

Political Studies

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Butterworths

John Edwards, *Language, Society and Identity* [Oxford, Basil Blackwell] (in association with André Deutsch, London), 1985], x + 245 pp., £25.00 ISBN 0 631 14232 0, £8.95 pbk ISBN 0 631 14233 9.

The link between language and social identity is a topic which has always been fraught with difficulties. This recent essay on the subject is less original research than an attempt to provide some answers on the basis of an assessment of existing research across several academic disciplines. Edwards attempts to summarize the relationship of language to concepts such as ethnicity and nationalism, and how the concern with identity has led, though, for example, language planning and education, to efforts to preserve and protect languages. The conclusions seem sensible enough: that while language is a very important, perhaps even essential, element of group identity, the course of language is dynamic, and as an element of identity it is susceptible to change to the extent that it is not necessary to retain an original variety in order to maintain the continuity of a sense of groupness'. However, the route which Edwards follows towards his conclusions is not at all clear until one arrives at the final summarizing chapter. One of the virtues of the book is its summary of the innumerable writings on the several aspects of the language-society nexus. Given that there is content within almost all of these aspects, it is difficult at times to follow the author's arguments, particularly in terms of linking micro- and macro-level situations and analyses. On balance, however, the book's coverage of the literature makes it a worthwhile contribution to the subject.

DEREK W. URWIN, *University of Warwick*

Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985), xiv + 697 pp., £21.25/\$25.00 ISBN 0 520 95385 0.

This massive and masterly book lies well beyond the scope of a short note. Horowitz provides a superb synthesis of the workings of ethnic conflict in politics, drawing especially on the experience of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, but with frequent reference to Europe and the Americas. After surveying the literature on ethnicity, and demonstrating the inadequacy of theories which ascribe conflict to such single variables as 'modernization' and economic competition, he sketches an explanatory framework which relates a concept of group entitlement on the one hand, to the workings of particular sets of institutional arrangements on the other. He then follows this through an examination of the logic of irredentist and secessionist movements, the role of ethnicity in different kinds of party system, and ethnic conflict within the armed forces. A final section on alternative strategies of ethnic conflict reduction (not resolution) is fully alive to the inadequacy of simplistic solutions, but offers some hope that these are problems not beyond the scope of human wisdom and ingenuity. The range of coverage is immense, the facts (so far as I can judge) are accurate, and the judgements balanced. This must be the basic book on its subject for this generation.

Max Kaase (ed.), *Politische Wissenschaft und Politische Ordnung* (Wiesbaden, West-deutscher Verlag, 1986), 479 pp., DM72.00 ISBN 3 351 11804 8.

It is rarely an easy task to review a *Festschrift*, since the contributions in such a book have not been compiled, and thus cannot be assessed, solely on the basis of their significance for the discipline of political science. Rudolf Wildenmann must, though, be gratified by the undoubted quality of the essays included in this volume, produced to mark his 65th birthday. Leaving aside two contributions included more for their relation to Wildenmann's own multifaceted career, most of the essays will be of interest to political scientists both because of their themes and because of the quality of their content. Written by colleagues or former students of Wildenmann, these reflect both the high standard which he himself has always represented in political science and the wide variety of his own interests and professional influence, extending to many areas of the discipline, but also reaching over to sister-disciplines, such as sociology, political economy, social psychology and history.

The contributions are grouped loosely into seven sections, dealing with, for example, problems of the democratic order, theory and empiricism relating to political and social processes, politics and society in the Federal German Republic, and the mass media in relation to the political process. Many of the essays will find their way onto course reading lists (for those who can read German) or will be cited in future research: Flora's survey of the historical development of the welfare state in Europe; Deutsch's masterly analysis of problems of democracy in an 'informational' society and his concept (p. 42) of an 'informational elite'; Kalfleiter's justifiably pessimistic study of democratic societies as a small minority of the states in the modern world; Hirsch-Weber's review of theories of pluralism and their critics, and Reif's sensitive discussion of the British two-party model and its relevance to other countries, such as France and West Germany, are some of the obvious examples.

Three other contributions should be mentioned, for reasons other than their direct contribution to the discipline. Alois Schardt's essay (entitled 'a journalistic interjection') is a refreshing and intelligent consideration of problems of language and information-selection in political writing. The only essay written in English is a polemic by Hermens entitled 'Evaluating Electoral Systems', which will be most valuable as an exercise for students to illustrate fallacious argument and one-sided selection of evidence. Thirdly, the introductory essay by Max Kaase must be mentioned, which provides an illuminating concise biography of Rudolf Wildenmann, but which could well have been more extensive in view of Wildenmann's colourful and varied life story.

