



**Review of: Knud V. Jespersen, A History of Denmark, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004**

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### **Possible Paradises: Basque Emigration to Latin America**

Foreword by William A. Douglass, Translation by Roland Vazquez

José Manuel Azcona Pastor

University of Nevada Press, 2002, 568 pp., ISBN 0 87417 444 9 (hbk)

Azcona Pastor gives an excellent—and anecdotally detailed—description of the activities of Basque individuals in the colonization period of Latin America. His historical approach is to provide summaries of many previously published works, and to add his own research regarding the singular experiences of Basque individuals. The author details a number of people and commercial maritime networks of Basque origin and follows their colonial movements in the territories of the New World. He recounts from previous publications how individuals of Basque heritage participated in Castilian and Spanish economic and political administration.

This text provides a wealth of names, dates and places, which can be used by other social scientists in more analytical frameworks. Azcona repeats many of William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao's analyses of the factors of involvement of Basques in the New World. His own work provides no new interpretations; however, to have these historical details and anecdotes compiled in one volume is especially helpful to all students of Spanish and Basque colonial history in Latin America.

The work focuses on established studies of men and the male labour experience. It lacks research on issues of female migration, and any mention of the female experience, or even feminist theory. Azcona's hundreds of examples of Basque males' involvement give the reader ample illustration of the significance of the opening of the colonies and later newly independent republics requesting Basque immigration. This societal escape valve could be researched in the future for the effects on homeland culture, society, and identity. He also shows the importance of old and new world ties, such as with the Royal Basque Society of Friends established formally in 1765. The relations among Basques demonstrate collaborative commercial, educational, and intellectual purposes and objectives along with ethnic solidarity.

The great majority of the examples comes from the Spanish provinces, with a few references from previously published works regarding the northern Basque territories in France. Though the description is especially useful, there is no analysis regarding the similarities or differences among the experiences, factors of migration, or historical, sociological, religious, gender, political or economic issues involved in these departures. Neither is there analysis of the similarities and differences among rural and urban, coastal and interior, French or Spanish migrants. Theories of migration are not included in this work, and there is generally a lack of reference to recent publications regarding the Hispanic Atlantic and European migration studies, leaving the bibliography a bit dated and focused on descriptive history only. This is not

a sociological, economic or political study and the overall work is specifically descriptive, not analytical or theoretical.

There are several examples where Azcona Pastor's given data contradicts his own later summaries (sometimes in the same paragraph), and other examples of his blanket acceptance of past works. Discussion of Basque emigration factors earnestly begin at page 140. A more appropriate title might have been Basque 'immigration' since the majority of the book deals with Basques in the New World (not the homeland) and their activities in the host societies, not the history or factors or experiences of their leaving their original territory.

Very interesting and detailed information about emigration departures begins after the first 300 pages of text. Azcona describes deceptions practiced between Basque migration agents and Basque migrants in the nineteenth Century. In a study of emigration it would be interesting to have data and analysis of the impact on those who stayed. How was the Basque family structure influenced? How were gender roles affected and what sociological consequences can be tracked to emigration out of a small society? There is no discussion as to why Basque migration switched directions and began flooding the western United States, nor of the factors which influenced a change in the choice away from Latin America. There is mention but no analysis of the long-lasting ramifications of the Spanish Civil War exiles that descend upon the existing Latin American Basque communities by the thousands in the 1930s and 1940s.

The final chapter on the future of the Basque-American communities is quite dated (some details are factually erroneous), relying on information from the First World Congress of Basque Collectivities from 1995. The shorter than expected bibliography mentions only a few works by the 'fathers' of Basque migration and diaspora studies, but it seems that Azcona draws heavily on information and numerous works and sources previously published by Douglass and Bilbao.

The level of specifics in anecdotes is impressive and it would be helpful to researchers to have similar detail in the citation and footnotes. Generalizations are made but not supported with citations, making it difficult to track the information and delve further into the issues. The appendix (pp. 425–472) includes excellent itemized tables of individual Basques and their personal and commercial activities. The facts in the anecdotes and tables are interesting and especially useful for social scientists who will utilize these data to augment their theories. This publication will be especially useful to students of history and a must read for beginning specialists in Basque involvement in Latin America.

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**Banking on Death or Investing in Life: The History and Future of Pensions**

Robin Blackburn

Verso, 2002, 550 pp., £15.00, ISBN 1 85984 409 X (pbk)

This comprehensive survey and assessment of retirement benefit arrangements has a number of clear strengths. First, although the author's particular arguments are informed

by a socialist normative framework, they depart in significant ways from the precepts of the Western European model of citizenship. In particular, Blackburn insists that population ageing is a very real threat to the long-term sustainability of public pension schemes, which are financed on a pay-as-you-go (PAYG) basis. This requires the adoption of a robust degree of funding, where people are required to save for their retirement, for as the author maintains, there is 'no such thing as a free lunch' (p. 470). Second, the author details a number of contingencies that undermine the capacity of welfare markets to deliver satisfactory retirement benefits: a lack of accountability—by virtue of their deferred earnings, workers own much of the industrial economy, yet they have few opportunities to influence the administration of these vast resources; a lack of transparency—private retirement benefit schemes are administered in the context of an organisational culture that stifles the disclosure of accurate information regarding their design and performance; capital market instability—financial markets have a number of characteristics that undermine the value of accumulated savings, jeopardising retirement benefits; inequality—private pension arrangements have failed to incorporate citizenship entitlements, which disadvantages those at the margins of the labour market; and ultimately, ontological insecurity—the private sector cannot meet the expected retirement benefit futures of many people, which undermines public confidence and deters saving.

Although this book provides a lucid and compelling critique of private pension arrangements, it has a number of flaws. First, it fails to develop a robust distinction between qualitatively distinct types of private pension arrangement. Blackburn locates retirement benefit reform in the context of a distinction between two cultural traditions: the 'puritan' tradition of thrift, enterprise and individual responsibility, and the 'baroque' tradition of a 'well ordered public space and beneficent, universal public power' (p. 34). The puritan tradition is 'still invoked by the Anglo-American pension fund industry' (p. 34), while the baroque tradition is reflected in the public retirement benefit schemes of Western Europe. According to this analysis, it is not surprising to learn that the puritan tradition has been aligned with liberal welfare states which, we are told, have residual public first tier provision and extensive private second and third tier provision, while the baroque tradition manifests in social democratic and conservative welfare state forms, where public first and second tier provision is extensive, and private provision is negligible. Interestingly, Blackburn considers the possibility of a number of distinctive privatisation approaches that could be located within the baroque tradition of collective responsibility, including cases of 'a privately delivered PAYG system' (p. 72), but this is dismissed as irrelevant because it has not been adopted in the real world of retirement benefit reform: such approaches have been avoided 'partly because it might look as if the government was lending its sanction to a dubious commercial practice, and partly because public administrations have always proved equal to the task of running PAYG schemes' (pp. 72-73). In effect, Blackburn's analysis implies a single retirement benefit privatisation model, located firmly within the puritan tradition of Anglo-Saxon economics. Yet it is clear that privatisation is much broader in scope than this model might suggest. As Blackburn acknowledges, French second tier PAYG pensions are administered by non-statutory agents, the social partners. Additionally, Finnish state sponsored second tier pensions, which entail a degree of PAYG financing, are delivered by the corporate sector. Clearly, such reforms entail significant elements of non-state administration, yet they are located firmly within the baroque tradition of collective responsibility.<sup>1</sup>

Second, any extant public authority might express reservations about the daunting prospect of implementing Blackburn's preferred reform strategy, which he believes should replace existing retirement benefit arrangements. This includes a robust approach to vertical income redistribution, the share levy, which would require companies to issue new and substantial shares annually, at a rate of 10-20 percent of profits, to fund universal second-tier pension schemes. It also requires a stakeholder-led approach to provision, which would permit membership organisations, particularly those that represent the 'working class', to sponsor retirement benefit schemes, and substantial multi-tiered statutory regulatory requirements to ensure that these arrangements are enforced. Whilst it is difficult to disagree with the principles that underlie this reform model, particularly inclusiveness and benefit security, the complexity of the socio-economic-planning that it would entail, and onerous demands that it would place on the corporate sector, which of course drives wealth creation and the diffusion of economic prosperity, are overwhelming. A more expedient approach to reform may be to introduce a limited and clear set of enforceable statutory requirements to ensure that extant private provision complies with the public interest, however defined, or simply to introduce a robust degree of funding to public retirement benefit programmes. Either way, it should be acknowledged that the ultimate requirement for the success of Blackburn's preferred reform approach, the (gradual) abolition of capitalism, is not on the immediate policy agenda in any national jurisdiction.

Overall, this is an excellent analysis and critique of existing retirement benefit arrangements, particularly those that are administered by the commercial-for-profit sector, but its ambitious reform agenda extends beyond the intellectual, normative and political horizons of those who are currently responsible for framing and delivering retirement benefit provision.

*Mark Hyde*  
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### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The distinction between different types of private retirement benefit arrangement is dealt with robustly in Dixon, J., Hyde, M. and Drover, G. (2005) *The Privatisation of mandatory retirement benefits: international lessons* (Ceredigion: Edwin Mellen Press), forthcoming.

### **The Longman Handbook of Twentieth Century Europe**

Chris Cook & John Stevenson

Longman, 2003, 404 pp., £21.99, ISBN 0 582 23508 1 (pbk)

This is not a history book; it is a reference book of dates and thumbnail descriptions—a Yellow Pages of selected classified facts and events in twentieth-century Europe. As such it may respond to demand for 'back to basics' approaches to history, concentration on traditional historiography, and critiques of relativism. Here is 'the essential material on all the major themes of this key period', the preface confidently states, including

‘those facts and figures which we believe are most useful for understanding courses in twentieth-century history and politics’. While it does not claim that its 400 pages are ‘entirely comprehensive’, or a ‘substitute for textbooks or more detailed reading’, the clear implication is that it nevertheless contains the core of what one needs to know to understand the subject and the period.

This is a dubious sales pitch, for such a fragmented set of listings of the ‘whats’ of a period, even if it were 4000 pages long, could not address the ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions without which an understanding of history is inconceivable. A skeleton of verifiable or uncontested facts and figures is a practical pre-requisite for historians’ discourse, but it cannot make unquestioning claims to truth or essence, nor does it add up to a coherent narrative or credible body of analysis.

The compilers see it as a ‘much condensed work, bringing together chronological, statistical and tabular information which is not to be found elsewhere within the confines of a single volume’. They thus justify it in terms of distilling the salience out of objective subject matter, and somehow producing its concentrate—just add water and the full picture will emerge—and in terms of originality, insofar as the concoction contains slightly different ingredients from previous reference works. It may be questioned, however, whether here ‘condensation’ does not in fact just mean selectivity and omission—conscious or unconscious value laden judgements—and whether the marginally widened choice of ingredients does not represent just another unacknowledged way of framing the reader’s view of the subject rather than simply a better (since broader) compendium.

