

economic and social system, more generally, to explain the inequalities experienced by women. In this section, they examine the origins of the dual market, persistence of dualism even after women express permanence, the lack of a dual market in the clerical sector and the consequences of the dual labour market for men and for women.

The authors, then, examine if concerted action by the union movement can improve the position of women in the labour force. Here, they are more optimistic. Unions can be a positive force for equal wages and equal job opportunities, but unions will be ineffective unless more women are unionized, more women take leadership positions and more emphasis is placed on women's issues. The struggle will not be easy. Employers, recognizing the advantage of a non-unionized female labour pool, are prepared to ferociously resist unionization.

In their conclusion, Phillips and Phillips are pessimistic whether legislative reforms are a solution given "the dominance of men in our political and economic institutions and the economic advantages arising from discrimination to employers and to many groups of more privileged male workers." The reader is left with a feeling that inequalities are inevitable in the future because equality would involve a fundamental restructuring of attitudes and institutions that are currently organized in the interests of specific powerful groups. The authors fail to provide us with a strategy for action.

The breadth of information covered in the book material is acceptable as a survey of women in the labour force. Thus, it is very useful for undergraduate education. Students will gain a perspective on the topic of the unequal position of women and men in the labour market. They will also learn to use major concepts and develop a sense of significant questions and ways to investigate them.

On the whole, the book engages the reader. The ideas are central to contemporary social concerns, the book is readable and the tables are understandable. The decision to completely avoid footnotes in favour of a comprehensive literature review increases the readability of the book. This view also compensates, in part, for the absence of an index.

The book is tedious, at times, because of a rigid adherence to a question and answer format. I do not want to make too much of this criticism because this format enabled the authors to coherently synthesize a large body of literature. This logical and critical synthesis is the major contribution of the book.

June Corman
Carleton University

For we are Sold, I and my People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier. Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly. *Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983. Pp. 217.*

This book focuses on the role of gender discrimination in the labour force. More specifically, it describes and analyzes the phenomenon of offshore production along the Mexican-American border and the incorporation of large numbers of women into direct production. According to the author (following Mandel 1975), the tendency towards the transfer of production centres from core countries to underdeveloped areas is the result of the requirements of capital accumulation on the international scale. Ciudad Juarez, located near the Mexican-American border provides a good illustration of this phenomenon.

In 1965 the Border Industrialization Program was implemented and followed by the "In-Bond Plant Program" or "Maquiladora Program" in 1970. These two programmes were promoted by the Mexican Government to encourage foreign

investment. At the same time, U.S. multinational firms were increasing their overseas exports of components and raw materials for assembly into finished products to be sold in the United States or in third world countries. This situation resulted in more employment or underemployment opportunities for Mexicans. By permitting the duty-free importation of machinery, equipment, and raw materials along the Mexican border on the condition that everything produced was exported, the Border Industrialization Program was to enable these firms to compete in the international market. It is claimed that low wages and high levels of productivity extracted from Mexican workers are some of the most important factors for transferring assembly operations from the United States to underdeveloped geographical areas.

However, despite its rapid expansion, the Border Industrialization Program has confronted increasing criticism. Some specialists claim that offshore plants are a strategy to diminish the efforts of U.S. workers to improve their working conditions. In addition, the maquiladora industry has not been able to prevent illegal migration to the United States because they do not provide jobs for the majority of males and because the employment opportunities that they do offer are very unstable.

Two branches of the offshore production along the Mexican-American border are studied in this book, that is, apparel and electronic assembly plants. Although there are differences between the two industries, they also share common features. For example, both are vulnerable to fluctuations in the international market. In the case of the clothing industry, changes in fashion and style require constant adaptation and exploration of new market mechanisms to enable surplus realization. The electronic industry, on the other hand, faces rapid modification in design and technological sophistication.

