

BOOK REVIEWS

Eliezer Ben-Rafael, **Crisis and Transformation: The Kibbutz at Century's End**, New York: State University of New York Press, 1997, £17.25, xii+282 pp. (ISBN 0-7914-3225-4).

Readers of this journal will be familiar with the kibbutz as a socialist experiment in communal living and, in particular, attempts at deconstructing the nuclear family as the agency of social reproduction. Much, although certainly not all, of that communal living has been dismantled in recent years. Indeed the kibbutz is undergoing massive change. However, the reasons for these changes are the subject of intense, and often bitter debate amongst the membership of the kibbutz movement. After initial denials, acknowledgement that such changes were occurring led many to proclaim the death of the kibbutz. Following the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, it was suggested that all experiments in socialism were futile. It was claimed that postmodern and post-industrial developments had engulfed the kibbutz – arguments which were conveniently oblivious of the ontological backlash against postmodernism and ignorant of the importance of industry to the kibbutz in terms of income generation. Substantive analyses of the reasons for the change have thus been few and far between. More emphasis has been placed on quantifying the changes, principally their nature and extent.

This book represents the collation and analysis of material from an extensive cross-disciplinary research project, 'The Kibbutz at the Turn of the Century', involving twenty different studies of different issues and developments. An equally wide range of research methods were employed by the team, including content analysis, interviews, questionnaires, surveys, and statistical and events analyses. Loosely Weberian, the focus is identity, that identity relating to both kibbutz individuals and the kibbutz as a

collective. These identities, Ben-Rafael argues, have become transformed, though not revolutionised (p. 24), since the mid-1980s as a result of a number of internal and external developments. These developments include: world recession, national economic instability, the election of a right-wing government in Israel, growing (increasingly expensive) improvements to the social infrastructure of individual kibbutzim and a perceived loss of purpose on the part of members.

Although continuities exist, the changes proposed and variously implemented across the 270 kibbutzim include: the closure of communal dining rooms; 'privatised' budgets for utilities and services; work-related financial rewards; abolition of job rotation for managers; co-operation with capitalist enterprise and the replacement of the general assembly as the forum of communal governance. Together these changes indicate that members are now more inclined to individualism than collectivism. Sympathy with the changes and involvement with their introduction varies according to kibbutz members' age, sex and education, thus providing much interesting material for those concerned with youth and gender studies, for example. However, occupational position proved to be the most significant factor. As the data are unfolded, it becomes clear that change is from above rather than below, driven by the technocrats of individual kibbutzim, that is the managers of (mainly) the economic and related committees, such as kibbutz industrial enterprises.

In a very brief section, Ben-Rafael speculates as to why technocrats are driving the change process, suggesting an interpersonal explanation; these individuals desire 'greater privileges – in authority, power and, eventually . . . pay' (p. 216). In offering this explanation, Ben-Rafael knowingly ignores a structural analysis. Yet elsewhere during the

research, there is a strong indication that structural tensions exist between economic activity, on the one hand, and kibbutz organisation and national political and economic developments, on the other. Therefore with a system of communal governance, these managers have responsibility for maximising the income generation of kibbutz enterprises, for example, whilst they have no authority to make decisions in highly competitive domestic markets. This responsibility without authority became problematic with the government withdrawal of political and financial support to kibbutzim, resulting in a reduced standard of living and membership demands for greater income from these enterprises. Another, structural, explanation might be that these managers required and attained change in order to secure an authority to enact the enterprise-kibbutz-state-market relationship and successfully negotiate these tensions.

Such an explanation does not obviate the instrumental aspect of these managers' actions but merely highlights the weakness of 'reading off' explanations from attitudinal data. In fact, the project is predominantly based on quantitative surveys. Only one of the individual projects involved observation and in-depth analysis. As a result, although one of the tasks of the project was to establish the agency of change, there is little indication of that *process*. Qualitative research methods have no inherent superiority yet research of agency has to be sensitive to social action, not just stated attitudes. The research project would have thus benefited from greater methodological plurality.

Nevertheless, *Crisis and Transformation* provides a single authoritative guide to the character of the Kibbutz today, tracing its origins, development and organisation. Also the book contains a useful bibliography and statistical appendix of the kibbutz movement generally. The collaborative effort across a number of disciplines has to be admired and applauded. This book should be read not only by those interested in Utopian

studies, where most teaching of the kibbutz is to be found in Britain, but also as a complement to research on the transformation of state socialism, particularly with regard to debates about the role of managers during and after organisational restructuring.

University of Glasgow

CHRISTOPHER WARHURST

Chetan Bhatt, **Liberation and Purity: Race, New Religious Movements and the Ethics of Postmodernity**, London: UCL Press, 1997, £13.99, xx+306 pp. (ISBN 1-85728-424-0).

Chetan Bhatt has written a book which is in turns important, fascinating, provocative and infuriating. The immediate problem I was left with on completing the book was to wonder how many books I had just read. On reflection I think there are three books here, of varying length and style.

The bulk of *Liberation and Purity* is concerned with a particular type of new religious movement, rather than with new religious movements as a whole. The focus here is on what might for ease be called religious fundamentalism, or authoritarian religious movements. Despite the subtitle, anyone looking here for a general discussion of new religious movements in the modern world will be disappointed. Bhatt, to be fair, is well aware of this distinction and never pretends the focus of the book is wider than it is. Unusually, the religious movements discussed in the central portion of the book are movements within modern Hinduism and Islam. This provides a refreshing change from works focusing upon individual cultures, and is also helpful in demonstrating that the issues raised by Bhatt in one area seem to be as important in other areas too.

The discussion of the Rushdie affair is clear, at the same time as being focused on those aspects of the story most important for the development of Bhatt's

argument. The importance of Saudi-sponsored groups in campaigning against *The Satanic Verses* is well illustrated, effectively countering the popular notion that the campaign was dominated by so-called radical Islamic regimes, such as Iran.

The two themes of Liberation and Purity are clearly brought out in the discussion of the movement inspired by Ayatollah Khomeini. The Islamic community, according to Khomeini and his followers, needed to be both liberated from foreign domination and purified of foreign influences. Once Muslims were free, they would need to be remade. The distinction is also drawn between an imam within a traditional setting and a so-called 'media imam'. Here, Bhatt explores the extent to which the role of an imam is changed with the advent of mass communications, particularly television and radio. Such media allow an imam to get his message widely distributed, without his ever having to explain or argue for his decisions.

The following two chapters deal with Hindu nationalism, a modern Hindu fundamentalist trajectory. Here Bhatt does an excellent job of picking out the various movements and individuals important to the development of the movement, although a glossary would have been helpful. In this instance, rather than covering particular movements or incidents which are alive in the Western popular imagination, Bhatt is dealing with sets of ideas and groups which are unfamiliar to a wide audience, and explains the various strands with clarity.

Again, the importance of communications technologies is stressed, and Bhatt points out how some actions by Hindu nationalist groups within India only make sense and have any meaning within a wider society once they are given media coverage. The extent to which such groups construct their own history and their own science is also well documented; a history which has only a limited basis in actual facts, if any at all. The important historical assertions often relate to items which can never be proved

or disproved, or to items which exist in mythic time. Similarly with science, much discourse of modern religious movements 'refutes' Darwinian natural science on the basis of a mis-statement of Darwinian science. The first message here is that if you are to knock down a theory it is often easiest if you have not fully understood it. More importantly, however, is the notion that both in science and history, the presumed identity between facts and truth has broken down.

These chapters form an interesting exploration of authoritarian new religious movements within Islam and Hinduism. Bhatt is very good at making explicit just how modern these movements are, in the sense that they rely on or act against technologies and other notions which previously did not exist. Such movements could not have arisen in previous centuries.

The second part of the book is comprised of the final chapter, a fascinating shot-gun of a piece. Here many of the themes of the book (new technology, the importance of regulating the male and female body, reactions to modern scientific theories) are discussed again in more general terms. This chapter is provocative and stimulating. Each section could have been expanded considerably. I would be particularly interested to see much more on the relationship between new religious movements generally and new communication and information technologies. There is much of interest here already, especially a discussion of the *umma* as a virtual community, though because Bhatt's focus is on authoritarian new religious movements, the focus is largely on one-to-many forms of new communication technology, rather than the many-to-many forms.

These two elements within the book are well and clearly written, if at times closely argued. They both deserve a wide readership. The only thing which may stand in their way is the third strand in this book, consisting of the first two chapters. They are both fine in terms of their argument, and display a broad

familiarity with debates in social theory regarding modernism and post-modernism. However, they read as if they were written by a different hand from that which composed the rest of the book. The intellectual clarity still appears to be there, though it is embedded in a text which is over-burdened with technical terms, jargon and obscure or long words which have been used where more commonplace ones exist. These first two chapters could have benefited from being rewritten. Many readers, I fear, will not reach the better parts of this book because the first two chapters are such hard going. The strength of our discipline is that it deals with matters of common, almost universal, concern and interest to the intelligent lay person. This strength is lost, and the discipline weakened if we write books which can only be read from within a charmed circle.

