



BOOK REVIEWS

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**Venture Labor: Work and the Burden of Risk in Innovative Industries**, by Gina Neff. 2012. Series: Acting with Technology. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. 195 + xiii. ISBN 978-0-262-01748-0, \$30.

The decline of the manufacturing-industrial society has meant enormous changes in all parts of society. Not only is the economy's growth now based on other industries. Not only is this new growth often located in other regions than those that dominated the growth of the manufacturing economy. Social norms, values, and attitudes have also undergone massive changes.

This latter circumstance is at the center of Gina Neff's study of employees of Internet startups in New York City's "Silicon Alley" during the late 1990s. The employees she studies are ones who chose the opportunity of insecure creativity instead of stable employment and work schedules.

The Book Review Section of the Journal of Regional Science benefits from a financial contribution by Williams College.

Many of them left well-paid jobs in established firms for the chance to get rich through stock options in the startups, and ended up unemployed a few years later when the bubble burst, but, as she shows, mainly blamed themselves for their unfortunate destiny. Neff coins the term “venture labor” for various activities of this group of workers who were employees but acted like risk-taking entrepreneurs.

According to Neff, their behavior was a reflection of a transformation of society in which the responsibility for economic risk moved away from collective toward individual responsibility, something that has also been stressed by among others the German sociologist Ulrich Beck. However, in contrast to Beck, who considers this individualization of risk as something entirely bad—forced upon citizens—the employees of Silicon Alley had a positive attitude towards it. This, Neff argues, is perhaps the single most important lesson that can be learned from Silicon Alley: “the extent to which people’s notions of job security have been radically transformed as more and more people willingly accept or actively welcome risk” (p. 156).

The Silicon Alley employees developed a set of strategies to manage the risk of their work. These strategies are part of “venture labor”; the term refers to employees’ investments of leisure time, knowledge, skills, and often also money in their firms. Venture labor was spurred by regarding the choice of job as like a stock investment. It resulted in employees behaving as if they had ownership in their companies even when they did not. An important component part of the strategy was building social capital: making interpersonal connections in off-hours networking events that were designed to benefit employees and employers alike. Being connected to these networks was considered insurance against unemployment: if the worker’s own firm closed down, the social capital would ensure employment in another firm. However, this “insurance” could not handle the situation when the whole dot-com bubble collapsed . . . .

Neff’s book consists of six chapters. In the first, she introduces the research problem, gives definitions, and describes her methods, and in the second she describes the rise of Silicon Alley in the historical context of the postindustrial economic changes in the U.S., in which the so called “new economy” was such a popular concept. In chapter 3 she deals with the set of strategies the employees developed for managing the economic risks they perceived. Neff finds three coherent strategies: creative strategies, focused on project success, similar to strategies in other creative industries; financial strategies, seeing one’s job as an investment with a potential payoff; and actuarial strategies that aimed at having as many options as possible and not putting all eggs in one basket.

Chapter 4 is on how those strategies failed, with a focus on the social-capital building that was an important component in all three of them, and chapter 5 is on the stock market crash beginning in 2000 and how so much of the venture labor investments became worthless as a result. In the concluding chapter Neff draws lessons from this first wave of the Internet boom. Many predictions made by the cocky pioneers of the 1990s have been realized—but most often not by them and their vanished companies. Here she also suggests ways to apply the venture labor concept to work outside the Internet-related industries.

*Venture Labor* is a book based in sociological theory and methods, which are fairly peripheral to the core of regional science. The only regional perspective comes from dealing with a spatially demarcated industry, the Silicon Alley of Manhattan. The strength of the book is the combination of strong empirics and contemporary sociological theory, and the placing of the findings in a broader societal context. However, it is in this latter respect that the author could have enlarged the discussion. She points out that the concept of venture labor as a model of employee entrepreneurship can be applied in many other industries, but the examples are vague and undeveloped. It would have been interesting to relate Silicon Alley’s venture labor to, for example, “intrapreneurship” or the Japanese company culture that received so much attention in the 1980s and early 1990s. Notwithstanding these comments, Gina Neff has written an interesting case study of a pioneering industry that showed us the future, and in more than just one way.

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**A Handbook of Transport Economics**, edited by André De Palma, Robin Lindsey, Emile Quinet, and Roger Vickerman. 2011. Cheltenham, U.K. and Northampton, Massachusetts: Edward Elgar. 905 + xviii. ISBN 978-1-84720-203-1, \$330.

This handbook reviews the most recent and state-of-the-art advances in transportation economics. The 37 papers by the leading experts in the field cover the most important policy issues in all transport sectors. The papers are grouped into five parts. Of course I expected the papers in each part to share a common theme, and the five themes together to cover the scope of research in transportation economics. As the volume is a handbook, I expected the papers to review current research topics, recent advances in research methodologies and theories that are relevant to the topics, and the most recent findings. With such an expectation in mind, I will review the book part by part, and also discuss the current status of transportation economics research.

The five parts are: “Transport and Spatial Economy”; “The Demand for Transport”; “The Cost of Transport”; “Optimal Public Decisions”; and “Competition and Regulation.” In the first, two papers, one by Miren Lafourcade and Jacques-François Thisse and one by Takatoshi Tabuchi, explain the important role of transport costs in shaping regional trade patterns and urban spatial structure in the framework of the New Economic Geography (NEG). The authors demonstrate how transportation researchers can benefit from theoretical advances in other fields. With the NEG framework, one can study various policy issues, test theoretical predictions empirically, and construct structural empirical models in order to quantify the impacts of transport costs on regional economic development. It is surprising to me that none of the papers in part I reviews empirical studies under the NEG framework. The only paper in this part that reviews empirical studies is by Alberto Behar and Anthony Venables, who review studies that identify the impacts of transport costs on bilateral trade using the reduced-form gravity equation. Their paper does not reflect recent advances that have offered theoretical foundations for gravity equations (e.g., Eaton and Kortum, 2002). Compared to the reduced-form gravity model, structural gravity models derived from such theoretical foundations can lead to richer estimation and better interpretation of the estimated coefficients.

Papers in part I also do not reflect the revival of the Ricardian model in trade theory during the last decade. As Eaton and Kortum (2002) demonstrate, in the New Ricardian model transport costs affect trade through the interaction with relative productivity levels of regions instead of through the interaction with increasing returns to scale, as in NEG. The New Ricardian framework provides an alternative tool to study policy questions. For example, consider improvement in transport infrastructure. It can affect interregional trade through two channels. First, given relative productivity levels, it affects trade through reducing transport costs; second, it can affect trade through changing relative productivity levels.

Guided by advances in both economic theory and empirical methods, empirical researchers have generated some exciting works that measure the impacts of transport on the spatial economy. Donaldson (2010) applies Eaton and Kortum’s framework to measure the benefits of railways in nineteenth-century India. Duranton, Morrow, and Turner (2011) apply Anderson and Wincoop’s gravity theory to estimate the effects of interstate highways on the level and composition of trade for U.S. cities. Duranton and Turner (2012) develop a theory of evolution of employment and roads in a system of cities and then bring the theory to data to estimate the effects of interstate highways on the growth of U.S. cities. Under the older frameworks of Alonso, Mills, and Muth, Baum-Snow (2007) estimates the effect of interstate highways on suburbanization in the U.S. In these examples empirical models are closely linked to economic theories, and authors discuss clearly empirical strategies that lead to convincing identification. For example, in Duranton et al. (2011), a city’s stock of highways is likely to be endogenous, because decisions to build highways could depend on expectations of future needs for trade, so the authors use the 1947 highway construction plan and historical maps of railroads and roads as instruments for 1983 highways. These two features

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Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Kenneth Small, Anming Zhang, and the editor, Roger Bolton, for their useful comments and suggestions.

represent the current trends in empirical research, but such trends are not reflected in papers in this handbook.

I am not very enthusiastic about the two other papers included in part I. Johannes Bröcker and Jean Mercenier introduce computable general equilibrium (CGE) models and outline possible ways to incorporate transport sectors into them. The paper reads like a manual on how to apply a one-size-fits-all CGE model, and it offers limited room for readers to think about pros and cons of CGE models. Michael Wegener introduces recently developed simulation models of spatial economic development. These models are treated as standard toolboxes that can be applied without knowing underlying theoretical foundations and assumptions.

Part II of the handbook is on demand, one of the core research areas in transportation economics. Three papers here are very useful. David Hensher reviews the history, theoretical foundations, estimation methods, and empirical evidences of value-of-time (VOT) studies. VOT is a parameter used to measure travelers' willingness-to-pay for travel-time savings. This parameter plays an essential role in quantifying benefits from transport projects, and normally it is estimated by using discrete choice models. Joan Walker and Moshe Ben-Akiva review the most recent advances in discrete-choice modeling—the mixture-choice models, which are a class of discrete-choice models with random parameters. Compared to the classical discrete-choice models, they have more flexible substitution patterns and can be used to measure heterogeneity in preferences. However, specification of them usually relies on *ad hoc* distribution assumptions. Walker and Ben-Akiva describe behavioral mixture-choice models that use behavioral rationales to guide the specification. Finally, André de Palma and Mogens Fosgerau introduce the basics of Vickrey's bottleneck model, the standard approach to model congestion dynamics, and then discuss the possible extensions. Modeling congestion dynamics is essential for designing policies such as time-varying congestion pricing.

The remaining two papers are not good fits for this part of the book. Abdul Rawoof Pinjari and Chandra Bhat review activity-based travel demand models, which could be more consistent with economics than the current utility-based demand modeling approach. However, currently available activity-based models are mainly forecasting tools developed by transport engineers and have been widely used by transport planners. Such approaches are mainly for operational purposes and they are not ideal frameworks to answer economic questions. The paper by Michel Beuthe is on economics of transport logistics. Although such a topic is interesting, I cannot see reasons why it belongs in a group about demand.

