

Book Reviews

Philosophies of Exclusion: Liberal Political Theory and Immigration

By Philip Cole, Edinburgh University Press Ltd, Edinburgh, 2000, 256 pages.

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Philosophies of Exclusion: Liberal Political Theory and Immigration is an enticing book that endeavours to introduce the reader to the principles of modern political theory, with special reference to immigration and emigration. The author argues through strident and well-established arguments that the idealistic view of theory applied into practice still remains a utopia.

Undoubtedly, Cole's work appears to delineate an epoch where the mass movement of people, not only around Europe but also worldwide, is considered by many as a pathogenic condition and synonymous with an incurable disease of modern societies. The only flaw of the book is that although the author questions arguments set by other political theorists and refers to various groups of immigrants, in his attempt to dissociate the insiders from the outsiders, in some instances he appears to be a little vague. The consequence of this is that despite the endorsements he provides us with, grounded on examples from legislative procedures and policies, it is unclear to the reader precisely who these 'immigrants' or 'outsiders' or 'asylum seekers' actually are in relation to their backgrounds. He raises doubts for the soundness of the selective nature of the law according to circumstances; the idea of 'open borders for all' is an extremely idealistic view, however. Notably, the author advocates: '...

the moral rights of immigration and emigration cannot be kept apart and dealt with separately and that one implies the other — how can one have the moral right to leave a state if one does not have the moral right to enter another, and vice versa?' (p. 43).

The right for membership or citizenship, unequivocally, should have moral and ethical considerations, and as Cole very colourfully depicts, it is customary for people from less developed countries to immigrate to more developed ones (p. 29). Therefore, the argument here lies upon the question of whether these more developed societies/countries are both culturally and economically prepared to accept them. Unfortunately, it has to be acknowledged that racism and xenophobia remain true facts and people are sceptical towards mass movements of this sort. Indeed, Cole argues that: 'Immigration has made a "significant contribution" to population growth and therefore alleviated some of these problems' (p. 27).

In his first chapter, Cole examines the dilemma born when applying liberal political theory. He states that the idea between citizenship-as-legal-status and citizenship-as-desirable activity should be inseparable. He particularly pursues the most ideal practice for internal principles, governing the theory's treatment of its own citizens, and external ones, regarding the treatment of non-

citizens, ie the immigrant seekers, to merge, creating more synchronous conditions. His response to the dilemma is no other but a thorough review of current practice, providing three possible responses. The first response examines the humanitarian/communitarian element (Chapter 4) where he questions Walzer's theory on immigration control and membership based on the Family, Club and Neighborhood Models, or in other words 'the idea of community', which rejects his solutions. Then he discusses liberal nationalism, projecting Miller's views (Chapter 5), which coincide with Walzer's communitarian perspective. The author discards Miller's views of 'nationalism, rather than liberal nationalism', seeking an answer to his question: 'why should immigrants pose a threat to national identity once it is recognised that that identity is always in flux, and is moulded by the various subcultures that exist within the national society?' In Chapter 6, he engages in exploring Tamir's view of liberal nationalism, denying the possibility of the existence of a homogeneous state based on culture and therefore favouring 'regionalism'.

The author explores a second response to current practices of immigration control and membership in Chapter 7 where he scrutinises the liberal egalitarian arguments by Joseph H. Carens based on national security, liberal institutions and public order, which he again eliminates. Finally, the third response is what he refers to as the 'Hobbesian' response (Chapter 8), which he describes as pessimistic since its two versions, the strong and the weak, contradict one another. Cole's final thoughts are based on his primary discussions of incoherence between liberal theory's internal and external principles, thus retaining a coherent political philosophy. He provides the reader with three options regarding the membership issue: (1) it should be left to the state's sovereignty; (2) there should be complete freedom of movement among borders; (3)

there is a need for an international framework. He presumes that the first and the third embody the aforementioned incoherence where the second one is the only liberal settlement. When he explains the 'liberal orthodoxy' of theory and the ideas of liberal asymmetry, illiberal symmetry and liberal symmetry, he insists on the control the state should have, not only over immigration but also emigration, and that they both detain equally moral rights. He clearly urges for a review of the whole system, because it constitutes the most appropriate behaviour towards humanity.

It should be noted here that, even according to Aristotle, the question regarding citizenship should not be 'on who is a citizen, but whether or not he who is actually a citizen ought to be one; and then again, whether one who ought not to be a citizen is one at all, for what ought not to be is equivalent to what is unreal'. It is something very similar to Cole's view.