Setting aside these doubts for the moment, this volume may have its uses and its public. A book of facts on the shelf can, even in the computerised strata of the world, sometimes be quicker and easier than an Internet search. A brief *résumé* will allow readers to make up their minds.

The book is divided into seven sections, of which the first, entitled ‘Topic outlines’ is by far the longest. It consists of 147 pages of dates relating to particular events or places. There are sixteen subsections, taking us from ‘The first World War’ to ‘The Road to European Union’ via ‘The Russian Revolution’, ‘The Holocaust’ and so on.

The second section, ‘Nations, rulers and ministers’, provides an alphabetical list of European nations, listing twentieth-century heads of state and sometimes also heads of government.

Section Three covers ‘War, diplomacy and international organisations’. This packages together chronological lists of one paragraph descriptions of: ‘Wars and campaigns in Europe’ and ‘Wars of decolonisation’; Europe focused date lists of ‘Nuclear rivalry and arms control’ and ‘Treaties and alliances’, and a glossary of international organisations with lists of their respective presidents and secretaries general.

Section Four deals with ‘Social and Economic History’. The economic side is covered by just twelve statistical charts, comparing population, output and consumption of selected materials and commodities in selected countries across the decades. The social side limits itself to short date lists on religious history, anti-Semitism and Zionism, women’s emancipation and social welfare.

Section Five gives an alphabetical selection of paragraph long biographies of about 140 famous Europeans, mostly politicians and rulers, from Adenauer to Zinoviev, while section Six offers an alphabetical glossary of terms—scope and rationale not defined.

Finally, Section Seven provides select bibliographies for eighteen topics, including key documents, a few secondary works and two or three essay topics for each.

It is all too easy to criticise such a volume for omissions, inconsistencies, over-simplifications and distortions, large and small. It does include a substantial collection of key facts and significant detail whose inclusion few would dispute. However, beyond this, the compilers make no attempt to explain their priorities or question the authority or values around which the book is structured and according to which its choices are made. For them, such small matters are, we have to suppose, self-evident. But why are the sections on economic and social history so ludicrously sketchy? Why are there no sections at all on cultural history, history of ideas, or history of science and technology? Why is there a table dealing with emigration from (selected parts of) Europe, but none showing migration into or within Europe? Why are there no indices of wealth and poverty? Why, apart from women's emancipation, is there virtually no record of struggles for social justice? Why are environmental issues virtually ignored? Such questions could continue for pages and extend into the discursive detail of how events are summarised and described, and how through the foregrounding of particular facts and figures at the expense of others important controversies and historiographical disputes are glossed over.

Although perhaps no book of this kind could escape such comments, this one seems to wear its blinkers without even being aware of them, missing therefore dimensions of Europe and perspectives on its twentieth-century history that could have made it a livelier, more valuable and more reflective source and reference work for the students and teachers for whom it is intended.

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### **Organic Farming: Policies and Prospects**

Stephan Dabbert, Anna Maria Häring and Raffaele Zanolli  
ZED Books, 2004, 169 pp., £14.95, ISBN 1 84277 327 5 (pbk)

This informative book reflects the institutionalisation and regulation of the organic farming movement which emerged as a reaction to the modernisation and industrialisation of farming from the early to mid-twentieth century. The focus is on the EU, although the wider international context is also discussed. Drawing upon the authors' involvement in EU-funded research projects concerning organic agriculture, the book is strongly policy-oriented, concerned with developing an argument for EU intervention in organic farming and identifying effective modes of intervention. This type of analysis sets the book apart from much research which has worked at the farm-scale, and from the increasing amount of research which focuses on consumption and the socio-cultural contexts of organic food and farming. The book is thus valuable in thinking through the implications for organic farming of changing policy contexts, and the implications for policymaking of the increased significance of the organic farming 'movement'. Nevertheless, the policy-level agenda of the book does seem to distance its content from the grounded experience of those involved in the 'movement', and it should be considered alongside other literatures

which present alternative readings of the nature and importance of organic farming in contemporary society.

The book begins by outlining a shift in the role of organic farming in the EU, from being part of a 'lunatic fringe' to being perceived as a potential instrument for implementing EU policy objectives. This move has implied a need for the EU to more closely define and regulate organic farming, and for organic farming advocates to become effective lobbyists. From this opening argument about the changing significance of organic farming to EU agricultural policy, the second chapter of the book overviews the 'state of play' of organic farming in the EU and elsewhere. Contrasting the growth of the organic farming sector with the sense of 'crisis' afflicting many other agricultural sectors, and well-illustrated with maps, tables and figures, detailed coverage is given of the geographical distribution of organic farming, different market and institutional contexts, organic research and development, and different approaches to organic standards, certification and labelling. Country-level case studies illustrate the particularities of different situations and draw attention to the spatially variable nature of the organic sector.

Following this, chapter three takes a more explicitly EU-oriented perspective, enquiring into the ability of organic farming to contribute to meeting policy objectives concerning the environment, rural development, EU economic competitiveness, and reduction of financial support for agriculture. A detailed appraisal is made of organic farming's performance against policy criteria in these areas, and, except in regard to the mainly positive assessment of the environmental credentials of organic farming, suitably cautious conclusions are drawn. This appraisal leads to the central question posed by the book, concerning whether EU government support for organic farming can be legitimised. Drawing the conclusion that organic farming can be viewed as a public good, and recognising that the market does not function well in relation to such goods, the authors maintain that a case can be made for public financial support. Given that, the fourth chapter is concerned with the possibilities for such support in a changing international policy context, in which there are pressures for deregulation and a reduction in market-distorting direct agricultural subsidies. More locally, recent and prospective enlargement of the EU is also clearly an important factor, with support for organic farming as part of rural development strategies for accession states potentially having detrimental effects on producers in existing EU states. Overall, in order to legitimise support for organic farming in the context of the mid-term review (MTR) of the CAP, it needs to be maintained that this form of agriculture is 'multifunctional', i.e., that beyond mere food production it has positive environmental and development effects. Concluding this chapter, the authors stage a not wholly convincing 'discussion' between a hypothetical organic producer and consumer in relation to different scenarios for organic farming, ranging from the gloomy to the strongly positive. The final chapter, then, presents recommendations for the nature of EU support for organic farming, taking into account the demands of the MTR on the promotion of organic farming as a policy instrument. Re-stating the case that organic farming does warrant public intervention, the recommendation is that organic farming policy should be integrated into mainstream agricultural policy rather than seen as an adjunct to it. Yet rather than direct financial support being given to organic producers, the recommendation is made that resources should be put into informing consumers about organic farming. While it is argued here that all 'stakeholders' in the development of organic farming, including organic producers, conventional producers and consumers, should be involved in an action plan for expanding organic farming, consumers seem to be involved only as recipients of information—they are presented here as needing to

be informed about organic standards, in particular through the use of a logo. This is problematic, as first, consumers are reduced to passive recipients of information which might change their behaviour, rather than being potentially active participants in changing the future of farming, and second, research has indicated that many consumers are already confused by, and often ignore, the plethora of logos and certificates which adorn many of the foods they buy. Nevertheless, developing a new EU organic logo is accorded priority here. Also interesting is the notion of supporting a 'creative conflict' between organic and conventional farming, with the intention that the former would as a result retain and promote its distinctiveness. In summary, this book is both an excellent resource for researchers, students and the policy community, and contains an agenda-setting argument for particular kinds of public support for organic agriculture. While there are some niggles (for example, all references to farmers assume they are male, contradicting experience of the role of women farmers in organic farming), the overall conclusions of the book about the wider role for organic farming in a 'multifunctional' countryside are important and should be considered by policymakers and others involved in redefining EU agricultural policy.

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### **Mebyon Kernow & Cornish Nationalism**

Bernard Deacon, Dick Cole & Garry Tregidga

Welsh Academic Press, 2003, 139 pp., £14.95, ISBN 1 86057 075 5 (pbk)

Cornish nationalism has generated very little scholarly interest. This lack of scholarship is unsurprising. Neither Mebyon Kernow nor the Cornish National Party has ever inspired the level of nationalist support seen in Scotland or Wales, and it is difficult to imagine a serious demand for Cornish independence any time soon. Even so, the very existence of a Cornish national movement raises a range of questions that should be of interest to both scholars of British history and of nationalism: Is Cornish identity 'national' or 'regional', and is it possible that Tom Nairn's 'break-up of Britain' still looms on the horizon? Is Cornish identity a modern construction or an ancient reality? More broadly, can the various nationalist movements in Britain be explained according to a common set of causes?

Given the dearth of scholarly studies of Cornish politics, *Mebyon Kernow & Cornish Nationalism* is a welcome addition to the literature. Following a brief overview of Cornish identity from earliest times, the authors devote most of their text to a discussion of the evolution of Mebyon Kernow from its cultural roots to its current demand for Cornish self-government within Europe. They pay particular attention to internal political disputes, key political figures, and the electoral fortunes of the party. Deacon *et al.* make solid use of interviews, newspaper accounts, and nationalist publications, and the authors tell their story quite well. To their credit, Deacon, Cole, and Tregidga offer an accessible and entertaining account of the fluctuating fortunes of Cornwall's oldest political nationalist group.

Unfortunately, the authors miss their chance to illustrate why Cornwall is important and why the region deserves further study. *Mebyon Kernow & Cornish Nationalism* is rife with unrealized possibilities. For example, in the introductory chapters Deacon *et al.* attempt to place twentieth-century events into a larger historical trajectory. They explain that Cornwall remained largely independent during the early formation of the English state and note that the region long had a sense of difference that led to large-scale rebellion on at least two occasions during the late-medieval and early-modern periods. Yet, just as the authors suggest that Cornishness has ancient roots, they also claim that nationalist intellectuals created Cornishness during the eighteenth century. These two positions raise the question: is it history or memory that should draw the most scholarly attention? The conflict between these two positions is at the very heart of the so-called 'nationalism debate' between ethno-symbolists and modernists, yet the authors shy away from directly engaging with the nationalism literature. This failure is disappointing because the Cornish case might provide significant insight into the origin of national identities.

While the authors frequently contrast events in Cornwall with similar events in Scotland or Wales, they seldom delve very deeply into these comparisons. Thus, Cornwall is never truly placed into wider perspective, and there are no significant parallels drawn between the various Celtic nationalisms. The question should be, what do Scotland, Wales and Cornwall have in common that resulted in similarly long and painful periods marked by internal discord, limited electoral support, and weak leadership? Instead of simply mentioning the Scottish or Welsh cases as examples, Deacon *et al.* owe it to their topic to explore these comparisons more thoroughly. Factors common to the various Celtic areas ought to be expanded upon. Internal conflict within the various nationalist movements should be explored. Ideologies and ideas common to each group should be mentioned. Such an exploration would place Cornwall firmly into comparative context and perhaps even lead to a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between economic, demographic, and cultural change and the rise and fall of nationalist movements.