GEOFFREY K. ROBERTS, *UMIST*

Stuart Lowe, *Urban Social Movements: the City after Castells* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1986), x + 211 pp., £20.00 ISBN 0 333 37519 X, £6.95 pbk ISBN 0 333 37250 3.

Lowe's book has several merits. It is the first textbook on a subject normally neglected by political scientists: the growth, cumulative impact and dissolution of urban social movements (USMs). Chapters 1 and 2 provide an accessible summary of the evolution of the ideas of Manuel Castells (which are often obscure, contradictory and pretentious in the original) and the arguments of Patrick Dunleavy (which are not). As such they will be useful to students of urban politics and public administration. Similarly, chapters 4 and 5 provide a brisk introduction to tenants', rate-payers' and squatters' movements in post-war Britain. These four chapters can be safely commended to students as good critical summaries of the existing literature. Lowe also illuminatingly highlights how often the personal and objectives of USMs become absorbed into the political system through political parties.

However, what is not clear is what the book adds up to as a whole. The author successfully shows the difficulties in Castells' notion of USMs, but does not establish that the term can be successfully rescued from Castells' confusions. For instance, the distinction between USMs and pressure groups (or voluntary associations) is not successfully sustained. Chapter 3, 'The Mobilization Process' is inadequate, but not so much because of what it says, but what it omits. The mobilization of USMs is 'explained' first by the role of the local political system (a summary of Dunleavy's *Urban Political Analysis*), secondly, by the structure of social bases (residential communities and sectoral consumption cleavages), and thirdly by the impact of ideologies (managerialist and ratepayer). The defective functionalist reasoning should be clear to political scientists who must ask why Lowe pays no attention to the logic of collective action. Had he done so we might have been able to understand why some USMs get mobilized and others do not. Chapter 6, 'Comparative Urban Social Movements', is a trot around the globe summarizing various good-quality analyses of urban political mobilizations. The rationale for the chapter is to counsel against model building, especially Picketance's pioneering efforts to explain the growth and evolution of USMs. It is strange because the appropriate criticism of Picketance should be that his model appears to hold for Western Europe only, not that 'prematuring model building' should be abandoned. All successful models started with 'prematuring' forerunners!

Some typographical errors (especially within quotations from other authors) and awkward

sentences spoil the book's 'readability'. But despite these defects Lowe's book should be selectively recommended to students.

BRENDAN O'LEARY, *London School of Economics*

Nigel Lucas (with the assistance of D. Papaconstantinou), *Western European Energy Politics: a Comparative Study of the Influence of Institutional Structure on Technical Change* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985), xiv + 298 pp., £19.50 ISBN 0 19 828488 8. Jae Edmonds and John M. Reilly, *Global Energy: Assessing the Future* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1985), xii + 317 pp., £55.00 ISBN 0 19 503522 4. Peter F. Cowhey, *The Problems of Plenty: Energy Policy and International Politics* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985), xiv + 447 pp., £37.75 ISBN 0 520 04693 5.

There is no escaping the importance of energy to politics. Not only are energy resources a crucial factor in relations between nations, but energy policy within nations occupies a substantial part of the political agenda. These three books all add usefully to our understanding of the ways in which the politics of energy are forged.

Although Lucas's work is described as a comparative study, the bulk of the book is taken up with separate descriptions of the evolution of energy policy in France, Denmark, Sweden, Italy and West Germany. He discusses the historical, geographical, political and economic background to the policies, concentrating not just on the executives but also on the opposition movements. Only in the last chapter is there an attempt to compare the institutional arrangements by which the technology of energy production is organized. There Lucas draws attention to the way in which the choice between energy technologies is affected by the balance between central and local power; he also points out how the success of conservation policy can depend on the degree to which energy use and energy supply policies are integrated (as they are in Denmark, for example). The most frustrating feature of this otherwise helpful work is the lack of consistency in the organization of the descriptive chapters. The comparative chapter is left to do too much in too little space; it does, none the less, suggest some interesting avenues for further research.