Hobbes adjusted the definition and the idea of genesis of physics in political theory and claimed that 'if someone wishes to explore something, he needs to construct it by himself, he ought to cause its development from various elements' ('Ubi generatio nulla . . . ibi nulla philosophis intelligitur', meaning 'where there is no creation . . . there can be no philosophy'). Thus, if the 'insiders' and 'outsiders' crave to contribute, instead of just waiting for an epiphany, then they ought to act.

In conclusion, *Philosophies of Exclusion: Liberal Theory and Immigration* is an admirable piece of work with a clear-sighted account and I would recommend it, not just to those involved in the field but to everyone interested in this area. It manifests most of the controversies and challenges surrounding the perpetual sphere of immigration and citizenship. Unfortunately, as the author recognises, it is an issue that needs to be further pursued, and I would utterly urge him to do so.

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Explaining Labour's Second Landslide

By Robert Worcester and Roger Mortimore, Politico's Publishing, London, 2001, 341 pages.

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Worcester and Mortimore's text is one of several on the 2001 British general election. One focuses on an interpretation of the election results (Rallings and Thrasher 2001), one on the journalist's perspective (Jones 2001), and another text with the same title offers an academic perspective (Geddes and Tonge 2001). There are others, but what differentiates this text is that it is a pollster's perspective. In other words, it is the perspective of professional marketing researchers. Market researchers have to obey certain professional guidelines and practice on the reporting and accuracy of their data. This lends considerable weight to the authors' analysis. Other texts and articles have been previously written by pollsters and market researchers (Baines and Worcester 2000; Moon 1999; Sparrow 1993; Sparrow and Turner 2001; Waller 1987) but this text differs in that it provides a considerable range and depth of public opinion information.

Both authors have amassed a wealth of knowledge pertaining to general election analysis; Mortimore as an assistant to the venerable David Butler in his study of the 1992 British general election (see Butler and

Kavanagh 1992) and Worcester as a polling adviser to former Labour Prime Ministers Harold Wilson and Jim Callaghan and Labour leader, Neil Kinnock. Worcester, incidentally, has previously written a number of successful marketing research texts including *The Consumer Research Handbook* (Worcester and Downham 1986), *The British History of Public Opinion Polling* (Worcester 1991) and, of course, with his current co-author Roger Mortimore, *Explaining Labour's Landslide* (Worcester and Mortimore 1999). The point at which, for this text, I presume it all began. Whilst the first charts the road of development for Labour from the cloth-clapped dilapidated party of the 1980s to the progressive, media-savvy party of the 1990s, the second text in this series provides detailed information on the 2001 British general election only. Perhaps, the third text, as suggested by the co-authors (*Explaining Labour's Third Landslide*), will chart the downfall of the Conservative Party.

It is useful at this point to discuss who the audience for this text might actually be and who the authors intended the audience to be. There are some clues within the text itself

that suggest the authors were partly trying to communicate with journalists. They are lambasted on a number of occasions, particularly by Worcester in 'Appendix II: Reflections on the comments by our critics', for their inability to understand the vagaries and machinations of public opinion polling. The intended audience, however, is probably much wider than this and the clue is really in the choice of publisher, Politicos. By publishing through this organisation, which owns a popular and well-stocked bookshop near the Houses of Parliament, the authors were probably also trying to communicate not only with journalists, but also with politicians, civil servants, party workers, academics and the politically motivated, in general. I will come back to the nature of the intended audience at a later point in the review.

The style of writing is frequently conversational. The authors did not write conclusions or introductions to each chapter, presumably to increase the readability of what might otherwise have been fairly dry material. Added to this, though, was a sardonic humorous style. For instance, 'The British general election of 2001 delivered the Labour Party's first ever working majority for a second term . . . Nobody — not even the most hardened Conservative Central Office sceptics, trying to make themselves disbelieve the opinion polls by self-hypnosis — really doubted which party would win.' Later, the authors discuss some of *The Star's* headlines such as 'Jordan: I've got 'em by the ballots' (24th May) and *The Mirror's* picture of a presumably faked, scantily-clad John Prescott in the boxing ring in 1958. Mortimore's 'Appendix 1: An Almost Infallible Forecasting Model (Sweet FA Prediction Model)' is also delightfully satirical. Essentially, Mortimore provides evidence of the relationship between the colour of the shirt of the winning team and the winner of every British general election since 1950. Probably, he is using this as an example to illustrate how not to use statistics. The message in any

event then is that statistics need to be interpreted carefully. In other words, they might be suggesting that we use a face validity test before accepting any statistical data.

