from which to seriously tackle issues such as racism, discrimination and the meaning of European citizenship.

Indeed, even the title of the book seems to merit more thoughtful attention than it receives. What are the implications of pairing the concepts of Islam and Europe? While one side of this equation refers to a religion, the other refers to a continent. Why was this particular configuration chosen? Why is the discussion so focused on Muslims *in* Europe rather than on Muslim Europeans or European Muslims? The contributors to this volume devote considerable attention to specifying the diverse ways one can be Muslim in Europe while saying remarkably little about whether there is a diversity in the ways one can be European.

Anxieties provoked by Muslims and Islam in Europe stem not only from the perceived threats Islam poses to societies closely identified with Christianity, but also from fears of overt religiosity in self-defined secular societies. The tensions inherent in the conceptual pairing of Islam and Europe suggest a need to explore the limits of European secularism and the particular ways in which the category of Muslim is constructed in European contexts and for what purposes. These explorations, however, will have to await another book. *Muslim Europe or Euro-Islam* provides a general starting point from which to begin to consider a timely and important topic, but those who want to gain an in-depth understanding of the issues will need to pursue them elsewhere.

Lauren L. Basson

David Macarov, *What the Market Does to People: Privatization, Globalization, and Poverty* (Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 2003), 183 pp.

This is a short, sharp and frustrating book, yet, in many ways, one not to be put aside lightly, both for what it says and, more importantly, for the questions it leaves unasked and unanswered.

The introduction sums up the theme and contents of the book: prosperity in the world is rising, but so are inequality and poverty, and virtually no one is protesting. Privatization and the global economy offer us all the vision of a better world tomorrow, but this is pie in the sky. There is no evidence of this better world; on the contrary, the position of the world's poor is deteriorating, and their numbers are growing, relatively and absolutely.

The first chapter presents ways of defining poverty, discusses which groups in society make up the bulk of the poor, and attempts to estimate the prevalence of poverty in the United States, noting in conclusion that government statistics are an exercise in "semantic shilly-shallying, statistical subterfuge, corrupt counting, and fudging facts" (pp. 35-36). In a word, rather than face up to their acclaimed responsibilities, they lie

through their teeth. The result (Chapter 2) is a cycle of hunger, ill health and victimization passed on from generation to generation through the education system.

Chapter 3 argues that behind the self-serving explanations blaming the poor for their plight, the root cause of poverty today is laissez faire capitalism, which creates wealth while also creating new poverty and deepening existing poverty. Chapter 4 argues that there is no evidence that privatization makes things any better; on the contrary, its main effect is to cut costs and deskill and casualize the work force, while offering subsidies to entrepreneurs and creating a two-tier system of social services whereby those who cannot pay are effectively excluded from receiving adequate care. Chapter 5 relates all this to globalization, which limits even further individual governments' social policy choices through World Bank demands for open trade and IMF demands for reduced government intervention and economic contraction (none of which prevents, of course, U.S. subsidies to farmers and subsequent dumping, destroying the livelihood of producers in Less Developed Countries).

As Chapter 6 argues, despite the many programs to reduce and eradicate poverty, the number and proportion of poor keep rising: there is no trickle-down effect, on the contrary, wealth "bubbles up", and as economies grow, so does the income gap. Capitalism *cannot* employ all potential workers at a decent wage: on the contrary, it *needs* unemployment to keep wages down. Most programs at the national and international level are either irrelevant or a sham; there is more money spent on armaments than is needed to close the income gap; and evaluations of poverty-reducing interventions, having failed to show any real effect, are now turning to such qualitative intangibles as a sense of empowerment, feelings of community and the like. Nothing works to reduce poverty like a cash transfer, but a real guarantee of a minimum income above the poverty line, such as the negative income tax, is untenable, as it would act as an anti-incentive to work-at-any-wage, however low, and would compromise the reserve army of the unemployed. The point is that, not only do the non-poor not see the poor, at home and abroad, their welfare is actually predicated on the exploitation of the poor.

The final chapters offer no hope for a rosier future. Globalization is a Weberian iron cage, the dictates of which none can escape; it is not only a "structure", it is a set of financial and military devices to ensure that there will be no deviation. As the wealthy get wealthier, poverty continues and will continue to grow, both in terms of the proportion of humanity living in poverty and in the proportion of poor countries. Indeed, concludes Macarov, without a new economic system, "the future of poor people seems bleak" (p. 173). However (and this he does not state explicitly), such a new economic system will never come about through public policy initiatives, of either the state or the NGO variety, whose mandate is to maintain the current economic system, not to overthrow it.

The critical reader may be forgiven if afflicted with a sense of *déjà vu* after reading the above. Did not Marx explain, 150 years ago, why it is that market-based production necessarily produces ever more poverty for the many even as it produces ever greater

wealth for the few, and that a capitalist society necessarily produces an ever growing surplus population on the margins of society, in but not of that society? And did not Lenin and Luxemburg, 100 years ago, explain how capitalism must expand overseas, incorporating ever more areas of the globe into its market economy, over-exploiting the work force at wage rates unacceptable in the core economies, and destroying traditional production, thus forcing an ever growing proportion of the population into the surplus margins?

These questions, unfortunately, are precisely those that Macarov sidesteps. He states a number of times that poverty is a necessary outcome of the market economy, but does not explain how this comes about. Yet if poverty and marginalization are such important elements of capitalism, why is it so important to counteract it, or at least, to look as though we are counteracting it? Even more to the point, if there is no doubt as to capitalism's technological abilities to master the universe, why are we so unable to overcome, or at least limit, poverty and material hardship? These questions lead us precisely to a consideration of the ways in which the market economy works, the ways in which capitalism impoverishes those who create its wealth and the way it necessarily produces an ever growing surplus population. They also lead to an appreciation of the internal contradictions of capitalism, and why it must ultimately choke on the wealth and the inequality it produces.

Nonetheless, Macarov's book has much to commend it. It is written in a jargon-free style and is extensively documented, basing itself not on academic economists or, heaven forbid, avowed Marxists, but on the bourgeois press and traditional policy analysts. Furthermore, Macarov is careful to avoid all temptation to seek rays of hope where none are to be found. Poverty is part and parcel of capitalism; no social intervention is going to change that or even reduce the extent of that poverty. At best, we may ameliorate the lot of some, probably at the further expense of others, no less poor, and perhaps assuage the conscience of some of the not-so-poor who flinch when faced with the human price paid for their own well-being. At a time when we are besieged by pundits and government ministers, in academia and in the popular media, explaining in scientific terms why and how poverty is about to be engineered out of existence ("except of course for the wanton and the idle, who deserve no better than they get"), it is salutary to be reminded quite how far academia, the pundits and the ministers have actually (not) got in this great mission. For students about to enter the "helping professions", there could be no better introduction to the realities of life as it is lived.

Jon Anson