This is an interesting and provocative book, spoiled only by the infuriating first two chapters. It would be unfortunate and unfair if the remainder of the book gets less of a readership simply because the majority of readers fail to get as far as Chapter 3. Had I not been reviewing this book, I do not think I would have got beyond Chapters 1 and 2.

Darlington

ROBERT J. BUCKLEY

Michael Bittman and Jocelyn Pixley, **The Double Life of the Family: Myth, Hope and Experience**, St Leonards, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 1997, £14.99, xiv+313 pp. (ISBN 1-86373-629-8).

The 'double life' of the title refers to the 'normative family', the family of myth and ideal, versus the frequent disappointments of everyday family life. Bittman and Pixley argue that persistent inequalities in family life contradict the ideal of intimacy but yet the desire to see family relationships as intimate inhibits acknowledgement of inequality. Hence, misunderstandings, tensions and frustrations are inevitable aspects of this 'double

life' rather than the exceptional experience of bad families. This is interestingly elaborated in a series of steps including an analysis of myth-making about the family and intimacy, demonstration of the persistent inequality of family life, a critical detour into economic theorising about family relationships, and a postscript concerning the role of the state. While the focus of the book is Australian family life, it deserves a much wider readership.

In unpacking the 'normative family', the authors draw on a range of theoretical work, including that of Roland Barthes and Gregory Bateson, to suggest the parallel processes of myth-making about the family and of distorted communication within it. In an entertaining chapter, a number of illustrations are laid out in rapid succession: rituals of Christmas Day, an image of a man holding an infant, the use of 'the family' in an election pamphlet, *The Crosby Show* versus *The Simpsons* and the relative silences around family violence. A short chapter then presents a history of ideas about families and intimacy from the pre-industrial period to the present. It asserts that the shift, which Giddens identifies as the ascendancy of 'the pure relationship', is in the realm of ideals not realities. A conclusion which I have also drawn.

The demonstration of continued inequality in family households is the subject of the central chapters. Their main focus is gender inequality between heterosexual couples. Lots of solid data are presented, including time-budget studies worked on by Bittman for the Australian Bureau of Statistics, demonstrating persistent inequalities in domestic work and childcare, despite women's increased participation in paid work. The contradiction between this inequality and the rhetoric of intimacy is presented as a paradigmatic example of the argument: 'The commitment to an equal, pure relationship barely masks the visible relations of power and the result is frustration, guilt and pain' (p. 170). A chapter is then devoted to evaluating

explanations of change and rigidity in family life couched in terms of economic rationality and human capital theory, including the classic work of Gary Becker and more recent contributors. The book then ends by discussing the implications of state policy, which has shifted between two models of family life, from a model of a conventionally gendered family household, headed by a male breadwinner, to a model in which households can be reduced to individual citizens. While the latter model fits with rhetoric of equality and intimacy, the authors argue that it has, like the traditional model, often mitigated against equality between men and women.

This is a lively book which deserves to be on many reading lists, including courses on the family, intimacy, gender, women's and men's studies and on the economics of the household. Its accessible style makes it suitable for undergraduates at all levels. However, it permits a doubly simplified view: an intimate and equal family life as the ideal which everybody holds and the inevitable failure of men and women in the face of labour market forces and unhelpful state action. As a warning this may be a helpful simplification but it has political and academic dangers. Politically, it seems to leave us waiting for the state to restructure labour markets, socialise domestic work and expand extra-familial child-care. While strongly endorsing the need to promote policies in those directions, there is political and academic reason to recognise room to shape both ideals and realities from within personal life. In complex societies, dominant ideals never wholly obliterate alternatives and people work with cultural messages according to their diverse realities. Moreover, qualitative studies, including Australian examples, have demonstrated that men and women can, with effort, negotiate more equal relationships against the backdrop of inequality. Nevertheless, a stimulating book which should also prove invaluable to many students.

University of Edinburgh

LYNN JAMIESON

Roger Burrows, Nicholas Pleace and Deborah Quilgars, **Homelessness and Social Policy**, London: Routledge, 1997, £45.00 (paperback £14.99), xi+266 pp. (ISBN 0-415-15456-1 (hbk), 0-415-15457-X (pbk)).

The strength of this book lies in the wide variety of topics which are covered in the sixteen short chapters. The book is made up principally from recent single homelessness research projects funded by the Department of the Environment and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. The fact that most of the research comes from the Centre for Housing Policy at the University of York lends a coherence and continuity to the volume and it is nice to see John Greve, who drew attention to homelessness in the 1960s, writing the Preface. The main focus of the book, is on all-age single homeless people passing through hostels and the resettlement processes – a category much neglected by politicians and policy makers.

The variety of topics covered include: a discussion of the definitions and the measurement of homelessness (Pleace, Burrows and Quilgars); original and up-to-date statistics on the distribution (Burrows) and the characteristics (Kemp) of single homeless people, as well as a good account of current legislation in the context of changing responses to homelessness since the Poor Law (Lowe). There is also a clear discussion of the rise in mortgage repossession (Ford); the current nature of the private rented sector in the United Kingdom (Rugg, Bevan and Rhodes), and important findings on health and homelessness (Bines). There are seven chapters covering agency responses to single homelessness – or rather the problems facing these responses. Pleace, a significant author in this area, writes about rehousing single people. Quilgars and Anderson give us fact rather than myth about 'foyers'. Neale looks at the new hostel schemes so often neglected in the literature, and Rugg informs us about private rented access schemes, while Oldman considers inter-agency working.

There is a measure of agreement, amongst the chapters, that homelessness is caused by economic change which impacts on the most vulnerable, and it is this vulnerability of the client group which is most fully explored. Higate and Carlise alert us to the prominence of ex-servicemen and ex-prisoners amongst the single homeless, in two particularly well written chapters. The cause and effect between personal vulnerability and homelessness is a theme taken up in an important chapter by Pleace and Quilgars on the connections between health and homelessness. They point out that homeless people, with the exception of rough sleepers, do not have worse health problems than those who are housed and on low incomes, but their access to health services is more limited. The difficulties GPs experience in registering people on the move is particularly well explained. It is this exclusion of homeless people from a range of services, together with their evident vulnerability, which lies behind the questions asked in several chapters of the book.

As this book, with its focus on surveys and the evaluation of practice, is written by researchers, some of the chapters contain a degree of detail which may be necessary for the specialist but which could bemuse the more general reader. Although the authors of this volume come from a housing background, there are hints of postmodernist ideas (Pleace, Burrows and Quilgars) and feminist critique (Neale) in relation to homelessness, which could, perhaps, underpin a new publication. In a most interesting chapter, Neale explains the feminist critiques of the constructions of homelessness as well as drawing upon Foucault and Giddens to theorise the area. In general, however, this book is rooted in empirical research which may be the best route to influence politics and policy. The blocks to solving single homelessness which these authors concentrate on are the vulnerability of the client group, the lack of affordable and appropriate housing in the private rented sector and the lack of access to community care

provision. These are all areas where agency action is focused and where current political and practical solutions are more feasible than the longer-term structural issues of jobs, housing and benefits.

In bringing together a very diverse but coherent collection of chapters, this book is important in informing and updating a subject area – homelessness – which is regrettably so relevant in Britain today.

Glamorgan University

SUSAN HUTSON

David Gordon and Christina Pantazis (eds.), **Breadline Britain in the 1990s**, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997, £42.50, xxiii+309 pp. (ISBN: 1-85972-479-5).

Two representative national surveys, funded by London Weekend Television, were carried out in 1983 and 1990, known as the Breadline Britain surveys. These showed the extent and nature of poverty in each of those years and confirmed its growth over the 1980s. The surveys made a significant contribution to the conceptualisation and measurement of poverty and to public knowledge, especially through imaginative approaches to dissemination.

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation later funded more detailed data-analysis and this provides the basis for this collection. Many of the contributors are connected to the School of Policy Studies at Bristol University while others are at the Social Policy Research Unit (SPRU) in York, and the book is published in SPRU's Studies in Cash and Care series. During the 1980s and much of the 1990s, poverty was pushed off the political agenda although the problem of the poor, relabelled 'the underclass', was a major concern of government. This continues under the new Labour Government but is now defined as social exclusion. The evidence critically evaluated here provides useful material for anyone interested in reviving the old aim to eradicate poverty.

However, while we may suspect that in many ways the evidence about poverty in 1990 is still relevant today, there will be those who argue that in this fast-changing world, we cannot rely on such data. What would be extremely valuable therefore would be a repeat survey now that we are at the end of the 1990s to show what has happened over the past decade. The book is therefore not about Breadline Britain in the 1990s but poverty in the year 1990. Priced at £42.50, it is most likely to be consulted through a library.

The work builds upon Peter Townsend's definition of poverty as relative deprivation. This is now firmly established in progressive conceptualisations of social exclusion: that is, that there is a point at which material resources are so low that people are pushed over the edge of society, they cannot fulfil expected social obligations and are unable to participate, be full members of society – they are in effect excluded. If the processes leading to exclusion, and the contribution of lack of adequate income and access to services, are recognised in policy debate, then both effective prevention and social cures could be devised: 'To relate poverty to ordinary lifestyle means that the centre of attention is moved from subsistence to social integration' (p. 216). If, however, the new Social Exclusion Unit focuses mainly on attempts to change the behaviour of the poor without awareness of their social and material environment, the pathological definition of the undeserving poor will continue to prevail.