While the authors are able, despite Dick Cole's role as the current leader of Mebyon Kernow, to maintain the appearance of objectivity, there is still a palpable pro-Cornwall tone throughout the book. One wonders whether this bias clouds the authors' judgment on key points. For example, the authors note that analysis of Mebyon Kernow voters during the 1970s and early 1980s shows a positive correlation with the proportion of council house tenants. They explain this by noting that such wards probably 'contained the highest numbers of Cornish born voters' (106). While this is possible, it is perhaps more likely that economic problems led these tenants toward registering a protest vote, irrespective of their birthplace, against the then faltering Labour Party and disinterested Conservatives. Such protest voting has been a common occurrence in Scottish elections and has little or no correlation to birthplace or national identity.

Part of the problem is that *Mebyon Kernow & Cornish Nationalism* is neither clearly a scholarly study (which would embrace the many questions raised by its narrative) nor is it purely a popular history. Instead, it is a curious hybrid that may not fully please either of its potential audiences. Ultimately, the reader is left with a sense that Cornish nationalism is interesting but with few ideas about the nature of the party *vis-à-vis* similar nationalist groups and its larger place in British politics. While the text stands as the best available study of Cornish nationalism, it would be a much stronger

book had the authors fully embraced the complexities inherent in the regional nationalist phenomenon. Nevertheless, one hopes that *Mebyon Kernow & Cornish Nationalism* will inspire future scholars to begin answering the numerous questions that are raised here but never answered.

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### **A History of Denmark**

Knud J. V. Jespersen

Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 244 pp., £14.99, ISBN 0 333 65918 X (pbk)

There are few persons who have such a broad knowledge on modern Danish history as Professor Knud J. V. Jespersen, of Odense University. His highly esteemed research productions cover several centuries of Danish history, from military history in the Early Modern Age over the agrarian reforms at the end of eighteenth century up to topics of World War II. As could be expected from such an author, the reader becomes competently guided through many complex problems, of foreign policy, of domestic policy and of economic, social and cultural development. The author draws from a huge stock of research literature. On many problems Professor Jespersen presents numerous details, while never losing sight of the most important aspects. His style is clear and graphic.

He organised his material in eight longitudinal chapters, where e.g., foreign policy is presented from about 1500 up to today. This allows for a clear presentation of long-term developments. But it might be difficult for some readers to gain a consistent idea of a certain period, and many important problems become fragmented this way. For instance, the agrarian reforms at the end of the eighteenth century are dealt with under domestic politics and under economic developments. Some readers might also regret that he starts his narratives at about 1500, hence Viking time and medieval Denmark are not dealt with.

Sadly, when it comes to the problems of today, his positions are not based on research. He writes, for instance, that Danish society at the end of the twentieth century was marked by 'greater inequality' (p. 181) than previously. But in fact, the Gini-coefficient has been falling in the 1990s. He postulates a 'crisis of the welfare state', due to 'unrestrained growth', and he sees 'no sign that the development will ever be brought under control' (p. 81). But the Danish public finances have been *in surplus* for many years. When he writes upon values, attitudes and perceptions, he does not consult sociological texts such as Peter Gundelach's *Dankernes Værdier* or representative material like the *eurobarometers* (which also would allow for comparisons); instead he presents his readers with improvised generalisations. Expressions such as 'the particular Danish self-perception' (p. 208) or 'the Danish consciousness' (p. 108) abound.

The author seems to overlook that the Danes (as any other modern nation), while sharing a common national group feeling and using common symbols such as the

language, are very diversified as to life styles, values and perceptions. The question is how these various values, norms or perceptions are *distributed* in Denmark. But Professor Jespersen seems axiomatically to presuppose the existence of one particular homogeneous 'Danishness', allegedly common to all Danes and 'very special' in regard to other people. This is simply a relict of nationalist mythology.

Fortunately, when he discusses the development of a Danish identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, he is back to historical research. Correspondingly, we learn, for instance, that after 1864 at least four different conceptions of what it meant to be 'Danish' (mythological all of them) were competing. But in the end, he insists again that only one prevailed.

In numerous instances he tries to find examples why the Danes are so very special. Thus, avoidable errors infiltrate several parts of the book. For instance, he provides the reader with a thorough overview of the work of reformers such as N.F.S. Grundtvig and his efforts to empower ordinary people through better education. This is seen as something very Danish. Yet the idea of empowering people through education was a common European movement, suffice it perhaps to mention John Stuart Mill. Professor Jespersen then combines Grundtvig with the movement of agricultural cooperatives, mainly dairy cooperatives, and claims that they were made possible by Grundtvig's efforts. He concedes that consumer cooperatives were pioneered elsewhere (Rochdale, 1844). But in 1882 with the first dairy co-operative in Hjedding, 'the first time the idea had been put on the production side and was a success beyond compare in the history of Danish agriculture and had no counterpart in any other country' (p. 150f). As a matter of fact, at this time there were already 1050 agricultural co-operatives, many of them dairy co-operatives, in Germany. There the movement started already in the 1850s.

The author writes very informatively about the Danish Law of 1683. But then he claims that this law exhibited already features of the Danish model of today. The argument rests on the point that the Law of 1683 contains the principle of freedom of contract between private partners and associations. And today, the Danish labour market is mainly regulated by agreements between employers and trade unions, without intervention of the state. Professor Jespersen concludes then that essential elements of the Danish model of today were already in place 1683. But liberty of contract has for centuries been part also of the, say French, legal systems. If in France today many labour market issues are regulated by law, then this is due to the relative weakness of the French unions, who often have been unable to enforce collective agreements. Therefore they asked the law-makers to impose rules. Besides, as in Denmark, also in Germany most labour market regulations are the result of collective bargaining. Therefore, the Danish Law of 1683 in itself does not explain anything. And it becomes—sorry, Knud—simply grotesque if this alleged equivalence between 1683 and the modern labour market is used as an argument to claim that substantial parts of today's 'Danishness' date many centuries back.

It is as if two authors had written this book. One is the professional historian Knud J. V. Jespersen, with his immense knowledge, his critical insight and his sober judgement—and it is fortunate that it is this Knud Jespersen who has written by far the largest part of the book.

Wolfgang Zank  
Aalborg University, Denmark

**Europäische Integration—Europäisches Regieren**

Beate Kohler-Koch, Thomas Conzelmann and Michèle Knodt

VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004, 348 pp., €26.90, ISBN 3 8100 3543 2 (pbk)

As a textbook this is part of the publisher's series 'Grundwissen Politik' (Basic Knowledge in Politics) in which 33 other volumes have already appeared. Beate Kohler-Koch, Professor of International Relations and European Politics at Mannheim University, is internationally one of the best known German Professors in her field. Michèle Knodt and Thomas Conzelmann work as research assistants in the field of International Relations.

The book provides an introduction into European integration under seven major headings: the first, Basic Principles, leads on to an introduction to Economic Integration, followed by 'The EU as Political System', 'Transformation of Governance', 'Democracy and Participation', 'International Context of the EU' and finally 'Future Prospects'.

For all these areas—notwithstanding the complexity and range of positions and methodology of each subject—the authors have set themselves the task of presenting not only their own positions, but also other, sometimes contradictory approaches. The book's aim is demanding: firstly, European integration is to be presented and discussed from the perspective of different political science disciplines; secondly, the authors aim to overcome the usual separation into historical and contemporary perspectives of European integration; and thirdly, the subjects of discussion are to be analysed against the background of specific approaches to theories of integration, without considering theory in separate chapters, as is usually the case.

In principle it can be said that, in most of the specific areas, the book does manage to achieve its aims. However, some areas are more successful than others, and some fundamental questions remain in relation to the debate on the European constitution and democratic legitimacy not touched upon by the book.

In the first section, on the basic principles of integration, it is made clear from the start that there are various different research approaches, and this is exemplified by presenting three possible 'narratives' of the history of integration. 'Great men make politics' is compared to the 'Mirror image of the east-west conflict' and the 'Dominance of factual constraint', representing three distinctive ways of interpretation. This comparison can show that, depending on the different perspectives, there are in each case different, but nevertheless conclusive results for assessing the integration process.

This method is also applied in the next area when examining economic integration. However, in the section after this, the presentation of the EU as a political system, it seems to fall short.

The section is not much more than a description of the political system of the EU. A second part on the integration of domestic policies and basic rights of citizens is very short, and only touches on the current problems and debates on the integration of internal policies of the EU which have so far generally lacked democratic legitimacy. It is true that, according to the authors, domestic policies of the EU are based on a paternalist idea of a state, where freedom is understood less in the sense of liberal bourgeois freedoms and protection rights *vis-à-vis* the state, but far more as a mandate for the state to fight organised crime. The question is put how domestic political integration is to be assessed and how it relates to the rights of EU citizens; but the problematic relationship between

nation states, civil rights and economic integration, a relationship which could be discussed at this stage to illustrate an important point, is not expanded on any further.

The section 'Transformation of Governance' is perhaps quantitatively no longer than the previous one, but is presented and argued through in far more detail. Indeed it provides a good summary of the processes of change in European governance, with its interrelations between nation states and the EU, but it also concludes with a discussion that problematises the results.

The outline and discussion of the democratic deficit in the EU in the following section is the weakest part of the book. What it does not present is an account of what the democratic deficit means: namely, that the current system of institutions suffers from long chains of legitimisation between the national populations and the EU-level and an insufficient division of powers, while simultaneously competencies are transferred from national, democratically legitimated governments. In addition, the question relating to the conditions of democratisation in the EU is controversial among experts, with some authors maintaining that in the long run there can be no European political identity and no European public (European '*demos*'), while others argue these could most certainly evolve and be promoted.

The book presents various ideas on the democratic deficit, but these do not go beyond arguments which dispute its existence (amongst others views put forward by Hans-Peter Ipsen in 1972—thus a time when integration was a long way from the dilemmas of democracy and legitimisation that we have today); considerations are also limited to 'empirical legitimacy' or discuss suggestions for the democratisation of the EU in the context of existing institutions. The rather laconic statement that there is no European *demos* is not supported by any substantive argument and there is no further discussion.

The next section on organised interests in EU politics is again markedly stronger; it offers a good overview and introduces fundamental questions. The same goes for the section on the context of EU foreign policy. The short concluding section, which offers a prospect on future research subjects, is again vague in the same areas as the book on the whole—what is significant is that, although the question about the European constitution and its normative legitimisation is mentioned, it is done as a topic suggested by politics and not by academic research.

Overall, the volume offers a good and balanced introduction into the specific areas of European integration relating to questions of governance, institutions, negotiations, international integration and treaties as well as the organisation and development of individual political sectors. Other, no less topical questions of European integration, however, are either only lightly touched upon or not mentioned at all—this includes the complex of citizenship, democracy, constitution, legitimisation and European identity. This is indeed the book's major short coming, considering that the question of the European constitution is not just highly topical and decisive for the further development of the EU, but also that questions in relation to European values, European identity, more democratic legitimacy and European civil rights have—as a result of increasing integration and enlargement—gained in importance, both in academic and more everyday political discourse.

