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## **BOOK REVIEWS**

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### **Fair Trade, Corporate Accountability and Beyond: Experiments in Globalizing Justice**

**Kate Macdonald and Shelley Marshall**

Ashgate, Farnham, 2010

**Reviewed by Elisabeth Riedl**

This book, as the title suggests, tackles an emerging research agenda in identifying and examining ‘experiments in globalizing justice’. It embarks on an ambitious agenda, seeking to critically examine distinct but also increasingly linked ethical initiatives like ‘fair trade’ and ‘corporate social responsibility’ (CSR), problematising the role and responsibilities of civil society, businesses, mobilised workers and the State within this discussion. These actors and initiatives, are subjected to a broad and challenging question: ‘How can production and trade within transnational supply chains be governed effectively so as to protect core human and social rights and advance broader principles of justice within a global economy?’ (p. 5). While this question risks being overly ambitious in scope and may overwhelm the reader initially, it is indeed pertinent for an examination of the promises and potential of initiatives such as CSR, which are gaining increasing leverage as market-based alternatives to broad-based structural change.

In the context of proliferating social justice initiatives, spanning public and private, government and non-governmental actors, from corporate to civic led initiatives, to the domain of government regulation – the key question raised by the editors is a theoretical one – where should responsibility lie? The editors, Macdonald and Shelley (2010), develop and outline a conceptual framework for examining this question in the introductory chapter to this book. They use the metaphor of ‘embedding’ (drawing on the theoretical work of a range of scholars, notably Polanyi 1944) to frame the discussion and analysis of the ethical initiatives examined, with the argument that these serve as ‘attempt(s) to re-embed capitalism in social justice norms’ (p. 7). As such, the editors position these ‘experiments in globalizing justice’ at the interface between market

imperatives and the social justice values that markets arguably reject (akin to Hayek's 1976 argument). Essentially, 're-embedding', for the editors, assumes that a process of 'dis-embedding' has occurred (a phenomenon traced to the rise of neoliberalism from the 1970s, p. 9). Some readers may question the stance taken by the editors and the literature they consult, as the process of dis-embedding which they refer to could, alternatively, reflect a contestation over social values rather than their expulsion.

The conceptual framework of (dis)embedding raises two key tasks for the authors: to identify 'ethically defensible norms', by which standards capitalism *should* be regulated, and; to identify and evaluate the institutional arrangements which are necessary for a process of 're-embedding' to occur (p. 8). The admittedly 'hazy' 'yardstick' by which they seek to evaluate the capacity of the initiatives examined is through the concept of 'social justice' (p. 5). To add clarity to this concept, the authors derive 'norms of social justice' from relevant theoretical literature and public discourse. In examining the mix of actors and currently relatively *ad hoc* models for ethical change, the editors further seek to engage and contribute to scholarly discussions over regulation – particularly debates over the legitimacy of voluntary (or soft) over legal (or hard) mechanisms (p. 7).

While individual chapters do not necessarily engage explicitly with the analytical framework developed by the editors (as forewarned in the introduction on p. 27), instead working to their own methodologies, the editors return to the questions they raise in chapter 1 with a strong analysis and reflection in the concluding chapter to the work. Indeed, both the introduction and conclusion serve as highlights in this book, effectively tying together the variety of case-studies contributed by individual authors.

The editors identify that the scope of the book encompasses 'ever-expanding numbers and variants of governance initiatives' (p. 5). Accordingly, this collection is organised into eighteen chapters that focus on 'Individual and Civic Action through Fair Trade' (part 1), 'Responsible Consumers and Corporations' (part 2), 'Mobilised Workers' (part 3) and 'A Strengthened and Transformed Role for the State' (part 4) respectively. Part 1 offers five chapters on fair trade, including a focus on fair trade in Asia for chapter 2. Indeed, further

examples are drawn from the region for the remaining parts of the book, including an examination of CSR in the Australian garment Sector (Part 2, Chapter 8), of workers' representation in China (Part 3, chapter 11), and of regional trade agreements in the Pacific (Part 4, chapter 16).

