

usefully explore the mechanisms driving that kind of a shift in Europe and more carefully parse out the precise ways in which welfare state retrenchment may be occurring. This book sets an excellent example illustrating why cross-national comparison is important, and future research could fruitfully continue this project with more explicit comparison of the US with various European states, and by bringing Canada and Australia into the comparative analysis of welfare states and immigration.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.iom.int/news/irregular-migrant-refugee-arrivals-europe-top-one-million-2015-iom>

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/01/25/the-ever-expanding-list-of-european-policies-that-target-refugees/?postshare=3901453811004735&tid=ss\\_fb](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/01/25/the-ever-expanding-list-of-european-policies-that-target-refugees/?postshare=3901453811004735&tid=ss_fb)

**Max Haller and Anja Eder: *Ethnic Stratification and Economic Inequality around the World: The End of Exploitation and Exclusion?***

Abingdon 2016: Routledge, 418 pp.

This substantial book takes on an ambitious task. Haller argues that, although the topic is certainly not unstudied, existing literature has not fully theorised, nor rigorously empirically demonstrated, the connection between ethnic differentiation and economic inequality within nations around the world. The book contains two main parts. Part one lays out Haller's theory of ethnic stratification's contribution to economic inequality. It also contains a quantitative cross-national analysis testing of various hypotheses derived from the theory. The second part develops an exhaustive typology of socio-historical approaches for

dealing with ethnic heterogeneity. Haller further elaborates on the typology with an extensive series of country-specific case studies.

The first chapter evaluates existing literature in economics and sociology seeking to explain cross-national differences in within-nation poverty and inequality. Citing a diverse and extensive array of literature, Haller argues that there has been fairly little research that adequately explains the diversity of national patterns of inequality or poverty, despite notable exceptions. Haller further argues that the inability to fully address these patterns results from omission of differences in ethnic stratification between countries as an explanatory factor. Though the review is fairly thorough, one could extend the argument to how ethnic stratification may affect fundamental dynamics of capital accumulation, touching on research in economics, or of politics and power resources, touching on research in sociology and political science. The next chapter takes a Weberian approach to analysing this relationship. Alongside class formation and social stratification, referring to Weber's 'status', ethnic differentiation forms the third leg of the triad explaining economic inequality. This triad is embedded within ideologies legitimating inequality, political systems, and other structural conditions.

Following theories on imagined communities, Haller defines an ethnic group as having a biologically or socially defined common ancestry, as well as distinctions from the larger society with respect to language or religion. An additive index measures ethnic differentiation with data from a variety of sources. The index is based on the size of the largest minority groups in terms of descent, language, and religion each. Haller estimates that ethnic heterogeneity is quite high around the world, particularly relative to his assessment of its prominence in existing research. Heterogeneity is highest in Africa and lowest in Eu-

rope and is positively correlated with a measure of ethnic conflict. The chapter interprets this correlation as evidence that heterogeneity drives economic inequality partly through ethnic conflict.

The following chapter lays out hypotheses relating ethnic differentiation to economic inequality. The nine hypotheses are complex, covering interactions between ethnic differentiation, class formation, histories of slavery, legalisation of ethnic discrimination, democracy, welfare states, and religious and secular ideologies. The next chapter tests them quantitatively with regression analysis and fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA) using a country-level data set. In the regression analyses, ethno-class exploitation, a measure of historical slavery, has the most persistent significant relationships with greater inequality. Ethnic fractionalisation has mixed relationships, net of controls, and ethnic conflict has no conditional relationship. Perhaps not surprisingly, ethno-class exploitation is also significantly associated with greater homicide rates and political corruption. Notably though, cross-sectional analyses remain vulnerable to unobserved confounding influences due to a number of unobserved country characteristics, and some key measures of ethnic differentiation do not exhibit robust relationships. Similarly, the fsQCA results are complex, and the robustness of the method has recently been a topic of methodological debate. Returning to the analysis of Sub-Saharan Africa, the results could also suggest that the history of colonialism or ethnic differentiation between African and European societies may be more powerful than within-country ethnic differentiation in this context. However, the quantitative analyses are complemented by an array of detailed case studies in the second part of the book, strengthening its empirical contributions.