(Translated by Anna Wörsching)

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**Shaping the New Europe. Economic Policy Challenges of European Union Enlargement**

Michael A. Landesmann and Dariusz K. Rosati (Eds)

Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 435 pp., \$70.00, ISBN 0 333 97125 6

We have seen a great many studies on the various aspects of the 2004 European Union (EU) enlargement, with research focusing on political, economic, social and other implications of European integration on the EU's old and new member states (MS). Landesmann and Rosati add to this literature with a comprehensive volume that aims at summing up the economic challenges of the Eastern enlargement: the challenges for the new members, the EU, its new neighbours and other countries that might be affected by this far-reaching event. The book examines four distinct areas: the economic impact on the old and new MS, the role of institutions, macroeconomic policy issues in relation to monetary integration, and the effects of the fifth enlargement on non-candidate countries.

After the introductory chapter, which establishes the objectives and the structure of the book, the volume is divided into six thematic parts. The first part on macroeconomic policy issues studies the process of transition to membership, followed by exchange rate policy in the context of the EU.

The second part focuses on the sectoral issues of trade policy, competition policy and financial sector reform. Chapter three examines the relationship of the Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) and the EU in international trade fora. By exploring the recent stream of EU trade policies, the economic costs of the fifth enlargement, and the past trade relations of the CEECs, the author concludes that the EU will hardly become more cooperative in international fora, especially with respect to the still highly regulated services and to the more problematic CEEC sectors such as agriculture. Chapters four and five focus on banking reform and the design of a competition policy in Hungary. Both sections stress the importance of solid institutional structures for the optional functioning of these policy areas.

Part three concentrates on the economic effects of enlargement. Chapter six discusses the process of negotiating the financial transfers from and to the EU budget between the old and new MS and implications for the future. As for the macroeconomic consequences of enlargement, the chapter highlights the idea that in order to sustain growth in the CEECs, the available policy options should be identified, analysed and collected in policy packages at the national, regional and EU levels. A more general view appears in chapter seven, which aims to consider all the economic aspects of enlargement from an overarching perspective.

Part four deals with the experience from previous enlargements with respect to the new MS. In chapter eight the issues of capital flows and the convergence of the cohesion countries are analysed. The following chapter nine looks at the Portuguese experience of participating in the exchange rate mechanism (ERM) in order to qualify for the European Monetary Union (EMU). Chapter ten tries to answer the question whether the Greek accession to the EU led to its weak economic performance, and implications for the new MS are considered. While in chapter eight Braga de Macedo *et al.* find that failing to undergo structural reforms in order to lock-in the advantages of EMU re-activated the conflict between foreign credibility and domestic stability in

Portugal, Loukas Tsoukalis in chapter nine concludes that much depends on domestic developments.

Part five highlights important disparities in Europe. In chapter eleven the economic disparities between Eastern and Western Europe and among the individual CEECs are assessed. The subsequent chapter twelve considers the prospects of further enlargement to southeast Europe (Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia-Montenegro), while also highlighting the developments which led to these countries falling behind the new MS during the 1990s. Gligorov *et al.* come to the conclusion that, as these countries are highly dependent on the EU, integration could precede convergence. Chapter thirteen analyses the impact of the fifth enlargement on countries whose accession to the EU seems unlikely in the near future, namely countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The trade and investment flows and labour and human capital flows are being examined. The last factor is identified as the greatest danger of the 2004 enlargement to these 'left-out' countries.

The last section of the book presents panel contributions to the political and economic challenges of the 'new Europe'. Most of the papers identify four complex problems: institutional reform, various policy reforms, economic performance of the new MS, especially in relation to EMU, and the international role of the EU on either the regional or world level.

I have only a few reservations about this book. In chapter one Branson *et al.* claim that of the four Central European countries only Poland has a bicameral parliamentary system. This is not the case, as the Czech Republic's Parliament also has two chambers, a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. However, as the Senate does not have any power over budgetary procedures, the authors' conclusions at the end of the chapter are correct. It should also be mentioned that some authors use too many generalisations. For instance, Rosati in chapter eleven states that 'the CEECs were much poorer than the Western countries even before the Second World War', neglecting the fact that Czechoslovakia was one of the wealthiest countries in Europe during the mid-war period. He also claims that there are no assistance programmes for the less advanced CEECs; this ignores the existence of TACIS, a programme launched in 1991 aimed at enhancing transition processes and covering for example Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. There are also some inaccuracies in chapter seven by Fritz Breuss. He works with the proposition that the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland (CEEC-3) are richer than the CEECs-10. He ignores Slovenia as the wealthiest of all the CEECs, and then continues by providing the basic economic data for the CEEC-10. This, however, is quite misleading as the differences between the countries are quite significant in all the areas he mentions (labour productivity, share of agriculture, monthly wages, trade). I would recommend working with more specific information. Furthermore, some chapters discuss a proper doctrine or strategy that the EU or its new MS should develop and/or adopt, without giving clear proposals for what such strategies should specifically encompass.

However, the volume has many strengths. It is very well organised, generally well informed and includes an extensive and very useful glossary. It offers analysis of many problems that the 'new' Europe is facing and contains a wealth of proposals and solutions. The authors do not concentrate on specific economic aspects in isolation, but put them often into the wider framework of the political and social processes inherent in the process of European integration. What I found particularly rewarding were the many solutions presented to the problems discussed.

All in all, the book is lucid and concise, contributing greatly to the current discussion on the New Europe. It provides a good source for students but also decision-makers and practitioners.

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**The Best of All Possible Islands: Seville's Universal Exposition, the New Spain and the New Europe**

Richard Maddox

State University of New York Press, 2004, 382 pp., \$65.00, ISBN 0 7914 6121 1 (hbk)

This ambitious and engaging volume will tell most readers all they want to know about the 1992 Seville Exposition, and some rather more. Though presented as 'a history of the political culture of contemporary Spain as viewed through the ethnographic prism of a single event' (30), the study's strength lies chiefly in its exhaustively contextualized exploration, from conception to aftermath, of 'what is most important and interesting about the Expo' (6).

Maddox organizes his insights around 'the politics and culture of liberalism in Spain' (13), beginning with 'A Pocket History of the Liberalization of Modern Spain, with Observations about Its Relevance for an Understanding of Expo 92' (13). The capitals underline the project's Voltairian framing, which casts the author as a latter-day Candide 'puzzled and perplexed' by the Expo's 'Panglossian representations [of Spain's] past and present realities' (6). His history, though necessarily schematic, offers useful overview of the evolution and contemporary complexity of liberalism in a Spanish context, and leads into an ambitious four-pronged analysis of the Expo: as an intricately negotiated 'non-partisan project of the Spanish state' (26); as a function of Socialist ambitions; as 'an unfolding public and media event' (26); and through the responses of its audiences and participants.

The result is immensely readable, with the vitality of the writing compensating for the occasional overstated claim. The assessment of Juan Carlos's motives in proposing an exposition is shrewd and nuanced; and if the account of relations between Andalusian and Madrid Socialists sometimes lacks sophistication, the details of Seville's political infighting—especially gossipy snippets on the interpersonal dynamics of the Expo's urbane commissioner-general Manuel Olivencia Ruiz and its bruiser of a CEO, Jacinto Pellón—are utterly engrossing. The demands of the Expo project, the diplomacy, pragmatism, and compromise required from its outset, emerge vividly in the minutiae of Olivencia's 'political courtship' of key figures in and outside of Spain (61). Despite their limited resources, Maddox notes (and the maneuvering of Cantabrian president, Juan Hormaechea) the participation of Spain's regional governments was secured with surprisingly little 'public political posturing, factional infighting [... or] spirit of partisanship'. The negotiations with Latin American nations—the appeals to solidarity, co-operation, and interregional rivalries—were more complex. Above all, Latin American hostility towards

the term 'discovery' in relation to the Conquest ensured that it would be neutralized as 'encounter', while the name Columbus remained ubiquitous in its absence (66).

It is to these protracted negotiations and compromises that Maddox attributes the evacuation of 'traditional nationalist content' from the event, and Spain's representation as a 'cosmopolitan polity' (63). A strong commercial impetus meant the Expo would also figure as a consumer experience hovering 'somewhere between shopping mall and flea market' (79). In the process, the representational strategies of nation-states came to parallel those of transnational corporations: the German and the Siemens pavilions both highlighted social benefits and responsibilities, for example, and the scale of the Sony pavilion underlined the extent to which its influence outstripped that of poorer nation-states. While he rejects charges that the Expo was simply a relegitimation of the nation-state and corporate capitalism, Maddox's analysis of this crucial dimension is oddly limited in scope. However, by foregrounding its celebration of internal difference and 'transnational commonalities' as participants competed for cultural ascendancy, he positions the Expo as a 'cosmopolitan orchestrator of diversity' (91).

The complexities of the Expo's relations with Seville—the machinations of maverick 'andalucista' mayor Alejandro Rojas Marco, for example, or the uncharismatic Pellón, who rode rough-shod over local cultural and political sensitivities and triggered mass protests with his attempt to withdraw season passes—are evoked in intricate detail. Deployed as it is across a large number of short sections rather than formal chapters, there are times when this detail overwhelms any sense of a structuring argument. But if discussion of the Expo's pavilions, for example, occasionally seems fragmented and anecdotal, it raises telling points about national self-positioning within the new Europe: the UK's efforts to project modernity and an openness that belied its lack of European commitment; the elegant suturing of elite culture and technopopulism in the French displays; the cosmopolitan rhetoric of Belgium's claim to be 'Europe in miniature' (182). Given the volume's focus, non-European pavilions merit less (and generally less positive) attention: North America's contribution is scorned as 'parochial and clumsy' (189), while Latin American pavilions are casually disparaged as speaking less of 'unity in diversity' than 'unity in misery' or 'violence in diversity' (199). Within Spain, Pellón and PSOE worked to project a dynamic European nation of 'diverse but equal regions freely and harmoniously participating' in this celebration (204). From this perspective, Maddox slyly suggests, the spirit of Maastricht, 'a curious blend of grandly inflated cosmopolitan idealism mixed with an obsessive concern for complex technobureaucratic mediations of competing interests and conflicting sovereignties, was very much the spirit of the Spain of the autonomies' (222).