Importantly, given that this work engages themes at the interface of scholarly and policy debates, contributors include scholars *and* practitioners (see notes on pages xi-xv). Steve Knapp, the Executive Director of Fair Trade Australia and New Zealand (FTAANZ) and Fairtrade Labelling Australia and New Zealand (FLANZ), appropriately authors the first chapter on Fair Trade (chapter 2). Other contributors include Andrea Maksimovic (from the European NGO SOLIDAR, chapter 13), Serena Lillywhite and Emer Diviney (from the Sustainable Business Unit of the Brotherhood of St Laurence, chapter 8) and Nic Maclellan (a journalist and researcher in the Pacific, chapter 16). This input from practitioners ensures that the work remains grounded in the practical experiences and knowledge such contributors can provide.

This collection edited by Macdonald and Shelley, admittedly examining a highly experimental terrain, is eminently suitable and significant in an era marked by the increasing popularity of 'market-based' ethical initiatives. The rise of efforts to harness the power of the market is demonstrated by the advent of the fair trade labeling model in the late 1980s and the proliferation of CSR initiatives, including the United Nations Global Compact, at the turn of the century. These initiatives underscore the importance of rigorous scrutiny of the role and effectiveness of 'experiments in globalizing justice'. This collection will be of interest to scholars, students and practitioners alike, with an interest in this dynamic debate.

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## **Decentralization in Developing Countries: Global Perspectives on the Obstacles to Fiscal Devolution**

**Jorge Martinez-Vazquez and Francois Vaillancourt (Eds)**

Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK, ISBN 978 1849805087 Hardback

### **Reviewed by Franklin Obeng-Odoom**

One of the most widely used and abused concepts in public administration is decentralisation. There are often substantial differences between the normative concept and how it is practiced in 'real life'. About two years ago, I asked a senior public administrator based in Rwanda about his country's experience with decentralisation. I was told that it was 'complete'; that there was nothing in need of revision, and that Rwanda was a success case. Whether he misrepresented the facts is a moot point. What is at issue is whether we were thinking about the same issue: what really is decentralisation?

Avoiding a direct answer to this question is one of the major downsides in this book. Almost every chapter has a different interpretation, ranging from 'self-help' (*e.g.* pp.450-451); through federalism (*e.g.*, pp.555-557); to public-private partnerships (*e.g.*, p.315). It is true that, even in theory, decentralisation takes on several features, such as deconcentration (the 'offshoring' of functions to the local government level without a change in the concentration of power at the centre) and devolution (the simultaneous transfer of functions and powers from the centre to the local level). However, a book about the decentralisation experiences of different countries would be more effective if it had a working definition. Failing that, it is not clear how the editors' summary of the 'obstacles to decentralisation' (pp.2-12) should be interpreted. Are they problems of, for, or to decentralisation? In other words, are they inherent in decentralisation, external impediments to that worthy objective or concerns about the worthiness of the objective itself?

The sub-title of the book suggests a primary emphasis on the fiscal aspect of decentralisation. However, most of the chapters do not give particular attention to fiscal decentralisation. Take the case of Burkina Faso, for instance: only 3 (pp.320-322) out of 23 pages (pp.303 – 326)

consider fiscal decentralisation. Similarly, the chapter on Albania gives scant attention to fiscal decentralisation, spanning only about 8 pages out of 58 (pp.23-31). Instead the case studies typically claim to be looking at the 'political economy of decentralisation', a descriptor readers of this journal may find unsatisfactory, as it simply means a discussion of the politics in the various countries rather than a heterodox political economic analysis.