The evidence presented here documents once again the apparent willingness of citizens to pay tax to relieve poverty. Yet two years after the survey, the Conservatives were re-elected in spite of all the evidence of unemployment, poverty and inequality. And five years later, a new Government came to power promising not to raise rates of income tax and aiming to control public expenditure. The gap between attitudes and behaviour remains a crucial one for social researchers to explain. Or perhaps there are problems in the way the questions

were asked. More in-depth analysis might reveal different sets of attitudes – if only these analysts could have similar access to Labour's focus group material!

The writers' approach to evidence is sophisticated, stressing that evidence has to be theory-based to have meaning. They apply complex statistical techniques to draw out the implications of the raw data, like CHAID (the Chi-Squared Automatic Interaction Detector method). They also explore more refined methods of drawing the poverty line, such as the proportional deprivation index. These are examples of discussions in the book which will be of particular interest to poverty experts.

The findings support conclusions about the crucial impact of housing and environment. Also demonstrated are the gendered nature of poverty and differences between men and women, and young and old, on what are viewed as necessities. The hardships experienced by lone mothers and people with disabilities or ill health, especially relevant to contemporary debate, are also explored. The findings demonstrate the importance of time spent in poverty (length of episodes and frequency of episodes) to the overall impact of that experience. While one in five households (11 million people) were living in poverty in 1990 only 4 per cent could be defined as permanently poor. Perhaps then programmes need only concern themselves with these extreme cases (as some utterances about the SEU seem to imply). But other chapters document that poverty matters because it brings misery, with suffering in the form of ill-health, physical and mental, and injustice (notably, the dramatic increase in the number of poor women having criminal convictions for not have a TV licence). It is in documenting that poverty is a political and moral issue, a human question, that this book makes a real contribution to understanding and re-establishes poverty as central to sociological enquiry.

Middlesex University

SUSANNE MACGREGOR

Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein,
The New Language of Qualitative Method, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, £42.00 (paperback £19.99), x+244 pp. (ISBN 0-19-509994-X).

Increasing attention by teachers and researchers to forms of qualitative inquiry in recent years has resulted in numerous texts which have sought to provide both overviews of the particular nature of qualitative methods and their epistemological basis, and more detailed and critical attention to aspects of the research process, such as data collection, analysis and forms of text. This book is different to much that has gone before, and it embarks on what would seem to be an ambitious epistemological project. The ambition lies in the attempt to elucidate qualitative methods' traditional roots in naturalist approaches to research, while attempting a synthesis of these with ethnomethodology and more recent paradigmatic concerns of sociology in 'emotionalism' and postmodernism.

Gubrium and Holstein are right when they argue at the outset that the diversity of qualitative inquiry has often been obscured by a tendency to a broad-brush approach. Their point is that while there are common threads discernible, the four variants examined here all have languages of their own, and these form distinct procedural idioms. These languages reflect and constitute research questions about that nature of the social world that is of interest to the researcher. They aim to highlight these differences by using empirical studies since the research texts are constituted by these distinct languages.

The authors' project is then to move beyond the analytic tensions that can be clearly discerned in the four approaches they examine; to use these tensions and the boundaries they represent as the starting point for developing what they view as 'new epistemological questions and analytic possibilities'. This would 'frame' a 'new' language that can encompass both 'reality' and 'represent-

ation', what and how questions, and a blend of naturalistic and constitutive traditions – 'a dialectical synthesis'. Everyday reality, they argue, is produced by constitutive activity and substantive resources, and both sides of this process are what research should aim to explicate in a self-conscious and reflexive way. While not to detract from the value of such an exercise, there are questions about the extent to which we have a 'new language' when much of what is proposed in the second part of the book is a demonstration of the strengths of some traditional forms of inquiry – Goffman, for example. In addition, comparative ethnography and narrative/biographical approaches are suggested as providing new analytical possibilities of interpretative practice and the substantive conditions under which it occurs. The question is not whether this is of value, but rather how new are they? The examples they use, suggest qualitative researchers have paid attention already to issues of the relation of constitutive practices to substantive concerns.

Secondly, there is a question about the extent to which they have achieved a synthesis beyond ethnomethodology and naturalism, to all four positions addressed. It is, at least, a very uneven synthesis. Emotionalism as a framework seems to have slipped from view in this 'new' language, which is a pity since some qualitative researchers have argued that this dimension of social life and the research process does require recognition and incorporation. There are also difficulties with postmodernism. There is a very clear exposition in the first section of the book of the questions which postmodernism raises for qualitative research, but this seemingly leads the authors to a perceived need to rescue qualitative inquiry from postmodernism, at least in its more 'extreme', 'nihilistic' forms as they put it. This is not to say they reject all of what postmodernism directs us to consider; reflexivity, the discursive constitution of the social and the representational practices of research itself, is highlighted. Ultimately, however,

their incorporation of constitutive elements in knowledge of the social is drawn from ethnomethodology rather than postmodernism. The difficulty in doing otherwise has also to be appreciated. The postmodern project is in danger of overturning what have been, and to some extent still are, hard-fought attempts to have qualitative research accepted as legitimate procedures for knowledge creation, particularly outside of academic audiences. At the same time, critical attention to analytic limits and possibilities is essential in developing credibility and rigour, and does require something of postmodernism's concerns with self-conscious reflexivity and representational practices. I agree that we do not want to end up having 'nothing and no-one to study, save one's own constitutive practices' (p. 112). However, if it is possible to provide a synthesis of other distinct positions, then qualitative inquiry can live with some of postmodernism's procedural idioms.

Gubrium and Holstein have done us a service in revisiting and updating the ontological and epistemological assumptions of varieties of qualitative research, and while their commitment is to the synthetic potential of divergent positions, equally the book is also valuable in reminding us what those distinct possibilities are. This book is most likely to be used at undergraduate level for more specialist options, and will be valuable for postgraduate courses in the philosophy of social research and qualitative methods. It should be mentioned, that while the authors are American, the book draws extensively from British authors on qualitative methods and research studies, and British readers will also be familiar with the exponents of US qualitative inquiry used. A book which attempts to bring qualitative methods into contemporary debates about epistemology is to be recommended, and it offers considerable material to enable the reader to evaluate their own form of qualitative research practice.

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BARBARA HARRISON

Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex (eds.), **The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration**, Cambridge: Polity, 1997, £45.00 (paperback £13.95), x+336 pp. (ISBN 0-7456-1922-3).

This reader is aimed at students of social sciences. It consists of a collection of twenty-three reprinted sources, ranging from Weber to Clifford. The well-chosen extracts are suitably short and enable student readers to become familiar with the major aspects of ethnicity. The relevance of the concept of ethnicity is established by highlighting its importance in regard to nationalism on the one hand and migration and multiculturalism on the other. These two areas are presented as separate problematics that are, according to Guibernau and Rex, linked through their common roots in a more general theory of ethnicity.

Part I deals with basic conceptual issues surrounding questions of the nation state, nationalism and violence, and presents case-studies of areas (such as Catalonia and Scotland) that claim the right to self-determination not least by force of ethnicity. In Part II the contributors look at more diverse issues such as definitions of plural society; the nature of multiculturalism in the United States and Germany; and the shift in migration theory from a focus on the concept of 'immigrants' to that of 'diasporas'. The greater conceptual diversity prevalent in the contributions to the second part is further accentuated by the last section which digresses somewhat from the guiding thread of ethnicity in the previous chapters, and by a change of focus and language away from ethnicity to issues of race, racism and social exclusion. In this last session it becomes particularly clear that a predominant focus on ethnicity also has its limitations. However, it is to the credit of the editors, who aim to establish the relevance of ethnicity not only in the study of nationalism but also in regard to migrant and transnational communities in the globalised world, that they included

extracts by authors such as Wieviorka, Balibar and Clifford, whose major focus is not exclusively on ethnicity but on other important concepts such as racism, class and diaspora.

The eight chapters are well delimited and easily lend themselves to be assigned to students as basic reading for particular course sessions. Appropriately, Chapter 1 focuses on conceptual issues, with extracts from Weber (on the definition of an ethnic group), Smith (on the structure and persistence of ethnic groups in the modern era), and Eriksen (on the relationship between ethnicity, race and nation). The second chapter, on ethnicity and nationalism, is central to Part I and contains well-chosen extracts from the path-setting works of Anderson (on imagined communities), Gellner (on nationalism as a product of industrial society), and Hobsbawm (on the political role of nationalism in former communist countries since 1989). The chapter on ethnicity and violence consists of case studies on Northern Ireland (Cox) and former Yugoslavia (Bennett) and a general discussion of the causes and consequences of ethnic conflict (Brown), while the subsequent chapter looks at demands for self-determination, analysing the situation of Catalonia (Guibernau), Canada and Quebec (Keating) and of native Americans in the United States (Wilmer).