As stated earlier, this study also aims at providing a contribution to the study of women and work by examining the incorporation of new groups of workers formed by women into the Border Industrialization Program along the Mexican-American border. The majority of those who work at these plants are Mexican women whose predominant ages vary between seventeen and twenty-five. Older women are at a disadvantage when competing for jobs against younger women, who are generally preferred for assembly line work in the electronic plants. Fifty-seven percent of the sample interviewed for this study was formed by single women. Comparatively, there is a large number of married women in the clothing industry. There are also high differences with respect to schooling level. In the electronic industry the average schooling is eight years as compared to six years in the apparel manufacturing.

Interestingly enough, in the context of Latin America, maquiladora workers represent a new and unusual phenomenon when compared with the predominant traditional role of women. One of three women who work for a wage do so as domestics. By contrast, in Ciudad Juarez, almost half of the work force is composed of women as a result of maquiladora operations. This phenomenon has also taken place in other areas of the world, for example, in the Orient where similar multinational penetration has occurred.

Fernandez-Kelly points out that the employment of men to perform similar activities would require higher wages, better working conditions and more flexible work schedules, all of which would increase labour costs and reduce gains. Consequently, it is evident that women are the most viable means of reducing costs. But why is that so? It is because women do not enter the labour market as independent wage earners, on the contrary, they do so as supplementary earners. And this situation on the labour force is equivalent to the position of women in the household where they fulfill a role similar to that of the

subcontracted worker in relation to his contractor. To conclude this point, wage differentials between men and women have fulfilled a two-fold purpose. Firstly, by maintaining women's wages lower than those of men, women constitute a reserve labour force which is used during times of economic crisis. Secondly, lower wages for women have prevented the majority of them from gaining economic autonomy.

The final contribution of this work is the examination of how these two factors—transferring of assembly plants to peripheral areas and incorporation of large groups of women into production—have deeply affected the way Juarez people live their lives. Fernandez-Kelly uses the method of participant observation to achieve an inside view of the maquiladoras and of the way maquiladora workers live. An ethnographic description of Zaragoza Street—a Juarez neighborhood where a large number of maquiladora workers live—is given in detail. From the data collected, various conclusions are drawn. Firstly, and most important of all, is that women in Ciudad Juarez joined the work force not as supplementary wage earners but as the main providers of stable and regular income for their families due to the weak employment status of the men and the generalized poverty in which people live. Secondly, although the maquiladora program has resulted in more employment opportunities, its instability and low salaries have forced people to combine their work at the assembly plants with other informal economic activities at the household, neighborhood and community level. Small grocery stores are important sources of credit, food and other essentials. Because these workers' wages continue to be lower than the cost of living, such exchanges are fundamental for subsistence. Thirdly, the maquiladora program has given women a kind of "emancipation" by allowing them to earn their own salaries that they spend on clothes, cosmetics, jewelry and entertainment in a manner very close to that of the American women.

To conclude, Fernandez-Kelly's interdisciplinary research is a valuable contribution to the study of the effects produced by international capital investment in a given peripheral area such as the Mexican-American border. In studying this case, the gender discrimination criterion used in employment recruitment procedures proves to be one of the most important characteristics of the phenomenon studied. The utilization of this criterion in the Border Industrialization Program is not a mere occurrence but rather a general feature of international capitalism when transferring production plants.

Rita De Grandis
Mount Saint Vincent University

Sex Stereotyping in Advertising. Alice E. Courtney and Thomas W. Whipple. *Toronto: Lexington Books (D.C. Heath and Company), 1983. Pp. 239.*

Sex stereotyping in advertising seems like an old, worn out topic. Women have been voicing complaints about the way they are portrayed in advertising for more than a decade. The complaints have usually focused on the stereotypic, limiting and demeaning ways in which they are portrayed. In Canada this has led to investigation of the issues by women's groups, by researchers, by the advertising industry, and finally by the government. Among those who have written in this area are Alice Courtney and Thomas Whipple, who have been working in the field since the early 1970's, and who are probably best known for their study for the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, *Canadian Perspectives on Sex Stereotyping in Advertising* (1978). Those who believe that everything has been said about this issue will be pleasantly surprised by their new book.

This book expands and updates the work in the CACSW publication. Literature from a large number of fields is reviewed and analyzed. It is