One important research question not discussed in part II is the research design in modeling travel demand and estimating value of time. In practice, two types of data—revealed preference (RP) and stated preference (SP) data, are used to develop discrete-choice models. RP data are normally obtained by asking respondents about actual travel choice behavior, SP data by observing respondents' choices in hypothetical situations such as lab experiments. Statistical inferences based on RP data face several challenges: collinearity among variables, measurement errors in key attributes such as travel times, and endogeneity caused by omitted attributes or unobserved tastes. SP data are tainted by doubt whether actual behavior will be the same as exhibited in hypothetical situations. The important question on research design is how to combine the strengths of RP and SP data to achieve a convincing identification. One application combining RP and SP in estimating value of time is Small, Winston, and Yan (2005). Recently Train and Wilson (2009) proposed a new design—SP-off-RP.

Transportation researchers largely have ignored important contributions to discrete-choice modeling from the field of empirical industrial organization, and that is reflected in this handbook. Berry, Levinsohn, and Pakes (1995, hereafter BLP) propose a way to estimate discrete-choice models using the general method of moments (GMM). Their approach has appealing features: choice models are estimated by using market share data, and endogeneity caused by omitted product attributes can be addressed by using instrument variables. As a result, the BLP approach has been extremely influential in empirical industrial organization and marketing research. Berry and Jia (2010), Yan and Winston (2012), and others have applied it to air travel. Researchers in both transportation economics and civil engineering have made substantial contributions to discrete-choice modeling by developing choice models with flexible substitution patterns and incorporating behavioral rationales. They also expend much effort to collect disaggregate choice data, but endogeneity concerns remain.

For example, in Small et al.'s (2005) estimation of a route-choice model, travelers' responses to prices of the express lane may reflect their unobserved preferences for departure times. In such a case, price is correlated with the error term of the indirect utility function. Such endogeneity concerns have seldom been discussed in transportation literature, and the BLP framework is useful to account for endogeneity issues.

Part III of the handbook, on the cost of transport, covers both production costs of operations and external costs. Estimating production cost functions of operators such as airlines, railways, and trucking companies has a long history, and the estimates help answer important questions regarding economies of scale and operator efficiency. The first two papers in this part, one by Leonardo Basso, Sergio Jara-Diaz, and William G. Waters II and the other by Tae Hoon Oum, Katsuhiko Yamaguchi, and Yuichiro Yoshida, cover these topics. The remaining six papers in this part are on the theory of external costs and empirical estimates of various external costs of transport and energy consumption. Empirical studies of the effects of various policies to reduce external costs and energy consumption—such as gasoline taxes, emission standards, and subsidies to public transport and alternative fuels—are totally omitted in this handbook.

The eight papers in part IV, on the theme of optimal public decisions, are on congestion pricing, intelligent traveler information systems, and project evaluation. Simon Anderson and Régis Renault describe the basics of price discrimination, which is very useful because transport firms make wide use of various price discrimination strategies, a familiar and notable example being airlines' revenue management practices. Understanding the relationship between price discrimination strategies and market competition has important policy implications. However, in my view, Anderson and Renault's paper would be a better fit in part V, which is about competition and regulation. Jonathan Gifford reviews travel demand models that incorporate psychological factors. Such a paper would fit better in part II. One research question omitted in part IV is the role of time horizon and uncertainties in evaluation.

Part V on competition and regulation has a very clear structure; three papers cover topics related to public-private relationships, and seven describe theory, empirical studies, and institutional background of competition and regulation in each of the major transport sectors. Several papers are very useful. Elisabetta Iossa and David Martimort introduce the theory of incentives and discuss how the theory can be applied to design optimal mechanisms of public-private partnership. Today, in countries such as the United States it is a normal practice for government to delegate the task of building transport infrastructure to private firms through competitive bidding processes. Efficiency of the infrastructure depends, then, on how the procurement mechanism is designed. For example, Lewis and Bajari (2011), in a study of state highway departments in the U.S., show that contract designs with explicit time incentives can reduce highway construction time by 30–40 percent. Iossa and Martimort's paper is an ideal starting point for anyone wanting to study such questions of incentives in procurement design. Richard Arnott introduces the economics of parking, and offers an analytical framework to investigate policy issues. Parking is an essential element of urban transport, but applying economic principles to analyze related problems started only recently. Anming Zhang, Yimin Zhang, and Joseph Clougherty convey a very important message: airports and airlines cannot be treated separately in analyzing competition and regulation in air transport. Their message is also applicable to maritime transport, where ports and shipping operators interact with each other through a vertical relationship.

Overall, the handbook is very timely and important for the field of transportation economics. It demonstrates that transportation economics should be an important and exciting field in economics, important because transportation sectors are important in the national and world economy, and exciting because transportation sectors are complex and raise issues closely related to policymaking. The handbook also demonstrates there is no real difference between transportation economics and other branches of applied microeconomics. Transportation economics overlaps with other fields such as urban and regional economics, public economics, environmental economics, development economics, international trade, and industrial organization; transportation economists borrow tools from other branches of economics and develop tools that are used by economists in other fields. On the other hand, this handbook indicates that researchers in transportation economics have not paid much attention to advances in empirical methodologies in related fields. In the past decade, we have witnessed the progress in other fields of applied microeconomics where empirical studies bring

theories to data and research designs to achieve convincing identification are always highlighted. I hope the next edition or a second volume of the handbook can incorporate examples of such empirical work on transportation.

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**Geography Speaks: Performative Aspects of Geography**, by Rob Sullivan. 2011. Aldershot, U.K. and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate. 189 + ix. ISBN: 978-1-4094-2009-5, \$89.95.

Rob Sullivan seeks to reveal and demonstrate that geography speaks and performs, and consequently, it matters. Drawing on J.L. Austin's speech act theory, Sullivan says performativity indicates "a performance that has been performed successfully" and "has had its desired effect" (p. 7). He examines how the theory can be applied to geography, focusing on five aspects: place creation as performance; cartographical constructions as speech act performances; creation of public and private spaces as performative acts; environmental determinism in relation to performances; how the discipline is influenced by individual geographers' sequences of performative acts.

After an introduction, which provides a good summary of the major content and a list of theoretical works that underpin the study, the book's major content comprises two parts. The first, having two chapters, focuses on definitional issues related to performatives and on discussions of performing science; the second, having five chapters, is devoted to exploring the performative aspects in geography. There is a short conclusion.

In the first chapter Sullivan focuses on the theoretical foundation of the notion of performativity and discusses the diffusion of performance theory. He starts with the debates that revolved around Austin's exclusion of fiction and how Jacques Derrida expanded speech act theory to include fiction. As such, fiction can generate knowledge. Judith Butler further expanded the theory to include the body, arguing that identity is performed and constantly constituted in the process of performance. Such a conceptualization has opened up a wide range of application for speech act theory. Sullivan also discusses other strands of thought on performativity and provides a more general examination of the diffusion of the related theory.

In chapter 2, he reveals how science is performed. Mainly relying on Bruno Latour, he points out the contingency of scientific knowledge production and dissemination. Here place and locations matter, because knowledge production is conditioned by the settings. Michael Curry's suggestion that scientists' writing is to persuade, rather than to be entirely objective, and John Agnew's delineation of five separate geographies of knowledge also suggests the important role of the setting. Through his discussion of this literature, Sullivan suggests that science is frequently performed, underlining the high probability that knowledge creation and dissemination can be a highly politicized affair.

Sullivan then moves to his first account of performative aspect in geography: creation of place. Acknowledging the difficulty of defining "place" precisely, he defines it as "a more or less bounded area with a certain agreed-upon coherence subtending its use" (p. 60). He draws heavily on Yi-Fu Tuan's work to illustrate how place is performed as it is created and maintained constantly in a number of ways, such as through songs, naming, speech, and narratives. He then uses Patricia Seed's work to give a detailed account of the performance of place by the early imperial powers from the late fifteenth century to mid-seventeenth century. For example, the Portuguese didn't just make and remake place on the land, but more so on the map with a network of numbers, through "a repositioning within an astronomical grid, a synoptic practice that re-inscribed places through possession of scientific knowledge . . ." (p. 76). These performative acts of place making are widespread, ranging from historic accounts of colonizing processes, to current market-oriented strategies of demarcating neighborhoods into particular lifestyle types, to sexualized place performed through repetition of perceived gender norms in everyday interactions, to place making at a smaller scale such as home and workplace.

Following places, it seems natural to move on to mapping as a performative act. For one thing, maps inscribe ideology, on which J.B. Harley's work is highly influential. For another, while everyone recognizes mapping necessitates distortions by making a two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional world, it may still be widely perceived as authoritative and transparent. As such, mapping is a process and a performance that entails social creation. The extent to which maps are recognized as real and scientific indicates the success of their performance. Mapping has been actively used in forming collective identity, exemplified in both the Western and non-Western cases. For example, the national humiliation maps by the Chinese during the last century help to construct a national geobody. Meanwhile, constructions of maps are not free of contention—see the controversy over Arno Peters's projection. Thus, Sullivan demonstrates the social constructions of mapping practices, and, as such, he calls for attention to the contingency of mapmaking processes and to the "self-legitimizing" role that maps have often played throughout history (p. 96).

In chapter 5 he illustrates the ways in which private and public spaces are demarcated and performed. The boundary between the public and the private is blurring, he suggests. A major point is that the discourse of private property ownership has performative power. For example, Tom Bethell's discussion of ownership underlines "a long line of thinkers who believe that ownership specifically provides the sense of independence necessary to self-rule" which in turn "*performs* power, *performs* confidence, *performs* freedom" (pp. 105–106, italics in original). The discourse of public property also comprises performative acts. For example, to Margret Kohn, public space should allow general accessibility to unpredictable and heterogeneous encounters through collective ownership and it plays crucial roles in a democratic society. Through a brief outline of various claims about what private and public property should be, Sullivan suggests the "naturalness" and "objectivity" of private property are contingent notions (p. 112). Furthermore, domains of public and private spaces overlap and are constantly being made and maintained, reflected in four fields of demarcation: private, public, public-private, and private-public.