The second part of the book, on multiculturalism and migration, starts again with a chapter on conceptual questions: with Rex's definition of multicultural society and Kuper's general account of different forms of plural societies. Then case studies of the United States (Kymlicka) and Frankfurt/Germany (Radtke) focus on questions of citizenship, while more general issues of migration and globalisation are analysed in the extracts from Massey (on causes of migration), Rex (on the structure of transnational migrant communities), and in an essay by Clifford (on the value and limitations of the term 'diaspora'). The less tightly focused final chapter does not primarily focus on ethnicity but – from

the perspective of ethnic relations research – 'other relevant issues'. It is titled 'racism and xenophobia' and contains extracts from Wieviorka (racist movements in France), Steinberg (the Civil Rights movement in the United States) and Balibar (on 'class racism').

It would be futile to criticise the editors of a collection of original texts such as this for the obvious necessity to be selective. They themselves recognise that issues of ethnicity in former colonial societies, for example, have not been covered in this book. Nor have the views of those who are more sceptical about the value of ethnicity as an analytical concept, rather than others such as race, racism or class (notwithstanding the issues raised in the last chapter). Overall, however, this reader is a fairly comprehensive introduction to the ways in which the concept of ethnicity can be applied to the study of nationalism, and to the issues of migration and multiculturalism.

The reader would have benefited from a longer introduction for students that clarified not only the importance of the ethnic component in the construction of nationalism, multiculturalism and migration in its own right, but also outlined how ethnic relations research is to be located within the wider field of research on race, ethnicity and nationalism. Also, it might be easier to encourage students to read the full works from which extracts have been selected if bibliographic references to the original sources were more easily traceable. Despite these minor caveats, the editors have achieved their overall aim of providing a fairly comprehensive students' handbook on the state of the art in the study of ethnic relations. This reader makes easily available extracts from key texts on nationalism and migration and, if set alongside other reading, is a useful addition to any reading list for courses on race and ethnicity, and migration and nationalism.

University of Southampton

WALTRAUD ERNST

David Harvey, **Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference**, Oxford: Blackwell, 1996, £50.00 (paperback £12.99), vii+468 pp. (ISBN 1-55786-680-5).

Like many of his previous works, Harvey's latest book is concerned to reassert his argument that Marxism has much to offer in the way of understanding historical geography. However, this task involves, he argues, rebuilding Marxian theory along lines which allow it to incorporate an analysis of socio-temporality and socio-ecological issues within its framework. Thus the main goal which Harvey establishes for this book is to construct a set of 'workable foundational concepts' (p. 2) which can be used to analyse the ways in which space, time, place and nature are mutually constitutive and represented through social practices. Harvey suggests that this is a 'dangerous' task given that it is contemporary academic fashion to argue against such an approach.

The book is organised around four main sections. In the first section, entitled 'Orientations', Harvey lays the ground for subsequent discussion and argument and in particular he outlines his particular interpretation of dialectics. Here he challenges some of the core thinking in contemporary urban studies. In addition, the discussion draws upon a range of thinkers to develop a relational theory of materiality and space-time. In his concern to be sensitive to difference and unevenness, while maintaining a commitment to locating and tracing connections and similarities, Harvey borrows from Raymond Williams the idea of *militant particularism*. This allows him to argue for the possibility of shared values in the midst of what he himself recognises as the prevalence of a 'striking heterogeneity' of beliefs.

In the second section, 'The Nature of Environment', the discussion focuses upon issues of environmental politics. Harvey provides a critical exploration of conservative approaches which have tended to dominate environmental

politics in recent times. He also argues, importantly, that we need to develop some understanding of the ways in which the ecological and political continually interact: 'Ecological arguments are never socially neutral any more than sociopolitical arguments are ecologically neutral' (p. 182). In place of the traditional approaches which have neglected such relations, Harvey stresses the importance of connecting ecological issues and questions with processes of social change and transformation. But his attempt to construct an eco-socialist politics, in which Marxism is weaned away from what he regards as a 'productivist/domination of nature ethic', is somewhat underdeveloped. In section three, 'Space, Time and Place', Harvey draws on a number of diverse approaches to explore the social construction of space-time and place. He argues that historical-spatial differences can be re-read in ways which allow for the future development of 'liberating places'. In the final section, 'Justice, Difference and Politics', there is an argument against the pursuit of homogeneity and 'sameness'. Here Harvey focuses upon the complex interplay of ways in which difference is constructed, and in the process he contends that we need to identify means of recognising which differences are 'significant' ones.

In the concluding chapter on 'Possible Urban Worlds', some of which has appeared before in journal articles or as book chapters, there is an explicit rejection of anti-urban perspectives and communitarian approaches to the city. Harvey dismisses these as being unable to grasp the opportunities for advancement which urban life can generate. However, he also calls for a new politics which embraces diversity and heterogeneity in ways which are not repressive. Harvey's work is notable for its clarity and forcefulness and this book continues in this tradition. He is to be applauded for his commitment to developing a political project of liberation in the face of pessimistic postmodern discourses. However, those more familiar with Harvey's

theories may be a little disappointed that they have heard much of this before, albeit in ways which are less developed. The discussion is somewhat uneven at times but in general the book is certainly engaging and forceful, and for this alone it is worthy of careful consideration by those who are interested in issues of justice and diversity. More importantly, I feel, this is a work of commitment and purpose: the theoretical and political project outlined by Harvey is increasingly important and relevant today. But one is left with little sense of how this is to be achieved and this is the most disappointing feature of the book.

University of Paisley

GERRY MOONEY

Eva Illouz, **Consuming the Romantic Utopia: Love and the Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism**, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, £35.00, (paperback £12.95), xv+371 pp. (ISBN 0-520-20571-9).

This book examines an important topic, one that sociologists have neglected until quite recently yet which is of critical significance for an understanding of contemporary socio-cultural systems. Given that romantic love is cited as the principal reason for marriage (and indeed divorce), provides the majority of individuals with their most intense personal experiences, as well as being a key ingredient in both popular and elite culture, it is clearly vitally important that sociologists should have a clear understanding of the nature and significance of this phenomenon. This book will contribute something to that end since Eva Illouz has undertaken a detailed and generally scholarly, investigation. Her approach is via media studies and consequently much of the data used is derived from an analysis of films, advertisements and magazines, although this material is supplemented by selected quotations from interviews with fifty East Coast Americans.

The author's main conclusion is that romantic love has been 'incorporated into capitalism', that it is, in effect, an 'ideological system serving and furthering the interests of capitalism'. The author seems to feel that this conclusion is justified because of the existence of close links between romantic love and the commercial world of consumerism. The problem with this argument of course is that such links have existed since the end of the eighteenth century, the emergence of romantic love being closely linked with the rise of the novel and the growth of marketable forms of leisure generally. Consequently, it is a little difficult to see this as something new, let alone distinctive of a 'postmodern' society. Unfortunately, this is not the only reason for regarding Illouz's conclusions as rather unconvincing.

Most critically for the credibility of the author's argument in general, the key features of *romantic* love are never specified. Indeed, Illouz seems happy to use this term to cover all kinds of relationships and activities that have been traditionally distinct from romantic love, such as courtship, dating and marriage. But then, remarkably, there is no reference to John Alan Lee's detailed and pioneering dissection of different forms of love. This failure is then closely linked to a somewhat strange view of the past since Illouz seems to believe that romantic love was a central part of the Victorian world of bourgeois family values. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. The Victorians were deeply suspicious of romantic love, and rightly so; for it has always been more closely associated with Bohemian rather than bourgeois values, and hence with adultery (or 'living in sin') than with marriage and the family ('adultery' is not a term that even appears in the index).

Finally, the author makes the mistake of adopting Bell's view that contemporary capitalism contains 'contradictions'. Given, however, that Bell's claim was only made to appear convincing because he excluded consumption from the techno-economic

sphere and science from culture it was unwise of the Illouz to rely so heavily on Bell's analysis. In any case, what Bell labelled 'contradictions' would seem to most people simply to constitute complimentary contrasts, being no more 'contradictory' than day and night, or work and play. Hence to discover that individuals use both expressive and instrumental discourses to discuss close personal relationships (not as the author claims to discuss 'romantic love') is not only unsurprising but hardly a 'contradiction'.

This use of Bell's framework then accounts for the most serious flaw in the author's argument, which is the over-emphasis on the way in which the nature of romantic love might be considered to be influenced (even determined) by capitalism, with the consequent failure to give serious consideration to the possibility that romantic love may itself have served to shape capitalism, or is a phenomenon to which capitalism may have had to adapt. Yet both of these are real possibilities. But then it does not seem to have occurred to the author that the 'Love Generation' of the 1960s with their critique of capitalism and their radical programme for restructuring society, might have derived as much inspiration from romantic love as from any other source (the critical importance of song lyrics as the main medium for promulgating the ideology of romantic love is not acknowledged either). What this suggests is crucially missing from this analysis is any recognition of the close connection between romantic love and Romanticism with the natural consequence that the radical, if not revolutionary, potential of this phenomenon is overlooked entirely. But then the fact that there never was a flourishing Romantic Movement in North America (only a pale imitation in the form of Transcendentalism) might explain why romantic love appears to seem so very different when viewed from the other side of the Atlantic.