These sections are the volume's strongest. Less compelling are those addressing the responses of visitors. It is one thing to register PSOE's attempts to use the Expo to modify Spaniards' sense of collective identity—'by promoting cosmopolitan values, aspirations and attitudes', for example, and invoking a more inspirational vision of their country's place in Europe and the world—and quite another to demonstrate the efficacy of those attempts (225). If Maddox fails to deliver the promised situated, ethnographic, exploration of real life contingencies and constraints inflecting audience responses to the Expo, this is largely because his observations are too often based on unsupported or anecdotal claims. The assertion that after two or three days 'most foreign visitors were, if not sated, at least convinced that they had seen enough . . .' (257) is simply speculation. And the decision to base an analysis of the views of Sevillans disinclined to visit the Expo solely on the

behaviour (however interesting) of the residents of a small town 80 km away is frankly inexplicable.

But if the responses of its audience remain largely obscure, the volume as a whole opens a fascinating window on Spain and its local and national political culture from the perspective of the Expo, from its conception to the workings of time and nostalgia on this ‘theme park of memory’ (321). A bold and vividly informative study.

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### **Ageing and the Transition to Retirement: A Comparative Analysis of European Welfare States**

Tony Maltby, Bert de Vroom, Maria Louisa Mirabile and Einar Øverbye (Eds)  
Ashgate, 2004, 295 pp., €49.95, ISBN 0 7546 0922 7 (hbk)

The ageing of the population and the decrease in older workers participation in the labour market are key challenges confronting European Social Policy. These trends are perceived by policymakers as threats to the funding of social security schemes, especially pensions, and to fulfilling current and future demands for labour. This edited collection, which is based on the ‘Ageing and Work’ working group of a COST Action on ‘Changing Labour Markets, Welfare Policies and Citizenship’, is a timely reminder of how 12 countries have responded to these problems. The 12 countries covered in the book—Norway, Denmark, Finland, Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, France, United Kingdom, Hungary, Slovenia, Italy and Spain—represent a good mix of welfare regimes. The stated aim of the book is ‘to “map” the most important institutional changes at the end of the working life’ (p. 3). To a lesser extent the collection also offers a commentary on the changing meaning of social citizenship as it affects older people and their ‘life chances’. The book comprises a brief introductory chapter, a chapter outlining a conceptual framework used to ‘inform and extend’ the authors work, a chapter on each of the countries and a concluding chapter.

The introductory chapter gives some background to the working group and the book itself. Arguably, the introductory chapter should have provided an overview of demographic and labour market trends across the 12 countries. To some extent this is done by one of the editors, Bert de Vroom, in the chapter on The Netherlands. I would recommend that readers read at least the background section of this chapter first in order to get some indication of national trends.

The conceptual framework identifies four ‘age-arrangements’ that are the outcome of three institutions: age-culture, age-programmes and actor-constellations. The four age-arrangements are processes involving: ‘early exit’ (when people leave work before the official retirement age), ‘late exit’ (where workers do not use early exit options), the ‘retention’ of a high level of older people in work, and the ‘re-entering’ of older people into work. Age-culture is the social norms and values that structure our ideas of the relationship between work and age. The age-programmes are the social policies and labour market programmes structuring people’s actions. And, as might be expected, actor-constellations refer to the actors operating in the policy domain and their modes of interaction.

Each of the 12 country profiles typically summarise demographic and labour market trends, and discuss the evolution of policy—which, usually, initially promoted early retirement and now seeks to discourage it—individuals' perspectives on the relationship between work and ageing and the various 'pathways' workers can follow between paid work and official retirement. These pathways may take in, for example, unemployment, part-time work, disability benefits and (disability) pensions. Surprisingly only one author mentions resorting to the black economy as a route from regular work to retirement. Most chapters point out that governments have used early exit/retirement schemes to help combat high rates of unemployment, especially amongst the young. Indeed, the acceptance of early exits has impacted on many people's expectations and norms, in some countries ceasing to be a member of the workforce at around 50 is seen as the norm, as part of the culture, and almost as a 'social right'. Most of the chapters also outline why employers may say that they no longer find older workers appealing. However, whilst most European countries have witnessed a dramatic decrease in the labour market participation of older workers, there is a recognition by the authors of a more recent reversal in the trend for males in Finland, Ireland, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom (p. 129). The reasons for this change require further consideration by social policy analysts.

As might be expected, the reader is able to identify a number of similarities and differences across the 12 countries. An example of a commonality is the key role that social partners have in most countries in structuring the work age relationship. The account by Christina Teipen and Martin Kohli of the 'micro-politics' of firms in Germany is particularly interesting in this respect.

The concluding chapter identifies broad trends, key differences between countries and briefly discusses possible policy responses. The latter include extending the duration of working life through raising the official retirement age, offering workers (and sometimes employers) incentives to delay retirement, imposing limitations on the eligibility for early retirement schemes and restricting access to disability pensions, and introducing policies that permit gradual retirement.

Whilst the book does contain a great deal of information, the individual country chapters do vary considerably in length, level of detail and quality. The time frame covered by the demographic and labour market data and by the policy analysis in the country chapters varies, although most seem to cover up to 2000. However, the phraseology of some sentences in a few of the country chapters is awkward, and there are a small number of typographical errors.

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### **The Great Immigration Scandal**

Steve Moxon

Imprint Academic, 2004, 256 pp., £14.95, ISBN 1 845400 119 (hbk)

Written by a former Home Office immigration caseworker, *The Great Immigration Scandal* purports to be an account of negligent immigration control into the UK.

Steve Moxon condemns systemic failures in the Home Office that he perceives to be an open invitation to migrants to abuse immigration and asylum routes into the UK. Despite assertions that until recently he was ambivalent towards immigration, Moxon blends his story with unsavoury reflections on immigration that owe little to careful research and much more to his experiences as an embittered civil servant. The author's efforts to reason why immigration to the UK should be dramatically cut astound in both their crude logic and erroneous analysis. This ultimately detracts from what Moxon wishes to highlight—the political duplicity that he claims besets the government's immigration policy, and specifically his allegation that the Home Office secretly relaxed immigration controls on nationals of EU accession countries prior to 1 May 2004 in an effort to reduce the number of immigrants arriving after that date from those countries.

The author challenges policymakers in the UK to admit that recent immigration, in his own words, has been a clear '*disbenefit*' to the country (p. 5). He dismisses the Labour government's efforts to manage migration as 'self-aggrandising' and 'sexy' politics (p. 53), asserting that the political Left is beset by an irrational feeling of responsibility towards the immigrant. The flip side of this, in Moxon's view, is the contempt which Blair, Blunkett and the Labour Party hold for those they ostensibly represent—the poor, white, working-class families who have been at the sharp end of immigration. Despite his eagerness to affirm his non-racist credentials (he was once a Liberal Democrat council candidate!) and his caution to readers that *individual* immigrants are not themselves to blame, he proceeds to list what he considers to be the social and economic costs of immigration to the UK. Moxon quotes an eclectic body of research as unqualified evidence that immigrants bring down wages, cause unemployment amongst indigenous workers, increase house prices, overload the domestic infrastructure, cream off state benefits, export wealth in the form of remittances, increase the size of the 'white underclass', and grind down the system of healthcare. He fails to consider, or even acknowledge, research that challenges these stereotypes, and offers up a meagre bibliography that displays little breadth of knowledge or academic rigour. His art is simply to cherry-pick the arguments of the academic (Borjas, Coleman), the journalist (Browne, Sergeant) and the social commentator (Goodhart), and then fashion them into a sweeping case against current levels of immigration.

Many of these arguments would be familiar to readers, but Moxon envelops his case in speculative evolutionary psychology. Initially the book challenges the idea that the UK faces a low birth rate. The author insists that women are 'childless through procrastination' (p. 45), and that fertility rates will once again rise when women realise that their biological clocks are ticking on. Combined with policies to get people off incapacity benefit and the elderly back to work, the UK would no longer need to cover labour shortages in the economy through high levels of immigration. Moxon, however, changes tack later in his final analysis when he suggests that falling fertility rates could be a reaction against 'crowding stress' (pp. 214-220)—a phenomenon apparently noted in captive lowland gorillas living in crowded conditions. Developing this further, he speculates how living in areas with a high population density of 'strangers' produces a psychological and biological reaction in the indigenous population to delay bringing children into a risky and unsafe environment. Immigrants, however, appear immune to this, and, as Moxon unrelentingly points out, continue to have large families. The reader is left to infer the long-term consequences of this scenario, but there are clear echoes of Protestant fears about the size of Catholic families in Northern Ireland.

Moxon, however, is less than circumspect about Northern Ireland when he draws a parallel between the country's civil tensions and 'Muslim riots' in UK cities (p. 99). He evokes a future scenario, if immigration continues unchecked, of near civil war in England's northern cities: of 'non-white' immigrants against disenfranchised 'whites'. In an uncompromising tone, the author persists in describing immigrants in racial terms; and with a singular lack of judgement, Moxon sets aside a chapter to defend the use of derogatory terms for Black and Asian immigrants. Page after page impresses upon the reader an association between being 'non-white' and the 'characteristics' of the UK immigrant—culturally backward, lacking English language skills, living in 'migrant enclaves', unwilling to integrate. To paraphrase Moxon, immigrants are untying the 'social fabric' that binds society together. They engage in proportionally more criminal activities, have little connection to Western culture, and hold no allegiance to the UK. Instead of attempting to explain why this may be the case, Moxon presents it as an intractable problem—a problem that is inherent with high levels of immigration, and which will only be resolved by cutting the numbers entering the UK.

The author, though, fails to consider the extent to which the UK could successfully isolate itself from global migratory pressures, and whether the consequences of doing so would be acceptable in terms of the loss of freedoms and human rights. Moxon's is a very insular view of immigration, which pays scant attention to the many global factors that cause people to move. Whilst peddling the myth that most asylum seekers come to a prosperous and liberal Britain, he advocates that the UK withdraw from the 1951 Geneva Convention to remove the option from dictators of forcing 'troublesome populations' out of the country—this, the author argues, would encourage dictators to negotiate with their enemies. Even when referring to the illegal migrant cockle-pickers who drowned in Morecombe Bay (p. 150), Moxon displays no compassion for the victims. Instead, he argues that the migrants should have been deported when the Immigration Service had first been notified of their illegal presence. *The Great Immigration Scandal* is not only a parochial and singularly ill-informed book, but also one that betrays little humanity or warmth.

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**The Spring Will Be Ours: Poland and the Poles from Occupation to Freedom**

Translated by Jane Cave

Andrzej Paczkowski

Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003, 583 pp., \$39.95, ISBN 0 271 02308 2 (hbk)

This book is a striking example of what happens when a talented author meets a misguided publisher. Andrzej Paczkowski is one of Poland's most eminent historians and has deservedly won international renown for painstaking scholarship that

transcends local ‘factological’ concerns to address meaningful questions of interpretation. A skilful publisher could have taken Paczkowski’s highly praised *Pół wieku dziejów Polski*, which appeared for a popular Polish audience in 1995, and rendered an English-language version of profit both to general and scholarly audiences. Unfortunately, Penn State seems to have been concerned only with the former. By not requiring Paczkowski to cite his sources and by compelling him to add an introduction of inferior quality, the potentially great scholarly value of Paczkowski’s work is needlessly reduced, if not eliminated. It can, however, provide one of the most readable introductions to post-war Polish history available in English.