In chapter 6 Sullivan turns to the performative effects of environmental determinism. He discusses how geography may determine events and how political leaders have employed performative utterances to accomplish geopolitical change. Topics here include: a revived environmental determinism, reflected in Robert Kaplan's recent claim about geography's power of determining events; the way environmental determinism emerged as a misreading of Darwinism and the influence of Friedrich Ratzel's theory; Ellen Semple's and others' work as illustration of the legacy of Ratzel's theory; other forms of environmental determinism, such as reflected in the accounts of manifest destiny. Sullivan discusses the account of Nazis' employment of environmental determinism, which heavily tainted the field of geopolitics. In the post-World War II era, political leaders continue to use geopolitical concepts that have "a strong environmental deterministic strain" (p. 142), as exemplified

by Henry Kissinger's *Diplomacy* (1994). Drawing on Jean Gottmann's work, Sullivan discusses how cultural, economic, religious, and political factors influenced historical development, and he points out that these performative dimensions of environmental determinism more or less still play a role in many political decisions.

Finally, Sullivan addresses the discipline of geography as a whole. He concentrates on three contributions: David Harvey's book, *Social Justice and the City* (1973), Henri Lefebvre's "Right to the City" essay (1996, see also Lefebvre, 1968), and Yi-Fu Tuan's writings on "geography as humanism" (Tuan, 1975, 1976). He discusses those theorists' claims, foregrounding the embedded circumstances, and then assesses the effects of the claims. He suggests Harvey's call for social justice is a strong performative statement, greatly successful due to, among other things, his brilliance as a thinker and writer, the successful performance of his earlier work, the upheavals of the 1960s, and his institutional background at Johns Hopkins as well as that university's presence in Baltimore (p. 154). Harvey's writing is performative also in resulting in a strong line of Marxist geographical analysis.

Lefebvre's essay on the right to the city is highly performative by virtue of its revolutionary proposals. Also, the initial utterance has been inscribed into law as shown in the Brazilian City Statute of 2001. Tuan's statement that "interest in place and in the meaning of place is universal" (1975, p. 151) is performative, not only in being a powerful declaration in itself, but more precisely by bringing up front a hidden geographical aspect that instantiates humanistic geography. Sullivan suggests Tuan also was in appropriate circumstances that made his claims performative. Sullivan positions both Tuan's humanistic turn and Harvey's Marxist turn as similarly performative regarding their efforts to transform geography from the quantitative calculus in the 1960s. While it would be difficult to detail the ripple effect of Harvey's book and Tuan's essays, Sullivan emphasizes there is no doubt they were performative.

Sullivan's conclusion is striking: he says that his revealing these performative aspects in geography through Austin's schema is a performance itself, one not conducted before. By such a performance on his own part, Sullivan hopes to demonstrate that geography performs, including a misapplication of performativity in the case of environmental determinism, and that geography matters.

Sullivan's book is a very thought provoking and intriguing. It seems a daunting task to probe these diverse fields in geography that embody many contested conceptualizations. The performatives do demonstrate that geography matters. But from my reading I would say his book also raises many questions, the answers to which may be missing due to its length and scope. For example, he acknowledges that other geographers have examined the performative aspects in their work, though not to the extent of examining the whole field. It would have been helpful to review those studies and discuss possible conceptual linkages—or differences—between them and Sullivan's own investigation. On place, it might be helpful to address the network perspectives of place in addition to the aerial form (see, e.g., Cresswell, 2004). Along a similar line, the analysis could be enriched by accounts of how artists, marginalized groups, and other mappers actively utilize the performative power of maps to make political claims (Crampton, 2009). Nonetheless, Sullivan's diverse, rich accounts of performatives can be a stimulating reading for a broad range of readers in geography.

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**Fairness and Freedom: A History of Two Open Societies: New Zealand and the United States**, by David Hackett Fischer. 2012. New York: Oxford University Press. 629 + xxv. ISBN 978-0-19-983270-5, \$34.95.

In his recent treatise Amartya Sen (2009) emphasized how the Enlightenment discourse on social justice evolved along two separate lines. Some thinkers, following Hobbes and Locke, argued for transcendental institutionalism and then sought to identify the requisite rules and institutions of a fully just society. Others, including Bentham and Condorcet, argued more for a comparative framework that would assist in determining the distributive benefits (or costs) of alternative social outcomes. Sen, for one, believes that while the goals of the former group are laudable, the identification of just social arrangements is neither necessary nor sufficient for guiding any society towards a fairer distribution of opportunities, resources, or life chances (2009, p. 15).

In *Fairness and Freedom* the Pulitzer Prize-winning author David Hackett Fischer discusses the concepts of fairness and freedom in two open societies—New Zealand and the United States. Fischer intends both to inform and to inspire. One can appreciate his wide knowledge and wisdom at several different levels. First, the book is a political history of two (largely) English-speaking nations that had very different colonial experiences: America during the ascending years of the British Empire and New Zealand during its later years. Moreover, in both cases, colonists were able to adapt to new (and often harsh) environments while dealing in different ways with the aboriginal peoples that preceded them. Second, the work expands Fischer's previous work (2005) on freedom and liberty, whose tension—like that between separation and belonging—he sees as a primal source of conflict and creativity throughout American history. In the new book he recognizes fairness, or natural justice, as yet another fundamental social value that deserves our attention. And third, borrowing from Sen, he reminds us that the choices of open societies, especially those codified into federal constitutions or bills of rights, always occur at particular points in time. This sometimes overlooked fact has important consequences for the balance that is negotiated between the transcendental and the comparative aspects of justice. Given the breadth of Fischer's discourse, my review is confined to a few issues that are likely to be of greatest interest to regional scientists.

He points out on several occasions that both countries had developed accustomed ways of self-government long before they became independent nations. In each case there was a critical period in state formation when various crises had to be overcome before reasonably smooth self-management could ensue. In America this period was 1783–1789, when the conflicting visions of some very remarkable leaders were reconciled. The result was a complex federal system having extensive separation of powers and multiple checks and balances. Moreover, Fischer notes that the *Federalist Papers* make clear the entire system was largely motivated "to protect 'the rights of the people' and to promote liberty and freedom" (p. 186). In New Zealand the years 1856–1876 were a similar period of crisis and again the conflicting views of several prominent leaders had to be resolved. Now, however, the adopted system of self-government was more centralized, and it was believed any social conflict could be reduced by treating all parties with "symmetry and consistency" (p. 195).

In other words, from the very outset the U.S. and New Zealand placed somewhat different emphases on freedom versus fairness and, while their original visions have been modified, that original difference has had important implications for the role of the federal government in education, health, policy on crime, and other public endeavors. Put simply, New Zealanders have consciously chosen to have less social inequity and less geographic unevenness in the provision and distribution of their public goods. In more recent times, New Zealand has even substituted a European-style system of proportional representation (with seats guaranteed for racial minorities) for an American-style winner-take-all system. Although its citizens first found the new electoral system to be complicated they now seem to appreciate its added fairness and inclusion. Moreover, on the global scene New Zealand has often advanced the case for "small-power diplomacy," whereby its interests have not always matched those of the big powers that came to dominate the United Nations after the Second World War. In this realm, the U.S. has often taken action abroad in the cause of freedom,

while New Zealand has been somewhat suspicious of “bullies of all persuasions” (p. 367), and has sought to have its foreign policy more motivated by justice and equity.

Fischer also addresses economic growth. As British colonies, both the U.S. and New Zealand were located in the periphery of the capitalist world system, but the U.S., partly for reasons of propinquity, moved from the periphery to the center much earlier. That, and the fact that the U.S. is so much larger (New Zealand’s economy now is roughly comparable to that of Kansas), meant that the economic crisis of the early twentieth century played out differently in the two countries. Matters turned bad much earlier in New Zealand as the market value of food exports collapsed soon after the First World War. Over the next two decades, its export-driven economy entered a period of long decline, interrupted only by short but unsustainable recoveries. America’s slump eventually arrived 10 years later, and there was not only a collapse of the national economy but also a severe rupture of the social fabric. As Fischer points out, New Zealand’s reformers of the day were somewhat older and more influenced by both Christian faith and socialist thinking than were their New Deal counterparts in the U.S.

Both countries experienced serious economic distress again during the 1970s when OPEC restricted supplies of petroleum and there were severe price shocks, first in 1973–1974 and again during 1978–1981. But New Zealand also experienced a crisis of national identity because Britain entered the European Common Market in 1973, ending its special trade agreement with the Commonwealth countries and also imposing tariffs on the many foodstuffs imported from those places. While America’s economic expansion simply slowed, New Zealand’s economy actually declined, on a per capita basis, for six consecutive years. Both nations flirted with wage and price controls. New Zealand’s slump was exacerbated by costly experiments in the energy sector and by heavy spending on public welfare. This serious situation led to the country’s extensive economic and political reforms of the late 1980s and early 1990s, which reduced income support for the poor and introduced user fees in the federal health system. Interestingly enough, strong action taken to promote economic growth (e.g., raising the minimum age for pensions) was believed by many to be equitable as well as efficient; presumably the recent introduction of the popular Kiwisaver voluntary retirement plan (Buttonwood, 2012, p. 82) is now viewed similarly. So while the U.S. has steadily moved deeper into debt, New Zealand has been able to regain its financial fortunes and substantially reduce the intergenerational penalties being imposed on its future citizens (recent IMF and Eurostat estimates indicate the U.S.’s public debt as a ratio of GDP is now three times New Zealand’s).