Most of the chapters show that decentralisation is not working as expected. However, they do not answer the 'so what?' or the 'does it matter?' questions that are characteristic of political economic analysis. How does failure of decentralisation affect citizens? Or is failure a success for some particular interest groups? Such questions are left 'hanging'. The Lao case tried to look at the 'consequences of deconcentration' (pp. 205-206) but went only as far as looking at fiscal inequalities between different decentralized units. The link with 'development' is never established, although decentralists often talk about the positive relationship between development and decentralisation. The Bangladeshi case study is an exception, as it looks at the distribution of local revenue and expenditure for 'development purposes' (e.g., pp.229-231).

These downsides are slight relative to the merits of the book. The editors deserve commendation for bringing together the diverse experiences of 16 countries from across the developing world in a single book. The book contains many interesting insights. In Sierra Leone, for example, we learn that chiefs, unelected and unaccountable, are those in charge of local tax collection, and it is they who decide what percentage of the total revenue is fair allocation for city planners (pp.104-105). Paradoxically, it is the council that provides local services and the formal legal structures seen to endorse the activities of the chiefs. Indeed, the chiefs (not the councils) have initiated reform of the Local Government Act, solely to entrench their positions (p.106). Also, contrary to claims by decentralists that elected mayors are freer to pursue local economic development, the case study of Madagascar shows that elected mayors face stiff opposition from structures of power, including the presidency. It seems the so called strong mayoral system is not always a panacea.

The book throws up many thought-provoking questions, such as at what stage of economic development and political maturity should

decentralisation be tried? Should post-conflict countries be built from the bottom or the centre? What is the role of tribal chiefs in decentralisation; should they be sidelined or embraced, given that they are supportive in some cases and non-cooperative in others? Should a situation where an active central state supports local governments be read as ‘successful’ decentralisation, given that decentralists consider autonomy a virtue? Is it an oxymoron to ask for strong central state support for successful decentralisation? Do rich local governments suffer the ‘resource curse’, comparable to that arising in countries where a rich endowment of mineral creates unbalanced development? It is unfortunate that the editors, who are well versed on questions of decentralisation, did not provide a concluding chapter to share their thoughts on these issues.

The appeal of the book is that its provision of many examples of how decentralisation is lived, in real life, supplies the ingredients for further exploring the slippery and contested concept of decentralisation.

## **Politics, Disability and Social Inclusion: People With Different Abilities in the Twenty First Century**

**Peter Gibilisco**

VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2011

### **Reviewed by Frank Stilwell**

This book discusses the politics of social democracy, neoliberalism and the third way from a distinctive perspective, emphasising social justice in general and the politics of disability in particular. It engages with the theory and practice of contemporary economic and social policies from the viewpoint of someone whose primary concern is with social inclusion for people whose lives are otherwise outside the mainstream.

The author’s own life story is itself engaging. Peter Gibilisco was diagnosed at the age of 14 with Friedreich’s Ataxia, a progressive disease that causes physical impairment, including markedly deteriorating eyesight, muscular growth and co-ordination. Consigned to a wheelchair by the age of 23, he could have been forgiven for giving up on the quest

for any life approaching normality. However, alongside his commitment to enjoy fulfilling personal experiences, he decided to embark on a university education. After completing a bachelors degree specialising in sociology at the University of Melbourne, he undertook a Master of Arts degree at Monash, and subsequently enrolled in a PhD at the University of Melbourne where he received the strong support of his supervisor, Tim Marjoribanks. He completed the PhD which was awarded in March 2006. Along the way he has shown great courage in travelling interstate to interview leading Australian social scientists (such as Hugh Stretton in Adelaide and John Quiggin in Brisbane) and in trying to live a full and purposive life despite his progressive physical deterioration.

The book is the product of his research and writing for the PhD and is a vehicle for bringing his thinking and concerns to a broader audience. It is divided into ten chapters. An introduction sets out the central aspects of his arguments, which are broadly social democratic in temper, but emphasising the need to extend social democracy with a more explicit emphasis on social inclusion. The next three chapters compare this social democratic perspective with neoliberal and third-way politics. Chapter 5 then looks at the political economy of globalisation and the way in which it relates to neoliberalism and third-way politics. Throughout these chapters the central theme is a strong critique of the homogenising assumptions that pervade neoliberal and third-way perspectives, making them particularly problematic from the viewpoint of the special needs of people with disabilities.

