

## BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

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Ruth Levine, Amanda Glassman, et Miriam Schneidman. *The Health of Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington, DC : World Bank, 2001, 71 pp.

Le rapport de Levine, Glassman & Schneidman (2001) a tenté de démontrer la pertinence de considérer la spécificité de la santé des femmes dans les réformes de santé qui ont cours actuellement en Amérique Latine et dans les Caraïbes. Ces auteures se penchent sur 12 rapports de la Banque mondiale, la Banque interaméricaine de développement (IDB) et l'Organisation panaméricaine de la santé (PAHO). Afin d'obtenir un portrait plus détaillé des politiques de santé reproductive dans les régions, elles ont fait appel à 3 consultations régionales financées par l'IDB, en collaboration avec le Population Council, Latin American and the Caribbean Office. Comme suite à un portrait dressé des conditions de santé des femmes en Amérique Latine et dans les Caraïbes, et une fois les liens établis entre ces conditions et la situation socio-économique de ces femmes et entre l'offre et le financement des services de santé, les auteures apportent les conclusions suivantes : 1) La conception et l'implantation de programmes qui ne tiennent pas compte des dimensions spécifiques du genre de l'offre et de la demande des services viennent éroder les gains du passé dans l'amélioration des services de soins de santé des femmes. Ceci est aussi vrai pour les pays mieux nantis, 2) Afin d'avoir une réforme bien implantée et conceptualisée, il faudrait orienter l'allocation des ressources vers des services qui auront un impact positif sur les conditions de vie de femmes, services que le marché n'offrirait pas autrement et qui visent une population pauvre ou marginalisée. 3) Pour y arriver, il faudrait collaborer avec les militants et leur démontrer les intérêts communs qui se conjuguent dans ces réformes. 4) Des contrats tout comme des prestations sociales, un renforcement du système de régulation et une décentralisation des décisions permettront de mieux répondre à la question de la santé des femmes. Il faudrait davantage de

ressources financières et un meilleur usage de celles disponibles pour les investir dans le secteur de la santé reproductive. Pour mener à terme ce projet de réformes, les gouvernements ou autres décisionnaires auront besoin de : 1) un cadre légal et de régulations qui protégeront les services, les institutions financières et les consommateurs, 2) minimiser les coûts de transactions et inclure des incitatifs de productivité et de qualité, 3) assurer la continuité des services et diminuer les délais de paiements, 4) renforcer la gestion des systèmes d'information et des résultats de monitoring et s'ajuster si nécessaire.

Je ne discuterai pas du bien-fondé d'inclure la dimension du genre dans l'offre des services de santé. On a déjà démontré, comme l'expliquent ces auteures, que la santé, plus particulièrement celle des enfants, est principalement une prérogative de femmes. De manière générale, les femmes ont tendances à gérer leur budget pour répondre en premier aux nécessités de base comme la santé. Je m'intéresse toutefois à la manière de faire face à cette particularité féminine ou des genres dans le contexte des réformes que proposent Levine, Glassman & Schneidman (2001). J'illustrerai mes propos à l'aide de quelques exemples de la situation en Bolivie, région que je connais mieux.

On peut apprécier ce rapport puisqu'enfin on tient compte de l'impact que peuvent avoir les conditions socio-économiques sur la santé. En effet, Bibeau (1999) rappelait, dans une revue critique des modèles utilisés en santé publique, que les problèmes de santé « sont en étroite relation (...) avec le contexte général de vie des personnes, leur niveau de vie économique, avec l'environnement social dans lequel elles évoluent (...) » (p. 217). Il ajoute cependant qu'ils dépendent également des valeurs que les personnes partagent avec les autres membres de la communauté.

Les auteures du rapport soulignent dans la description des facteurs qui influent sur la santé l'impact des représentations de la maladie, du sens et de la valeur qu'on leur accorde, et leurs liens avec le comportement et la variabilité du parcours thérapeutique dans une trajectoire de vie. Néanmoins, elles s'arrêtent là. Quand elles tentent d'expliquer la pertinence de se centrer sur la santé reproductive, elles le justifient en terme de coûts et d'efficacité. Elles suggèrent que les réformes de santé doivent se centrer sur la santé reproductive des femmes parce qu'elles doivent être en santé pour faire leur travail qui implique un contact direct avec la popu-

lation, parce que c'est rentable et parce que ces modifications permettront de joindre les efforts à ceux des groupes de base. Ainsi, le rapport a tendance à occulter les facteurs culturels aux profits des facteurs économiques et politiques de la santé, alors que les deux sont reliés.