Fischer’s book is replete with comparative commentary on other fascinating topics: frontiers and settler societies, land-tenure systems, resource treaties with aboriginals, racism, freedom rides and justice marches, national attitudes about personal success, materialism versus idealism, the nature of regional hegemony, and participation in international conflicts. An appendix summarizes how the concept of fairness has been approached in various academic disciplines, including linguistics, moral philosophy, and the behavioral sciences. Fischer ends his book by claiming that New Zealanders have recently made a concerted effort to blend more liberty and freedom into their national concerns for fairness. America, however, has been generally successful in “mediating between competing ideas of what it means to be free” but has “not done well with fairness” (p. 491).

My complaints are minor. Surprisingly, Fischer fails to recognize Amartya Sen’s other work on the reciprocal relationship between freedom and human development. He also says nothing about the role of social capital in sustaining both community and justice. Nevertheless, I heartily recommend this book to all regional scientists who are interested in issues of social justice; those who study the origins and evolution of national social policies will especially appreciate David Hackett Fischer’s thoughtful, comparative approach.

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**The City and the Coming Climate: Climate Change in the Places We Live**, by Brian Stone, Jr. 2012. New York: Cambridge University Press. 187 + x. ISBN 978-1-107-01671-2, cloth, \$99; ISBN 978-1-107-60258-8, paper, \$29.99.

Submerged islands, stranded polar bears, and colorless corals are among the many poster children of climate change. Yet, as startling as these images may be, they remain distant abstractions to the majority of the world's population. In *The City and the Coming Climate*, Brian Stone, Jr. tells us how climate change will hit closer to home.

Stone highlights the consequences of warming for cities and their inhabitants. He worries that the tendency to overlook impacts in the built environment will have dire consequences. As such, he seeks to shift the conversation on climate change away from large-scale international environmental agreements, instead advocating for local and regional decision making at the human scale. He weaves a compelling narrative to make a convincing case. Throughout the book, he intertwines science, anecdote, and argument with great effect, guiding the reader to his conclusions with scientific precision and rigor while disguising technical material within entrancing stories.

The prologue ("La Canicule") about the record-breaking heat wave of 2003 presents a prime example of Stone's story-telling prowess. He creates a patchwork of stories that illustrates the complex and multifaceted dangers that befell Europe during the event, and describes artfully how government failure, economic conditions, cultural customs, and infrastructural limitations conspired to amplify its effects. Throughout the description, he shows how all factors are interrelated, and he implores the reader to think more about how cities are planned and managed in the face of climate change. The comprehensiveness and artistry of Stone's descriptions make his pleas hard to ignore, and the heat wave provides a fitting backdrop for the remainder of the book.

After the prologue there are five chapters and a postscript. In the first chapter Stone walks the reader through the history of climate science. From there, he builds up, and promptly knocks down, the objections of climate skeptics. Most readers will be familiar with the evidence and arguments here, but Stone's explanations serve as a well-constructed and informative refresher. Yet it is not his purpose to extol the virtues of the current state of climate science. In fact, he is rather critical; although he fully acknowledges the reality of a warming world, his major gripe is that climate science and discourse focus almost exclusively on global, long-term impacts. To do so, he argues, misses the human side of climate change and weakens the case for action in the public eye. He uses the balance of the book to expound this critique and offer his own vision of how societies should address climate change.

In the following chapters, "The Climate Barrier" and "Islands of Heat," Stone fully lays out his thesis. He laments that climate science has focused on average greenhouse gas emissions at the global scale: "Although it is possible to statistically describe the climate at the level of the planet as a whole, no human being experiences a globally averaged climate. Global average climate, in this sense, is nothing more than a statistical abstraction" (p. 66). He's concerned about the effects of other kinds of averaging: seasonal extremes (like hotter summers and colder winters) are averaged out and ignored, as are local climate extremes in urban areas. These and other practices mean that climate science has become divorced from context. He makes a compelling case for studying regional impacts, as "the policy-relevant effects of climate change do not occur at the global scale" (p. 81), especially now that "cities are directly influencing their own climate" (p. 96) through the urban heat island effect. After all, does it matter to city dwellers that average global temperature rises slowly while they experience drastic changes in their local environments? Stone persuades the reader that existing efforts to address global warming are myopic, and he instills appropriate concern for the relative inattention to local and regional conditions. Throughout, his case is bolstered by scientific evidence that he weaves into the text with skill and apparent ease.

The final two chapters ("The Green Factor" and "Leveraging Canopy for Carbon") are Stone's call for action. He argues vigorously that "land-surface changes are the single most effective option available to cities to counteract the very real threats of climate change during the next half-century" (p. 99), explaining how urban forests, green roofs, and reduction of waste heat can help hedge extreme weather. He reasons that these strategies will create modest reductions in emissions at the global scale, and, more importantly, they will help stave off dangers from climate change in cities at the same time as they provide long-term cost savings. They are win-win opportunities but are not fully

exploited, and Stone suggests the primary barrier is the framing of the climate-change problem and the misplaced focus on global mitigation strategies. His principal recommendations to policymakers are to broaden thinking regarding climate change, increase research on regional impacts, protect and expand forests, and prioritize “adaptive mitigation” (p. 147)—adaptation strategies that also provide emissions reductions.

There are a few notable shortcomings in the book. First, while the author delivers his main thesis convincingly and elegantly, he repeats it often. We read about the tension between global and regional scale so many times that the distinct lessons of each chapter become blurred. Second, I am not fully convinced by Stone’s assertion that cities are encumbered by the international focus on greenhouse gas emissions. Creating climate resilience is fully within the purview of municipal governments, and they bear the costs of inaction; it is not clear why global plans for mitigation should hinder adaptation at a smaller geographic scale. Stone seems to suggest that discourse is so biased towards global effects and policies that regional-level planning is completely ignored, but I think he overstates the strength of this linkage. Finally, the analysis supporting widespread reforestation and other adaptive mitigation techniques strikes me as rose-tinted. We get extensive detail about the attractive qualities of such projects but only vague descriptions of obstacles and downsides. The relative inattention to the latter leaves me without a concrete idea of why those projects have not proliferated on their own or how we should proceed in expanding their influence.

In spite of the shortcomings, I found *The City and the Coming Climate* to be insightful, well written, and thought provoking. I recommend the book for any concerned citizen with a general interest in climate change. Policymakers and students of urban planning and environmental science will find it particularly useful. Not only does Brian Stone offer fresh perspectives on an underappreciated facet of climate change, but his writing is itself worthy of study. He makes complex, interdisciplinary concepts accessible for a broad audience without sacrificing technical detail, providing readers with an excellent example of effective scientific writing.

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**Cities and Flooding: A Guide to Integrated Urban Flood Risk Management for the 21st Century**, by Abhas Jha, Robin Bloch, Jessica Lamond, and other contributors 2012. Washington: World Bank, with support by the Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery. 631. ISBN 978-0-8213-8866-2, \$20 (paper).

In *Cities and Flooding* the World Bank seeks to provide “comprehensive, forward-looking operational guidance on how to manage the risk of floods in a rapidly transforming urban environment and changeable climate” (p. 12). Authors Abhas Jha, Robin Bloch, and Jessica Lamond have arranged the *Guide* into seven chapters that address issues along the spectrum of flood risk management, from the initial process of assessing and mapping flood hazards at a given locale to selecting among various measures to reduce the incidence and severity of flood events to monitoring the subsequent success of those measures.

The underlying philosophy reflects a modern perspective developed since the mid-twentieth century: events such as floods and earthquakes are naturally occurring phenomena that are hazardous to humans only when they interact with human settlements. When we recognize that these natural events become natural *hazards* only when human activities and development extend into locations prone to such events, we also recognize that humans can exercise some degree of control over the potential damage. Jha, Bloch, and Lamond implicitly communicate this philosophy by stating, “The impacts of flooding on cities and towns can be devastating and deadly, resulting in the need to manage the risks of flooding by governments, communities and individuals” (p. 442). In the authors’ view, society can address flood risks because the risks are at least partially under human control, and society should address them because they pose a significant threat to human health and safety that individuals cannot mitigate alone. Under this view, urban flood risk

management is very much an issue of public safety that can only be addressed effectively if governments, communities, and individuals alike are actively involved. The authors thus seek to prepare these actors to participate in flood risk management by providing a strong foundation on which to build.

In the first chapter the authors address fundamental questions relating to understanding local flood risks. They explain that the process of selecting appropriate measures to reduce risks must be informed by an accurate understanding of the type and source of flooding at a given locale, and they discuss different types of flood events (e.g., riverine, coastal, flash, etc.) and different causal mechanisms that produce and/or exacerbate flooding (e.g., severe storms, impermeable ground cover, destruction of landscape natural features, etc.). The authors also provide a detailed description of how to assess flood hazards and to prepare a flood hazard map, using methods to take into account the potential effects of climate change and sea-level rise.

In the second chapter they highlight the distinction between flood events and flood hazards, by describing the impacts of flooding on the landscape and the ways urbanization can inadvertently increase the magnitude and geographic extent of impacts. They also discuss the concept of vulnerability and the means by which communities can assess local vulnerability through vulnerability mapping.

The book's most valuable contribution is arguably the material in chapters 3 and 4, which contain an extensive discussion of a wide range of measures to reduce urban flood risks. The Guide is based on the principles of "integrated flood risk management," which combine "structural" and "nonstructural" measures (p. 196). The focus of chapter 3 is on structural measures, which are designed to control floodwater by physical construction and/or by environmental management; the focus of chapter 4 is on nonstructural measures, which are designed to keep people and property out of flood-prone areas by strategic planning and management of urban environments. Jha, Bloch, and Lamond highlight the benefits and limitations of both types of measures, arguing on one hand that the best approach combines both types, but acknowledging on the other that the risks can never be eliminated entirely. They place particular emphasis on the importance of land-use planning and regulation, which is in keeping with much of the recent literature on natural hazard mitigation.

In the remaining chapters, they provide guidance on selecting among the various risk management measures, implementing an integrated risk management program, and monitoring and evaluating progress. In the final chapter they list 12 "key principles for integrated urban flood risk management" (pp. 587–590) that they believe should inform all programs. Among other things, the principles emphasize the importance of tailoring programs to the local context, incorporating them into existing land-use planning and governance systems, and involving local stakeholders.