Chapters 6 to 9 probe the latter aspects with a more prescriptive orientation, setting out what a more proactive approach to social inclusion would need to involve. Here is a critical view of the biomedical model of disability and a more positive and enabling social perspective on the challenges of overcoming discrimination – in educational institutions, employment practices, public policies and even the spatial forms of our built environment. The author provides a detailed identification of the economic, legal and social obstacles to people with disabilities, a critique and advocacy of particular policies such as provision of adequate support workers and employment options tailored specifically for different abilities. There are separate chapters on social policy, employment policy and the political economy of education for people with disabilities. A conclusion and comprehensive bibliography completes the volume.

The book has a primary focus on the Australian context, but the general argument has a broader relevance. The author integrates his own experience with discussion of broader societal processes, leaving the reader in no doubt that this is a work of great personal commitment and integrity. The author's own success in higher education is, of course, the inspiring backdrop to the unfolding narrative.

Will this analysis and advocacy make a difference? No doubt there are major structural obstacles relating to employment, education and service provision, but the author shows how people with disabilities can create opportunities even in these difficult circumstances. And there are always possibilities for reform, given the necessary political inclination and will. It is to the credit of the relevant minister in the current ALP government, Bill Shorten, that he, more than any other recent Australian politician, has been willing to give political backing to these concerns. Peter Gibilisco may take heart from this experience, notwithstanding the continuing problems of explicit discrimination and implicit exclusion that he enumerates in his book.

### **The Wages of Destruction: the Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy.**

**Adam Tooze**

Allen Lane, London, 2006, 800 pp.

**Reviewed by Frank Stilwell**

This book is a masterly account of the Nazi economy, starting with its development during the 1930s after Adolf Hitler's accession to power and ending with the ultimate failure of the fascist war machine. It is compiled from detailed research and presented with impressive command of the narrative historical art. From start to finish – and that is a very long journey – it is compelling reading. So, although the book is now a few years old, it warrants attention among *JAPE* readers, particularly those who are interested in the potential power and capacity of a state to radically transform an economy or society – for good or evil.



Although the primary focus of the book is on the transformation of the German economy to a war footing and the ways in which state power was used to effect that transformation, attention is also paid to the broader international political economic context. Tooze argues strongly that it was the perception of the growing power of the USA relative to Europe that underpinned Hitler's view of the inevitability of war. More than superpower rivalry, what was at stake, as Tooze puts it, was 'fear of the world Jewish conspiracy, manifested in the shape of 'Wall Street Jewry' and the 'Jewish media' of the United States. F. D. Roosevelt was seen as 'the chosen one of world Jewry' representing those interests. The German 'fatherland' – indeed the whole European social order – was perceived to be vulnerable to the changing balance of power in the international political economy. Hence the perceived necessity of economic modernisation, political mobilisation and military first strike. Hence the Nazi rationale for using state power, as ruthlessly as necessary, to redirect labour to the war economy, thereby effecting what was probably the most dramatic state-led political economic transformation of all time.

Tooze's book focuses on the stresses of this transformation – in terms of agricultural and industrial policies, fiscal policy, technological change, workforce skill development, inflationary pressures and currency problems. It focuses on the personnel driving the transformation too, particularly the key role of Albert Spier. Spier is probably better known as the architect who designed the architecture for Hitler's fascist urban dystopia, but he is revealed here as the central administrator of the war economy without whom Hitler's ambitions would not have had such practical effect. Tooze's book carefully analyses the strategic reasons for the failure of the fascist war economy too, following what he identifies as Hitler's 'breakneck aggression' in 1938 and Germany's surprisingly easy successes at the start of the war, including the occupation of France in 1940. Tooze argues that 'a combination of opportunism, technocratic radicalism and ideologically inspired violence' (p.331) held sway. The undoing was not purely a matter of military miscalculations: it also reflected the political economic tensions and weaknesses of the political economic foundations of the fascist enterprise.

