

of social media, as well as long-term organizing and leadership development.

In the final chapters, the book celebrates the power of ordinary people to contribute to change, reminding us that the future belongs to them. It also offers important tips on how youth and social movements can shape future efforts. Here is a summary of the highlights:

- **Inclusive and diverse movements:** Building and sustaining inclusive and diverse movements is vital to the success of social change. Instead of overreliance on a single group or leadership, the combined efforts of different segments of society can be more effective.
- **The role and limits of social media:** Social media is a powerful tool for organizing and for movement expansion, and it is important for long-term organizing and leadership development. Using social media only as a tool and relying on it alone can limit the effectiveness of the movement.
- **Alliances, transparency, and human rights:** Collaborating with diverse social and political groups, being transparent, demanding accountability, and respecting human rights are essential to overcoming challenges and achieving lasting change. These principles are the cornerstones for the sustainability and success of the movement.
- **The role of youth and faith:** The impact of youth in reshaping history and belief in the power of collective action is crucial for new generations to contribute to social change.

This book, like the works of Gröndahl (2011), Ghonim (2012), Abouzeid (2018), and Lynch (2013), who have written similar works with the same methodology, successfully examines similar themes, focusing on social change movements in the Arab world and the role of young activists. For example, in *Revolution 2.0: The Power of the People Is Greater Than the People in Power*, Egyptian activist Wael Ghonim describes how the Facebook page “We Are All Khaled Said” was instrumental in coordinating the revolution. Taken together, these works can help us

gain a more comprehensive understanding of the processes of revolutionary and social change in the Arab world. Among other important works, *Tahrir’s Youth* contributes to a broader and more organized examination of the impact that young activists and popular movements can have on social change and how such movements can lead the way.

References

- Abouzeid, Rania. 2018. *No Turning Back: Life, Loss, and Hope in Wartime Syria*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Ghonim, Wael. 2012. *Revolution 2.0: The Power of the People Is Greater Than the People in Power*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Gröndahl, Mia. 2011. *Tahrir Square: The Heart of the Egyptian Revolution*. New York: American University in Cairo Press.
- Lynch, Marc. 2013. *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Delivery as Dispossession: Land Occupation and Eviction in the Post-Apartheid City, by **Zachary Levenson**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022. 296 pp. \$29.99 paper. ISBN: 9780197629253.

LIZA WEINSTEIN
 Northeastern University
 l.weinstein@neu.edu

In *Delivery as Dispossession: Land Occupation and Eviction in the Post-Apartheid City*, sociologist Zachary Levenson sets out to explain why the South African state, seemingly committed to constructing housing and redressing the harms of apartheid and colonialism, regularly orders the eviction and dispossession of its own citizens. The explanation Levenson provides, drawn from 20 months of ethnographic research and careful readings of social theorists from Gramsci to Sartre to Stuart Hall to Asef Bayat, sharpens our understandings of the post-apartheid state and struggles for shelter, but it also resonates far beyond the novel insights it contributes to the nature of state power, the character of social movements (and nonmovements), and articulations of civil society.

The dispossessions carried out by South Africa's apartheid government, which ruled from 1948 to 1994, are well known and include the forced removal of roughly 3.5 million Black South Africans to racially homogeneous townships outside of cities. Yet, as Levenson reminds us, the apartheid state not only dispossessed; it also delivered housing. In fact, housing delivery in the townships, he explains, was carried out to facilitate the ends of dispossession. Under the post-apartheid state, the logic is reversed, or so his informants in Cape Town's housing offices claim. After the end of apartheid in 1994, South Africa's newly democratic government launched an ambitious housing program to reverse the longstanding effects of dispossession. While the post-apartheid state has constructed and delivered around four million houses, housing needs far exceed delivery, and millions wait for the houses they were promised. No longer able to wait, some desperate South Africans construct their own homes as part of the many land occupations underway across the country. Although Levenson's rich ethnography reveals that the residents are motivated by the desperate need for housing near economic opportunities, housing officials perceive them as thieves, greedily "jumping the queue" ahead of those waiting patiently for promised houses. Evicting these occupations, officials explain, is necessary for the effective implementation of its housing programs: dispossession in service of delivery. However, Levenson reasons, because the occupations are visible reminders of the government's inability to deliver on its promises, their removal constitutes attempts to hide these failures and deflect from the housing shortfalls that remain pervasive.

How the state sees residents—in this case, as criminals or in need—as well as how residents see the state and see themselves, underpins Levenson's rich analysis of state-society relations, and its relevance extends far beyond South Africa. In addition to questioning the very fact of post-apartheid evictions, the book addresses the question of their unevenness. Why are some occupations tolerated while others are evicted? How does the state's perception of the residents, of their

leadership, and of the wider occupations ultimately shape the determination of who gets evicted?

