

find a lot of new material for their work. The main advantage of this book is the strong team of researchers who know their data first hand and extensively cite local publications. This makes the book unique and gives readers a direct access to new information. At the same time, some chapters do not describe all aspects of population ageing and would benefit from further expansion. For example, readers may want to see more information on the migration processes in Poland. The chapter on population ageing in Bulgaria considers only demographic processes, whereas it would be interesting to learn more about the social, economic, and health consequences of Bulgarian population ageing. This book covers only two countries of the former Soviet Union, so it would be good to see a special edition on population ageing in these countries in the future. There is no doubt that this book will be extensively cited and used in research on population ageing

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#### Luke Martell: *The Sociology of Globalization*

Cambridge 2010: Polity Press, 336 pp.

The torrent of literature that has been published on globalisation in recent years shows no sign of abating. The term first appeared in corporate boardrooms in the 1960s and it was not until the 1990s that the concept really took off among the public and in academia. When I started writing on globalisation in the early 1990s there were a handful of studies on the topic. A decade later, in late 2003, a quick search on Amazon.com for 'globalisation' came up with over 11 000 titles [Appelbaum and Robinson 2005: xii]. As I write this review in late 2011, the figure had nearly doubled, to over 18 000. Given such a welter of studies we should welcome the more recent proliferation of textbooks, readers, and encyclopaedias that set about to collect, review, interpret, synthesise, and assess this enormous body of literature, many of them intended for the classroom. In 1995, sociologist Malcolm Waters published what is probably the first such interpretative text, simply titled *Globalization* [1995]. Since then dozens—perhaps hundreds—of such texts have been published in English, among them, well known works by Held et. al. [1999], Holton [1998], Scholte [2000], Steger [2008], Ritzer [2007], Appelbaum and Robinson [2005], Lechner and Boli [2012], and Scholte and Robertson [2007].

It is from this matrix that Martell's work appears. *The Sociology of Globalization* appears to be a textbook for students. Unlike Sassen's study [2007], which was published several years earlier under the same

title, Martell's book is not an original study involving new research, empirical information, or theoretical propositions. It attempts to appraise the extant sociological and social scientific literature in the field and evaluate the numerous debates that continue to rage, and is reviewed here in those terms. What makes this text stand out from others is its grounding in political economy and its emphasis on power, inequality, and conflict. Herein lies the strength of Martell's text. He succeeds in his aim of pursuing the traditional sociological concerns of power, inequality, and conflict in relation to globalisation, and there are significant limits to the undertaking, as I will discuss below. He claims that his is a critical approach that assigns causal priority in the process of globalisation to the dynamics of capitalist economics. The first of thirteen chapters review the debate on the concept of globalisation with an emphasis on whether the process involves divergence or convergence among countries in the global system. In subsequent chapters, the book discusses the history of globalisation, economic, and cultural globalisation, migration, inequality, politics and the state, anti-globalisation and the global justice movement, war and globalisation, and the debate over world order and US hegemony or decline.

For a book that claims to be a 'sociology' of globalisation there are several topics that are glaringly absent from the text, among them: globalisation, women and gender (I found a total of four paragraphs on gender in a 336 page book!); globalisation and race/ethnicity; and globalisation and the environment. Martell claims to place a causal premium on the dynamics of capitalism, yet absent as well is any mention of the global capitalism school within globalisation studies (see, e.g., Robinson [2004, 2008], Sklair [2002], Harris [2006], Carroll [2010], and the early, pioneering treatise by Cox [1987]), including the debate on a transnational capitalist class, or

more generally, Marxist takes on globalisation. The book does not engage in a critique of global capitalism, class analysis, analysis of social forces, or discussion of capital, beyond brief references to the rise of multinational corporations. The text is also highly repetitive. Chapters are intended, says Martell, to stand alone, useful for the student in the context of the classroom if irritating for those looking for a scholarly reading. And the work gets bogged down repeatedly in too much detail on the debates among globalisation theorists, some of which have become increasingly tedious and worn-out.

One of these is the tripartite debate, taken up in Chapter 1, among so-called 'skeptics', for whom globalisation is overstated and even illusory, 'globalists', for whom the nation-state has been superseded by globalisation, and the 'transformationalists', for whom globalisation is old but has more recently involved qualitatively new dimensions and unprecedented forms. Martell adds a fourth, more recent post-modern or post-structural element to the debate that places the emphasis on discourse, social constructionism, and the 'idea' of globalisation. Here Martell is at his best in wielding a political economy critique of ideational perspectives. 'Discourse theories are often set up as a sophisticated step forward from crude outmoded economic determinism', says Martell. 'But economics may be the decisive factor that brings ideational discourse to the fore . . . . Globalization involves economic and/or political projects to which meanings are attached to gain the consent or acquiescence of groups in society, legitimating or justifying them through categories such as "globalization"' (p. 39).