Les réformes de santé en Amérique Latine et dans les Caraïbes répondent donc à un besoin administratif et de gestion des ressources. Comme le suggère ce rapport pour d'autres régions, le système de santé en Bolivie a en effet besoin d'une gestion des ressources plus efficace et plus équitable (Valdez, 1993). Cependant, si les réformes souhaitent orienter leurs efforts vers l'amélioration de la santé des femmes, il faudrait avant tout comprendre la situation féminine dans toute sa complexité et ses variations. À l'intérieur d'un seul pays comme la Bolivie, il existe deux modèles féminins dominants qui se côtoient et se contredisent. Ces modèles varient en fonction des régions, des époques et des politiques de genre et d'ethnicité en vigueur, de la classe sociale et de l'origine ethnique (cf. Miles & Buechler, 1997). La question du genre ne s'arrête pas à la dichotomie homme/femme. Les variations sont parfois suffisamment importantes pour amener des perceptions différentes de la santé, perceptions qui interviennent sur la gestion des revenus et le recours à certains services de santé.

Si les réformes de santé en Amérique Latine et dans les Caraïbes se dirigent vers l'amélioration des services de santé des femmes, elles doivent tenir compte de la diversité des besoins selon les régions. Cette problématique deviendra d'autant plus importante si elles visent la décentralisation et l'implication des groupes de base. Dans le cas bolivien, on peut voir des conflits importants dans les intérêts régionaux versus nationaux des syndicats, regroupements ouvriers, groupes militants de femmes ou groupes féministes (cf. Paulson & Calla, 2000).

En guise de conclusion, je souhaite ouvrir la réflexion sur une question. Si la femme n'est pas maître des revenus familiaux, pourquoi continue-t-on à orienter les services vers ce groupe qui n'est pas en possession de ses moyens? Bien sûr, la santé est une question de femme, mais ne devrions-nous pas sensibiliser les hommes à cette problématique? Cette question m'est venue à l'idée lorsqu'une femme bolivienne m'expliquait que l'homme n'a aucune ressource qui lui convienne pour répondre à ses

besoins d'ordre reproductif et sexuel; les services étant développés que pour les femmes.

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**Chantal Robillard**  
Université de Montréal

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Prema-Chnardra Athukorala, Chris Manning and Piyasiri Wickramasekara. *Growth, Employment and Migration in Southeast Asia: Structural Change in the Greater Mekong Countries*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Egar, 2000, 142 pp.

Prior to the Asian financial crisis in 1997, the growth of Thailand's economy was unprecedented for the country and the Greater Mekong Region (GMR). The repercussions of this growth and the resulting labour market migration were felt throughout the GMR. In their book, Athukorala, Manning and Wickramasekara explore the changes in economic structure, employment and cross-border labour market migration from the 1980s through the late 1990s. Although the financial crisis has been a significant issue in the area, and in fact for many Pacific Rim and other countries, this event is not the focus of the book. Instead, the authors examine the changes of the last 20 years for the purpose of determining the medium-run future economic and labour market prospects of the region and to suggest policy changes to support a return to and a continuation of economic growth for the region.

The countries under examination include: China (Yunnan), Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, The Lao PDR and Myanmar. As the authors put it, "the study aims to increase understanding of the

considerable development challenges in the region, much of which has been left behind in the outward-oriented growth process in East Asia... It also aims to contribute to a better understanding of the mutual benefits from regional economic cooperation among the GMR countries” (xi). In the end, the authors are guardedly optimistic that early 1999 signs of recovery signal a return to economic growth, albeit not as dramatic as was previously seen. Yet, the economic climate since then has not been very promising, with ups and downs in the economy. Lately, the onset of the SARS has seriously compromised growth, regional travel and tourism.