Paczkowski is interested in two central questions: how Communism was introduced and made to function in Poland, and how Poles adapted to the Communist system (pp. viii–ix). Arguing that the system could not have been established but for the course and experience of World War II, Paczkowski begins the core of his analysis here, detailing the military, administrative, and political structures of the wartime underground and explaining how the Communists gained footholds as Stalin’s army marched across Poland, carefully stopping long enough on the right bank of the Vistula to allow the independent Warsaw Uprising to fail. The post-war chapters that follow are the best, examining in colourful detail Stalinism, ‘really-existing socialism’, and the decade of struggle between Solidarity and Communist hegemony. Post-war Poland was ‘a completely new country’, Paczkowski notes (p. 146), dependent on the USSR for the security of its new western border. With instructive references to similar developments throughout the Soviet bloc, Paczkowski outlines the ‘salami tactics’ by which the United Polish Workers’ Party (the specifically Polish mutation of the international Communist Party) incapacitated its domestic political opponents. He remarks on collectivisation and the Stalinist mania for investing in heavy industry, and explains how Gomułka managed to survive the purges. Paczkowski then chronicles how the inefficient planned economy repeatedly led the regime to raise prices, which repeatedly sparked strikes that repeatedly resulted in crises of state power, bringing Gomułka, Gierek, and Jaruzelski successively to power. In terms of support for the Party, Paczkowski sees 1976 as the turning point after which membership began to age and opposition elements became more united. The result of course was Solidarity, the movement of 10 million that martial law could drive underground, but not destroy, and to which the government finally turned in 1989 as the only force that could command the public support necessary for needed economic reform.

At times, it seems that chronology overwhelms argument in this book. Certain themes in Polish history, such as patterns of resistance from 1939 to 1989 or the culture of worker revolts, beg for cross-temporal comparisons that the strictness of Paczkowski’s chronological approach prevents him from considering. A focus on elite motivations, moreover—whether in the Party, the Church, or the opposition—whilst worthwhile, does not provide the means needed directly to answer Paczkowski’s question about how Poles adapted to Communism. For evidence on popular attitudes Paczkowski seems to rely primarily on his own experience, and though this can, as he writes, make ‘it easier to understand attitudes and behaviour’ (p. x), it can also lead to contestable claims, e.g., that most Poles believed in Stalinist slogans (p. 235), or that anti-Semitism is attributable to ‘ancient social phobias and frustrations’ (p. 183).

For this English-language edition, Penn State persuaded Paczkowski to add an introduction on interwar Polish history and a ‘postscript’ dealing with post-Communist Poland. Though the idea was worthy, it succeeded only in the second case. The postscript

effectively, if briefly, wraps up a story that only began in 1989, and fits seamlessly with the preceding core. The introduction, on the other hand, detracts from the quality of the whole. In attempting to justify the book to English-speaking readers, Paczkowski implicitly invokes the 'Poland-as-Christ-of-the-nations' theme (Poland, and Poland alone, saved ungrateful western Europe from Bolshevism after World War I) and goes to silly lengths to show how European Poles are. He could just as well have taken this for granted, but as it is, readers who are at all familiar with the causes of World War II can safely skip the introduction.

Among the elements that make the book's core readable is the wealth of quotes and behind-the-scenes evidence that Paczkowski claims to have derived from both Polish and Russian archives as well as oral history. It is, however, maddening that none of these sources are cited. Much of the evidence that Paczkowski presents, such as quotes from top Party leaders or references to internal Party documents, cannot be found elsewhere; it is therefore a great pity that it is unverifiable, and thus technically unreliable. Thirteen references to secondary literature dot the volume, but far more would be necessary appropriately to acknowledge Paczkowski's debts.

The book is enhanced by a variety of aids to the reader. A bibliography, compiled by the American historian Padraic Kenney, provides a thorough survey of current British and American publications which can provide inspiration for further reading (none of the items in the list were evidently used in writing the book). A biographical dictionary is a most welcome edition, helping the reader to keep track of the many names that recur throughout the book, though several important personages are missing. A table of state officials also helps to this end. The index, though incomplete, is well organised.

In sum, this is a good book that falls needlessly short of being an excellent one. It can serve as an insightful introduction to post-war Polish history, but no student should take it as the final word.

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### **Ökonomie der Nachhaltigkeit. Handlungsfelder für Politik und Wirtschaft**

Holger Rogall

VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004, 215 pp., €24.90, ISBN 3 8100 4215 3 (pbk)

The book *Ökonomie der Nachhaltigkeit* ('economics of sustainability') demonstrates how ecological, economic, social and cultural objectives of sustainable development could be realised without over-exploiting available natural resources. Sustainable development implies that resource usage can be maintained at a level at which the needs of both present and future generations can be satisfied.

The theoretical considerations laid out in Part One are applied to four case studies: energy, mobility, sustainable management of resources and economic policy. The book thus concentrates on areas related to a sustainable environmental and economic policy.

There is only a brief consideration of necessary social changes or 'social sustainability' (i.e., intergenerational justice/equality). Instead, considering that industrialised countries use the biggest share of the world's resources, the book focuses on these and in particular on Germany. Thus, all empirical data relate to the case of Germany.

In the first part of the book, Rogall conducts a thorough review of previous research on sustainability and builds on his previous publications on 'new ecological economics'.<sup>1</sup> The author positions this type of economics as an extension of neoclassical environmental economics and of ecological economics (p. 42). 'New ecological economics' introduces ethical principles as key societal and economic objectives.

Rogall's basic argument is that most technology for a sustainable transformation of the global economy is already available (e.g., 'Nullenergiehäuser'—houses whose heating systems no longer rely on fossil energies). However, without adequate political and legal frameworks, these sustainable technologies will not achieve market penetration due to their initially higher cost and due to the failure of markets to internalise environmental costs. Rogall discusses and introduces both existing and new potential instruments, which aim at the internalisation of environmental costs (e.g., ecologisation of the financial system).

Despite the partial successes of national actors to delimit certain environmental problems, European environmental problems have continued to intensify. In a globalised economy, the necessary regulatory frameworks need to transcend the national state. Rogall argues for new or reformed international organisations.

Rogall introduces the evolution of the Rio Process and Agenda 21, initiated by the UN Conference on Environment and Development at Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The implementation of the Rio objectives has been judged as generally insufficient and unsatisfactory, not the least because of the institutional division between the Rio Process and the WTO and the prevalence of purely economic objectives on the agendas of the main actors in the process. Although most societal actors declare their support for sustainable development, diverging definitions of the notion of sustainability lead to ambiguous policy responses. For the case of Germany, Rogall analyses the position of a range of relevant actors. He assesses a clear predominance of economic interests and neo-liberal arguments in the public debate. According to Rogall, whether the necessary economic reforms will be carried out depends significantly on the evolution of political agendas of both political and other actors such as industry representatives.

For each of the four case studies, Rogall assesses the merits of three different strategies: increasing the efficiency of current technologies (efficiency strategy), substituting current technologies (substitution strategy) and changing consumer behaviour and life styles (sufficiency strategy). The case studies on energy, mobility and resource management take a generally positive view of the feasibility of a sustainable transformation. However, the last case study on economic policy is more cautious. It develops the basis of a sustainable economic policy with far-reaching proposals for a reduction and redistribution of work. Rogall argues for a regionalisation of the global economy and for a limitation of international trade as far as possible.

This is a visionary book and a radical critique of classical economic schools. While being realistic about the extent of market and actor failure, which impede the evolution of a sustainable economy, Rogall nonetheless manages to develop a wide range of strategies for an ecological modernisation of the economy. Problems with international cooperation (non-compliance, non-binding instruments) could have been considered more specifically.

Also, the lack of an acute crisis that might render society ready for radical changes, can be regarded as a major stumbling block for sustainable reforms outlined by Rogall. If the German case constitutes an advanced example for environmental protection in the EU, Europe as a whole has a long and arduous way to go before it can succeed in transforming the economy towards sustainability.

This challenging and highly readable book is clearly structured and densely argued. Definitions and introductory explanations are specially highlighted in 'grey boxes'. In this way, the book strikes a good balance to accommodate the needs of students on the one hand and more advanced readers on the other. The detailed examples derived from German environmental measures provide excellent examples for practitioners. The book therefore should appeal to a wide readership.

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### **Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> Rogall, H. (2000) *Bausteine einer zukunftsfähigen Umwelt- und Wirtschaftspolitik*, Berlin;  
Rogall, H. (2002) *Neue Umweltökonomie—Ökologische Ökonomie*, Opladen;  
Rogall, H. (2003) *Akteure der nachhaltigen Entwicklung*, München.

### **French Civilization and its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, Race**

Tyler Stovall and Georges van den Abbeele (Eds)

Lexington Books, 2003, 374 pp., £18.95, ISBN 0 7391 0647 3 (pbk)

France, it is often claimed, has maintained a certain global influence thanks in large part to the unique values and universal appeal of its republican, revolutionary tradition. Seen in this light, the French language becomes an instrument of purest enlightenment, a means of access to the liberties and cultural wealth of French society. Thus, in turn, French colonialism cannot be reduced to the agglomeration of capitalistic, racial and strategic factors typically adduced to explain other European imperialisms. For that would be to ignore the cultural imperative of universalist republicanism—the civilising mission—that both set French colonialism apart and elevated it above the baser commercial motives and racial exclusivity at the heart of other imperial projects. Few would now subscribe to such a distorted, two-dimensional image of French colonial rule with its implicit assumption of colour-blindness in French policies and outlook. But the fact remains that the francophone world is widely perceived as distinct from its Anglophone, Hispanic or Lusophone equivalents because of the higher importance attached to shared language and the assimilation of French cultural values next to the dirtier historical processes of conquest, colonisation and profit. In this model, France remains the fountainhead of a global system, albeit an informal one, based on shared cultural aspiration rather than one part of a more complex multi-cultural system in which

ideas and influences may be transmitted from periphery to metropolitan centre as well as vice versa.

The singular achievement of this collection of essays is to illustrate the numerous ways in which the francophone world beyond France itself has shaped, and continues to shape, both French national identity and those of former French dependencies. Far from passive recipients of French beneficence or the guiding hand of social modernisation, from the outset of French colonial expansion, the objects of France's civilising mission have permeated metropolitan culture, whether directly through immigration and settlement or indirectly through political engagement, intellectual innovation or artistic endeavour. Furthermore, those denied equal rights, whether under colonial rule or in other contexts of racial discrimination, have successfully turned Jacobin traditions and the language of *la mission civilisatrice* against those in power determined to confine citizenship to a select few. As the editors make plain in their wide-ranging introduction, local resistance to the Jacobin model of French cultural dominance often began by taking its profession of inter-racial equality to its logical outcome of anti-colonialism.