A second debate is the time frame of globalisation, examined in Chapter 2. Is globalisation a process dating back thousands of years to the spread of peoples and cultures across civilisations? Is it a process dating back hundreds of years and synon-

ymous with the spread of the capitalist system? Or is it a more recent process dating back tens of years and associated with the transformations that began in the latter part of the 20th century? In Martell's words, is globalisation 'pre-modern, modern, or post-modern'? Yet a third debate that has been central to globalisation studies and that Martell reviews in considerable detail is addressed in Chapter 3, on globalisation and culture. Is the process resulting in *homogenisation*, or the subsuming of distinct cultures under the domination of Western culture, in *hybridisation*, or in the melding of distinct cultures into new hybrid forms, or in cultural *clashes*, the so-called 'clash of civilisations' thesis? Again, Martell exhibits the strength of the political economy approach that draws in relations of power and domination. As a consequence of the separation of culture from the economy in much of the globalisation literature—under the justification of avoiding 'economistic' determinism, many authors ignore the 'relations of economic power and inequality that affect culture' (p. 101).

The chapter on global inequalities is more disappointing. Martell relies on World Bank and United Nations data that place a premium on measuring poverty in terms of GDP per capita, an approach well known to obscure more than it elucidates and to understate the extent of poverty. Household survey data from around the world, for instance, considered a much more accurate measure, have shown poverty levels to be considerably higher than World Bank data suggests. Martell also limits the discussion to inequality among countries, despite the fact that critical globalisation scholars have shown how globalisation has resulted in sharp polarisation and rapidly rising inequalities *within* as well as across countries, so that global society is increasingly stratified less along national and territorial lines than across transnational social and class lines [see, e.g., Hoogvelt 1996]. He talks about 'poor

countries' but not about poverty and inequality in class terms or in transnational social terms.

There is a larger problem here. Martell's unit of analysis is the nation-state and the interstate system. His nation-state/inter-state perspective pervades the text, as evidenced in his chapters on global politics, cosmopolitan democracy, and world order, in which the discussion is driven by a traditional realist International Relations approach. It is true that much—but far from all—of the globalisation literature displays this nation-state/inter-state centrism. But for what is intended as a critical approach, Martell's text engages and gives inordinate weight to a handful of liberal academics and their pluralist/consensus theory foci who have dominated mainstream discourse, such as British political scientist David Held, who is discussed as some length in just about every chapter.

Were I to assess this book as a scholarly contribution, I would have to say it is a disappointment. But as a textbook for classroom use I would recommend it as supplementary material whose contribution is to bring a political economy perspective to the liberal/pluralist literature on globalisation with which it engages.

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**J. T. Weishaupt: *From the Manpower Revolution to the Activation Paradigm. Explaining Institutional Continuity and Change in an Integrating Europe***  
Amsterdam 2011: Amsterdam University Press, 396 pp.

Over the past decennia, European welfare states have reconfigured their labour market policies in the direction of activation. Although the specific mix of policy measures as well as the pace and timing differed—the Nordic countries are pioneering on this front, the other countries moving later and less consistently—most European

member states have at some point embarked on the route to activation. They have installed tighter entitlement conditions for unemployment insurance benefits, modernised their public employment services, and developed programmes for individually tailored job placement, training and re-training, all with a view to improving or maintaining the employability of workers. In order to explain this European convergence on active labour market policy as well as the remaining divergence between countries, much of the literature has relied on structural factors, such as economic globalisation (arguing that all countries have to adapt to market forces) and institutionalist concepts such as path dependency (arguing that countries will adapt in regime-specific ways). In this excellent study, Timo Weishaupt argues that both strands of literature are too one-sided and fail to take into account the crucial role of policymakers' changing normative and cognitive beliefs.

The book's main contention is that the evolution of labour market policy is not only determined by economic pressure, specific historical trajectories, and internal power struggles, but also by policy makers' changing ideas about the appropriate role and design of labour market policies. When deciding on alternative policies, political actors are not only struggling for scarce resources ('powering'), they are also being 'reflexive', assessing or re-assessing ('puzzling' over) what labour market policy is all about and/or should be about. *From the Manpower Revolution to the Activation Paradigm* tells a compelling story about how European policymakers and institutional entrepreneurs have repeatedly reassessed their normative and cognitive beliefs about labour market policy and labour market governance. Throughout the whole post-war period, but especially when faced with severe economic and social crises, policy actors have sought institutional alternatives for existing policies. By deriving ideas from 'below' (through national social