South Chicago. In the Hershey chapter, Quirke describes the public relations and anti-union campaigns the company and the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) unleashed to sway public opinion against the strikers, and shows that national news magazines basically published company accounts of the conflict. Quirke concludes her treatment of the strike and its news coverage: "there is no doubt that with the Hershey strike, the account told over and over again was a story whose contours had been designed by the NAM" (p. 148).

The story of photography and the Memorial Day Massacre is a more complicated one that stresses the contested nature of views of labor protest. Concluding a peaceful picnic and rally to muster support for a strike against Republic Steel, strikers and their supporters moved to set up a picket line at the company; Chicago police then opened fire, killing ten and wounding another ninety (p. 154). Quirke's treatment really begins with the publication of newspaper photographs and accounts of the event, particularly newsreel footage of the confrontation. In a remarkable discussion, Quirke shows how

initial newspaper accounts and the newsreel interpreted the visual evidence as showing that the violence of protestors had provoked a necessary police response. Newspaper stories repeated uncritically police officials' claims about the protestors' provocations.

Much of this chapter is then devoted to demonstrating how labor, Chicago supporters, and sympathetic members of the La Follette Committee in the United States Senate presented evidence that decisively undermined the police construction of events and press coverage based on those accounts. Quirke shows convincingly that the photographs did not simply reveal the "facts" about the confrontation but required accompanying interpretation. That interpretation, in turn, was very subjective, though in the end unions and supportive politicians summoned such a massive array of evidence that they succeeded in turning around the original police assertions and showed how peaceful protestors became the victims of stunning police misconduct. The chapter is a real tour de force and displays the strengths of Quirke's analytic strategies.

Having demonstrated in these first chapters the influence and limitations of corporate and state manipulation of news photographs to counter the rise of mass-production unionism, Quirke moves in the final third of her study to examine how labor unions themselves employed the new possibilities of photography in mobilizing their members. The perspective offered, in the end, is an ambiguous one, with the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) using photography in their publications to assert bureaucratic control of members, while New York's Local 65, a large local of distributive workers, employed photography to empower its members and underline the union movement's broader goals.

Quirke's discussion of the USWA's publication, *Steel Labor*, emphasizes how the union's leaders avoided publicizing union struggles through photography, but typically venerated union leaders and emphasized how much the union did for its passive but fortunate members. Quirke views the changing use of photography as emblematic of the taming of CIO mass-production unions as they became junior partners with corporate management in administering American industry. Quirke argues that CIO unions "pushed moderation", promoting the message to members, "be good and your union shall reward you". In her view, "Members became part of an imaged [or imagined] community bound by the conventions of a staid, gender-divided, associational life, with modest demands for inclusion in the promise of American life" (p. 189). She does an excellent job of showing how the use of photography in union publications mirrored the retreat from activism that characterized the CIO mass-production unions' political path more generally.

The story of Local 65 and photography presents at one level an exception to the broader pattern for CIO unions as a whole. This New York union put cameras in the hands of union members and shared a grass-roots view of unionism very different from that of the steelworkers. For a period union struggles and members' activism played prominently in the union's publication, *New Voices*. But Quirke's treatment ends as Congressional anti-communist investigations led the union to beat a retreat, to re-affiliate with the CIO, and abandon the grassroots emphasis that had distinguished its use of photography for more than a decade. Soon, the union's paper was merged with that of the larger CIO union into which the local was folded and its distinctive use of photography and its emphasis on grassroots activism came to an end.

Carol Quirke tells a remarkable story – prescient in many ways. Though her account ends in the mid-1950s, it offers important lessons for an understanding of labor's decline

in the half century since then. We are all the richer for the photos she shares and explores in this important new study.

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HAHAMOVITCH, CINDY. *No Man's Land. Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor.* [Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.] Princeton University Press, Princeton [etc.] 2011. x, 333 pp. Ill. Maps. \$35.00; £24.95. doi:10.1017/S0020859013000400

Cindy Hahamovitch's important new book interprets the history of US–Caribbean guest-worker programs in a global context. Starting in the late nineteenth century, guest-workers have inhabited a “no man's land” between nation-states and between freedom and slavery, the book argues, and their deportability has consistently led state elites and employers to recruit them. By comparing the H2 temporary labour program with other guest-work arrangements, and particularly with the Bracero program between the US and Mexico, Hahamovitch successfully, and often brilliantly, spotlights the inner workings of guest-work even as she diagnoses its worldwide scope.

*No Man's Land* suggests that early attempts to import temporary foreign labourers emerged in the late nineteenth century, as conflict grew between employers seeking labour surpluses and nationalists who advocated exclusionary immigration controls. The latter particularly targeted transnational debt migrants who arrived bound to debt or contracts, and whom white elites saw as dangerously slavish and destined to lower the working standards for native-born citizen-workers. From South Africa to Australia and Prussia, this “first phase” of temporary worker programs allowed industrialists and agriculturalists to employ temporarily contracted working men, pay less than minimum wage, maintain racial segregation, and demand workers' expulsion at the end of the contract period, particularly for non-whites.

Xenophobia spurred by the Great Depression led nation-states like the United States to abruptly expel many thousands of such labourers in the 1930s, when businesses took advantage of gluts in domestic labour markets. In the southern US state of Florida, Hahamovitch shows, growers chose each day's workforce amongst the job-hungry labourers gathered at the morning “roundup”, and truckers who drove the fortunate few to the fields brought helpers to fend off the remaining men and women, some of whom clung to the trucks' doors (p. 25). Farmworkers like these gained little from the groundbreaking social welfare policies of US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s.

As the wartime economy after 1939 created new job opportunities elsewhere, though, workers quickly opted to forgo the fields, and it took federal intervention to bring them back. Expertly using government documents from Great Britain and Jamaica and the papers of US federal agencies like the Immigration and Naturalization Service and Farm Security Administration, chapters 2 through 4 dramatically interpret the rise, fall, and legacy of the “Farmworkers' New Deal”, a war-era program whose labour and housing regulations