In addition to detailed information throughout the *Guide* on how community actors can develop and implement successful programs, there are over 50 short case studies from around the world. They provide real-world examples of the concepts discussed in the *Guide*, and they help to "ground" the concepts in actual communities. They are also useful for increasing awareness of innovative planning and implementation that other communities can emulate successfully. Most of the case studies are based on experience in the developing world.

While the World Bank appears to intend the *Guide* for use primarily by decision makers in urban and urbanizing areas in so-called developing nations, most (if not all) of the material is relevant for any community at risk from flooding. The twelve key principles mentioned above are essentially universal in application, and the promotion of integrated flood risk management coincides with recommendations advanced by researchers on natural hazards in the United States and other Western nations: communities should increasingly add nonstructural measures to existing programs that historically have relied primarily on structural measures. The *Guide* also has value for academic researchers, as a convenient reference text and as a source of ideas for potential case studies that build on the principles and cases in the book.

In sum, *Cities and Flooding* is a valuable starting point for anyone seeking to understand the problem of flooding in urban areas and the measures that can be employed to manage flood risks. The World Bank team explicitly acknowledges that human activities are both part of the problem and part of the solution, and that the choices we make can serve to increase or decrease the incidence and severity of flood events. By providing local decision makers a step-by-step process to follow in designing and implementing a risk management program that is tailored to the local context,

the *Guide* can help to ensure that choices will result in decreased flood risks and increased public safety.

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**The New Asian City: Three-Dimensional Fictions of Space and Urban Form**, by Jini Kim Watson. 2011. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 311 + xi. ISBN 978-0-8166-7573-9, \$25 (paper).

Contrary to the elegant mathematical models of regional scientists, economic and urban modernization is often a messy business. Jini Kim Watson argues that this is nowhere more apparent in the case of the “miracle economies” or “Tigers” of East Asia. From the high-growth industrialization of the postcolonial era to the more sedate and postindustrial 1990s, countries of the region expanded their economies under nationalist and autocratic leaders, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Park Chung-hee, and Lee Kuan Yew. In the 1960s and 1970s, certain of the region’s cities—Taipei, Seoul, and Singapore—were almost synonymous with factory-based development, rapidly becoming booming metropolises filled with export processing zones, public housing estates for recently arrived workers from the countryside, as well as expanding transport and infrastructure systems. But what of their residents in these turbulent and undemocratic cold-war times?

Watson addresses this issue by examining fictional representations of physical and social transformation in these three Asian cities and how they capture the “enormous upheavals in urban space and populations” (p. 1) and “the complex realities and conflicts of these transformations” (p. 2). Her approach draws on training in comparative literature and in architecture. She coins the term “new Asian city” to signify the rapid conversion of these colonial cities into centers of postcolonial industrial economies, and uses cultural works from both the colonial and modern periods to illustrate the cities’ disorderly and often contested growth. Specifically, she analyzes selected novels, short stories, poetry, and films, all produced by local Asian writers and film directors, thus giving “local voice” to the imaginaries of the era.

Her chapters of *The New Asian City* move back and forth between histories of urban development in Taipei, Seoul, and Singapore and her analyses of various works of fiction. In the first part of the book she steps back to the pre-1945 period to examine the cities under colonial rule, which in the case of Korea’s Seoul and Taiwan’s Taipei were growing and industrializing quickly under Japanese rule. After briefly acquainting us with scholars who characterize the colonial cities of Asia (and elsewhere) as split into the modern districts of the colonizers and the squalid parts of the native residents, Watson examines a Korean novel from the Japanese colonial period by Yom Sang-sop called *Mansejon* (Before the March 1st movement). For Watson, an analysis of the novel indicates that “discrepant spaces” (p. 58) that accentuated the stark differences between Japanese and Korean urban life were central to the narrative, especially as they resulted from the rapid transformation of local indigenous spaces and architecture into colonial forms adopted from Japan. Another novel, *The Orphan of Asia* by Wu Zhuoliu, follows the life of the son of a wealthy Taiwan farmer to Japan and then China. As in the Korean novel, when the protagonist returns to his village he is struck by the comparisons between (modern) Japanese and (poor, inferior) Taiwanese spaces and buildings. A third novel, *Nalgae* (The wings), by Yi Sang, ends with the narrator jumping to his death from a Japanese modern department store in downtown Seoul, indicating the alienation of the colonial city from the local inhabitants and the destabilization of their lives.

In the second part of the book, Watson includes stories of the “new proletariat inhabiting factories, apartment blocks, and construction sites of the city” (p. 95). Here, the plots revolve around the notion of (literally) “growing up” in the postcolonial city. For instance, in all three cities use was made for the first time in the 1960s and 1970s of high-rise public housing complexes and slum-clearance projects. Four novels from this period that deal with the mixed-up and unhappy relations between humans and the new architecture are Cho Se-Hui’s *A Little Ball Launched by a Dwarf*, Goh Poh Seng’s *If We Dream Too Long*, and Huang Chunming’s *The Two Sign Painters* and *The Taste*

of *Apples*. The theme of rapid urban renewal is contrasted with another: how women in the three cities negotiated modernity and new urban spaces in the 1970s and 1980s. Kan Sok-Kyong's novella *A Room in the Woods* illustrates that conservative Confucian gender hierarchies still existed within the homes of Seoul. While the industrializing city promised individualism it actually strengthened customary notions of womanhood through the practice of factory dormitories for unmarried women living outside the home. Similar issues focusing on urban women and spaces are raised in Taipei by Su Weizhen's story "Missing" and in Singapore by Su-chen Christine Lim's novel *Rice Bowl*.

Watson turns to East Asian poetry and film in the final part of the book, exploring how cultural narratives have used images of infrastructure, the urban landscape, and the power of the developmental state. From Singapore she presents the work of two local poets, Edwin Thumboo and Arthur Yap, who, we are told, are often pitted against each other because of their very different styles. From Taiwan she introduces the work of Taiwanese New Cinema director Hou Hsiao-Hsien. His films tell stories of young migrants from the countryside and how they survived hard work in the city's factories as well as military service. From Korea she utilizes the tradition of *minjung* literature (of the "common people"), specifically a novel *Road to Sampo* by Hwang Sok-Yong, to illustrate an aesthetic she calls "redemptive realism" (p. 243) and the struggle of marginalized workers against "national expressways as glorious arteries of the country, enabling national productivity and defense buildup" (p. 249). Here, Watson is extremely successful in contrasting, on the one hand, Asian leaders' use of images of modern infrastructure and urban renewal in their pro-growth political speeches, and, on the other hand, "counter narratives" in which writers and directors portrayed the severe downside of rapid development.

Watson is an expert in comparative literature, so we should expect complex words such as Manichean, palimpsest, imbrication, and metonymical (and that just in the Introduction!). Perhaps even more astounding, she has also intermingled the various fictional narratives with the theories of scholars who have picked over similar ideas of modernization, development, and urbanization in East Asia, such as Ernest Mandel, Manuel Castells, Frantz Fanon, David Harvey, Ernst Utrecht, and Andre Gunder Frank. She hopes her work will trigger similar examination of "the most recent of Asian miracles: the rising megastates of China and India" (p. 256).

Jini Kim Watson's *The New Asian City* leaves the reader with a new understanding of the complex modernization processes of a region from the colonial era to the 1980s, a region that today is a prosperous part of the global economy. It will prove stimulating to readers with an interest in the East Asian region, and to scholars in the fields of literary criticism, postcolonial, and cultural studies.

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**Media Clusters: Spatial Agglomeration and Content Capabilities**, edited by Charlie Karlsson and Robert G. Picard. 2011. Series: New Horizons in Regional Science. Cheltenham, U.K. and Northampton, Massachusetts: Edward Elgar. 416 + xiv. ISBN 978-0-85793-268-6, \$160.

Charlie Karlsson and Robert G. Picard have edited an impressive volume that addresses the efficacy and impact of media clusters on economic and regional development and on creativity and output of media products. Its focus on media clusters not only advances our understanding of the specific spatial and organizational dynamics of the media as compared to other industries, but also our understanding of the wide variety of media cluster characteristics, policies, and histories.

The book is organized in three parts. Part 1 provides a detailed but well-condensed overview of industrial clustering (Sören Eriksson, "Promotion of Company and Local Economic Growth through Clusters"), media clusters specifically (Leona Achtenhagen and Robert G. Picard, "Media Clusters: Development Paths and Core Issues") and related policies (Charles H. Davis, "Media Industry Clusters and Public Policy").

Part 2 constitutes the main body of the book. It has three sections: "Clusters Maintaining or Reinvigorating Media Leadership," "Clusters Expanding or Improving Their Position," and "Start-up Clusters." Each section provides three or four detailed case studies. The cases range from European

media clusters (Hilversum in the Netherlands, London, Munich, Manchester/Liverpool, and “Trolleywood” in the west of Sweden) to ones in Toronto and Vancouver in Canada, to clusters located in Sydney, Singapore, Dubai, and South Africa. Thus, while still being largely centered on European and/or Western clusters, the book’s inclusion of the Dubai Media City and South African examples are especially interesting. The concluding part 3 is one short chapter by Karlsson and Picard that lays out the challenges of media clusters, policy options, and future avenues of research.

The authors of the case studies come from a variety of geographic locations and academic disciplines. They include geographers, economists, a political scientist, scholars of management, and of course scholars of communications and cultural studies.

All contributions are well written, and each makes a unique contribution to the overall theme of the book. They can be read as separate, stand-alone pieces, however they also build on each other, creating a captivating flow of information and analysis that makes the whole book a pleasure to read. Unlike in many other edited books, the individual chapters avoid repetition and are refreshingly concise. Moreover, in chapter 3 Achtenhagen and Picard provide a comprehensive overview of the major literature (published between 2001 and 2010) on media clusters, in the form of a ten-page table (pp. 57–66) that summarizes the focus of previous studies, their methodologies, and main results.