University of York

COLIN CAMPBELL

Annie Jamieson, Sarah Harper and Christina Victor (eds.), **Critical Approaches to Ageing and Later Life**, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1997, £45.00 (paperback £14.99), x+195 pp. (ISBN 0-33519-725-6).

This book aims to contribute a fresh and critical edited collection to the growing body of literature known as social gerontology. Jamieson *et al.* claim that all too often social gerontology texts are dry and narrow in focus, therefore failing to reflect the interdisciplinary nature of this emerging area of study. Furthermore, they argue that much published work on gerontology is still engaged with the 'empiricist, biomedical approach' (p. 1), and thus overly concerned with the quantification of older age to the detriment of social aspects of ageing. These kinds of problem contribute to the difficulty in convincing students of the dynamic nature of studying older age, and thus this line of critique is astute. This advanced level collection brings together a range of perspectives and in doing so creates a thought-provoking text, which both academics and students will find engaging and invaluable.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section provides a series of papers which broadly address what social gerontology is and question its boundaries and potentialities. This section does this through examining key concepts, such as critical gerontology, and by presenting examples of the scope of study going on under the umbrella of social gerontology, as in the analysis of historical materials and literature. These papers lend themselves to providing advanced undergraduate students with a stimulating introduction to social gerontology. They clearly illustrate that this field is exciting, expanding and dynamic.

Part Two of the book supplies some really first-class papers from contemporary writers which are diverse in theoretical and methodological approach. Indeed, it is one of the strengths of this

text that, although the chapters complement one another in theme, it is impossible to move from one chapter to another without being aware of the range of approaches within social gerontology. For instance, Glenda Laws, a social geographer, contributes a fascinating account of space and older age, particularly focusing on residential living and the Sun City retirement communities. In the next chapter, by Blaikie and Hepworth, the reader is invited into the world of older age as represented in paintings and photography and is challenged to consider the changing imagery of the life course. Thus this section reveals contemporary research into social gerontology to be exciting. In Part Three, Jamieson and Victor conclude by discussing the ways in which gerontology could progress. They argue that the integration of material outside of the traditional boundaries of the study of older age will be essential in the development of social gerontology which is credible and truly social.

Edited collections can be problematic due to the variety in quality which can sometimes be found between chapters. However, the overall quality of this collection is high and one could imagine a range of students using this as a key text or delving into it at particular points in their courses. The book's focus suggests a range of audiences. Firstly, the book targets students on advanced undergraduate and postgraduate courses in ageing and/or the life course. Here, the book's accessibility will help students engage with the study of older age and the comprehension of key concepts. Secondly, academics in a broad range of disciplines, including sociology, social policy and nursing, will find this a stimulating read, providing an up-to-date and serious analysis of new directions in social gerontology. Thirdly, students on methodology courses will find many of the chapters discuss issues which are at the forefront of social research. For instance, I intend to include, on a master's course in applied social research, Fairhurst's paper on memories because it

has relevance beyond the study of ageing. Lastly, practitioners working with older people will benefit from the approachable and refreshing way older age is handled in the book.

This is a wide-ranging and stimulating collection, expertly put together by the editors. I hope it will not be seen as just another set of writings on older age, as the breadth and quality of its contributions indicate that it has much to offer students and academics in a number of disciplines.

University of Stirling

GERALDINE LEE-TREWEEK

Neil Jarman, **Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland**, Oxford: Berg, 1997, £34.95 (paperback £14.95), xiv+290 pp. (ISBN 1-85973-1244 hbk, 1-85973-129-5 pbk).

The conflict in Northern Ireland is the product of a set of interlocking relationships between difference, community and power. Culture plays a central role in this, both in constituting and reconstituting communal difference and as an arena of struggle for and about power. Yet ironically we know less about culture in Northern Ireland than about the better researched areas of economy and politics. The gap is now being filled. Jarman's *Material Conflicts* is an impressive work. Its concern is the role of commemorative parades, banners and wall murals in the production and reproduction of collective and social memory, and of community as the bearer and custodian of memory. Jarman is not the first to take on these topics but he has done so more comprehensively and with greater subtlety and insight than anyone to date.

The book begins by setting out the theoretical assumptions underlying the analysis. It then offers a history of parading in Ireland from its beginnings in the late seventeenth century to 1968, which does much to explain why the

Civil Rights marches of 1968–69 had such a devastating impact. A chapter is devoted to the Twelfth of July parade in Belfast, followed by chapters on the loyalist and nationalist parades elsewhere in the North. These include useful statistics, for example, on the numbers of parades – 3,500 in Northern Ireland in 1995. The author pays close attention to differences within the communities – between age and status groups, the role of men and women, adults and children, between rural and urban and, not least, between parading organisations. The section on banners offers interesting comparisons between those of the Orange and Royal Black Institutions, and those of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Irish National Foresters. The final section concentrates on wall murals, by far the most dynamic medium of popular political expression during the past twenty years. The current phase began with the painting of republican murals at the time of the hunger strikes; but loyalists soon joined in and Jarman ably reveals the different political currents within contemporary loyalism encoded in clusters of loyalist murals (Chapter 10).

The culture of parades, banners and murals proves to be complex and multi-layered, not least because of the internal divisions within each community. One of the most interesting aspects is the way in which the simultaneous ritual expression of intra-communal difference – the juxtapositioning of contrasting images in marches or clusters of murals – becomes a means through which each community secures its unity-in-difference. Anyone unclear as to why there is so much conflict about parading in Northern Ireland, or indeed why there is so much parading, will find answers to many of their questions. One statistic alone is revealing. Loyalist parades – of which there were 2,581 in 1995 – outnumber nationalist ones in the ratio of 9:1 (p. 118). But more than that, loyalists claim the right to march throughout the whole of Northern Ireland; nationalists are largely confined to their own areas. For Protestants parades are a display of

power, a reminder of past victories and of who is still in control; for Catholics they are an expression of defiance and resistance. But, as Jarman makes clear, parading is not simply about sending a message to the other community; above all, it is a means whereby each community imagines and re-imagines itself, calls to mind its past glories and perils, and renews its determination for the future.

This is a valuable contribution to the literature. However, one caveat has to be entered. Jarman treats the section of each community that parades, and identifies with those who parade, as coterminous with the whole. This is questionable. Whyte, Bew and others have pointed out that very many Protestants construct their Protestantism and unionism differently from the loyalists described in the book, and resist the claims of loyalists to define the religion or politics of the community as a whole. The differences are less marked on the Catholic side but there too a more differentiated approach is needed.

University College, Cork JOSEPH RUANE

Richard Jenkins, **Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations**, London: Sage, 1997, £42.50 (paperback £13.99), vi+194 pp. (ISBN 0-8039-7678-X).

This book brings together a number of articles written by Richard Jenkins over the last thirteen years. They cover most aspects of an impressive body of theoretical and empirical work with the exception of his 1992 vehement critique of Pierre Bourdieu. Exactly how much the pieces have been altered for republication I am unsure, but as there is a genuine coherence to the book and as the 'rethinking' is not confined to the introduction and conclusion, it is probable that substantial work has gone into *Rethinking Ethnicity*. Indeed, running through the book is a preoccupation with qualification and reformulation not only

of the analyses of ethnicity of other writers, but also of his own. This intellectual autobiographical aspect to the book is matched by a more directly personal one. In the preface Jenkins recounts a lifetime of movement within the United Kingdom with its consequent insights and dislocations. However, matters of personal identity do not preoccupy the subsequent discussion. The result is a highly rigorous text, but one that stops from time to time to clarify precisely what has been established. Therefore, though a demanding read and not always, it should be said, an especially enjoyable one due to the seemingly endless modifications of formulations, the book should find an audience for the important questions it raises beyond a specialist one.

In fact the question of 'audience' is the initial one the book raises. Jenkins, though a professor of sociology, approaches his subject through an interesting initial discussion about the history of the study of ethnicity within academic anthropology. The subsequent inquiries broaden to macro sociological and historical ones, but the author is justified in his claim that the book is as much about 'rethinking' anthropology as ethnicity. This concern is periodically refocused through a recurring engagement with Frederick Barth's approach to ethnicity. A re-examination of Barth's seminal thesis is one of the two central themes of the book, the other being an attempt to delineate, through theoretical discussion and case study, ethnicity from race and nation. These are ambitious undertakings, so how successfully has Jenkins fulfilled his aims?

The key assertion of Fredrick Barth's 1968 collection *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* is that ethnicities are not formed and divided by the 'social facts' of intrinsic cultural content, but by the process of affixing markers of differentiation in the course of interaction. Jenkins identifies Weber as the initial exponent of this approach but surprisingly ignores the more substantial and, of course, earlier contributions of

George Simmel on group formation. In any event, it is not one that Jenkins wishes to seriously depart from in itself. Rather this book should, I think, be seen as a major contribution within this tradition. In part this is achieved through recognition of the role of 'cultural stuff' in ethnic formation. However, the qualification of Barth's (and Jenkins's) original downplaying of culture relative to politics ultimately seems slight. Much more important is a compelling fifth chapter on ethnic categorisation.