The book is divided into 5 chapters: the Greater Mekong context, economic policy settings, labour market adjustment, regional integration and the conclusion. While these countries have historically had a variety of different approaches to economic structure and labour (i.e. socialist or market-oriented), shifts both internally and globally have led to an increased integration of economies and labour markets in the last two decades. Three variables are outlined: the historical primacy of unskilled labour surplus economies; a strong historic state role for economic planning in all the countries but Thailand; and the emergence of Thailand in the late 1980s as an economic superpower in the region. The relatively recent histories of war and political conflict in the Indochina states are acknowledged as important variables in the current context.

The authors note that the remaining five countries all moved from state controlled economies to ones with more market control during the two decades. They describe similarities between Yunnan and Vietnam: their industry is more diversified and they have a greater integration at both international and regional levels (p.7). They contend that significant economic reforms from state to market economies have resulted in greater growth. Additionally, the economic growth of Yunnan slowed, but continued during the financial crisis, as the ripple effects of that event did not affect it as much. Several factors were important: strong domestic controls on capital inflows, surplus labour economies, maintaining export competitiveness through exchange rate adjustments, and healthy foreign exchange reserves. There were some similarities with Vietnam, though this country felt the effects of the Asian financial crisis more than Yunnan. The authors allude to the economic iso-

lationalism and state control having some protective repercussions during the crisis, but suggest that overall these factors work against economic growth.

The remaining countries, Myanmar, Cambodia and Lao PDR are not as advanced in their economic structural reforms. There are some critical issues: high levels of labour surpluses, rural poverty, lack of skilled workers and underdeveloped infrastructure. They are still at the start of the road to industrialization, in comparison to the other GMR countries who are all farther along. Other factors are at work: the civil war in Cambodia that moved into a democracy only in 1993, with issues of instability rising again in 1997 and 1998; and the closed economy in Myanmar coupled with a recent history of political instability. The primary contribution of the book is obviously its focus on South-East Asia, a region often overshadowed by spectacular economic development of East Asia. Another valuable contribution is its extensive research into, and compilation of, economic and labour market details and the attention to the interplay of unique differences that each country brings to the region.

However, the underlying policy assumption of the authors is that the region should move further to market controlled economies and the continued integration of economies and labour markets. They obviously favour a neo-liberal recipe and see the need to increase the skilled employment opportunities with modern jobs and private sector growth including foreign investment. There seems to be the assumption that the crisis of 1997 was a “glitch” that has been fixed by addressing some “lax” financial and economic practices. These assumptions are questionable. It is beyond dispute that the neo-liberal recipe has not worked in many developing countries. When the authors say free markets are better, they also acknowledge in one spot that the more “protected/isolationist” markets (Vietnam and Yunnan) were also somewhat protected from some of the strongest effects of the Thailand economic crisis — there is no discussion of this paradox. Other implicit but worrisome assumptions on the part of the authors include: labour markets and economies are purely neutral and to discuss a “moral or ethical” issue of labour standards is inappropriate. While striving for a healthy labour market, many

analysts believe that it must be linked to healthy labour standards and “living wages.”

Worse still, the authors fail to examine the quality of life of the GMR migrants. Full discussion of labour standards is conspicuously missing. The logical place to look at this more closely is in Myanmar, and the authors do acknowledge that garment exports here were “thwarted” by an international boycott — yet there is no comment on why the boycott happened and what the issues around labour standards may have been. There are other shortcomings in the book as for example, the uncritical acceptance of the official low unemployment rate for urban China. Illegal labour migration in this region is significant and is not accounted for in the official statistics; neither is the issue of child labour fully tackled.

Regrettably, the authors’ preference for the market approach blinds them to some of the more urgent social and labor issues in the region and results in a lack of emphasis on policy options to improve the quality of life of the migrants.

**Heather Peters and Kwong-leung Tang**  
University of Northern British Columbia

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Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Carlos Lopes and Khalid Malik (eds). *Capacity for Development: New Solutions to Old Problems*. London: Earthscan (for UNDP), 2002, 284 pp. Also available for free in .pdf format from the UNDP website.