The editors are also to be congratulated for organising the fifteen essays here into four coherent sections that highlight differing inter-disciplinary approaches to the study of national identity politics, colonialism, and post-coloniality. The first concentrates on the world of avant-garde ideas—in post-structuralism, in architectural theory and in film—to illustrate the diversity of influences that shape work praised as, in some way, uniquely French. The second addresses issues of race and colonialism as refracted by black writers and activists that rejected the alleged supremacy of French language and civilisation, often by highlighting its selective application in colonial settings. The book's third and fourth sections are more closely connected, their focus extending to North African immigrant experiences in twentieth-century France, mixed-race relationships, concepts of racial purity, and crises of national identity in France and Belgium. Diverse certainly, but taken together these chapters shed new light on debates over orientalism and racial difference.

Perhaps inevitably, the tensions between the multi-ethnic complexity of modern France and official adherence to an integrationist model of citizenship provide a common thread linking most of the chapters here. What unites all the essays is their rejection of the universalist myth described above. In its place, the contributors substitute more complex and more illuminating crosscurrents, some intellectual, others social or political, between France and the French-speaking world since 1789. From cinema, architecture and francophone literature to Frantz Fanon's revolutionary anti-colonialism and the inter-actions between North African immigrant communities and the French authorities, the book offers fresh perspectives on the construction of 'Frenchness', France's national identity and artistic productions considered quintessentially 'French'. The French Caribbean and the North African Maghreb feature particularly strongly as sites in which the interplay of indigenous cultures and French linguistic and political influences has affected ideas of language, community and ethno-religious identity. The essays reward close reading and together they amount to far more than the sum of the book's four parts.

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**Identity, Culture, and Politics in the Basque Diaspora**

Gloria P. Totoricagüena

University of Nevada Press, 2004, 273 pp., ISBN 0 87417 547 X (hbk)

*Identity, Culture, and Politics in the Basque Diaspora* explores the issue of what is to be Basque outside the homeland in an age when identity is, according to the author, 'no longer defined and described by territory, language, or ancestry, as it was traditionally' (p. xiv). The study analyses the Basques' migration and their settlement and organisation in Basque Centres (*Euskal Etxeak*) in their host societies. The research comprises numerous interviews and a survey of 832 Basques who are, or have been, members of a Basque organisation in their communities in Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, the United States, Australia, and Belgium.

After an introductory review of the literature on ethnicity and diaspora, chapter two explains how Basques in the diaspora hold an idealized vision of the homeland and its national history. These Basque communities believe that the Basque nation (*Euskal Herria*) has been fighting a millenarian battle to defend their identity—against the Romans, Moors and Castilians—and had a pre-modern democracy symbolized by the *fueros* that maintained the Basque culture and language. Although this reconstruction seems accurate, Totoricagüena fails to reproduce the diaspora's memory as she rarely cites interviewees. On the contrary, by failing to detach herself from such a nationalist narrative, she comes close to advocating a perennialist interpretation of the Basque nation. For example, she argues that Basques were a 'separate entity' by the time of the fall of the Roman Empire and that by the Middle Ages, and thanks to their 'ethno-cultural uniqueness', Basques had set themselves apart from their neighbours (pp. 22–24). Moreover, she advocates the pre-modern origins of Basque nationalism when pointing out that only 'a superficial reading of Basque nationalism would begin in the late 1800s' (p. 30).

In chapter three, Totoricagüena traces the history of Basque migration to the Americas between the seventeenth century and the twentieth. Until the eighteenth century, Basque clerics and military personnel chose to migrate within the framework of the Spanish empire. However, during the eighteenth century economic conditions turned the Basques' eyes to the New World and, after the defeat of the Second Republic in the Spanish Civil War, they became political exiles. In parallel to this development, the role of *Euskal Etxeak* also evolved from helping Basque immigrants integrate into the host community to become cultural centres which reinforce a sense of Basque ethnicity. Indeed, chapter four describes how Basque communities in the diaspora, which had consistently defined themselves as non-political, began to react to political events in the homeland from the 1900s. Whereas the nineteenth-century Basque immigrants had been culturally and ethnically aware, new immigrants were politicised by the emergent nationalism of Sabino Arana and the PNV. This trend continued well into the century particularly during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) when Basques sent financial and material aid to the homeland. However, the internal division of Basque nationalism and the emergence of ETA during the Franco Dictatorship (1939–1975) puzzled the diaspora population around the globe and began a process of depoliticisation. By the time democracy had been consolidated in Spain, Totoricagüena points out, very few Basques in the diaspora were aware of the politics in the homeland (pp. 86, 104).

In chapter five, Totoricagüena describes how, in the diaspora, being Basque is defined by ancestry and, to a certain extent, language and religion. In spite of the exclusive nature of the definition of 'Basqueness', Basque communities are open to 'outsiders' participating in choral and dance ensembles, language and cooking classes, athletic activities, dinners and dances, etc. Hence, it is clear that diaspora populations prefer to engage in cultural rather than political activities in order to fulfil their psychological need to belong. As chapter six explains, Basque communities have refused financial help from the Basque government alleging that this might be seen as a sign of involvement in partisan politics, but they welcome the Basque government publications such as videos, bulletins and printed materials to learn Euskera. Those government publications and the use of information technologies are a means to maintain and enhance a cultural link with the original, authentic, ethnic culture of the homeland. The Basque government, on the other hand, is interested in funding these Basque centres in order to use them as 'cultural embassies' for the 'promotion, development, and diffusion of information about the contemporary reality of the Basque Country' (pp. 155, 180). With increasing contact among the existing 160 Basque Centres worldwide and a flow of funding from the homeland, it is only a matter of time before these communities increase the coordination of their cultural and, maybe, political agendas.

An underlying theme of *Identity, Culture, and Politics in the Basque Diaspora* is the relationship between the diaspora's ethnic identity and globalisation. As the author argues in chapter seven, globalisation has not created the diaspora, nor has it created a defensive reaction to protect its ethnic identity. Rather, globalisation has provided 'safe, easy and inexpensive communications and travel', which allow Basque communities to flexibly maintain and practice transnationalism (p. 197). In spite of Totoricagüena's benevolent depiction of the effects of globalisation, one can only wonder at the powerful effect ancestry, blood and myths of descent have on Basques in the diaspora and hope that future definitions evolve towards a more voluntaristic type. Indeed, the criteria of being 'Basque' and the possibility of joining a cultural centre, together with the relationship with the government in the homeland, are likely to determine the future of Basque communities. We look forward to reading about these developments from Gloria Totoricagüena, who has successfully established herself as the authority in the field of Basque diaspora studies.

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**Migration, Gender, Arbeitsmarkt: Neue Beiträge zu Frauen und Globalisierung**

Maria do Mar Castro Varela and Dimitria Clayton (Eds)

Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 2003, 238 pp., €21.95, ISBN 3 89741 126 1 (pbk)

This collection, edited by Maria do Mar Castro Varela and Dimitria Clayton, focuses on the life situation of female migrants in Germany from the employment and gender perspective. The background to this is the fact that labour market and migration research in

Germany has so far mainly considered the situation of male migrant workers and their families. The book, a collection of ten articles, focuses on the growing economic significance of female migrants and analyses the persistent discrimination they face in the labour market and also considers ways in which such structural inequalities could be tackled.

The authors come from different academic disciplines; analytically, all contributions start from central assumptions focusing on existing multidimensional structures of inequality. A number of the articles consider the discrimination of female migrants at the work place and/or when looking for work. Articles also highlight the specific situation of female migrant workers in different sectors of the labour market, as well as existing differences faced by different ethnic groups. Similarly, the transitional phase between school, training and employment, and the resultant inequality for young female migrants, as well as the chances for advancement in education and employment are analysed, using the case of women and girls from Iran. Another article describes the exclusion of female migrant workers through legal requirements and inadequate regulations in the precarious labour market sector. All articles are characterised by their critical approach to the topic, assuming that what they are analysing are complex and also interrelated processes producing inequalities, and that therefore a wide-ranging approach is necessary. What is also seen as important is that female migrants must be differentiated as a heterogeneous group.

The book begins with an article by the editor Maria do Mar Castro Varela; she conceptualises the theme of migration within the current debate, while also providing a summary of migration history in the FRG after 1945. With globalisation and the emergence of neo-liberalism, an increase in material inequality can be observed throughout the world. This has led to massive migration movements from the South to the North and to increasing ethnic differentiation of labour markets. Labour flexibilisation worldwide, restructuring, the increase in precarious employment relationships and the dismantling of the social state have, in the national context, affected mainly workers with low incomes, and in Germany this means to a large extent immigrants. The related rise in unemployment and increase in poverty in the North, have, according to Maria do Mar Castro Varela, caused Europe's governments to react with drastic exclusion and deterrence measures. Starker social differentiation is accompanied by stricter measures in the area of immigration. In particular women, who make up 45.7% of the 7.297 million migrants in the FRG, still belong to the lower ranks of the labour market hierarchy: female migrants are often disproportionately represented on the lowest rungs of the employment ladder; they are disproportionately affected by unemployment and on the whole have a lower rate of employment than native women. This aspect is critically assessed in a contribution by Sedef Gümen. She criticises assumptions shared by major schools of German women's studies, which are still based on a general category of working women and gender as the central determinant of the labour market. The author argues that, in the context of analysing the situation of female migrant workers, the central category of woman, seen as a homogenous group, should be expanded to recognise the asymmetrical gender hierarchy as the central ordering principal of social inequality. The traditional conceptualisation of the binary gender dichotomy should be expanded—as has now been taken on board by classic feminist studies in Germany too—in a more differentiated approach, to include central categories such as ethnicity, culture, nationality, etc. This leads to a shift from an exclusive gender-orientation to a multi-dimensional approach

to social inequality, which takes the different dimensions of gender and society into account. Thus, the vertical but also the horizontal level must be considered when analysing the situation of female migrant workers in the FRG, since the gender-hierarchical distinction no longer exists primarily between the genders, but also between women of different classes and different origins.

In the following contributions, there is more emphasis on individual areas of interest in relation to female migrant worker: Thus, Dorothee Fring's article considers mainly the legal situation of female migrants in the precarious sector of the labour market with reference to the consequences of the recent Hartz Reforms for female migrants. Further articles analyse the participation of young female migrants in education during the transition from school and training into employment, as well as the interaction between racism, sexism, classism and cultural identity in the case of Thai families in Great Britain.

To summarise, one can conclude that this collection of articles deals with the topics of migration, gender and labour market in a comprehensive way, since a wide range of aspects are discussed. A positive point is that the book begins by systematically placing the topic into the context of the current discourse of feminist research in the FRG, while at the same time it provides—in the context of specific studies—a clear insight into the situation of individual ethnic groups of female migrants and their specific labour market situation. On the whole the collection of articles is very wide-ranging; however, a concluding article, summarising the major results in a systematic way, would have been welcome.