Despite some modification of his original argument, Barth has continued to place a primary emphasis upon the self-definition of actors, and by extension groups, in the course of contact with others. By contrast Jenkins stresses the role of categorisation in the formation of ethnic identity. In doing so he does not wish to deny the importance of self-definition. Rather, he stresses the two processes nearly always act in tandem; generally more negative classifications given to one group by another (others) will be adapted and internalised in a more positive fashion through various procedures. The relative importance of the internal and external in group self-consciousness will depend upon the particular context. These are not especially profound insights in themselves. What *Rethinking Ethnicity* does is to provide us with a schema of categorisation from the least to the most formal. Though not exhaustive, this does present a theoretically powerful way to approach the complexities and levels of the process. Arranged along an eleven-point sliding scale, beginning with primary socialisation and culminating in official classification, Jenkins effectively maps the way in which an identity is conferred upon a group from inference, through systematic coercion to violence. Although the author does not underline the point, such analysis is contrary to the exorbitant contemporary emphasis upon malleable and multiple identities. My one reservation with the model is that the more formal means of classification – administrative allocation and organised

politics, for instance – do tend towards modernity in that they assume the existence of an organised state. There is nothing wrong with this itself, but it does question the historical utility of the schema taken as a whole in explaining ethnic formation. Ethnicity is an ancient sociological phenomena.

This takes us to the second central concern of the book. The disentangling of ethnicity from race and nation must be amongst the most difficult issues in the social sciences. Though abstract definitions can be constructed easily enough, they often seem to lack analytical purchase when confronted with the messiness of reality: where does ethnicity end and race begin, how does racism differ from nationalism, and so on? Faced with this it would seem valid to eschew definitions and, relatedly, general accounts for an accentuation of racisms, nationalisms, and so on. In part this is the approach that Jenkins favours. However, he also suggests that both race and nation should be understood as 'outgrowths' of the ubiquitous phenomena of ethnicity: like a set of Russian dolls, the innermost form being the smallest but simultaneously the most important as its shape determines the layers that enclose it. Now regardless of the qualifications made about historical specificity, this seems to me a positively unhelpful way of understanding the process, as whatever the common mechanisms of categorisation they share (and this, surprisingly, is not something Jenkins deals with), it blurs the qualitative breaks between ethnicity, race and nation. Could anyone seriously argue, for instance, that the growth of British 'scientific' racism in the nineteenth century was predicated upon a prior ethnicity or, for the sake of conceptual consistency, ethnicism? All ideologies have, of course, antecedents but to conceive of them as being organically linked in an ascending order is surely quite wrong.

There are other problems involved in the over-investment of the term 'ethnicity'. It is not clear, for instance, why Jenkins

chooses to use the term rather than 'nation' in a succinct historical materialist account of the development of identities within Northern Ireland. Ethnicity should obviously not be confined to the sociological alone, but surely the primacy of political gestation of identities in this instance makes the terms 'nations' and 'nationalisms' the more appropriate.

The reluctance to use the term 'nation' in this instance is matched by a rejection of general accounts of the subject. Here I do not think Jenkins fully acknowledges the attempts made by the various theorists to shape their approaches to this familiar criticism. Interestingly, it was an issue Ernest Gellner, who identified industrialisation as the prime mover, returned to with typical intellectual *élan* in his last piece of writing (Gellner 1996). In sum therefore, I think *Rethinking Ethnicity* succeeds far better in its first major objective than in its second. Despite this, the book is of importance and is to be recommended.

Reference

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Liverpool Hope University College

SAM PRYKE

Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan and Robert Reiner (eds.), **The Oxford Handbook of Criminology** (2nd edn), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, £75.00 (paperback £27.50), xxiv+1267 pp. (ISBN 0-1982-6297-3 hbk, 0-1982-6485-5 pbk).

Substantially revised and updated from its 1994 incarnation, this is not a book in the traditional sense, but has become an indispensable item to most students of criminology. Originally setting out to capture the teaching handbook and research market it has been largely successful and has done so using British material in the main. Edited volumes require cohesion and, in this latest

edition, an admirable job is done of marshalling disparate essays.

The added content of this Second Edition, using a massive collection of thirty-one authors, consists of the 'further reading' sections appearing at the end of every chapter. The other 'new' content is the 'general symposium' of shorter essay topics that appears in the first part of the book. These symposiums are used to provide brief insight into the myriad of concepts in criminology such as gender, ethnicity and left realist criminology.

The book is split into four parts: (1) General Theories of Crime and Control, (2) Social Dimensions of Crime and Justice, (3) Forms of Crime and Criminality, and (4) Criminal Justice Structures and Processes. The largest section is the first, split into three subsections, covering some 565 pages on its own. Due to the size of the volume, a summary of only a selection of chapters/sections will be possible here.

As this is essentially a text book, some of the early contributions are a little basic, but logically preface more complex material. Emsley, for example, examines the history of crime control institutions up to 1945 and in investigating the offender and police he uncovers both statistics and the social background to crime and its control. Downes and Morgan continue by analysing post-war trends, followed by Maguire who examines the 'production of new knowledge' about crime, incorporating the 'crime surveys' and 'victimology'. The next subsection provides insight into the theories of crime, from functionalism, to crime and late modernity, by way of politics and economics. This is a mammoth task to marshal and the authors do a grand job of keeping things together.

This is followed by the only symposium in the book of shorter pieces, examining some of the reasoning behind offending (feminism, masculinity, social control, the law and comparative analysis). These pieces are useful in that the reader is able to get to grips with the

many ideas in summary, though he/she has to make the linkages between topics and any critique of them and, for that matter, any other impinging theories within the chapters. This makes the symposium very descriptive, which provides useful information for undergraduates but stops short of the critical debate that researchers require.

Part II deals with the social dimensions of crime and has five chapters on victims, youth, gender, ethnicity and mental disorder. These are more substantial contributions, though they still have elements of the earlier descriptive chapters. Smith's chapter on ethnicity, for example, starts off by questioning the differences between 'stops' and arrests of black and white youths, and manages to *examine* the 1980s riots in two paragraphs. However, this chapter covers so many aspects of race and criminality that the reader is left asking themselves 'So what?'

This tends to be the course of the book in Part III on 'Forms of Crime'. This part examines youth gangs, violent crime, white-collar crime and drugs. It is Nelken's chapter on white-collar crime that shines here. He attempts to contrast white-collar with 'ordinary' crime while uncovering issues of power and the state.

Finally Part IV on 'Criminal Justice Structures' deals with crime prevention, policing the police, trials, sentencing, imprisonment and alternative sentences. The chapter by Saunders on how the criminal justice system finds its *victims* from the streets to trial is fascinating and illustrates an in-depth approach. Saunders, for example, examines how police officers make decisions about whether or not to arrest individuals and discusses methods of dealing with the police once a person is 'detained' at the police station. In some senses this is a manual for what to do if you are arrested, but it works well and the detail is good. It is this last section which will be of most use to researchers seeking to ground their fieldwork in the law as all chapters here give insight into the way the law is used in practice.

This volume has obviously been a

labour of love for the authors as they have persuaded the very best out of their contributors. The depth of knowledge is staggering, whole course outlines could be written from this text. It is difficult to criticise a book that does so much for the study of criminology by undergraduates, but if there is one remaining doubt, it is the over-emphasis on description without answers to any of the specific questions posed. Very good undergraduate contributions, but it does not quite meet the research mark.

University of Leicester

GRANT COATES

Philip A. Mellor and Chris Shilling,
**Re-forming the Body: Religion,
 Community and Modernity**,
 London, Sage, 1997, £40.00 (paper-
 back £13.95), vi+234 pp. (ISBN 0-
 839-7723-9).

This is fundamentally a very good book, but its virtues are almost obliterated by some unfortunate (and unfortunately popular) characteristics. At its heart is an interesting examination of successive changes in how we see the body (medieval, modern Protestant and baroque modern) and an accompanying discussion of major social, cultural, political and economic changes. Concentrating on the body allows the authors an interestingly novel take on the standard secularisation, rationalisation and decline of community accounts of social evolution and introduces a sociological audience to stories about disciplines of the body familiar to historians of religion.

If I dwell on the book's faults it is not because the core is not worthwhile. Rather, it is because the core is potentially so interesting that I am saddened that the book's presentational vices will prevent it achieving the audience it deserves.

One minor problem is the almost exclusive use of the term 'body'. While the authors rightly want to stress what is novel about their approach, they unhelpfully disguise the continuities

between it and more conventional sociology and history by talking about 'bodies' when they mean 'people'. For example, they write: 'the relationships between Catholicism and medieval modes of property inheritance ... accorded women's bodies a special importance in the reproduction of community, the transmission of wealth and the forging of political alliances' (p. 113). True, but unless men married dead women, the subject of the sentence loses nothing by being rendered as just 'women'. It is true that people are 'embodied' but in many settings the observation is trite and to be reminded of it constantly weakens rather than strengthens the case for those places where embodiment is important.

A second minor irritation is the occasional and rather unconvincing foray into futurology. For example, in discussing 'cognitive body options', Mellor and Shilling say: 'While earlier body projects help us explore the possibilities of living in *one* body, the options associated with virtual reality and cyber-technologies promise us the potential of exploring and even occupying bodies which differ substantially according to time and place' (p. 49). Any discussion of virtual reality should remember the present reality of two-year waiting lists for hip replacements and PCs that do not work very well.

