

The rest of the volume is presented in three separate sections. The papers selected in the first section on migration are meant to reflect the changing nature of international migration flows. The editors, however, position migration in the context of diasporas and transnationalism by suggesting that migrants now, more than ever, "find it possible to have multiple localities and multiple identities" (p. xvi). The reader is treated to an early paper by Harvey Cholding in which these linkages were recognized, followed by an attempt by Fawcett to categorise linkages in migration systems. Remittances are also featured in a highly technical but important reprint of Hatzipanayotou's paper that posits a model for determining the impact of income, trade and fiscal policies on migration. Approached from another angle, Keely's article examines whether worker remittances either increase dependency or improve the overall quality of life.

The section on diasporas presents almost a history of the concept, with excellent reprints by James Clifford, Gabriel Sheffer (for whom existing definitions of diasporas are "inadequate for our purposes since their underlying assumption is that diasporas are transitory and that they are destined to disappear through acculturation and assimilation" [p. 388]), and Richard Marienstras. Interestingly, an early paper by Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, outlining the then relatively recent trend toward investigating transnationalism, appears in the early section on migration instead of the section on transnationalism. An excellent paper by Kearney (1995) offers an overview of the linkage between globalization and transnationalism, and an early paper by Orlando Patterson on "ethnic allegiance" in the Caribbean among the Chinese of Jamaica and Guyana gives evidence of the early thoughts of transnational ways of approaching ethnic groups.

If any criticism can be levied at this volume, it can only be in the authors' selection of the various papers for inclusion. Such criticism, however, needs to be carefully addressed in light of stringent copyright regulations, especially given that the original font and page numbers from the original source are retained. In some respects the volume itself, despite a 1999 publishing date, is somewhat outdated, with the majority of reprints exhibiting publication dates between 1980 and 1994. Justifiably, however, the authors seem to have included the selections almost in an effort to show the historical development of the themes themselves. Nonetheless, recent criticisms of transnationalism are not represented. This reviewer would have liked to see some contributions of human geographers and their approach to understanding spatio-cognitive representations of boundaries. In fact, Faist's (2000) recent emphasis on "transnational spaces" would have been an excellent addition. Curiously, and unfortunately, the volume contains no selections that address the phenomenon of return migration. For example, the introductory chapter from King (1983) or even Gmelch's (1980) overview would have been especially useful as a linkage to migration studies.

The potential high cost of this volume (this reviewer noted a unit price of US\$245 on the accompanying invoice) may be a barrier to some, especially those already familiar with the literature on transnationalism, migration and diasporas and who, consequently, may find the selections presented in this volume already filed in their personal libraries. As such, readers looking for a state-of-the-art review of current literature in these fields may be somewhat dismayed, but the contextual (and historical) growth of these topics, evidenced by the selections of articles contained in this volume, provide an excellent foundation for further study. On the other hand, newcomers to the subject will find this volume particularly useful. Without question, it would be an excellent resource for graduate courses in sociology, anthropology or political science. As a final ancillary note, with the rising costs of academic journals, coupled with the slashing of library budgets in most university libraries worldwide, this reviewer wonders whether volumes such as this, where the actual selection is reproduced, might become more common.

References

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1980 Return Migration, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 9: 135-159.
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1983 *Return Migration: A Review of the Literature*, Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic.

Irene Glasser and Rae Bridgman, *Braving the Street: The Anthropology of Homelessness*, Berghahn Books, 1999, xi + 131 pages.

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The key claim of this slender, powerful volume, is that an anthropology of homelessness both enables and obligates "anthropologists to become advocates by learning, and then presenting, the perspectives of those who are homeless" (p. 7). This is a compelling assertion and locates this book in the centre of anthropology's ongoing internal debate over the difference between speaking about versus speaking with and for those we study. While the authors succeed in compiling and synthesizing the very considerable work by anthropologists on homelessness, it is at the level of a different argument about anthropology and political engagement which makes this book an important contribution to a broader range of issues than homelessness alone.

The four substantive chapters deal, in order, with the demography and sociology of homeless populations, with

models for explaining the diverse causes of homelessness, with the social and cultural organization of survival by the homeless themselves, and with a review of processes and programs which have been developed to enable and empower solutions to homelessness. In each, Glasser and Bridgman work from a fundamental assumption that approaching homelessness and making meaningful contributions to policy and program development requires a recognition that homelessness is a diverse and complex social problem which needs to be understood in all its diversity and complexity first. By focussing on a four part matrix of issues related to homelessness, the authors provide a carefully detailed and thorough "historical cartography" of homelessness which contextualizes and critiques the way homelessness has been understood and responded to.