The various contributors point to the importance of global, national, and interregional networks, as well as the involvement of transnational, national, and local policymakers who shape the development of the different clusters. Here, differences between national media policy and media cluster policy, that is, regional economic development policy, are especially relevant. The authors analyze the different approaches to cluster development, the motivations behind them, and their effects. By bringing together all these different contributions, Karlsson and Picard provide a much-needed coherency to research on new media clusters.

Additionally, several contributors suggest noteworthy research avenues for further exploration. For instance, Charles Davis calls for a broader research approach that includes normative dimensions like “communication rights, citizenship, diversity, and localism” (p. 88). His argument to move our understanding of the effects and benefits of media clusters and policy beyond “exclusive concerns with economic development” (p. 88) is most appreciated. In their analysis of the Dubai Media City, Picard and Leon Barkho reveal that the “cluster has several hundred acres of manicured parks and gardens, which are maintained clean and tidy by low-paid Pakistanis and Indians” (p. 284). Tom O’Regan, Ben Goldsmith, and Susan Ward point to inner-city renewal agendas in the evolution of Sydney’s cluster. Moreover, Karlsson and Picard argue that “location is often more about operational needs and labour” (p. 18). Most case studies support that observation.

Yet, what is the role of the symbolic value of locations, the cachet of specific addresses in the development of a cluster? For media companies, which are part of the cultural industries whose outputs are primarily valued on their symbolic content, location can provide perceived signals of quality. A holistic approach to clustering thus needs to situate these clusters not only in economic space but also in a place whose symbolic, physical, social, cultural, and economic characteristics are reciprocally shaped by the cluster. For example, inner-city media clusters often advance processes of commercial and residential gentrification and the displacement of other cultural industries as well as low-income populations. Thus, Karlsson and Picard’s call for a “better comprehension of the social and economic processes of development that characterize urban media clusters” (p. 389) should be extended to include the reverse question: how do clusters influence their particular environments?

My comments should not distract from the fact that this edited volume makes very important contributions to the academic literature of regional economic development and media clusters in particular. The book is relevant to scholars, students, media professionals, and policymakers. And while it is especially geared towards people interested in media clusters, it also offers interesting questions and information for anyone researching and learning about regional clusters in general and cultural industries clusters in particular.

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**Second Cities: Globalization and Local Politics in Manchester and Philadelphia**, by Jerome I. Hodos. 2011. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 247 + xiii. ISBN 978--1-4399-0231-8, \$65.

How do cities such as Philadelphia and Manchester (U.K.) fit in the long story of globalization? Unlike their Atlantic-world counterparts New York and London, these smaller metropolitan centers are not understood as “global cities.” Jerome Hodos, a sociologist at Franklin and Marshall College, argues convincingly that Philadelphia and Manchester, former manufacturing powerhouses, ought to be seen as more than provincial capitals and should be given their due in theories linking globalization and city formation. We need to take seriously their distinctive role as “second cities” in a global system.

Hodos focuses his comparative study on the second-city concept, as he builds on a term used earlier by economists Peter Karl Kresl and Ann Markusen, and he also elaborates the “world city hypothesis.” Second cities display several characteristics that shape their distinct roles in both national and world contexts. They are globally connected, economically and culturally, with ongoing relations to cities around the world. Unlike the classic global cities that serve as nodes of international finance and related businesses, places such as Philadelphia and Manchester attained their status through manufacturing and pragmatic cultural innovations. Although the paths to this second position can differ—Philadelphia lost out to New York as the nineteenth century began, whereas Manchester rose steadily—these two cities continued along this route by undertaking a series of projects that helped to secure their place in the global system. These included infrastructure developments and cultural initiatives that built global ties and crafted a “second city urban identity” (p. 6). Their leaders might aspire to enter the premier club of “global cities,” but they are unlikely to do so. Nevertheless, Philadelphia and Manchester are much more than simply global city strivers.

Hodos begins and ends with theoretically oriented chapters that situate this key concept in the globalization literatures and also discuss its applicability to a broader range of cities. His introductory chapter, which stands as a model of analytical clarity, also serves effectively as a primer to the scholarship connecting globalization and urban processes. While North Atlantic arenas of globalization dominate the book, in the closing chapter he expands the analysis to other parts of the world. Although abbreviated and speculative, Hodos’s provocative conclusions should prompt other scholars to explore how second-city theory might be applied to widely dispersed cases such as Barcelona, Tel Aviv, Cape Town, Rio de Janeiro, Guangzhou, and Bangalore.

In the body of the book Hodos digs deeply into the historical and contemporary dimensions of the Philadelphia and Manchester cases. In the first half, launched by a historically oriented chapter on “making of the second-city,” he concentrates on how they achieved and maintained their second-city position. Further, how did their “secondness” and specializations in the context of national and global dynamics predispose particular outcomes? While eschewing determinism, Hodos examines how the two were cast as second cities. He ranges widely, using economic, demographic, political, and cultural evidence. Employment and demographic data highlight that both cities became important industrial centers and attracted migrants, especially internal migrants (African-American and Puerto Rican workers to Philadelphia, Irish to Manchester), to work in factories. Rather than becoming international finance nodes populated by global professionals on top and a diversity of immigrants on the bottom, these manufacturing hubs saw racial and ethnic divisions emerge as most salient: “ethnic-minority internal migrants have suffered a harsher reception from the existing society than have immigrants” (p. 75). Hodos’s path-breaking research on the “global geography of corporations” (p. 59)—an analysis of the patterns of business and transnational corporate activity in second cities as compared to first-tier global cities—show how Philadelphia and Manchester built on their past strengths to remain globally integrated cities despite deindustrialization and the shift to a service economy.

Especially significant in this first half of the book is his exploration of global cultural innovations. Given their pragmatic inclination, the two cities advanced ideas important to manufacturing and exchange during the industrial period: free market ideas in the case of Manchester and, on the flip side, a protectionist agenda incubated in Philadelphia. Similarly, they generated a middling or pop culture with a global reach, rather than the higher culture associated with global cities. These cultural, economic, and demographic dimensions of second-city life also reinforced their second position.

In the second half of the book, Hodos puts a spotlight on agency. It's a needed corrective to the structural interpretations that dominate studies of globalization and urbanization. He investigates two sets of initiatives undertaken by second-city leaders and residents. The first, denoted as "municipal foreign policy" (p. 16 and elsewhere), comprises the railway, shipping, and later airport projects that not only solidified regional prominence but made tangible connections to cities around the world. The second is made up of large-scale cultural planning projects. In Manchester, the Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 and efforts in the 1980s and 1990s to attract international sporting events, in Philadelphia the 1876 Centennial Exhibition and Avenue of the Arts initiatives in the 1990s—these prompted physical, political, and symbolic reconstructions that enabled the formation of second-city identities. Hodos says those identities in turn contributed to "a global cultural system that fostered new connections across people and places and increased their own and others' global awareness" (p. 174). In these ways, then, the cities' people not only were buffeted by the forces of globalization but also were active participants in making the global order.

As these examples suggest, such initiatives and actions proved important for civic self-definition and have helped Philadelphia and Manchester to avoid losing their second-city status. While the spectacular successes of New York and London are tempting, the fates of places like Detroit and Sheffield serve as sober warnings. For second cities generally, moving down appears more likely than moving up. Hodos might do more to spin out the implications of this asymmetry, asking especially if successful second-city initiatives are limited largely to defensive measures. While questions remain in this fruitful line of investigation, Hodos's attention to agency makes for one of book's most notable contributions.

Finally, I offer just one quibble. The book largely ignores scholarship on globalization and cities that appeared following the mid-point of the new century's first decade. This matters especially in two areas. First, by the later-2000s scholars had begun to put more specificity into what previously had been overly abstract notions of global processes. Hodos's work falls within this newer wave of scholarship, but he would do well to engage it. Second, his approach to urban social history, posing an either-or choice between class dynamics and racial-ethnic dynamics, needs to be nuanced. Recent scholarship complicates these categories and underscores the interactions of the underlying social forces.

Hodos's creatively researched and well-written study will engage social scientists and historians interested in urban formation and global processes, as well as general readers and scholars interested in the two Atlantic cities, Manchester and Philadelphia. *Second Cities* should find an audience especially among those who seek to understand the global urban system as more than a story of cities sitting at the top of the heap.

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**American Urban Form: A Representative History**, by Sam Bass Warner and Andrew H. Whittemore. 2012. Drawings by Andrew H. Whittemore. Series: Urban and Industrial Environments. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. 183 + x. ISBN 978-0-262-01721-3, \$27.95.

Many Americans are rethinking the physical form, or geography, of their metropolitan areas. Professionals do so in their roles with private, public, or nonprofit institutions. Citizens evaluate and reevaluate the urban region in deciding where to live and how to go about their daily lives. High gas prices, the health costs of sedentary lifestyles, expensive land values, air pollution, and changing social realities such as aging all challenge the efficacy of the fragmented, automobile-dependent, sprawling spatial structure that characterizes urban regions of the early twenty-first century. Have large homes in distant subdivisions accessible to stores, schools, and recreational facilities only by automobiles become too expensive for young families, aging and downsizing couples, and even for municipalities dependent on property taxes? At the same time, are taxpayers willing to pay for mass transit not only vital for low-income populations but also necessary for high density and more pedestrian friendly community arrangements? In recognition of this current period of reevaluation,

Sam Bass Warner and Andrew Whittemore argue that in a society whose fundamental values are capitalism and democracy, “the most effective way to open a discussion of choices among future alternatives is to review where we have been” (p. 1).

