

it is weaponry, and while there is no guaranteed access to food, housing or health care in the USA, it is Cuba that is relentlessly branded as a violator of human rights. Leech argues persuasively that ecological sustainability must be at the centre of the socialist alternative, and again Cuba leads in this sphere. According to the WWF 'Living Planet Report' in 2006, Cuba was the only country in the world to have achieved sustainable development. Critics might point to the fact that this is due to the state of the Cuban economy, but there are clearly lessons to be drawn here.

Leech's argument falters, however, in his claim that socialism can only be achieved through the revolutionary seizure of state power, 'most likely utilizing some degree of violence' (p. 152). This seems to contradict his argument about the importance of participatory democracy. If enough people can be persuaded that the logic of capital does entail structural violence and even genocide, then it will no doubt be able to persuade enough people, eventually, to vote for those with policies to replace capitalism with a more just system, whether it is labelled socialism or not. This book, with its large number of useful alternative references, is a step in this direction.

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*Lange, Matthew* **Educations in Ethnic Violence: Identity, Educational Bubbles, and Resource Mobilization** 2012 Cambridge University Press 242 pp. £16.99 (paperback)

Education promotes the value of tolerance and prepares students for a cosmopolitan world. This commonplace piety seems justified by our experience. In contemporary Britain, as in other Western democracies, it is individuals with less education who are more likely to express ethnic prejudice and to support the extreme right. This association, however, cannot be generalized to poorer economies or undemocratic polities. In most of the world, argues Matthew Lange, 'education is more likely to contribute to ethnic violence than to restrain it' (p. 2).

Four distinct mechanisms link education with ethnic violence. First, education can socialize students to hold an exclusive ethnic identity. Second, it can raise expectations for social mobility, which provokes anger if those expectations are frustrated. Third, it can enhance competition for access to a limited number of privileged jobs. Fourth, it provides individuals with resources to organize collectively, which enables ethnic mobilization. These mechanisms, the author emphasizes, do not predict an invariant relationship between education and ethnic violence. Outcomes will depend also on the pattern of ethnic cleavages, the scarcity of economic resources, and the efficacy of political institutions.

The book begins empirical investigation by analysing the incidence of ethnic violence, as coded by the Minorities at Risk project, across a hundred countries and over four decades (1960s to the 1990s). Education is measured alternatively as the proportion of young people enrolled in secondary school, as the proportion of adults who have completed secondary school, or as the average adult's years of education. The latter two variables have a positive and statistically significant effect on ethnic violence, controlling for various other independent variables. Moreover, the effect of education increases (and all three measures become statistically significant) when analysis is confined to poorer economies or to less effective political systems. Such aggregate statistical analysis is inevitably crude, especially when the time series is by decade rather than by year. Surprisingly, the author does not attempt to measure the 'educational bubbles' of the book's title, even though it would be straightforward to construct a variable comparing the increase of school enrolment to the growth of per capita GDP. (The analysis includes the level of per capita GDP but not its growth.)

Nevertheless, the results are valuable for revealing the positive association of education with ethnic violence.

The bulk of the book examines selected historical cases. The four mechanisms are illustrated in studies of Sri Lanka, Cyprus, the Palestinian territories, Assam in India, and Nazi Germany. Commendably, the author also considers two cases where high levels of education have not led to ethnic violence: Quebec in Canada and Kerala in India. Comparison across sub-Saharan Africa demonstrates enduring historical legacies: former British colonies have better education than French ones, but also have worse ethnic violence. These case studies highlight two dangerous configurations. One is an education system divided by ethnicity (and thus usually by language), whereby each group inscribes ethnic identity on its children. The other is an expansion of higher education without equivalent growth of privileged jobs, which is manifested in worse unemployment for the most educated compared to the uneducated. Extending primary education to the whole population, by contrast, has no such deleterious effect. What matters, it seems, is not so much the average level of education in a society, but rather its unequal distribution. This point about inequality deserves emphasis.

By focusing on ethnic violence, the book of course cannot evaluate the effect of education on collective violence overall. Education could conceivably alter the character of violence – shifting it from rebelling against rulers to attacking ethnic rivals – rather than increase its volume. As noted in the conclusion, states often tolerate and sometimes promote education that inflames ethnic antagonism, but they do not permit education that incites rebellion. The book's analytical strength in isolating education as an independent variable has a downside, neglecting other causal paths. The author does statistically test for reverse causation, finding that ethnic violence does not subsequently influence the level of education. But this does not address the content of education. The case studies reveal positive feedback between ethnic conflict and education instilling ethnic identity. In addition, statistical analysis shows that ethnic violence falls as per capita GDP rises. Insofar as increasing education boosts economic growth, then its direct effect on ethnic violence will be mitigated (perhaps even outweighed) by its indirect effect via per capita GDP.

Minor criticisms aside, the author makes a persuasive and important argument. The combination of clear theory and detailed empirical investigation, of statistical analysis and historical comparison, exemplifies sociology at its best. This book should be read by students of politics, of education, and of economic development. Indeed, it will be salutary reading for all university workers, tempted as we are to equate education with tolerance.

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*Miller, D. and Woodward, S.* **Blue Jeans: The Art of the Ordinary** 2012 University of California Press 184 pp. \$60.00/ £41.95 (hardback) \$24.95/ £16.95 (paperback)

Some books feel half-finished because they are full of tantalizing possibilities and new directions. Some books feel unfinished because they introduce many ideas and critiques but do not follow through on many of them. Miller and Woodward's *Blue Jeans* is a problematic book because it seems incomplete in the latter fashion. There are a range of implicit and explicit critiques in *Blue Jeans* which resemble a widely scattered whiff of grape shot. Despite these issues, *Blue Jeans* is an important contribution to studies of material culture and of fashion. The book's principle contribution is the introduction of 'the ordinary', a category juxtaposed with anthropology's concept of 'the normative' and complementary to sociological framings of 'routine' or 'the everyday'. Unfortunately, this material is confined