This is not an easy book in any respect. It is a long and complex read. It documents one of the most appalling episodes in human history. War, moreover, is a topic with which conventional economists are usually

deeply uncomfortable, regarding it as an ‘aberration’ from business-as-usual in a capitalist economy. Yet, as Tooze shows, understanding the processes and tensions involved in the production of armaments, preparation for war and the management of war require comprehensive political economic analysis. His book combines admirable scholarship, careful analysis and fine historical narrative. Niall Ferguson has described it as ‘a tour de force ... the best book I have read on the Nazi economy’ and John Cornwall as ‘unputdownable epic history’. One can but concur.

### ***A Marxian-Polanyian Synthesis?***

#### **Karl Polanyi: The Limits of the Market**

**Gareth Dale**

Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010, 320 pp, hardback \$110, paperback \$34.95

#### **Reviewed by Tom Barnes**

During his address for the third annual Ted Wheelwright Memorial Lecture at the University of Sydney last October, Professor Fred Block drew a sharp distinction between Polanyi’s and Marx’s approaches to radical social change. In making the case for a renewed Social Democracy, he argued that the Marxist emphasis on the ‘primacy of property relations’ was inferior to the Polanyian ‘primacy of politics’, in which democratic states and societies subordinated markets to achieve socially progressive goals (Block, 2010). A quite different argument can be found in a recent book on Polanyi. Gareth Dale’s *Karl Polanyi* offers a sophisticated Marxist critique of Polanyi’s vast body of work. In considering the breadth of Polanyi’s ideas, Dale suggests that a synthesis of Marxist and Polanyian approaches is possible.

Dale makes an interesting and compelling case. He argues that most followers of Marxist and Polanyian thought share similar concerns that movements for radical social change need to be revived. As Dale notes, other scholars have attempted to bring Marx and Polanyi together. For example, Arrighi’s analysis of long waves of accumulation is compared

to Polanyi's economic history (Arrighi, 1994). In Arrighi's hands, Dale argues, the 'great transformation' becomes a 'great oscillation' between the forces of marketisation and social protection. From this vantage point, the Great Recession may be interpreted as the pendular movement of marketisation reaching its 'point of return' as free market economics begins to crack under the weight of its own contradictions (p. 230).

Dale argues that a more explicit attempt to synthesise Polanyi's approach with Marxism can be found in Burawoy's treatment of 'sociological Marxism'. According to Burawoy, Polanyi (along with Gramsci) helped to transcend the problems of historical materialism by treating an 'active/civil society' as the contested outcome of capitalism, not socialist revolution or, indeed, class struggle (Burawoy, 2003). Dale is critical of this interpretation, suggesting that Burawoy is guilty of a sleight of hand in which Marxism is reconstructed as 'as an essentially Polanyian research program' (p. 243).

Dale's alternative is to take a 'scorecard' approach, in which he identifies 'the areas of convergence between Polanyi and Marxism while recognizing the considerable differences' (p. 243). In doing so, Dale is often very critical of Polanyi's approach. Despite the criticisms, Dale's book is not an anti-Polanyian polemic. On the contrary, Dale appears to be locating a route for critical scholars, particularly Marxists, who want to engage with Polanyian perspectives. Much of his writing comes across as a spirited defense of Polanyi from his detractors from across the political spectrum.

The book is organised into six chapters, as well as an introduction and a concluding section. The introduction surveys the contemporary appeal of Polanyi to scholars and activists alike. Part of this appeal, Dale suggests, is Polanyi's ability to turn the tables on the neo-liberal right: 'In his schema economic liberals are the utopian extremists while their opponents express a "spontaneous reaction of social protection"' (p. 4). Chapter 1 deals with the early development of Polanyi's socialist ideas, including his religious beliefs. Dale emphasizes his engagement with Marxism, particularly his association with the intellectuals of Austrian Social Democracy following his move to Vienna in 1919.