The book's ethnographic material focuses on two land occupations in Cape Town: one was evicted and the other was allowed to remain. The divergent outcomes between the occupations of Siqualo and Kapteinsklip, whose distinct organizational structures were perceived differently by the state, are explicated through Gramsci's characterization of civil and political society as integrated and dialectally connected. Consistent with his perspective of the "integral state" as reliant not only on coercive power, but also on the exercise of ideological and cultural influence that generates consent, society for Gramsci is also simultaneously civil and political. As Levenson demonstrates, the actions of residents and of their leaders in civil society are also articulated within political society and are perceived by the state in ways that do not always match their intentions. Levenson attributes the eventual eviction of Kapteinsklip to its articulations in political society and perception by the state's administrative and judicial arms as opportunistic, disordered, and thus undeserving. Siqualo, on the other hand, whose actions in civil society were more unified and confrontational, was perceived by the judiciary as organized, orderly, and motivated by need, and was therefore allowed (at least for now) to stay put.

The divergent outcomes for Kapteinsklip and Siqualo (two occupations and one eviction) could have been interpreted more simply as a consequence of their distinct organizational structures, attributing Siqualo's success to its more effective self-organizing and collective action. But this interpretation would have failed to account for multifaceted and seemingly contradictory interests of the state. For Levenson, as for Gramsci, the state is not an autonomous entity that operates outside society and imposes its will on a passive population. The autonomous perspective of the state is more commonly invoked in studies of mass evictions and development-induced displacement, in which a unified state is understood to order evictions to facilitate capital accumulation

or impose discipline. But these accounts fail to explain which occupations the government evicts and which it tolerates, or why evictions often fail to generate the capital that presumably motivates them. Rather, by understanding the state as *integral*, acting through both coercion and consent, we can better understand its distinct and seemingly contradictory responses to land occupations and what is ultimately the political character of evictions.

Levenson's sophisticated analysis of post-apartheid evictions through a relational perspective of the state provides an important corrective to more simplistic characterizations of evictions and housing struggles. Better able to account for a state that not only delivers housing, but also dispossesses, and does so unevenly, this framework can also explain the political implications, although often unintended, of civil society activities—both organized movements and those not deliberately political. Throughout the analysis, including the presentation of his rich ethnographic material and his careful theoretical readings, particularly of Gramsci, Levenson productively unsettles conventional conceptualizations of the state, social movements, and civil society. Given the rich insights it provides, I expect this book to be widely read and debated by ethnographers, sociologists, and interdisciplinary scholars working with these concepts. And going forward, I expect that scholars working on the bourgeois state and civil society will have to engage with and respond to these insightful reformulations.

How to Conduct Qualitative Research in Social Science, edited by **Pranee Liamputtong**. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2023. 246 pp. \$151.00 cloth. ISBN: 9781800376182.

JANET S. ARMITAGE
 St. Mary's University
 Jarmitage1@stmarytx.edu

Qualitative research and research methods have a long history across the diverse collection of social sciences. In *How to Conduct Qualitative Research in Social Science*, editor

Pranee Liamputtong brings together twenty-one authors in twelve chapters to offer a foundational view of qualitative research, its relevance in select social science disciplines, and innovations to move this form of inquiry forward. While the qualitative foundation in Chapter One needs little discussion here, it serves as an excellent primer for novice and advanced researchers alike. It is concise with selective inclusion of a range of social science disciplines, and this makes it a great reference and teaching aid for the central themes, processes, and issues in qualitative research. It is worth noting that the field of social sciences is expansive, and some readers might be disappointed in the presentation of the branches of social science fields without recognition of their disciplines (e.g., ethnic studies, linguistics, etc.). This is identified as a fair criticism in the preface with hopes that it is not a significant deterrent to reading this book.

Across the twelve chapters, specific topics include the roles of theory in qualitative research (Chapter 2) and exploration and application of qualitative research in: anthropology (cultural anthropology in Chapter 3 and medical anthropology in Chapter 4); sociology (Chapter 5); women's and gender studies (Chapter 6); political science (Chapter 7); criminology (Chapter 8); demography (Chapter 9); economics (Chapter 10); social work (Chapter 11); and education (Chapter 12). Each chapter offers a brief overview of the discipline in the context of qualitative research followed by an applied example and emerging future directions. For example, Chapter Five, "Seeing' Social Class in Qualitative Data," includes basic information about the discipline with a nod to the building block of Mills's "sociological imagination" before presenting a qualitative approach to studying social class. This chapter, like many of the others, centers on the use of qualitative data in a subject area with a strong history of quantitative studies. Social class, at times contextualized in the larger areas of socioeconomic status (SES) and social stratification, is often viewed or measured as enumerated variables—income, wealth, education, health, and the like. Sociology has a successful macro-level track record of