The objective of this book is to look at the “old problems” of capacity development and technical cooperation, searching for “new solutions” by “Reforming Technical Cooperation for Capacity Development”, as the larger initiative at UNDP is called. The three editors are the directors of the three UNDP offices appropriately concerned by such an ambitious initiative (Human Development Report Office, Bureau for Development Policy and Evaluation Office) and they have mobilized a dozen more experts, all of them connected with high-powered institutions. Names like Harvard, Rockefeller, Carnegie-Mellon and LSE raise our expectations. Do the authors fulfill our expectations? Yes, if we are looking for an account of conceptual work in progress. No, if we

are looking for “new solutions” and proof that they can solve “old problems”.

The authors discuss past approaches such as those centered on growth, institution-building, participation or ownership and assess the major limitations in each case. Forty years of hope and disappointment, limited success and total fiasco are pointed at in every one of the fifteen chapters of the three-part volume. Such critiques set the stage for the “capacity for development” approach. At the core of this approach lies the notion of “development as transformation” and the focus on the central role of local capacity and home-grown processes. Occasionally the authors use strong language to distance themselves from previous efforts in development work. Conventional knowledge transfer has been “catastrophically wrong” (p. 13), technical cooperation has been “a catch-22 scenario” (p. 15), donor-driven agendas have led to “the trap of asymmetry” (p. 19), social funds are merely “policy fads” (p. 50) and the “aristocracy of mercy” has created an institutional smoke-screen hiding the “mischievous effects of development aid” (p. 123). What do these authors propose on the positive side? They have no explicit recipes but the buzzwords are local ownership (of everything from concepts to agendas and budgets), networks (as well as “communities of practice”, p. 197) and the acquisition rather than transfer of knowledge. Joseph Stiglitz’s motto “Scan globally, reinvent locally” sums up the approach. This book breathes the spirit of the *Human Development Report*, from its deeply humanistic inception in the 1990 Report to the fascination with modern technology, especially communications technology, in the 2001 Report. Parts one and two lean to the former while part three comes out for the latter.

There are too many chapters for individual comment here. Some are excellent, e.g., that by David Ellerman (on autonomy-respecting assistance), even though this author, like most of the others, spends ten times more energy on criticism than on well-founded “new solutions”. Carlos Lopes also is a convincing writer (on empowerment and the political dimension) even though his strengths, too, are criticism and conceptual work rather than those new solutions we are ever more eager to hear of, especially considering that he leaves us on page 146. Stephen Denning (on knowledge networks) presents the most useful sections of the



book, discussing eighteen “Lessons” from the global experience with knowledge-sharing processes and programs designed to promote knowledge-sharing. Each of his lessons is followed by a paragraph on its “implications for technical cooperation” (pp. 232-42). This is the closest the book comes to presenting “new solutions to old problems”. Even though Denning does not propose any precise measures he at least supplies us with some concrete guidelines on how to improve the impact of that US \$14.3 billion industry called Technical Cooperation. Apart from these three excellent chapters, much of the book is unnecessarily repetitive and verbose. How many “new” definitions and discussions of social capital do we need in one volume? How often do we have to be told that previous development work was so totally flawed? How many dozen pages of “conceptual” talk are we willing to absorb while waiting for a few paragraphs of “new solutions”? How often do we want to see authors plunder the excellent study by David Dollar and Lant Pritchett in substitution for original analysis, and then regularly obfuscate the authorship of those deserving gentlemen by simply referring to the work as “World Bank, 1998. Assessing Aid: What Works, What Doesn’t, and Why?” One chapter is just so plain awful (by Gustavo Lins Ribeiro on power and too many other things) that one wonders at the judgement of the editors.

As a report on conceptual work in progress, this book has some merit. However, if we were looking for a convincing, detailed, new approach based on empirical analysis of what works and what doesn’t, we shall be disappointed. Even in apparently strong criticism these authors will always omit detail and dull the edges. They are creatures of, and consultants to, their multilateral agencies and will never truly bite the hand that feeds them so well. To the outsider this undermines the credibility of both their many critiques and their few “new solutions”. As plausible as “capacity for development” may sound today, I fully expect it to join “growth”, “institution-building” and “participation” in the cemetery of development approaches some time very soon.

