

of culture a public issue, so as to develop discussion and debate that could clarify the differences and confusion.

In the 1960's the work of the late noted anthropologist, Julian Steward, made it possible for many to leave behind the idea that culture had to be defined for more than study of primitive societies, that change was a prime consideration and that definition must be one which would apply also to modern societies. About the same time the careful work of Raymond Williams documented that we have left behind that time when the term culture meant "the general body of the arts," but has come to mean a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual."⁶

Despite the work of Steward, Williams and others, however, the confusion persists. For example, in the early 1960's two top anthropologists, A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, wrote a book whose purpose was to list and categorize one hundred and sixty definitions of the term culture used by established social scientists. The criteria and method they used for sorting and grouping the definitions is so abstract and unrelated to the way culture is generated that it relegates the product of their efforts to that of a catalogue.

The division among established academics on the matter of culture is summed up succinctly by Alvin Gouldner: "..... the dominant focal view of him (man) as the controlled product of society and culture, combined with the subsidiary conception of man as the maker of society and culture--that (is what) shapes the unique contradiction distinctive of sociology."⁷

Gouldner's statement represents more than a crisis in the disciplines of sociology and anthropology. A major factor of the real crisis is the failure to get the debate on culture outside the limitations and isolation of the academic community. To enable the break out to happen it is necessary to get the role of class and class conflict in the creation of culture out into the open. Moreover, studies are needed which begin to eliminate the current mystification of how culture is actually created. To do this it is necessary to show specifically how one human being, how each and every societally operative person contributes to the making of a society's culture.

To be continued in the next issue.

We have presented two theoretical articles on work cultures in this issue, both of which will be continued and concluded in our next issue. We invite comment and discussion on the two articles, one by Mark Wexler and the other by Stan Weir.

Book Review: The Fight Against Shutdowns. Youngstown's Steel Mill Closings. By Staughton Lynd. 1982 Singlejack Books, San Pedro, CA.

**Reviewed by: John F. Sherry, Jr., PhD
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This ambitious, impassioned and somewhat maddening account of the social impact of plant closings in the Mahoning Valley of Ohio deserves the thoughtful consideration of industrial anthropologists. Staughton Lynd, a labor historian and lawyer, has written an exhaustive chronicle of a series of steel mill shutdowns that racked the Youngstown area from 1979-1980, and the community response which accompanied that trauma. The author's description of the plight of the local steelworker (a venture which succeeds nowhere as eloquently as when the worker is quoted directly and at length) becomes a vehicle for exploring the inherent contradiction between human capital and human welfare orientations to workplace behavior. Throughout the book, the reader is sensitized to dilemmas which arise in both technical and moral spheres when business enterprises attempt to adjust to environmental change. However, the role of the social scientist in strategic planning and implementation - the humane brokerage function that successful interven-

tion so desperately requires - is never adequately addressed.

Two animating principles of modernization are depicted at loggerheads in the book. "Brownfield" modernization, espoused by labor, requires that corporate operations in existing communities be recapitalized, upgraded and refined. "Greenfield" modernization, espoused by management, requires that capital be allowed to flow wherever the rate of profit is greatest, which entails the closing of old facilities (or of entire business) and the building of new ones. The author examines economic, sociocultural and moral arguments for each mode of modernization, and finds the brownfield cause to be the more compelling. During the course of his evaluation, the author touches a number of bases inherently interesting to students of organizational behavior: the "company town" phenomenon; information flow and the ethics of secrecy; the contrast between dual loyalty and bureaucratology; fatalistic contentment and job satisfaction; worker determination. He even manages to give the reader insight into the legal environment of the labor-management interface. Brownfield modernization is ultimately presented as a moral imperative and a nationalistic necessity.

In tracing the demise of three specific works (Campbell, Brier Hill and Youngstown), Lynd provides the reader with a sense both of the urgency and futility with which steelworkers reacted to corporate cost-cutting measures. The life cycle of a closing from the rumor stage to the actual shutdown, from union and community response through litigation to ultimate resignation, is convincingly drawn. One of the most affecting portions of the book addresses the notion of the "property right of a community" as conceived by the judge who issued the initial restraining injunction against U.S. Steel, giving the Youngstown works a temporary reprieve: corporations cannot completely abandon obligations to communities where vested interests have arisen out of long term relationships. Given his activist background, it is surprising and regrettable that the author spends so little

time instructing the interested reader in the "guerrilla tactics" of operationalizing the court's sentiment. Establishing accountability is one matter; exacting adequate compensation is another. While this cavil is technically beyond the legitimate scope of the present work, one hopes that Mr. Lynd is at work on another volume that will address the mechanics of directed intervention.

Authorial identification with the disenfranchised worker militates against the studied alienation so essential to achieving a holistic perspective of industrial activity. The reader is left longing for managerial counterpoint. The study unfolds in chronological time, and the author employs participant observation, critical event analysis, key informant interviews and written sources in his investigation. The intrusive - I point of view occasionally threatens to transform the work into an exercise in self-congratulatory. The conversational style is sometimes awkward, but generally readable. Tables, photographs and figures complement the text. A glossary and cast of characters are thoughtfully provided, and greatly facilitate the reading of the book.

The Fight Against Shutdowns is an important contribution to the ethnography of work on several levels. Its major significance may lie in its ability to move the reader to consider how culture change is generated, negotiated and interpreted. Clearly a major challenge to the contemporary applied anthropologist is to transcend the narrow, reactive advocacy role of championing the alienated worker and to assume a more proactive, advisory role in drafting and implementing humane strategic plans at the corporate organizational level. Lynd's study makes the case for enlightened, directed intervention a powerful one.

Lynd's volume might best be used as a recommended text in courses which examine specifically the anthropology of work and of formal organizations, or more generally American communities and their problems. It would even prove useful in courses on modernization and development which are prudent enough to examine the role of North America in the new international division of labor. Finally, the book could be used instructively as an extended case study in courses devoted to evaluation and social policy.