Chapter 5 begins the second main part of the book and outlines three general approaches toward ethnic differentiation

across societies: preserving ethnic homogeneity, controlling emerging heterogeneity, and ethnic domination and exploitation. Each of these general approaches is enacted with a variety of means, illustrated by the multiple case studies in the subsequent chapters. Such strategies necessarily confront immigration, with varying degrees of immigrant exclusion and incorporation. For example, Haller attributes low levels of economic inequality in Sweden to its ethnic homogeneity and solidarity through the welfare state, and low inequality in Japan to its ethnic homogeneity and cultural solidarity. Meanwhile, the legacies of slavery in the United States and Apartheid in South Africa persist well beyond the exclusion often experienced by immigrants in these countries.

The case studies vary widely, including Sweden, Japan, Russia, many Eastern European countries, India, China, Brazil, Sub-Saharan Africa, the United States, South Africa, and Israel, among other countries and regions. The methodological approaches with the cases also vary, including syntheses of existing literature, descriptive comparisons of country-level trends, and regression analyses of individual-level data. The cases highlight the complexity of ethnic differentiation around the world and may be particularly useful for those whose research focuses on one or more of the highlighted countries. The three-way comparison between the United States, South Africa, and Israel is particularly original.

The book's final chapter discusses the potential for equitable resolution of ethnic differentiation. Similar to previous chapters, Haller enumerates several strategies: state secession, political federalisation, policies to benefit ethnic minorities, and immigration policies. The chapter describes in detail how the potential and recommended form of each strategy is context-dependent. Ultimately, Haller concludes that explicit recognition of ethnic differentiation in some capacity is necessary to

overcome its role in generating economic inequality. Overall, the book provides a wide-ranging and detailed examination of ethnic stratification around the world. It may be a useful resource for scholars working on such broad comparisons of ethnicity and immigration.

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**Seán Ó Riain: *The Rise and Fall of Ireland's Celtic Tiger. Liberalism, Boom and Bust***

Cambridge 2014: Cambridge University Press, 312 pp.

There is much to recommend this book to anyone interested in the evolution of the latest economic crisis on the European continent, and especially in its links to the persistent economic disparities and difficult paths of catch-up growth in united Europe. For one, this is probably the fullest account of the economic trajectory of a country that was often held up as a paragon of spectacular success owed to economic liberalisation and foreign capital. Ireland was an example much admired and often imitated, before the global financial crisis plunged it back into an equally spectacular dive. Moreover, Ó Riain's treatment of the Irish story is the kind of political-economy writing one wishes would become more common. Eschewing deterministic and monocausal accounts, this slim volume tells Ireland's story through a variety of lenses. It skilfully weaves together the analysis of peculiar dynamics of Irish socio-economic structures with that of the broader transformations of the European economy, tracing the changing interactions between the two and unearthing insightful parallels and comparisons with other European countries. This multi-perspective approach also allows Ó Riain to intervene in a number of

current debates: about transnational integration and development, the persistence of different models of capitalism, and the recent return of discussions on the Polanyian concept of 'embeddedness' to economic sociology.

Perhaps the most inspiring aspect of Ó Riain's account, however, is its possibilist tone. The crash and burn of the international financial bubble has prompted much *Schadenfreude* among the more critically minded analysts, who had always known that excessive dependence of the national economies on mobile transnational capital would end in tears. Ó Riain is not one of them. His analysis might be focused on the difficulties and vulnerabilities of anchoring an externally-dependent model of development into national socio-economic structures. But he is also careful to point out the opportunities and the very real gains Ireland made in this process over the years. In other words, not all of the Celtic Tiger was a mirage. Before it got sidelined by the wave of financialisation, Ireland had been firmly on the path to creating institutional foundations for a more comprehensive and sustainable form of development. It is precisely the competition between these models, the political agency behind each, and the persistence of alternatives that lend this book a note of suspense rarely encountered in the academic literature, especially that of a more institutionalist bent. It is also a helpful way to narrow the discussion of the transformation of the Irish political economy in the past three decades to a single question of how a developmental model centred on high technology exports was replaced by a 'growth machine' fuelled by international finance and domestic demand in construction.

To answer it, Ó Riain first walks the reader through the various phases of the transformation of the Celtic Tiger. Chapter 2 traces the beginnings of an externally-oriented growth project to the late 1980s, a period marked by macro-economic stabilisa-