The authors fashion their history of the changing physical form of cities in a markedly original manner, a hallmark of Warner’s long, distinguished scholarly career. They briefly describe a physical form for a hypothetical American city at nine points in time from seventeenth-century beginnings to a final portrait in 2000. For each period snapshot, they summarize the social, economic, and political forces that shaped the hypothetical city’s spatial structure and which in turn were affected by the physical form. Recalling the approach Warner employed in his book *The Private City* (1968), the snapshots demonstrate by comparison with each other and with elucidation in the text the constant change reshaping the city throughout its history. The palpable sense today of living in an era of profound urban change is not unique, the authors conclude; “change had always been the City’s life and strength” (p. 153).

The generalized city form represents a composite picture of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. This particular choice of cities permits a survey of urban development over the full 400 years of American urban experience and provides a wealth of historical literature from which to draw. Warner has over the years written in depth about Boston and Philadelphia. Whittemore’s charming pen-and-ink drawings for each of the nine periods illustrate from a bird’s-eye view the changing spatial form and extent of the city. The hypothetical city approach avoids the pitfalls of a case study, and the commonalities of the American urban experience, as the authors assert, support their strategy. The hypothetical city does, however, give a sense in places of being an east-coast-centric model. Further, the city depicted in the drawings unfolds on a complicated estuarial geomorphology, and that, along with the timing of changes and estimates of population sizes, accentuates the east-coast feel. The envisioning of a city developing on a less complicated site, perhaps more like the featureless plain common to urban modeling decades ago, and not predicated on the northeast’s three largest metropolises might have yielded simpler, clearer spatial patterns and resonated more easily with the target audience of citizens across the nation.

The descriptions, almost overviews, of the city at each chosen moment are notably thorough despite the brevity. Warner and Whittemore advance a theme for each period: for example, overwhelming rapid growth and social fragmentation of the mid-nineteenth century; the new credit-fueled consumption behavior of the mid-1920s, sitting uncomfortably with rampant nativism and racism; the federally supported middle-class prosperity and lifestyle of the 1950s; the reinvented, polycentric urban region at the turn of the twenty-first century. They then expand on the physical form, infrastructure, economic foundations, class developments, and social changes of the period. The brevity of the chapters might well attract serious citizens concerned with the urban world changing around them, who do not have the time and perseverance to tackle a traditional scholarly tome. For those who wish to learn more about a process, policy, or period, the authors provide a modest listing of suggested readings presumably also designed not to overwhelm nonacademic readers.

The focus on physical form, that is the historical geography of the city, gives readers a relatively easy way to access the history of the American city. Citizens experience every day the city’s spatial arrangements, public spaces, social differentiation, and frictions of sprawl. Thus, the descriptions of past urban geographies invite comparisons with citizens’ own experience, as the authors intended. The effort by illustration and text to incorporate areas outside the city into the history, even in the seventeenth century, reminds readers of both the long historical relationship between city and country and how profoundly sprawl has changed that relationship. Descriptions of population and building densities, as well as drawings of vernacular building types and community layouts, inspire observation and recognition of surroundings and the alternative arrangements that the past suggests. These strategies encourage readers to connect the past to the present for themselves.

Whether or not Warner and Whittemore’s concise spatial history of the American city will fulfill their goal of providing a foundation for discussion of future urban forms is an open question. They make little effort to explicitly draw out insights from the past for the future. New urbanist, smart growth, and sustainable city advocates, who are noted in the final city period, believe the historical city has lessons for our future. But without help from the authors, the compact, dense

period descriptions, along with the many periods covered, potentially obscure the insights for many of the target audience.

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**Interregional Migration and Public Policy in Canada**, by Kathleen M. Day and Stanley L. Winer. 2012. Series: Carleton Library Series, No. 223. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 408 + xxiv. ISBN 0-7735-3744-6, US\$95 (cloth); ISBN 978-0-7735-3745-3 (paper), US\$34.95.

We all know or have heard stories of the migrant's journey. Typically that journey is depicted in cross-national terms. Yet, at any given time, a more substantial flow of persons is moving within national borders than across them. Tales of internal migration are not as readily known as tales of international ones. Kathleen Day and Stanley Winer's book is certainly not a storytelling exercise. The better part of their book is a compendium of hundreds of empirical findings from a nearly three-decade long research study (1968–1996) of internal migration in Canada. Nevertheless, out of that mass of data and figures emerges a tale of what compels an individual to move within a country, sometimes over vast distances—for Canada's regions of economic vitality and growth are often located far from centers of decline and relative deprivation—and what effect public policy has on that decision.

The key to their analysis and what will therefore make it unique to readers is Day and Winer's attempt to model empirically the relationship between public policy—in the sense of incremental changes to programs that vary across provinces, such as unemployment insurance and social assistance—and the decision to migrate. This, in conjunction with a careful consideration of the causal factors that economists traditionally have identified as affecting the expected returns from moving, would make the book a solid read for public policy researchers and graduate students. However, Day and Winer deliver slightly more than that: they also investigate, through the use of simulations, the effect of large-scale counterfactual policy changes on migration decisions, as well as the effect of real historical events that acted as large policy shocks during the sample period. Such events are often overlooked in econometric studies but are important to consider because, as the authors remind us, they are “likely to have created incentives to move that are substantial relative to the kinds of policy reforms that we experience in normal times and relative to the full and indirect costs of moving” (p. 25).

It is often unfair to criticize a book for what it does not do, but it is important to note that Day and Winer do not wade too deeply into the thorny question of whether or not the promotion of internal migration is in fact a “desirable” outcome in either the macroeconomic or microeconomic sense. Delving into that debate would surely raise the interest of readers beyond Canada, especially in Europe, where after the 2008 economic crisis the issue of greater labor market flexibility is reaching a crescendo. It would also be of use in China, where by some estimates (Jacka and Gaetano, 2004) nearly 200 million internal migrants have left the countryside for work in cities and towns over the past decade. Surely it would be useful to know where the authors stand on this all-important question.

They do remind us, right at the outset, of the economic argument in favor of removing policy-induced barriers to regional labor mobility: the result of such barriers is that “too few people—from a national point of view—may migrate out of places where real wages are relatively low and unemployment is relatively high. If this does happen, earned income in the country as a whole will be lower . . . and regional disparities in earned incomes will increase compared to a situation

where the public policy-related components of comprehensive incomes do not vary across [regions]" (pp. 3–4).

Day and Winer go on to acknowledge that this standard economic argument, first elucidated in a Canadian context by Thomas Courchene (1970), does not do justice “even in principle” (p. 6) to the actual migration decision, which is a personal decision that “carries with it substantial transactions and psychological costs that do not burden investors in capital markets” (p. 6). But they fail to provide countervailing support for alternate views on income and policy supports for people in less economically advantaged communities. We know that just as economists point to the need for mobility to encourage regional economic convergence, sociologists have made an equally compelling case for immobility. As James Coleman (1988) noted, staying in place, even in the face of economic hardships, can have the advantage of deepening social capital and trust and encouraging the emergence of social resilience. Staying put can also improve educational outcomes for the young, given that frequent moves prior to the age of 12 are substantially and significantly correlated with poorer performance in school. The opposite, exploiting the “exit” option every time a positive differential in earning potential arises, can lead to social exclusion and anomie. These issues are clearly beyond Day and Winer’s scope here, but nevertheless it would have been informative to highlight this literature early on, if only as a counterpoint to Courchene and others’ canonical economic argumentation.

Readers interested in identifying “bottom line” findings for public policy’s effects should also be forewarned. The data are drawn from the Canadian experience. The multiplicity of programs across the country and the fact that Canada has been described as one of the most decentralized federations in the world make wading into the question rather difficult. To their credit, the authors devote an entire chapter (chapter 2) to the multiple dimensions of public policy in Canada, including the various ways fiscal policy varies across regions. One of the interesting conclusions, in what is otherwise a setup chapter for the meatier analysis to follow, is that if regional differences in policies turn out to have weak effects, it’s not because policies don’t vary across regions. The authors find substantial regional differences in all of a substantial list: real per capita provincial government spending on health, education, and the total of all other functions; real social assistance benefits; basic real income tax burden for an individual with average income; minimum weeks of insurable employment required to qualify for unemployment insurance; maximum weeks of benefits available to someone with the minimum weeks of insurable employment; and real per capita current plus net capital spending by federal government. The first five variables reflect provincial differences in publicly provided services, while the last three are controlled by the federal government.

One minor criticism is worth mentioning. At the very end of the book (chapter 9) the authors purport to offer an all-purpose summary that tells readers “what we have learned” (p. 254) from the empirics. By this time readers who have patiently read the 253 preceding pages and eight chapters, and who have delved into the 94 figures and 81 tables, would perhaps rightly expect to receive an unqualified answer. Unfortunately for them, such an answer is not forthcoming. The authors tease the readers for an additional six pages with lines like “So, what have we learned from using a data set with considerable policy-related action in it? To answer that question, we proceed in three steps” (p. 256). Three steps! By this point readers should be entitled to a bottom-line conclusion, no matter how nuanced. Fortunately it does arrive in the last four pages of the book. And here one unequivocal result is actually a “barn burner” for those invested in this literature. It turns out that the much-maligned economic villain, that is, Canada’s unemployment insurance system (known as EI)—decidedly more generous in provinces with worse economic conditions, so a clear no-no if one is interested in promoting supposed economic efficiency and fostering convergence—plays virtually no “role in maintaining regional disparities by inducing too many people to stay in relatively poorer parts of the country” (p. 261). In an area where the established literature has traditionally taken the view that “Disincentives to . . . mobility fostered by transfer programs like EI are also important, although the extent of that importance is in some dispute” (Gomez and Gunderson, 2007, p. 20), this result surfaces like a refreshing breath of evidence-based fresh air.

Day and Winer’s book is clearly an important resource for someone embarking on estimates of internal migration where there are policy variables and differences within a single political union. I expect it will be especially useful for those wishing to benchmark findings from other studies of regional migration. Notwithstanding some of the criticisms pointed to here, I would

highly recommend it to any researcher bent on serious empirical investigation of migration within geographic boundaries where labor is in theory “free” to move.