Whilst Lucas examines the way energy policy is shaped, Edmonds and Reilly provide the technical backdrop to that policy. Their *Global Energy* is a comprehensive reference work on the world's energy resources. They begin by discussing the problems of assessing the future of any energy source. They provide a clear-headed account of the difficulties of accounting for geological, technological, and economic demand. They then apply themselves to assessing the prospects for a wide range of energy sources: from the familiar terrain of oil, gas, coal and nuclear power, to the less well developed areas of biomass, solar, and ocean thermal energy. They end by considering that the world's energy future is bleak, that a major energy gap will emerge in the early 21st century. Instead, Edmonds and Reilly contend that energy sources will gradually change: a paradigm of continuous energy evolution appears much more accurate than one of transition between steady states' (p. 304). At the same time, they emphasize the need for diversification in energy production; no single (nuclear) source will suffice.

Essential though technical assessment is for anyone concerned to judge the policies which governments adopt and the (real) interests which lie behind them, researchers also have to appreciate the political processes within and between states which determine how resources are made available and valued. Such complexities are the subject of Cowhey's impressive study of the interaction of energy policy and international politics. Not only does he provide a detailed account of how policy has changed since World War I (his lengthy discussion of the oil crises of the 1970s is particularly good), but he also develops a framework for explaining those changes. While accepting the importance of market forces and technical realities, Cowhey recognizes the limits of such accounts. He draws attention to the different techniques for managing supply and demand, and then he goes on to discuss the factors which determine the choice of strategy and its consequences. The insights Cowhey offers into the way states behave under conditions of limited

autonomy and considerable ignorance can be applied to policies besides those of energy. Cowhey has written a very valuable book which neatly blends empirical research with political economic theory.

JOHN STREET, *University of East Anglia*

Jerry L. Mashaw, *Bureaucratic Justice* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1985), xii + 238 pp., £9.95 pbk ISBN 0 300 03403 2. Deborah A. Stone, *The Disabled State* (London, Macmillan, 1985), xiv + 241 pp., £20.00 ISBN 0 333 39311 2. £7.95 pbk ISBN 0 333 39312 0.

Mashaw's book is a gem. From the viewpoint of intellectual excitement it begins with the rather unpromising aim of examining the management of disability claims by the US Social Security Administration. It develops as a subtle exercise in political and legal philosophy. Seeing the mission of the disability benefits scheme as a form of 'cautious benevolence', Mashaw shows how bureaucrats in the administration balance the conflicting organizational and value claims that are placed upon them. From these observations he develops the theme that bureaucratic justice affords the best protection for aggrieved citizens in the welfare state. In other words, the direction for reform is not greater control by the courts or the legislature but improved management in the routine handling of claims by examiners and their superiors. Throughout, the argument is characterized by logic, evidence and humour. Stone's work places these problems in a larger context, seeing the resort to medical certification as a device by which societies reconcile their commitment to both work-based and needs-based principles of allocation. Stone's work contains much interesting information, but the force of her general argument is weakened by her taking evidence from Britain, Germany and the USA from different and distinct historical periods.

ALBERT WEALE, *University of East Anglia*

Wolfgang Streeck and Philippe C. Schmitter (eds), *Private Interest Government: Beyond Market and State* (London, Sage, 1985), x + 278 pp., £27.50 ISBN 0 8039 972 1, £10.50 pbk ISBN 0 8039 9723 X.

This collection of essays is further proof, should it be needed, of the vitality of corporatist studies. In line with other recent work, the focus is not on class collaboration and macro-level policy-making, but on sectoral and professional interests at the meso-level. Streeck's and Schmitter's introduction is a powerful statement of the case for seeing 'private interest government' as a fundamental form of social organization, on a par with community, market and state. The early writing on neo-corporatism, especially Schmitter's own, tended to have an exclusively descriptive and theoretical purpose, and was explicitly anti-corporatist at the normative level. In their introduction to this collection, Streeck and Schmitter focus on the normative case for corporatism where state and market may be judged to have failed (no one seems to be anti-*community*!). They suggest that in such situations private interest governments can solve governmental and policy problems more effectively. The essays which follow focus on specific policy areas, including accountability and the voluntary welfare sector in Britain, pharmaceuticals in Britain and the Netherlands, industrial sectors in the United States, and no less than four chapters on the dairy industry in Britain, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Austria. What emerges from these is that self-regulation is immensely complex, and its nuances are little understood outside the circle of eligibles. This raises a major problem for democracy, which is neglected here, but remedial action is promised in a later volume in the Sage series. Internal democracy within private interest governments is possible (as Grant's chapter on the British dairy sector shows), but little emerges from the case studies on the more general problem of how to reconcile this with democracy as *public* interest government. This problem does not, however, affect the case for corporatism as a descriptive and explanatory tool, and there is much to bolster that case in this interesting collection.

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