(Translated by Anna Wörsching)

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### **Identity and Culture: Narratives of Difference and Belonging, Issues in Cultural and Media Studies**

Chris Weedon

Open University Press, 2004, 177 pp., £16.99, ISBN 0 335 20086 9 (pbk)

As a result of discussions in the media about the supposed 'Clash of Civilisations', the relevance of debates on identity and culture politics has even come to the attention of the general, non-academic public. Indeed, the question of how one should organise coexistence in multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural societies is of particular political topicality. But before any special media attention, concepts of identity and culture have already been actively debated in academic theoretical and methodological discussions. Particularly in poststructuralist discourse, concepts and constructions of culture and identity, as well as questions of belonging and exclusion have been discussed, criticised and deconstructed in fundamental methodological ways. Thus, one must welcome the fact that this volume of the introductory series *Culture and Media Studies* by

the Open University Press considers the complex of cultural identity from an explicitly poststructuralist perspective.

Although Weedon's book is an introduction into the topic, its structure is not of a strictly logical or theoretical order. This, however, is no problem, particularly as the narrative construction corresponds to the discourse-theoretical basis of the book. The division into chapters follows particular case studies in which central questions of cultural belonging and identity are discussed. The author can rely on her wide knowledge, presenting a rich fund of identity-political conflicts: she discusses the lack of inclusion experienced by citizens from migration backgrounds in Great Britain, postcolonial literature of British-Indian women, literary life-stories of aboriginal women in Australia, stories of coloured people in Britain, as well as the resurgence of claims of white superiority among the extreme right in the USA. The exemplary discussion of these very different, but with respect to the question of cultural inclusion and exclusion, very similar battles for recognition is therefore extremely multifaceted. In her theoretically thorough and politically committed analysis, Weedon includes classic forms of expression (e.g., historiography and literature) but also phenomena of current pop-culture (a chapter is dedicated to ethno-comedy on television), from a cultural studies as well as social science perspective.

This inspiring and rich selection of identity-political battles (Chapters 2-7) is prefaced by a theoretical approach to the concept of identity. The discussion of theory in the book's first chapter offers a very good explanatory introduction. The survey structure of this theoretical part, where numerous approaches are not only introduced but also related to one another, is therefore not only conducive to the introductory aim of the book. This chapter is also of interest to readers who already have an advanced knowledge of the topic, who, due to the complex differentiation of identity discourses, are in search of an encompassing explanation and discussion of central theories and concepts of identity. The author's theoretical focus is (expressly) poststructuralist; however, the discussion is not limited to Foucault, Hall and Lacan. What is positive is that Weedon explicitly considers the significance of class and social stratum in relation to the concept of identity. The productive use of Marxist theory is what distinguishes Weedon's contribution from many poststructuralist approaches where questions of economic distribution are often neglected. Altogether this gives a good overview not only of important approaches in the discourse of identity theory, but also of central pillars of any meaningful concept of identity (such as subjectivity, class, ideology, language, visual appearances, discourse and power). When finally, of course, no strict and conclusive concept of identity is presented, it is due to the fluid, flexible and elusive character of the phenomenon itself. For just as individual or collective identities are undergoing constant change, evolution and re-formation, so theories and concepts of identity also have to be open, malleable and flexible.

In light of the quality of the theory chapter and the empirical wealth of the following sections, it is disappointing that the eighth and final chapter is less successful. In the centre of this chapter are cultural and value conflicts and the way in which societies deal with them. However, the author slips into an attitude of conviction and confessional writing, which does not do justice to the complexity of the problem. This is not only analytically and theoretically questionable, but in parts is contradictory to the book's aims. Thus, while Weedon rightly underlines the (post)colonial responsibility of Western nations for the shortcomings of the countless developing countries, at the same time she excuses the respective states and societies from almost any responsibilities of their own for problems and failures. Such exculpation, absolving the former colonies and states of the south of any

responsibility, implies a lack of recognition, which Weedon otherwise aims to fight. To give an example: it is a fact that former colonial powers were responsible for countless arbitrary impositions of borders, resulting in high-conflict potential. But to focus merely on this, and not to consider the border-politics of the individual states during the past decades, implies that these states and their societies are not recognised as autonomous, and therefore they are treated as not responsible themselves. The problem of irresponsibility also appears when Weedon stresses that the western discourse on Islam does not allow Muslim societies to be heterogeneous, democratic or modern. It is indeed problematic that the western discourse is dominated by a pre-modern image of Muslim societies. However, to see in it the sole or even main reason for the lack of liberal democratic systems in states where the majority of people are Muslim, degrades these societies to dependent objects unable to act by themselves. And Weedon's tendency to view every Western intervention as being (post)colonial, negates the ability of southern states to use discursive plurality. Finally, it must be mentioned that Weedon seems to see the discourse on Islamism as no more than a construct of Western islamophobia. Even if the topic of islamophobia is important and, unfortunately, has been mainly ignored, the highly complex dialogue of values between liberal-humanist ideals and (partly fundamentalist) religious world concepts cannot simply be reduced to islamophobia. Thus, for instance, virulent Muslim anti-Semitism in Marseilles, or homophobic attacks of Muslim youths in Berlin-Kreuzberg are indeed real and worrying, and cannot simply be seen as Western Islamophobia. In general, Weedon does not see that, for an inter-ethnic, inter-cultural, and inter-religious discourse, more is needed than the necessary—yet not in itself sufficient—recognition of Western clichés of thinking. To recognise one's counterpart as full, responsible subject of a discourse on equal terms, means that one has to accept criticism, but also to grant full responsibility and be allowed to criticise the other.

The last chapter, unfortunately, detracts from an otherwise theoretically well founded and empirically rich work. Nonetheless, the book is highly readable both for newcomers and more advanced readers.

(Translated by Anna Wörsching)  
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### **Books Received**

- Meliha Benli ALTUNISK & Özlem TÜR, *Turkey, Challenges of Continuity and Change*, RoutledgeCurzon, 2005, 174 pp., £18.99, ISBN 0 415 28710 3 (pbk).
- Ian ANTHONY, *Reducing Threats at the Source, A European Perspective on Cooperation Threat Reduction*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Oxford University Press, 2004, 120 pp., £13.50, ISBN 0 19 927178 X (pbk).
- Timothy BAYCROFT, *Culture, Identity and Nationalis: French Flanders in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Studies in History, The Boydell Press, 2004, 233 pp., £45.00, ISBN 0 861 93269 2 (hbk).
- Nick BISLEY, *The End of the Cold War and the Causes of Soviet Collapse*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 209 pp., £45.00, ISBN 1 4039 3578 5 (hbk).
- Peter BLESES & Martin SEELEIB-KAISER, *The Dual Transformation of the German Welfare State*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 192 pp., £45.00, ISBN 1 4039 1784 1 (hbk).
- Ib BONDEBJERG & Peter GOLDING (Eds) *European Culture and the Media*, Cultural Studies, Intellect, 2004, 315 pp., £14.95, ISBN 1 84150 111 5 (pbk).

- Rebecca BRYANT, *Imagining the Modern, The Culture of Nationalism in Cyprus*, I.B. Tauris, 2004, 307 pp., £17.95, ISBN 1 85043 462 X (pbk).
- Erica CARTER, *Dietrich's Ghost: The Sublime and the Beautiful in Third Reich Film*, BFI Publishing, 2004, 246 pp., £16.99, ISBN 0 85170 883 8 (pbk).
- Francis G. CASTLES, *The Future of the Welfare State, Crisis Myths and Crisis Realities*, Oxford University Press, 2004, 197 pp., £50.00, ISBN 0 19 927017 1 (hbk).
- Hugh COMPSTON (Ed.) *Handbook of Public Policy in Europe: Britain, France and Germany*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 406 pp., £75.00, ISBN 1 4039 0291 7 (hbk).
- Christie DAVIES, *The Strange Death of Moral Britain*, Transaction Publishers, 2004, 264 pp., £30.50, ISBN 0 7658 0223 6 (hbk).
- Ales DEBELJAK, *The Hidden Handshake: National Identity and Europe in the Post-Communist World*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2004, 122 pp., £20.95, ISBN 0 7425 1780 2 (pbk).
- Patrick DIAMOND (Ed.) *New Labour's Old Roots, Revisionist Thinkers in Labour's History 1931–1997*, Imprint Academic, 2004, 264 pp., £14.95, ISBN 0 90784 589 4 (pbk).
- Piet EECKHOUT, *External Relations of the European Union: Legal and Constitutional Foundations*, Oxford University Press, 2004, 490 pp., £75.00, ISBN 0 19 925165 7 (hbk).
- Martin EVANS & Emmanuel GODIN, *France 1815–2003: Modern History for Modern Languages*, Hodder Arnold, 2004, 209 pp., £12.99, ISBN 0 340 76141 5 (pbk).
- Ute FREVERT, *A Nation in Barracks, Modern Germany, Military Conscription and Civil Society*, Berg Publishers, 2004, 322 pp., £16.99, ISBN 1 859 73886 9 (pbk).
- Mary FULBROOK, *History of Germany 1918–2000: The Divided Nation (second edition)*, Blackwell Publishing, 2004, 337 pp., £15.99, ISBN 0 631 23208 7 (pbk).
- Mike GARNETT, *The Snake That Swallowed Its Tail: Some Contradictions in Modern Liberalism*, Imprint Academic, 2004, 96 pp., £8.95, ISBN 0 90784 588 6 (pbk).
- Rüdiger GÖRNER (Ed.) *Politics in Literature: Studies on a Germanic Preoccupation from Kleist to Améry*, Iudicum, 2004, 192 pp., £19.30, ISBN 3 89129 765 3 (pbk).
- Maggie GÜNSBERG, *Italian Cinema: Gender and Genre*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 243 pp., £45.00, ISBN 0 333 75115 9 (hbk).
- Kathleen HALL JAMIESON & Paul WALDMAN, *The Press Effect: Politicians, Journalists, and the Stories That Shape the Political World*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 220 pp., £15.99, ISBN 0 19 515277 8 (hbk).
- Kai-Uwe HELLMANN & Dominik SCHRAGE (Eds) *Konsum der Werbung: Zur Produktion und Rezeption von Sinn in der kommerziellen Kultur*, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004, 208 pp., €27.90, ISBN 3 8100 4203 X (pbk).
- Karen HENDERSON (Ed.) *The Area of Freedom, Security and Justice in the Enlarged Europe*, One Europe or Several? Series, Palgrave, 2005, 174 pp., £45.00, ISBN 1 4039 3522 X (hbk).
- Wolfgang HERLES, *Wir sind kein Volk: Eine Polemik*, Piper, 2004, 231 pp., €12.90, ISBN 3 492 04663 0.
- Nick HEWLETT, *Democracy in France*, Continuum, 2004, 221 pp., £65.00, ISBN 0 8264 5037 7 (hbk).
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