**Uli Locher**  
McGill University

Kenn Ariga, Giorgio Brunello and Yasushi Ohkusa. *Internal Labour Markets in Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 291 pp.

Robert A. Hart and Seiichi Kawasaki. *Work and Pay in Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 188 pp.

Ces deux livres, tous deux inspirés par les travaux des économistes japonais Aoki Masahiko et Koike Kazuo (et du sociologue britannique Ronald Dore dans le cas du second), traitent de sujets connexes, mais de façon légèrement différente. Les deux volumes examinent l'importance du marché interne du travail dans les entreprises japonaises et son impact sur le recrutement, les promotions et les salaires. Le premier, celui de Hart et Kawasaki, évite plus que le second les vérifications économétriques, bien que la démonstration soit fondée dans les deux cas sur la théorie du capital humain. En outre, les variables utilisées pour mesurer l'importance et l'impact du marché interne diffèrent partiellement dans les deux ouvrages. Si l'examen des coûts du travail, du recrutement, des promotions, et de la productivité se retrouvent dans les deux volumes, Hart et Kawasaki incluent aussi un examen détaillé des boni semi-annuels, de la sous-traitance et de l'éducation en rapport à la carrière et à la rémunération, alors que Ariga, Brunello et Ohkusa analysent l'impact de la concurrence inter-firme et présentent quatre chapitres (chap. 7 à 10) portant sur les changements dans la structure d'emploi depuis 1980 et surtout dans les années 1990.

La majorité des conclusions des deux livres sont déjà connues; cependant, plusieurs d'entre elles n'avaient pas reçu de preuves formelles jusqu'ici. En effet, ces deux livres vérifient, à l'aide de la théorie du capital humain, plusieurs propositions émises antérieurement. Les résultats confirment certaines interprétations, en infirment d'autres et en qualifient quelques-unes. Par exemple, Hart et Kawasaki démontrent comment la formation à l'interne s'accorde avec les faibles taux de salaires à l'entrée et avec la courbe fortement ascendante des rémunérations dans les premières années de travail, tout cela lié à la compétence adaptée une seule entreprise. Pour eux, le système de rémunération et la durée de l'emploi des grandes entreprises japonaises peuvent se concevoir comme fondés sur le paiement différé du salaire, l'expérience étant récompensée par des revenus supérieurs. Ariga,

Brunello et Ohkusa, quant à eux, soulignent l'importance pour la détermination du salaire de ce qu'ils appellent après Aoki la mobilité horizontale, c'est-à-dire la progression dans les rangs à l'intérieur d'un même échelon hiérarchique. Ces mêmes auteurs soulignent que le régime de promotion s'explique en tant que progression dans la carrière par la combinaison de l'apprentissage, de la motivation et de l'accumulation du capital humain, trois facteurs auparavant utilisés seuls comme variable indépendante.

Les changements dans le système de travail tels que présentés par Ariga, Brunello et Ohkusa sont attribués, dans les années 1980, à l'affaiblissement des critères d'embauche dans une période de pénurie relative de jeunes diplômés et, dans les années 1990, aux difficultés économiques entraînées par le dégonflement de l'économie de spéculation. La récession des années 1990 a eu pour effet la mise en place de structures moins lourdes et plus flexibles : division de plusieurs conglomérats en entreprises indépendantes avec décentralisation de la prise de décision; transformation de l'entreprise centrale en holding; éliminations de certains rangs hiérarchiques, donc aplatissage de la hiérarchie; mise en place d'unités de travail plus flexible, tels que les groupes autour d'un projet; définition de plusieurs voies de carrière, au lieu du choix entre emploi permanent et exclusion, etc. Malgré ces changements, les auteurs n'entrevoient pas une convergence totale avec les systèmes anglo-saxon, car ils prévoient le maintien de marchés internes de travail comprenant l'emploi à long terme, la formation interne et la carrière ascendante, mais avec le développement parallèle d'un marché externe pour les professionnels.