Wit and a conversational style are also supported by the inclusion of very interesting material within the text. Worcester and Mortimore provide the reader with some fascinating insights. They outline how the Scottish feel Scottish, the Welsh feel Welsh but the English feel British, predominantly and, of course, few members of either of these groups feel European. They illustrate that Thatcherite and One-nation Tory voters largely have very similar views on joining a single European currency and yet there is such an apparent ridge portrayed by the media, and the party itself on occasion, between these two wings of the Conservative Party. The role of word-of-mouth is delineated showing how important this source of information dissemination and persuasion has been for New Labour. The authors provide evidence of what sources of information are most trusted by voters. TV, including satellite TV, is trusted by almost half of all voters. Thus, there are clear implications for the political marketers and news managers within the parties. As a side issue, they lament how little opinion pollsters are trusted! Professors, incidentally, are relatively high on the list, just behind teachers and newsreaders, trusted by around 80 per cent of the electorate.

The authors divide the text into five sections: 'Blair's first term', 'Not just apathy', 'The result', 'Pundits and pollsters', and 'The second term'. Each chapter has different strengths and weaknesses.

The first chapter, 'Blair's first term', charts the voters' satisfaction with the Labour first term. It concludes that whilst the Labour Party dealt ineffectively with the Mandelson debacle and appeared arrogant when dealing with the petrol crisis ('Crisis? What crisis?', said Brown), the Tories never provided a really credible alternative for voters to seriously consider changing their vote. In fact,

Worcester and Mortimore outline that although Labour's lead dipped at this point in the opinion polls to almost neck-and-neck with the Tories this was largely because of an increase in rural support for the Liberal Democrats, albeit briefly. 'The effect had worn off again by October', the authors argue. By the time it came to the election, the authors show, in a useful perceptual map, that the Tories were seen as 'divided' and 'extreme', the Liberal Democrats seen as 'concerned', 'moderate' and having 'sensible policies' whilst Labour were perceived as 'keeping its promises' and looking after 'people's interests'.

The chapter entitled, 'Not just apathy', attempts to outline what Worcester and Mortimore appear to regard as the key issue of the 2001 British general election: the explanation for the lowest turnout since the 1918 British general election. They conclude that the key reasons were that:

- People, especially the young, felt that elections don't matter
- This election was perceived by some voters to be unimportant
- The campaign turned some people off by being lacklustre
- Voters felt that their vote was unimportant in this election (see Guillermo and Grofman 1984 on the so-called paradox of non-voting)
- Some voters felt unable to vote (despite postal voting rules being changed this time).

This chapter also provides some very useful material for those analysing media content. Worcester and Mortimore illustrate the bias of the press towards the Labour Party, particularly for the majority of the national dailies but also for the Sunday newspapers too.

The third chapter, 'The results', provides insights into the nature of party support. The support of voters in the C1 socio-economic class and, increasingly, the support of female voters has enabled Labour to retain its huge majority. Frightening, for the Tory party, is

the illustration of how the only two groups of voters that still strongly supported them, out of 16 possibilities (two social class categories \times four age groups \times two gender categories), were male and female voters over 55 years of age in the ABC1 socio-economic class. When one considers Worcester and Mortimore's point regarding the importance of grey voting power (ie older people are twice as likely to vote and there are twice as many of them, therefore, they are four times as important to target), the Tory position seems even worse! What happens when these voters die? A commercial corollary is the Levi-Strauss company who, after a considerable downturn in profits, spent millions on developing and positioning their 'engineered' range of jeans after their flagship 501 brand hit the rocks in the mid to late 1990s. Will the Conservative Party be so successful in repositioning itself?

'Pundits and pollsters', the authors' fourth chapter, is an evangelical attempt to outline the 'black arts of polling'. After criticising, quite rightly in my view, the pundits for their lack of understanding of polling methods, they assess the campaign polls, including their own, and their accuracy. There is a considered attempt to explain how polls cannot generally hope for greater than ± 3 per cent accuracy because of random sampling error. They even provide an explanation of why this is so. Their assessment of their own and their competitors' polling methods and results is carefully reflected upon and generally appears very fair. For instance, they praise ICM for having come closest to predicting the actual result of the election and they illustrate how the industry agonised over its choice of methods after the 1992 British general election, when most pollsters failed to predict a Conservative victory. Admirably, they outline MORI's methodology choices in some detail with a degree of very reasonable justification.