A bigger problem is that the text is massively over-referenced and shows the limits of the source-in-text citation system. The bibliography cites about 1,000 items and most are referred to many times. Worse, for old sources, both the original and the reprint dates are given in the text. This means that parenthetical source citations sometimes take more space on a line than does the authors' original prose. The result is a text that is fragmented and difficult to follow.

Furthermore, in places the references seem to serve little purpose other than to prove that the authors have read a lot. Clearly, when one's subject-matter is almost everything since the Middle Ages, the literature which one might want to

cite is unconfined. Given that many authorities are introduced only to be discussed very briefly and then criticised, I cannot help but think that the authors would have been better advised to concentrate on elaborating their own account and relegate much of the display of erudition to an appendix or a number of journal articles. Not to cite one's sources may leave one open to the accusation of plagiarism or ignorance, but running those risks is surely preferable to producing a text that is unnecessarily difficult to read.

That much has been lost by the book's style is clear in those passages where Mellor and Shilling concentrate on their own narrative. Then the text sings. Anyone interested in the social history of the body should persevere. Unfortunately, even those who learn from the book are unlikely to find it useful for their students.

University of Aberdeen

STEVE BRUCE

Robert Moore, **Positive Action in Action: Equal Opportunities and Declining Opportunities in Merseyside**, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997, £32.50, xi+129 pp. (ISBN 1-84014-108-5).

This book is an account of the development of an equal opportunities and positive action plan, over a five-year period, within one particular civil service department – the VAT Headquarters of HM Customs and Excise based at Queen's Dock in Liverpool.

The first chapter briefly comments on a number of issues surrounding the concept of 'race' and ethnicity as well as the origins and development of equal opportunities legislation and practices within Britain. It also sketches the economic and political context that gave support to equal opportunity measures in the 1980s, notwithstanding the pre-eminence of a government fiercely committed to deregulation and neo-liberal policies. The definition, implications and

functions of positive action measures are discussed in this context. The next three chapters turn to a detailed account of the background, development and outcomes of equal opportunities and positive action initiatives within the research organisation. These are placed in the context of the changing organisational structure, business operations and staffing profile of Customs and Excise as well as shifts in national policies towards the civil service. Through a detailed analysis of recruitment practices and procedures, various potential sources of bias in selection decisions are revealed, particularly with reference to the role of educational qualifications and questionnaires used to construct biographical profiles. There follows a close examination of a number of targeted recruitment campaigns, launched in 1994 and 1995, with respect to administrative posts based at Queen's Dock. These aimed to increase the proportion of ethnic minority applicants and recruits resident in areas of the city with high levels of deprivation, such as Liverpool 8. The initial success and subsequent disappointment of these initiatives is explained through an exploration of networks of relationships within the organisation as well as between the organisation and other local agencies and community groups. The final chapter steps back from the detailed history in order to highlight some general implications of the case study.

Many important and interesting lessons emerge from this analysis. The need to monitor practices and procedures throughout recruitment and training processes, and not to rely just on statistics of 'inputs' and 'outputs', is demonstrated. The great difficulty in carrying out such monitoring when numbers of relevant applicants are very small also emerges. It is shown that the reception of equal opportunities policies by staff can be shaped by anxieties and resentments generated by other organisational and labour market changes and struggles. The effects of friction between local agencies and contradictions between the goals of different elements of

central government policies are made apparent. It is shown that fear of racism, as well as hostility from local community representatives who adopt a confrontational leadership style, can reduce applications from, and the morale of, ethnic minority job seekers. The potentiality and the limitations of positive action in overcoming long-standing legacies of discrimination and disadvantage are discussed.

As the author comments, it was both brave and laudable for Customs & Excise to open up their operations so fully and extensively to a researcher. Robert Moore has made excellent use of this opportunity and presents a fascinating history and analysis of events. The distinctive feature of this study is the focus on one organisation over a much longer time scale than is usually possible in research of this kind. This has enabled the author to construct an in-depth, processual account that explores relationships within the organisation, interactions between the organisation and other agencies, and the impact of the broader economic and political context at the local community level. Although the text is relatively short, throughout the discussion is rich in thoughtful and thought-provoking observations. A surprising omission is that of a more elaborate discussion of the intersection of gender divisions in the labour market with those of 'race' and ethnicity. There is also scope in the final chapter for a more systematic and wide-ranging consideration of the broader implications of the study. Nevertheless, the book is a most useful addition to our knowledge and understanding of equal opportunities policies and programmes at the workplace.

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Ann Oakley and John Ashton (eds.), **The Gift Relationship: From Human Blood to Social Policy** by Richard M. Titmuss (original edition with new chapters), London: London School of Economics and Political

Sciences, 1997, £14.99, viii+360 pp. (ISBN 0-7530-1201-4).

When *The Gift Relationship* was first published in 1970 (before my time) it was generally well received and provided much discussion. The book had a major influence upon social policy, for example, the US National Blood Policy in the mid 1970s. This book is still the only comparative study of the organisation of national blood supply in Britain and the United States. In this new edition outdated material, including the original Preface and Appendices, has been removed. The editors aim 'to preserve the original power and arguments of Titmuss's text in such a way that they can be read as relevant to the situation today' (p. 4), whilst five chapters have been added: a new 'Introduction' by Ann Oakley and John Ashton, 'AIDS and the Gift Relationship in the UK', by Virginia Berridge, 'Transfusion Medicine towards the Millennium', by Vanessa Martlew, 'A Mother's Gift: The Milk of Human Kindness', by Gillian Weaver and A. Susan Williams, and an 'Afterword' by Julian Le Grand.

Titmuss made the link between the way blood was supplied and the quality of that blood. In the United States, where blood is treated as a commodity, individuals can make money by selling their blood. This will attract people who have an incentive to lie about their health status. Titmuss (pp. 129–30) quotes Del Prete who argued that the individual who sells their blood and 'who might need money to buy food and other necessities of life is a person who cannot be trusted.' In Britain, voluntary donors do not have the same financial incentive to lie about their health, therefore the quality of blood collected by blood transfusion centres is much safer. This argument seems to have been widely accepted at the time. Le Grand in his 'Afterword' (p. 334) argues that it 'has not been borne out by experience either in the NHS or the USA' that the voluntary system always does better. On Sunday 12 October 1997 BBC radio announced an urgent call from the

British Government for additional blood donors in certain parts of England to come forward to avoid a shortage in blood stocks. Berridge (p. 21) provides another example indicating that it is not simply voluntary donations that make blood safer, but the way the blood donation is organised. Although the English and Scottish blood transfusion services both rely on voluntary donations: 'The Scottish service was centrally organised and achieved self-sufficiency in the early 1980s; this, it was later argued, was a prime reason why the spread of HIV among haemophiliacs in Scotland was so limited; (p. 21). Berridge goes on to suggest that: 'the value of altruism in ensuring a safe blood supply was both vitiated and shown to be more complex' (p. 15) in the HIV era. Moreover, Berridge (p. 16) noted that although blood donation in Britain and elsewhere in Europe is voluntary, this volunteer image 'fronted systems which had become highly dependent on commercial sources . . . Plasma brokers operated with blood as their commodity like any other' as part of the international trade in blood products. Martlew's chapter outlines the technological changes which have taken place over the past two decades which led to an increased demand for blood products. 'In 1975, 90 per cent of blood donations in the UK were transfused as whole blood. Twenty years later, more than 95 per cent of blood collected is processed to make one or more additional products' (p. 43). The chapter by Weaver and Williams offers a fascinating historical overview of the development and decline of human milk banks in Britain. Although they point out that in the 1990s all donors are 'Voluntary Community Donors', i.e. Type H in Titmuss's typology, this chapter could have referred a little more to the main arguments put forward in *The Gift Relationship*.

Titmuss took the argument for voluntary blood donation, at least, one step further by suggesting that an altruistic system of voluntary donations is morally superior, because markets are both

inefficient and 'degrading for society as a whole' (p. 334). The new chapters address economic, sociological, historical and medical issues and place Titmuss's original points in a contemporary context, but his moral argument is still the major strength of this book.

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EDWIN VAN TEIJLINGEN

James B. Rule, **Theory and Progress in Social Science**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, paperback £14.95, xiv+257 pp. (ISBN 0-5212-57494-3).

The aim of this text is 'to judge the "staying power" of various forms of theoretical insight and the implications of such judgement for our expectations of intellectual progress' (p. 17). The basis of this judgement is the extent to which theories comply with three broad criteria. Firstly, Rule argues those theories that are 'best' supported by empirical inquiry and evidence are likely to be those that survive. Secondly, theoretical progress is to be judged by a theory's potential to address 'a core of historically enduring questions' which emerge from 'the endemic tensions of social life' (p. 45). Examples of core of 'first order' questions include the causes of deviance, war and civil violence, or the changing character of social stratification and family organisation. Theories which address less significant 'second order questions', those which do not emerge directly from social life but from within the process of social scientific analysis, are less likely to facilitate progress. Examples of such second order questions include the differences in the engagement of white- and blue-collar workers in production, and the nature and function of institutional integration in a particular society. Thirdly, Rule argues, only those theories which explicitly regulate their 'expressive' (experiential and aesthetic) and 'coping' (social structural) orientation will be progressive. Progress in social

science can only be achieved through the development of theories which privilege coping over expressivity, in other words those which are pragmatic and contribute directly to the understanding and solution of social problems.