The first issue, and perhaps the most compelling, is how to define homelessness. Mainstream media, and neo-liberal politicians, have adopted a definition which ensures the lowest possible number be used to count the homeless. Glasser and Bridgman challenge the utility and explore the politics of this narrow definition by showing that homelessness needs to be understood as a condition of risk and not only the lack of shelter. By examining different definitions of homelessness world wide, they show that a more thoroughgoing and effective definition of homelessness needs to recognize that being at risk of lack of shelter, whether a family actually living on the street, or a group of street youths sharing living space in decayed rental housing, is a more effective definition. By arguing for a broadening of the definition of homelessness, they provide the critically historical context for understanding homelessness as a process which is ongoing and contingent, a key to more effective policy deliberations and implementation since it also broadens the points in the processes of shelter risk at which interventions can take place. By extending our understanding of homelessness to include an appreciation of the broader question of shelter adequacy, Glasser and Bridgman show the homeless problem to be larger and more complex than mainstream political models have been able to address.

This risk based model, with shelter adequacy as both the symptom and the syndrome, leads the authors to an examination of the roots of homelessness and they succeed in debunking some conventional myths about the homeless as mentally ill, as substance abusers, or as criminals alone. While acknowledging the key role of both mental illness and substance abuse, for example, play in risks to shelter adequacy, Glasser and Bridgman bring together a wealth of research that makes clear that shelter risk is better understood as a social-structural condition of particular economy and ideological formations which create conditions of expendability among the most vulnerable in the working class. They synthesize a growing body of research and critical political analysis in order to show that homelessness is a "tangled complex of interrelated personal problems, housing market dynamics, social policies, labor-market structures and deeply rooted social values" which needs to be accounted

for in understanding each specific homeless person. By arguing for a more critically engaged holism, they give homelessness a real historical reality all too often absent in public policy discussions.

Homelessness is a function of shelter adequacy risk. It is also a risk system in its own right, and the most dramatic and effective discussion in this book can be found in the chapter on how people actually survive life on the streets. The different causes of shelter inadequacy place the homeless into different contexts of risk, and the different characteristics of specific homeless people's living condition also place them in differential conditions of risk and danger, even death. But this chapter is not content to simply add "local colour" to the discussion of patterns and causes of homelessness. Rather, the authors use the material they combine in this chapter to show that the failure of policy makers, and the public, to apply a critically holistic perspective to homelessness has meant that policies which appear to serve one specific interest or concern, more often than not have the effect of exacerbating the risk and danger to which some other homeless person or group is exposed. It is in this discussion that Glasser and Bridgman most clearly substantiate their argument that a thoroughgoing and comprehensive anthropological perspective has a significant, even pivotal, contribution to make to the development of policies and practices around shelter adequacy, labour force protection, urban development, and, in the broadest sense, the social safety net which their discussion shows is more often a tattered rag.

There is anger in this book, often tempered by civil language. Glasser and Bridgman want their readers to understand that homelessness represents a fundamental failure of civil society. But at the same time, they also want to communicate how efforts to address homelessness, efforts which are grounded in a critical and political engaged holism, can be effective. In discussing programs developed to deal with the causes, effects, and risks of shelter inadequacy, they describe best practice approaches from around the world. These programs, which seek to treat the homeless person comprehensively, show clear routes along which policy and programming can and should move, in addressing the long term structural issues which contribute to shelter risk. They do not hesitate to point out, often in very pointed language, how shifts in government policy have too often been a pretext for abandoning real efforts and effective solutions to shelter risk, and their discussion of successes should remind each reader of the need to address the constitutive consequence of social-structural conditions which create the patterns of homelessness. Their discussion of interventions makes clear that while a permanent class of people in a permanent condition of shelter risk may well serve the short term interests of current economic and social policy directions, issues of social and economic justice should and must obligate each of us to advocate for, and act on, new directions which will treat shelter risk as a risk which each of us shares.

Unlike what we too often teach, in abstractions, in lecture halls throughout the country, Glasser and Bridgman want it understood clearly that homelessness is a risk each of us faces and which each of us must take responsibility. This book, brief as it is, makes clear what our students have been telling us, increasingly I have found as more and more of them take up their own engagements with the politics of our era—an anthropology which is not politically and morally engaged in addressing the conditions of risk, of inequality, and of powerlessness, is an anthropology which contributes to and perpetuates those conditions. This requires, and our students

keep reminding us of this, “a refusal to play with the false opportunities of capitalism, a refusal to accept it as the natural order of things, and instead, work[ing] towards a critique that, in its perceptions, helps formulate alternatives (Smith, Gavin. *Confronting the Present*, University of Toronto Press, 1999, p. 267). While Glasser and Bridgman focus on one such set of conditions and alternatives, their argument speaks loudly and effectively to anthropologists and their students about the obligations each of us has to become active agents, not only for social understanding but, most importantly, for social change.