The final chapter, 'The second term', is perhaps the weakest. This is probably because it considers the future rather than the past. As the authors outline elsewhere in the text, one

needs a crystal ball for that! Briefly considered are the single European currency and the Tory leadership contest. One interesting postulation is that Mr Portillo probably represented the Tories' greatest chance of spreading the popularity of Conservatism amongst younger voters. Clearly, this is not to be now. They argue that the Labour government is unlikely to hold a referendum on the single European currency during their second term.

At this point, it is useful to consider whether or not, in my view, the text will satiate its intended audience. The data within the text, collected not only from their own polls but including a review of their competitors' polls, are a mine of information. The depth and range provided is unlikely to be matched elsewhere. The authors provide findings from their polls for the Electoral Commission, *The Economist*, *Sunday Telegraph*, *The Times*, *Mail on Sunday*, and among others, the British Medical Association. The media analysis from Echo Research is also particularly useful material. Overall, the text is a very valuable resource for academics with an interest in political campaigning. Equally, it is a useful resource for politicians and party workers wishing to reflect on their party's campaign. For civil servants, it outlines important policy considerations and the public's view of them, particularly on the single European currency and issues associated with health, education and law and order. For the politically motivated in general, outside the above categories, this text may be rather too jam-packed full of data to be such a riveting read, as such readers may be less interested in how opinion polls work. As for journalists, this text provides them with useful information on polling methodology and public opinion, important concepts to understand when writing their copy. The authors' explanation of the procedures adopted by MORI in collaboration with *The Times'* journalists when reporting the data is helpful in understanding the difficulties associated with data interpretation, although I suspect

many journalists might perceive, wrongly, that this restricts their freedoms.

Overall, then, an informative, interesting text on the 2001 British general election.

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The European Public Affairs Directory

Published by Landmarks sa/nv, Avenue de Tervuren 402, 1150 Brussels, Belgium. 472 pages, ISSN 0777 5814; ISBN 90 74373 11 9. www.contacteu.com

I always eagerly await the European Public Affairs Directory (EPAD) so that I can track the changes going on within the EU both at supra and national levels of government and amongst those bodies seeking to influence decision/policy making. It is very much as I have said before about the professional lobbyist and policy makers' guide to decision making and Who Does What within the EU. The previous EPAD is much extended and includes contact details of over 12,000 decision makers within Europe. This edition has a new section on consultants who specialise in the area, which is both useful for potential clients, decision makers and researchers. The European Commission section has been considerably extended and includes summarised descriptions of the main policy areas of each Directorate-General and service.

Perhaps for me the biggest improvement is the extensive improvement in e-information. For instance, we now have listed general e-mail addresses and websites as well as personal e-mail addresses and direct telephone numbers. For aficionados of quality e-information the EPAD can be made available to online databases and intranets and can become a major asset in competitiveness and the supply of quality information for those wishing to extend their range of services.

For those who have not read the EPAD before, the core sections are:

- (1) The Corporate Section, which lists the major international corporations who have full-time European Public Affairs Directors and operations.
- (2) The Professional Section, which lists organisations that are mostly active in Brussels, such as European trade and

professional associations, interest groups, chambers of commerce, national employers' federations, regions, think tanks and training organisations, labour unions, international organisations, law firms, consultants, national trade and professional associations and national associations of commerce.

- (3) Media. This lists press agencies and journalists reporting from Brussels on Europe. It also supplies a good list of media and agencies operating in the 15 member countries.

There are then major sections on the European institutions covering the Commission, European Parliament and other institutions and agencies. All officials and parliamentarians are listed by rank in the former case. This is then supplemented by sections on European information and online information sources.

Finally there is that wonderful section, which I am sure all readers of JPA salivate over: 'Essentials to European Public Affairs'. This, in approximately 20 key pages, sums up Brussels/Strasbourg operations, ethics and best practice. For many this is the perfect short cut to understanding the intricacies of how Brussels works. Finally, there is a good directory that outlines content well.

The language of the text is good and shows a thorough understanding of quality English and a vibrant lexicon that can be understood by all. This makes a big difference from some of the guides and writers in the area who seem to slide into Eurobabble or language that is not designed to inform or be of use. Cost is high for students or academics but is well within the range of

consultants, officials, policy makers and university libraries.

Overall the text has improved, works well and is now available online making it even more the definitive guide and 'must have' directory for anybody wishing to practise

public affairs in Europe. This can be easily proved as my copy has to be chained to my desk or it disappears.

Phil Harris

Editor