Chapter 2 deals with Polanyi's most famous work, *The Great Transformation* (TGT). Dale's treatment of TGT is discussed in more detail below.

Chapter 3 explores Polanyi's postwar foray into 'primitive economics' or, later, economic anthropology. Although Dale here expresses frustration with Polanyi's lack of engagement with post-war interpretations of *TGT*, he acknowledges that the transition of Polanyi's work into economic anthropology after the publication of *TGT* was based upon a continued desire to counter liberal economic myths about the role of markets in society. Polanyi clashed with classical and neoclassical economic views that pre-capitalist societies were 'rudimentary forms of market society' (p. 90).

Chapter 4 deepens this exploration, starting with Polanyi's response to the claim that ancient economies were organized around self-sufficient estates or households (*oikoi*). Here Dale emphasises Polanyi's distinction between market places, price-making markets and market systems in different historical epochs. Polanyi's followers, Paul Bohannon and George Dalton, coined the term, 'peripheral markets', to describe social systems, such as Ancient Greece or some medieval European societies, in which market existed but in which prices 'exerted little or no feedback on production decisions' (p. 146). The price mechanism could not be said to exist in these societies since most people did not produce for markets. When market interaction occurred, it was an incidental function of surplus production.

Chapter 5 pursues a discussion of Polanyi's concept of 'embeddedness'. Dale rounds off his book, in Chapter 6 and a concluding section, with a commentary on the state of neo-liberalism and the counter-movements today.

Dale's views on contemporary counter-movements are linked to his critique of *TGT* in Chapter 2. *TGT*, first published in 1944, epitomized Polanyi's belief that the root cause of liberal civilization's corrosion in the twentieth century was the notion of the 'market society'. It hammered home Polanyi's critique of the self-regulating market (SRM) as a utopian and, ultimately, destructive vision for society. As Dale recounts, *TGT* was originally to be called, 'The Liberal Utopia: Origins of the Cataclysm'. Polanyi also initially intended to pen a second volume, considering titles such as 'The Common Man's Master Plan', 'Freedom from Economics' and 'Tame Empires'. For Polanyi, the 'Great Transformation' referred to the great changes that had occurred between 1914 and 1939, not to the emergence of Western civilization.

In general, Dale is quite critical of *TGT*. For instance, he suggests that there are two 'voices' in Polanyi's explanation of the liberal order's origins. The first voice, he argues, is familiar to historical materialists, in which markets gradually developed within the confines of feudal and mercantilist England. The second (dominant) voice presents 'the transition from mercantilist capitalism to its free market liberal successor as a sudden and traumatic rupture' (p. 51). Here Polanyi emphasizes the transformation of the poor laws and the breaking-up of guilds and municipal organizations in the 1830s. Although Dale acknowledges that Polanyi's case partially rests upon the rapid adoption of liberal economic ideas by the 'governing classes', he is highly critical of this narrative.

Dale is similarly critical of Polanyi's concept of the double movement, i.e. the clash between the attempt to unleash the SRM upon society and the backlash of social groups attempting to protect themselves. He suggests that the double movement can be reduced to virtually any interest group that has been disadvantaged, in some way, by markets. His point seems to be that the concept reflects an under-developed theorization of social movements. For instance, the sheer breadth of groups agitating against the abolition of wage subsidies (the 'Speenhamland' system) in the 1830s – sections of the capitalist class, landowners, labourers, peasants, etc – is considered problematic. In other part of *TGT*, Polanyi includes financial institutions as part of the counter-movement. For instance, he drew upon Keynes' critique of the Gold Standard to bolster his case against market liberalism: '[He] phrases the contradiction as one between central banks as protective national institutions and the gold standard as a liberal international institution based upon a fictitious commodity' (p. 66).