Quelques points me semblent plus faibles, Les deux livres n'analysent pas les causes historiques de la pénalité de la mobilité qui a servi de premier moteur à l'emploi de longue durée. Par ailleurs, Hart et Kawasaki font appel à quelques reprises à des explications culturelles. À la page 155, ils rejettent une explication culturelle fondée sur la persistance de la tradition confucianiste de bienfaisance et d'obligations diffuses dans le cas de la sous-traitance, en faisant valoir que la sous-traitance telle que nous la connaissons présentement au Japon s'est développée après 1950. Entre 1868 et 1950, une période d'environ 80 ans de « capitalisme plus sauvage » dans les relations entre grandes entreprises et PME a eu cours, ce qui court-circuite quelque peu l'explication

par la tradition. Mais à d'autres moments, les deux auteurs en reviennent à des explications par la tradition, par exemple au sujet des bonis comme partage des profits, expliqués par « les siècles de vie des villages agraires où les communautés se sont rendu compte des avantages du soutien mutuel, de l'effort coopératif et du partage du risque » et par « les pratiques de partage des familles commerciales traditionnelles à la fin du XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle » (p. 79). Dans ce cas-ci, la réserve émise au sujet de la sous-traitance est écartée au profit d'une acceptation sans examen de l'explication par la tradition. Ces deux points soulignent une faiblesse de certaines études économiques, c'est-à-dire le fait de minimiser l'impact des facteurs historiques et socioculturels sur le régime de travail et l'organisation des entreprises, ou de les traiter de façon trop simple.

Malgré tout, ces deux livres nous offrent un examen fouillé de la plupart des aspects importants du système d'emploi des grandes entreprises japonaises et, ensemble, malgré leur caractère quelquefois technique, ils constituent une contribution importante à la vérification empirique de certaines hypothèses à l'aide de la théorie du capital humain.

**Bernard Bernier**

Université de Montréal

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Michael Edwards. *Future Positive: International Co-operation in the Twenty-first Century*. London: Earthscan, 1999, 292 pp.

Before saying anything about the book itself, one needs to offer a brief word about the context and time of the present review. The book itself was published in 1999, during what the author himself refers to as a moment of pre-millennium anxiety. That year was, of course, pre-Bush administration, pre-11 September 2001, pre-Afghanistan war and pre-Iraq war. That the this review occurs some four years following publication is, of course, in no way, the responsibility of the author. It would, however, not be surprising if, were the book being written now, such intervening events might not have somewhat altered his thinking and conclusions.

In *Future Positive*, Michael Edwards has given us a work of transparent earnestness, in the tradition of liberal internationalism. It is essentially concerned with international co-operation, which

in his vision, is multi-faceted, encompassing global institutions, national governments and civil society. Co-operation, he suggests, is based on a combination of morality and self-interest. If any one phrase sums-up what he means by true co-operation, it would be “co-determining the future” (p.14). That he speaks with urgency and conviction is nowhere in doubt.

Edwards’ understanding of international co-operation is a highly pragmatic one. What is required is a sensitive, tailor-made approach to each country’s development. International co-operation transcends aid and encompasses all aspects of policy and polity. Whilst he addresses the positive and negative lessons to be gleaned from the post-war experience of “development”, he avoids large ideological frameworks and emphasizes that there is no universal model. His position does, however, lead him to a harsh judgment of the “Washington Consensus” and other ideologically rigid constructs.

Impressions of a book begin to form in the mind as soon as one scans the cover and cracks open the first few pages. Something which particularly caught this reviewer’s eye appears in the Acknowledgements, wherein he lists all of those who deserve some share of his gratitude. Many of these are the cast of characters one normally expects to see — family, professional colleagues, research assistants and so on. Towards the end of the list, however, appears the name of his spiritual teacher whom he thanks “for opening my heart and focusing my mind”. One of the more intriguing and perhaps satisfying aspects of this book is how it links the personal and the professional and suggests a continuity from one’s self-development through to one’s effectiveness in the service of humanity. From observation and experience, one intuitively recognizes that these are connections all too often overlooked — to the detriment of “development practitioners” and “beneficiaries” alike.

