

***Women, Crime and Social Harm: Towards a Criminology for the Global Era*, Maureen Cain and Adrian Howe (eds), Oñati International Series in Law and Society, Hart Publishing, Oxford and Portland Oregon, 2008 (ISBN 978-1-84113-841-1)**

Women, Crime and Social Harm: Towards a Criminology for the Global Era is an engaging and critically driven collection of 11 essays that emerge from a 2003 workshop. The contributors – located in the Caribbean, India, United Kingdom, Australia, and Uganda – themselves reflect the global agenda the text investigates. The book grapples with how globalisation challenges the efficacy of established legal structures in recognising harm to women, and importantly contributes careful attention to how feminist scholars and activists can best understand the gendered impact of globalisation. The collection is diverse in its focal points: structural adjustment programs; human rights, migration and refugee matters; sex work; domestic violence; natural disasters; and methodological issues in researching experiences of harm. Yet the contributions come together in revealing some key tensions in criminology today.

In their introduction, the editors draw on a notion of social harm not confined by the limitations of definitions of crime and reflect how harm to women has been understood as the link between the contributions to the book (Cain and Howe 2008:12). They explore two main concepts of social harm. Edwin Sutherland defines social harm as that which is legally described as such and includes a penalty. Penny Green and Tony Ward's wider definition is contingent on social definition. The editors assert Sutherland's narrower definition enables an emphasis on the problem of enforcement that is especially urgent in global harms, but in doing so they develop his approach to include Green and Ward's concern for state crime. Institutional deviance, the editors argue, involves culpable harms properly the object for criminological study. The treatment of 'social harm' adds to criminological perspectives which seek to conceptualise wrong doing beyond the confines of criminal law and national jurisdictions.

The tension between the concept of 'social harm' and 'crime', and its regulation, is evident throughout the book. A number of instances demonstrate the conflict between notions of individual responsibility central to criminal justice models and the social reality of groups of victims and perpetrators. For example, the link between armed conflict, poverty and women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa disrupts the notion of an individual perpetrator (Kisaakye). The lack of correlation between the origin of social harm to women and criminal responsibility is also traced in the Caribbean context. The connection between structural adjustment programs, the illegal narcotics trade and a range of harms to women, including increased imprisonment, violence and absorbing the burden of reduced public expenditure on health care, is convincingly made (Cain 2008). These investigations of the gendered experience of harm prompt the editors to highlight the need for theoretical research in criminology to identify the 'ultimate' and 'intermediate' perpetrators. That is, those who stand behind the immediate perpetrator but remain responsible through policies and practices that have 'called the immediate perpetrators into being' (Cain and Howe 2008:16).

Contributors are each careful to distinguish concern with women as not solely determined by gender. Howe's essay, in the 'position papers' segment of the book traces, the development of feminist politics. The critique levied by feminist scholar of the global south,

Chandra Mohanty, that an ahistorical, universal approach to women's oppression ignores the impact of imperialism and colonialism, is influential in the feminist activism detailed by Howe. One of the strengths of the book is how the implicit commitment to recognising intersections of gender, race, poverty, class and location throughout the essays takes form through empirical analysis.

A number of the contributions unpack the legal rhetoric of protection of women, and in so doing demonstrate the harm caused through universalising the experiences of women. Anti-trafficking discourse is shown to undermine women's rights by being used as justification for clamp downs on border protection (Fekete). International recognition of forced sex work as a violation of human rights is explained as a by-product of the continuing lack of consensus with regards to sex work more generally, reflected in the illegality and stigma attached to sex work in India which disempowers and endangers women (Brose). Davis imparts an important lesson for feminists in the intersectionality of race and gender. After establishing the structural constraints in having indigenous women's experience of violence being taken seriously in white courts and existing indigenous governance structures, she explains that the remaining avenue being public debate is compromised by fear in indigenous communities that speaking out about violence against women will fuel the race debate in Australia (Cain and Howe 2008:152). Perera shows how the government in Australia maintains a family friendly image despite the immigration detention of children through a national level depoliticisation of the family, contributing to her development of the 'gender of borderpanic'.

Globalising processes trigger the need for feminism to disrupt established meanings and knowledges. Feminist activists in the United Kingdom have advocated preference for the concept of 'violence against women' to replace 'domestic violence', connecting the forms of violence against women and recognising that violence often occurs outside the domestic space (Howe). The mechanics of generating knowledge are considered in two contributions. Recognising the crucial involvement of feminist activists from the global south in placing feminist knowledges of the south on the international agenda, Reddock notes the paradox involved in local level activists 'siphoned off' to work in international institutions, an action that can affect the continuity and development of local activism that is crucial in developing these situated understandings. The last chapter turns to knowledge generation in criminology through international criminal victimisation surveys. Given there is no universal meaning of 'violence', Walklate asks, how well do research methods travel?

This vibrant collection as a whole shows how the tension between the local and global can be navigated through appreciating, as Walklate highlights, the lessons of standpoint feminism to knowledge construction, and an acknowledgement of the diversity of women's lives (Cain and Howe 2008:212-13). It makes a strong case for pushing the boundaries of criminology to encompass an analytic of social harm to reveal those cases of 'censure without sanction' (Cain and Howe 2008:17).

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