Dale rounds-off this criticism, in Chapter 6, by casting a critical eye over contemporary interpretations of the double movement. He argues that the concept has been used to lump together quite different alternatives as part of the 'counter-movement' to neo-liberalism, e.g. the Grameen Bank, the movement for 'fair trade' or the vast informal economies of the Global South (Dale, 2010: 213). Others, he argues, have incorporated states as part of the counter-movement. Robert Cox, for example, has assimilated Gramscian ideas in order to distinguish movements from below (civil society organizations, e.g. peace, democracy, environment, faith-based, labour, feminist, indigenous organizations) and movements from above which are based upon the interaction of rival capitalist states:

That Polanyian social scientists can assemble this sprawling smorgasbord of policies, movements and institutions under the rubric of the 'protective response', with some cheering the alter-globalisation movement for attempting to reassert social control over the market economy while others applaud its adversaries – imperialist states, capitalist corporations and stockbrokers – on exactly the same grounds, must give pause for reflection (p. 219).

In essence, Dale is suggesting that Polanyi's insights need a firmer theoretical basis on which to differentiate, and discriminate between, different social movements. He offers this view for several reasons. Firstly, he argues that Polanyi does not theorise the relationship between states and markets. Consequently, state policy can be seen as either pro-market or pro-protection without clear guidelines for explaining why this is. For example, welfare states can play a role in mitigating the negative effects of free markets on the unemployed or disadvantaged. But they can also play a role in exerting social control and forcing people to adapt their behavior to the needs of capital accumulation. Dale suggests that Polanyi acknowledged such distinctions but did not bother to conceptually order them in the way that Marxist theorists of the state have.

Secondly, Dale suggests that the under-theorisation of power relations led Polanyi to mis-characterise some movements. For example, while Polanyi saw the Speenhamland system as a form of community protection against the onset of the SRM, it could also be interpreted as the collective efforts of rural employers to maintain a rural reserve army of labour by preventing them from absconding to urban factories: 'This yoking of utterly dissimilar policies and motives under the single heading of 'protection' is not limited to Speenhamland but is endemic in *TGT*' (p. 86).

Although Dale does not use the phrase, he seems to be suggesting that class analysis is necessary in order to differentiate different kinds of 'protection', e.g. business protection against imports versus trade union struggles for higher wages. The argument, made at several points in the book, is that Polanyi's approach lacks a theorization of power. It is this dimension, Dale implies, that Marxism can bring to the table, via its conceptual emphasis on class relations. It is largely on this basis that he suggests the possibility of a Marxian-Polanyian synthesis. In doing so, he points to works by Arrighi (1994) and Silver (2003).

Silver's *Forces of Labor* is a useful example in which Polanyian and Marxist approaches to labour movements are synthesized (Silver, 2003). Silver argues that Polanyi treated labour movements as a historical 'pendulum' in which struggles oscillated between commodification and social protection. However, she argues that Polanyi did not develop a concept of power. For Silver, like Dale, Marx is a necessary rejoinder to Polanyi. This interpretation underpins Silver's distinction between 'Marx-type' and 'Polanyi-type' labour unrest. The latter is defined as 'the backlash resistances to the spread of a global self-regulating market', emphasising those established working classes who 'had benefited from established social compacts that are being abandoned from above' (Silver, 2003: 20). The former refers to 'the struggles of newly emerging working classes' thrown up by the development of capitalism in different parts of the world (Silver, 2003: 20).

This is an interesting way of approaching the issue highlighted by Dale. Dale's concern, too, is with the potential for contemporary social and labour movements to revive in the face of the neo-liberal juggernaut. In this context, he sees Marx and Polanyi as offering distinct though complementary approaches. He has written what could best be described as a critical defence of Polanyi's work: a defence of Polanyi from his detractors and a sophisticated attempt to draw a balance sheet of the flaws in his analysis. The outcome is a book that should be rich enough to satisfy scholarly experts in the field, written in a style that is open and relevant enough for critical thinkers and activists from a variety of backgrounds.

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