Michael Edwards is well qualified to have written this book. Currently Director of the Ford Foundation’s Governance and Civil Society Unit, he brings a wealth of experience with various agencies and from the world of research. For some years now, Edwards has been one of the leading documenters of current research and thinking on the role and effectiveness of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) in development. Through this book, he has

expanded his purview. The other side of this coin is, of course, that Edwards is not a development economist. An expertise in the workings of civil society organizations is a very good starting point to launch a work of this sort. It lends a certain credibility to a discussion of co-operation which, in the end, comes down to effective relationships between and amongst people.

To the author's credit, this is a book which is accessible to a variety of audiences. It is written with clarity and passion. That the readership will, most likely and for the most part, be those who are already in "the trade" is hardly his fault. However, this is a contribution capable of reaching beyond a restricted audience. Though it is full of very useful and essential information, it is non-technocratic in its approach and style. Edwards treatment of the history of "international development co-operation", though sketchy, would be a good introduction for any student or general reader.

The book is at its best in suggesting practical and achievable reforms in the international development system. It is a very useful and readable source of basic information and quotations. One section worthy of particular note addresses the issues of funding for development (pp. 137-142).

Notwithstanding a couple of minor factual errors, the book is very well researched and heavily footnoted. Here, however, a virtue may risk becoming a shortcoming. Sometimes the more than necessary quoting of other authorities suggests a certain lack of originality. Such a criticism is probably, in this instance, partly fair and partly not fair. On the one hand, every author arranges and articulates material to prove his/her case and, thereby, provides a unique rendering of the subject material. This Edwards has clearly done. On the other, one is left wondering how much this particular book breaks new ground and how far the discussion has been advanced as a result.

Shortly after the middle of the book — the heart of it? — appears Chapter 8, "Humanizing Capitalism: Which Way Forward?" The chapter title is puzzling, if not an oxymoron. At very least, it opens up a huge area of debate. Why, one wonders, does he pose the question in this way? Does the title suggest a certain despair about the prospects of ever achieving a better system than capitalism? Is the author simply trying to be credible with a broad reading audience? Or do the words suggest a basic

orientation? Indeed, if all the reforms which he proposes in the economic domain of global governance were implemented, would what emerges be recognizable as the capitalism we have come to know? Whether the “humanizing” of capitalism would seem a worthy aim in its own right is, suffice it to say, a question with which each reader wrestles her/himself. What the book, when read as a whole, suggests is that this is how the author actually sees the world and the unfolding process of reform.

The book is a modest set of proposals, reformist rather than revolutionary in its scope and intent. It is heavily influenced by “third-way” thinking, much in vogue at the time of its publication, though less so now. In sum, it is a well intended, well researched and well written contribution — indeed, within its self-imposed limits, a genuinely worthy and commendable contribution to an understanding of international co-operation.

**Lawrence S. Cumming**

Consultant in International Development  
and Voluntarism, Ottawa

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David Greenaway and Douglas R. Nelson (eds.) *Globalization and Labour Markets*. Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2001, li+558+510 pp.

This collection of 43 articles, published in various specialized journals between 1941 and 1999 and divided in two volumes, is an ambitious attempt to evaluate how globalization affects labour markets. It is comprised of six parts, three in each volume, entitled: Stolper-Samuelson Theorem, Trade and Wages, Labour-Market Microstructure and Adjustment, Trade and Employment, Migration and Labour Market Adjustment, and FDI and Labour Markets. A short but very informative introduction by the editors leads the reader through the intricacies of the reasoning behind this collection. As they write, “In selecting a theoretical framework for interpreting and evaluating empirical research on the link between globalization and labour markets, we begin from the proposition that this relationship is essentially macroeconomic” (p.x). Their goal is to assess the models used to explain the relationship under study, most of these models being of the simple “2 final goods — 2 factors of production” type (idem).

The starting point in this evaluation is an article written in 1941 by Stolper and Samuelson, who assert that, within a simple 2-2 model, “an increase in the relative price of a good increases the real wage of the factor used intensively in producing that good, and lowers the real wage of the other factor” (p.xi). A good portion of the remaining articles debate the model used and the conclusions reached. Given the length of the publication, only the bare outline of some arguments will be examined here.

