In my view, Erickson contributes both more and less than she promises. Although she doesn't state her argument this way, in effect, she lays out the context and conditions for improving eldercare. Winthrop House is a nonprofit organization with a long history in and deep connections with the community in which it resides. This context supports the following interrelated conditions that support good care: (1) shared face-to-face relationships between staff, residents, and their families before, during, and after living at Winthrop House, (2) active involvement of residents in center events and governance, (3) staff acceptance of accountability for care, (4) a positive work environment for staff, (5) assurance of personalized, life-long care despite exhausted funds, and (5) acceptance of socioeconomically diverse community members. Erickson sums up her study in eight valuable lessons from the end of life, yet more work is needed to demonstrate how we can best accomplish the intimate work of care for the dying.

Why We Harm. By Lois Presser. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2013. Pp. xii+163. $75.00 (cloth) $24.95 (paper).

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In 1998, a group of scholars at the University of Bristol in England working in social policy and teaching some courses in criminology began to develop a new discipline around the concept of social harm. They called it zemiology from the Greek word for harm—zemia. The idea for a new discipline stemmed from their increasing concern with the expansion of criminology while at the same time more and more social problems and behaviors were being constructed within criminal discourses and their solutions determined through the criminal justice apparatus. As crime harms form only a small element of the social harms people suffer throughout their life, criminology inevitably provides a distorted and biased view of the totality of harm. In 1999, the group held a conference under the title Zemiology: Beyond Criminology. Some years later, in 2004, Paddy Hillyard, Christina Pantazis, Steve Tombs, and Dave Gordon published *Beyond Criminology: Taking Harm Seriously* (Pluto Press, 2004), which provided a critique of criminology and examples of social harm not subject to criminal sanctions.

Why We Harm shares many of the ideas developed by the Bristol group but develops them in new and insightful ways. Lois Presser begins by arguing that it is more appropriate to theorize harm than crime. First, harm has a progressive aspect. The harmed subject becomes central, rather than the criminal or the state. Second, harm is a more foundational object for explanation than crime. Most people react to harm but not necessarily crime, which may do no harm. Third, a focus on harm reveals very different so-

ciodemographic characteristics of those who perpetuate harm from those who perpetuate crime.

The book is ambitious in scope and develops a general theory of harm based on the cultural rhetorics that promote harms, in particular the stories or narratives that are used to construct who we are and what we intend to do. Using four very different case studies of harm, Presser explores the similarities and differences in narratives of doing harm. The analysis is based on interviews with "regular individuals," as she describes them, as well as published accounts given by those involved in harmful events.

The focus throughout the book is on two key concepts in the construction of the identity of those who do harm—position and power. Both are positively and negatively related to harm. In some harms targets are constructed as the Other—they are seen as foreign, evil, or dangerous. In other harms, the position of those harming and those harmed may be very close, as in intimate relationships. The issue of power is also complex in a similar way. The state, corporate bodies, and other powerful institutions wield power over individuals, communities, and specific sections of the population, but often those who carry out the harmful behavior appeal to a discourse of powerlessness. As a result of using discourse analysis, it does not matter that the situation is real or imagined, because the rhetoric itself contributes to the harmful action.

In all four case studies, there are many insights that provide a broader understanding of the logics that motivate and sustain the harm perpetuated. In the case study on genocide, she argues persuasively that the rhetoric of following orders facilitated Nazi atrocities regardless of the truth—or otherwise—of the claims. In the case study on the institutionalized harm of eating meat, she shows how animals are literally reduced to objects and how we use terms such as "meat" and seafood" to hide their suffering, sustaining the practice by drawing upon an array of cultural themes from custom, habit, and evolutionary necessity. In the case study on intimate partner violence, she develops the power paradox in which abusers stress both the power to abuse and their powerlessness to act otherwise. In the case study on penal harm, she illustrates how penal harm is built largely on the story of the retributivist principle that individuals deserve to be harmed because of the harm that they have caused others. In these and other examples she reveals the similarities and differences in the rhetoric deployed in the many varied actions that lead to harm and destruction.

Why We Harm is a challenging and original book and illustrates well the strength of the zemiological perspective and the central role of discourses in harm doing. It is therefore perhaps a little surprising that there is no critical analysis of the discursive power of criminology itself and the stories the discipline builds and perpetuates around the suspect, the criminal, and the offender, or of the crucial role it plays in maintaining and sustain-

ing the view that the principal harm agents are so-called criminals. These are, however, minor criticisms. It is an excellent book that deserves a wide readership.

Deviance and Risk on Holiday: An Ethnography of British Tourists in Ibiza. By Daniel Briggs. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Pp.viii+256. $90.00.

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In *Deviance and Risk on Holiday*, Daniel Briggs offers the reader a glimpse into the hedonistic periphery of consumer society as manifested in the holiday experience of young British tourists in Ibiza. Based on participant observations, open-ended interviews, and focus groups conducted in San Antonio, Ibiza, the author presents a rich ethnography that focuses on the tourists' behaviors and experiences. He describes how the attempt of these young tourists to "seize the moment" and "live the dream" involves excessive consumption of alcohol, drugs, and sex that can become perverse and dangerous. While some attention is also given to the historical and cultural evolution of Ibiza as a global tourist destination, the perspective of locals is hardly addressed and appears to be beyond the scope of this book.

The leading argument is part of a direct attack on neoliberalism and consumer culture as ideologies of extreme capitalism that induce the commodification of life. Specifically, the author argues that the holiday experience of these tourists is guided and endorsed by larger political and economic forces that are interested in making money at the expense of these holidaymakers. Global corporations, commercial entrepreneurs, and tourist companies are on the winning side of this neoliberal order of political economy, whereas these young tourists are the manipulated victims of it. Dislocated form work, family, and community, members of this "pleasure class" engage in hedonistic deviance as part of a constant search for individual identity, self-actualization, and social status. Since work-related prospects are low and uncertain, life for members of this cohort is about having unrestrained pleasure during wild weekends and holidays. By spending more money that they can afford, they seek moments of pleasure and immediate gratification to escape the boredom of their daily life. By attending more and more expensive resorts and clubs across their tourist career, they seek to elevate their social standing but remain trapped within their working-class circles.

The notion of consumer society has been utilized in previous critiques of tourism but hardly with respect to tourists' marginal or deviant behavior and voluntary risk taking. The study of the latter is traditionally dominated