Progress in social theory is initially considered via a discussion of the 'two' approaches to the sociological study of science perspectives, the Mertonian and the 'constructivist' and their ability to meet these criteria. Unfortunately, Rule does not address an important third approach, that of critical realism. This omission limits the usefulness of his discussion.

Whilst giving a fair appraisal of the merits of the work of Merton, Rule's treatment of constructivism is somewhat partial. He fails to address important differences within social constructivist approaches, presenting only a caricature of a strong constructivist approach. Constructivism, he asserts, does not acknowledge a reality beyond the consciousness of the analyst. This leads to theoretical representations of reality which are not subject to empirical constraint. Constructivism is therefore too expressive, insufficiently pragmatic and incapable of addressing first order questions. As an example of the shortcomings of constructivism, Rule cites ethnomethodology. However, he does not seem to be familiar with developments in European social theory, for example, the work of Potter and Wetherall (1992) which by means of synthesis uses ethnomethodology in a fruitful way.

The tendency to reduce the complexities of theoretical approaches, which ostensibly pay insufficient attention to first order questions and which have little apparent pragmatic pay off, reoccurs throughout this text. For example, the treatment of hermeneutics, psychoanalysis and the theoretical work of Jeffrey Alexander tends to be oversimplified. Rule parsimoniously dismisses Alexander's work as an example of 'the pretentious pronouncements of twentieth-century general theory' (p. 114), which

are irrelevant to theoretical progress. Indeed, Alexander's contention that meta-theoretical assumptions significantly affect substantive theoretical choices, Rule suggests, leads to relativism. Thus, general theory imposes too many analytical closures, is too expressive and lacks pragmatic value. Once again, a more nuanced approach facilitated by a critical realist reading of the relationship between ontology and epistemology would have advanced the discussion at this point.

The tendency towards oversimplification is evident once more in the discussion of feminist analysis in social science. The complexities of the theoretical position and accompanying research agenda contained in the work of Stanley and Wise, for example, is dismissed because of their explicit commitment to a feminist standpoint. This commitment, Rule alleges, must of necessity produce results which have been specified in advance. Unlike Rule, Stanley and Wise do not make 'sweeping theoretical claims' (p. 151) but rather conduct a close and careful analysis of vitally important ontological and epistemological questions. This analysis enables the elucidation of the social constitution of experience and the taken-for-grantedness of the quotidian. Furthermore, Rule dismisses the possibility of a distinctly feminist approach to scientific and social scientific analysis advocated, for example, by Harding, which privileges 'relatedness' rather than causal relations. For Rule the tenets of feminism are 'like the principles of sound thinking that one could find applied in many familiar forms of social and political inquiry' (p. 167)!

Theory and Progress in Social Science contains a useful discussion of Rational Choice theory in both its weak and strong variants and an interesting insight into the work of American Network Analysis. It also usefully highlights that all theories perform particular analytical closures which are associated with their internal logic and claims to distinctiveness. Rule's contention that theoretical

popularity is dependent, in part, upon 'expressive appeal' which elicits personal commitment is important. As he observes, a theory's popularity is not simply the result of intellectual coherence or usefulness but is related to particular social-historical preoccupations, desires, academic identities and career advancement which do not necessarily contribute much to progress in social science. Rule offers a timely warning of the dangers of viewing theoretical success in terms of a theory's or theoretician's ability to generate interest and to the empty faddishness that the current climate of 'publish or perish' induces.

In sum, the Enlightenment-like notion of progress deployed in this text is too narrow. Social science requires more modest and generous criteria for assessing theoretical value rather than that of contribution to the progress of practical reason. Moreover, the absence of any engagement with critical realism and European social theory, for example the work of Bourdieu, Foucault, Giddens, Lyotard or Habermas, renders this text of limited use for European academics and students.

References

- J. Potter and M. Wetherall, 1992, *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation* London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

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- Lynne Segal (ed.), **New Sexual Agendas**, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997, £42.50 (paperback £15.99), xviii+278 pp. (ISBN 0-333-67568-1).

New Sexual Agendas focuses on the complex ways in which gender, sexuality and human identity are interlinked. This is an edited collection, arising from a cross-disciplinary conference on gender and sexuality held at Middlesex University in July 1995. A variety of

perspectives are adopted in the book, including social history, social policy, sociology, feminism, psychoanalysis and Queer Theory. The nineteen diverse chapters are organised in three sections: I Historical Roots, New Shoots; II Medicine and Morality; and III Sexual Subjectivities, Social Conflicts.

Section I begins with two chapters which are largely historical. Lesley Hall reconsiders the contribution of the Victorian sexologists, acknowledging that their resistance of social disapproval allowed the subject of sexuality to be brought into open discussion. Bland and Mort go on to argue for a new set of interdisciplinary concepts for the study of sexuality, which include identity, language and subjectivity. Stephen Frosh assesses the contribution that psychoanalysis has made, by questioning the 'fixed' nature of sexuality. He sees sexual identities as 'provisional'; that is, they can change if we allow them to. Jeffery Weeks's chapter is concerned with rethinking sexual values, proposing four central concepts: 'care', 'responsibility', 'respect', and 'knowledge'. Weeks proposes that these four values be developed into what he calls a 'love ethic'.

Bob Connell argues that there is a social structure in sexual identity, just as there is in social class or race. We can therefore identify the structural inequalities which give rise to sexual oppression, in the same way that we can identify class, gender or ethnic inequalities. Lynne Segal considers the apparent tensions between feminist sexual politics and heterosexuality, arguing strongly that heterosexual women, like everyone else, should be allowed to fuck. Section I concludes with Martin Durham's analysis of New Right policies, both here and in the United States. Durham concludes that Conservative calls for a return to basics (the two-parent cereal packet family) are based on economic reasons (reduction of welfare expenditure) and social reasons (reduction in crime, educational underachievement, homelessness and so on).

Section II opens with chapters by Leonore Tiefer and Graham Hart, which focus on the increasing medicalisation of sexuality, and the increase in expert services and health promotion. Related to this, Carla Willig questions the extent to which trust is a healthy and desirable attribute in the negotiation of safe sex practices. Andrew Samuels explores how psychoanalysis might inform policy making and political processes, while Jane Ussher argues for a greater understanding of the symbolic importance of the phallus within lesbian sexuality.

In Section III, Ine Vanwesenbeeck draws on her research into prostitution in considering the context of women's power and powerlessness in heterosexual interactions. Prendergast and Forrest explore the connection between gendered group behaviours and learning about heterosexuality in school. Alan Sinfield's paper on Queer identities, argues that lesbians and gay men, as a group, have similarities with ethnic groups, and therefore, political advancement for lesbians and gay men might follow the model of the Black Civil Rights movement.

Mary McIntosh's paper provides a critical review of approaches to the study of the lives of lesbians and gay men, before arguing for a lesbian and gay 'standpoint' approach. Anne Marie Smith focuses on what she calls the 'new homophobia' which promises social inclusion in return for the transformation from the politically active 'dangerous queer' to the 'good homosexual', who is closeted, monogamous, white and middle-class. Mandy Merck's paper provides a critical appraisal of contributions to the 'feminism versus fucking' debate. However, the most original chapter title is that of the final chapter by Jill Lewis, entitled: 'So How Did Your Condom Use Go Last Night Daddy? Sex Talk and Daily Life'. Lewis notes that despite the existence of HIV and AIDS, there is very little everyday discussion of

safe sex practices. Accordingly, safe sex will only happen if there is a will to change the way we talk about sex.

My main criticism of the book is that the 'Sexual Agendas' under discussion are not entirely 'New'; many of the ideas have been raised elsewhere. For example, many commentators since Foucault have debated the adequacy of early British sexology. Feminists have long debated the tensions between feminism and heterosexual relations. Weeks's contribution is more fully developed in his book *Invented Moralities* (1995) and psychoanalytic approaches to sexuality have proliferated in response to the work of writers such as Freud, Lacan and Irigaray.

A second criticism is that perhaps the most important 'agenda' is neglected. Whilst Martin Durham's chapter outlines 'Conservative Agendas and Government Policy', there is no discussion in the book of how these policies can be countered. For example, there is little mention of issues such as the repeal of Section 28, the equalising of the age of consent for both heterosexual and homosexual relations, rights of inheritance for gay partners, or a full, frank and anti-discriminatory approach to sex education in schools. A missed opportunity, perhaps.

Nevertheless, the book raises numerous issues for further research and theorising about human sexuality and provides an important contribution to recent debates. It brings together a number of interesting and stimulating ideas about human sexuality into one volume. As a 'reader' on sexuality, it will prove to be a very useful collection.

Reference

- J. Weeks, 1995, *Invented Moralities: Sexual Values in an Age of Uncertainty*. Cambridge: Polity.

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