Among the many qualifications that various authors bring to the Stolper-Samuelson model, Ronald Jones (vol. 1, chap.2) adds one important variable, technological change. Jones, with Scheinkman (vol. 1, chap.3), tries to generalize the model to many goods and many factors, that is, to the situation that prevails in the real world. Part II contains an evaluation of the impact of world trade on wages. Adrian Wood (chap.10) attempts to show how world trade affects unskilled workers. Conversely, Sachs and Shatz (chap.11) conclude that trade and globalization have induced a rise in skill premium in the USA, a conclusion that the editors qualify by noting that, according to other studies, “technological change appears a more likely cause of the rising skill premium than trade” (p.xv). In part III, authors try to specify what particular trade circumstances generate what effects in wages. In one contribution, Davidson, Martin and Matusz (chap.19) modify the Stolper-Samuelson theorem by introducing a search model. In a later publication, the same authors “demonstrate that opening trade between a large capital-abundant country and a small labour-abundant country raises aggregate unemployment and is unambiguously welfare-worsening for unemployed workers in the large country” (p.xvii). Moreover, Matusz (chap.20) shows that trade liberalization costs jobs in the low-wage sectors.

In the second volume, part I deals with empirical research on trade and employment. In chapter 1, Schumacher notes that the overall effects of trade liberalization on employment in six developed Western European countries was small, but positive. However, the author notes that in all six countries, some labour-intensive consumer goods sectors experienced a net job loss. In chapter 2, Revenga has found that import prices have a statistically significant effect on employment, but a smaller one on wages. Hungerford (chapter 5) shows that, for import-competing firms, an increase in foreign trade leads to layoffs, especially for



unskilled and female workers. Moreover, the same author (chapter 6) has shown that an increase in foreign trade leads to considerable sectoral relocation.

Part II of the second volume deals with migration as a mechanism for labour adjustment. In chapter 16, Greenwood, Hunt and Kohli, using a combination of human capital and production theories, argue that immigration has little significant effect on native workers, except for the least skilled (this conclusion is similar to the one by Borjas in chapter 15), but that it affects significantly other workers of the same origin and the same vintage.

Part III deals with the impact of foreign direct investment (FDI) on labour markets. Lawrence (chap.21) “concludes that the effects of both trade and FDI on labour markets are small relative to the effects of technological change” (p.xxiv). In an interesting contribution entitled *Are U. S. Multinationals Exporting U. S. Jobs* (chap.19), Brainard and Riker conclude that there is evidence of substitution of labour in the U.S. by labour abroad, especially in countries at the same level of technological development. This conclusion is somewhat qualified by Fors and Lipsey (chap.18) who show that American companies tend to outsource their labour-intensive manufacturing to developing countries, which means that labour in these sectors in the U.S. should be adversely affected. This last conclusion is borne out by Feenstra and Hanson (chap.20) who, in another publication, show that outsourcing reduces relative demand for unskilled labour in highly developed countries.

The editors conclude that “there appears to be very little systematic evidence of large-scale labour market impacts from globalization” (p.xxvi). But they caution against reaching conclusion too rapidly, and I tend to agree with them. Finally, they mention the weaknesses that are inherent in research on globalization and labour markets up to now. One of them is the definition of an appropriate unit of economic analysis. They note that econometric analysis makes essentially arbitrary judgments about this unit, usually taking the nation state as the basis of analysis. However, most of the notable effects of globalization on labour markets, at least in the short term, are at a subnational level (p.xxvii). Another weakness is that most analysis are based on “an essentially atemporal cross-sectional econometric environment” (p.xvii). The editors attribute this to the lack of long-term data on the link

between factor and commodity prices. Finally, they note the use of static equilibrium models by most authors whereas economies are generally out of equilibrium. To alleviate this problem, they suggest that future research deal with what they call “microfoundations of adjustments”, that is, study short-run effects and the paths followed during adjustment, especially at a regional level.

Among the future areas of research, they propose to take into account imperfect competition, to merge the effects of trade and technology, and to try to assess the various effects of trade, foreign investments and migration, not separately, but in an integrated framework. The conclusions of the editors point out some of the flaws of the current research, but they also quote various works that have tried to address them. In short, these two books cover considerable ground in assessing the effect of globalization on labour, but much work remains to be done, especially in the refining of models in order to approximate real conditions more closely.

**Bernard Bernier**  
Université de Montréal