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**Migration and Culture**, edited by Robin Cohen and Gunvor Jónsson. 2011. Series: The International Library of Studies on Migration, No. 11. Cheltenham, U.K. and Northampton, Massachusetts: Edward Elgar. 788 + xxxii. ISBN 978-1-84980-834-7, \$450.

This edited collection by Robin Cohen and Gunvor Jónsson, both of the International Migration Institute at Oxford, is the eleventh volume of The International Library of Studies on Migration, edited by Robin Cohen. It is a massive collection (788 pages of text) of 37 reprinted journal articles and essays (all but one post-1990 and all but four post-2000) written by a variety of social scientists, most of them anthropologists or scholars in the multidisciplinary field of cultural studies and based in institutions outside of the United States. These authors examine the intersections of migration and culture in a broad range of societies on every inhabited continent. Cohen and Jónsson have assembled an impressive array of contributions that will interest researchers, teachers, and students who wish to understand the complex relationships between migration and culture.

They begin with their own original essay on the complicated relationship between culture and migration. Informative and wide-ranging, it performs the important task of defining culture. Drawing from anthropology, it identifies the cognitive, normative, and material components of culture. It furthermore places the topic of migration and culture into an historical context. Cohn and Jónsson underscore the importance of recognizing that humanity is in a new global era. Owing to technological advances in communication and transportation, people and their ideas, beliefs, languages, religions, customs, and traditions have diffused throughout the world and, hence, culture is no longer geographically based. An implication of this “deterritorialization of culture” (p. xxvii), Cohn and Jónsson suggest, is that the traditional approach to viewing culture in terms of separate national or regional cultures (e.g., Western civilization) is now obsolete. It has given way to an approach that emphasizes the manifold connections among cultures, their permeable and fuzzy borders, and the rise of transnational communities that enrich the cultural diversity of both sending and receiving societies. In advocating this view, Cohn and Jónsson make a compelling case for scholars to eschew perspectives that implicitly assume that cultural differences will inherently lead to competition and conflict among societies.

Moreover, in calling for theory and research to move past economic analyses that focus exclusively on the role of push and pull factors related to the supply and demand for labor, their essay draws attention to the significance of a “culture of migration” (p. xxiv) in less-developed societies. Cohn and Jónsson show that numerous studies—conducted in places as disparate as Mexico and Mali—have documented the existence of a milieu of norms, values, and social networks that fosters the circulatory movement of workers across national boundaries. The culture of migration, they

note, operates in conjunction with, and independently of, the factors that have been emphasized in explanations of migration that are based on neoclassical economic theory. It follows, according to Cohn and Jónsson, that comprehensive accounts of international migration can no longer ignore the salient influence of culture on the movements of populations.

This introductory essay provides a good, substantive overview of issues surrounding the topic of migration and culture. Migration researchers in economics and regional science, who might be less familiar with the academic study of culture than sociologists and geographers, will find the essay particularly enlightening. However, the essay does not explicitly describe the rationale for the selection of the contributions to the volume or for its organization, nor does it provide a detailed summary of the contents. Some readers, therefore, might perceive discontinuities across the major sections and individual contributions.

The contributions are organized into five broad topic areas: key perspectives in the study of migration and culture; migration and popular culture; migration and identity formation; translocal communities; and migrant imaginaries (i.e., visual images and symbolic meanings that are associated with the experiences of migration and settlement).

I describe five contributions—one from each topic area—that illustrate the breadth of scholarship one finds here. Brenda Yeoh and Katie Willis (2005) examine how in the People's Republic of China transplanted professional workers from Singapore and Great Britain negotiate the culture of the host country in different ways. They show that such negotiation takes place inside the vital "contact zones" of cities. Maureen Chinyere Duru (2005) documents how the cultural meaning that the Igbo of Nigeria ascribe to the "kola nut rite" varies across contexts. In Nigeria, Igbo women view the ritual as an affirmation of male dominance; yet, in the Igbo diaspora community in Belgium, women practice the ritual to solidify their Igbo identity and foster ethnic unity. Takeyuki (Gaku) Tsuda (2001) investigates ethnic identity among the descendants of Japanese immigrants who settled in Brazil in the early twentieth century. In Brazil, these Japanese Brazilians tend to see themselves as ethnically Japanese; however, those who have moved to Japan for economic reasons view themselves, and are viewed by native-born Japanese, as ethnically Brazilian and thus feel alienated from Japanese culture. Jørgen Carling (2002), studying Cape Verde, explores the discrepancy between the aspiration to emigrate to Europe and the reality of involuntary immobility resulting from a variety of barriers to migration. He proposes a theoretical model that takes account of the often-overlooked factor of nonmigration. Finally, Sun Wanning (2005) describes the "transnational Chinese mediasphere." Comprising networks of print and electronic media, this mass media phenomenon creates a two-way flow of images and information that reflects both global and local concerns of overseas Chinese communities and, in doing so, produces and reproduces the culture of these communities.

Unfortunately, there is no concluding chapter. Such a chapter could have provided closure by drawing out the main insights of the contributions and/or by offering new directions for theory and research on migration and culture. The absence of a capstone chapter gives the impression that Cohn and Jónsson—who have put a tremendous amount of thought and effort into assembling their collection—were simply overwhelmed by the enormity of the volume's subject matter.

This book deserves the attention of all scholars who study migration. The contributions vividly reflect the international character of research on migration and culture, demonstrating that social scientists around the world, analyzing migration in its many different contexts, are profoundly advancing knowledge about the relationship between it and culture. Scholars in the United States would benefit from learning more about this emerging line of inquiry. In addition, the collection convincingly reveals that ethnographic methods of investigation are shedding new light on the noneconomic causes and consequences of migration that have been unduly neglected by quantitative studies. Economists, sociologists, and geographers would gain an appreciation of this brand of qualitative research by consulting the volume. Finally, the contributions provide rich evidence that the traditional model of migration, settlement, adaptation, and assimilation that has guided research should be replaced by a fresh theoretical approach that conceptualizes migration in terms of transnational identities and transnational communities.

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**Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City**, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer. 2012. New York: Routledge. 284 + xii. ISBN 978-0-415-60177-1 (cloth), \$155; ISBN 978-0-415-60178-8 (paper), \$39.95.

Henri Lefebvre formulated the idea of "the right to the city." David Harvey says, "the right to the city is far more than a matter of individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city" (2008, p. 23). Unlike existing concepts of social change that do not fundamentally challenge the hegemonic neoliberal world order, it is seen as having the capacity to engage, challenge, and change the existing order in which the rights of private property and profit maximization trump all other notions of rights. The book *Cities for People, Not for Profit* is nothing short of a rallying cry for a new program to create a socially just world where cities are organized not to maximize production for profit, but instead for use by the people who inhabit them.

The book has an introduction by the editors, an afterword by Marcuse, and 15 essays that can be grouped under three headings: theory, past practice, and things to be done in the future. Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse, Christian Schmid, Kanishka Goonewardena, Tom Slater, and Bruno Flierl provide theoretical perspectives. In essays on practice, Katherine Rankin, Margit Mayer, Oren Yiftachel, Justus Uitermark, and Jon Liss describe movements for social justice and the places they have occurred. The third theme is succinctly captured in David Harvey and David Wachsmuth's title, "What is to be done? And who the hell is going to do it?"

The central thesis is a call for critical urban theory to chart a path toward alternative, revolutionary, postcapitalist forms of urbanization. I read the book with great and sympathetic interest, as I have a deep personal interest in that thesis, having directed a 12-year project, "Rethinking Urban Poverty," in the Parkside neighborhood of West Philadelphia, home to some of the poorest people in Philadelphia. I hoped to find new insights in critical urban social theory—insights that would help address quality-of-life issues among those people. I have to say at the outset that while the book certainly has much astute analysis, ultimately it disappointed me in my search for new modes of action and thought.

In one essay Marcuse describes the right to the city as a movement on behalf of the excluded and alienated, to give them material necessities and "a broader right to what is necessary beyond the material to lead a satisfying life" (p. 31). He expands on the idea drawing from Harvey's *Enigma of Capital*: the right to the city is "a co-revolutionary movement that would bring together the traditional working class, the anti-imperialist, or anti-globalization movement, those opposed to sexism and racism, and the environmental movement" (p. 30; "co-revolutionary movement" is from Harvey, 2010). These ideas have framed my own engagement with this book.

There is little doubt material deprivations that poor people experience are a product of the workings of capitalism. Harvey has shown that capitalism is inherently crisis-prone: recessions, unemployment, and poverty are not special problems, but manifestations of how normal everyday capitalism works. It produces an abundance of wealth and goods for one class while producing poverty and ever-increasing scarcities for a much broader class. I was reminded of *The Capitalist System* (1978), in which Edwards, Reich, and Weiskopf also described the centrality of capital to a range of social ills—poverty, inequality, racism, imperialism, transport. They argued capitalism is the root cause of all of them; they cannot be solved without first ridding society of capitalism.

I see a common theme in Harvey, Marcuse, and the authors of *The Capitalist System*: these scholars privilege capitalism as the center of analysis, the origin, and other social states like poverty and inequality flow from it, occupying decentered positions at the margin. Marxist scholars have reified capital, making it coherent, concrete, bounded, when, in truth, capitalism is a vast, diffused, powerful discursive-material formation. It has no frontal face to be taken on by revolutionary forces, certainly not the people I've come to know in West Philadelphia. There is no bounded space or battlefield to engage the capitalist enemy. The claim that poverty, inequality, race, and imperialism are secondary to core capitalism is not a self-evident truth inherent in the world, but a pure discursive construction—convenient for academic conversation, but an obstacle to action. My experience in West Philadelphia has confirmed my belief that treating capitalism as a privileged vantage point of analysis prevents critical urban social theory from becoming a potent social force, by limiting the sites for action and engagement. Simply put, this structural problem has no structural solution, and our continued insistence that it does—however new the shape or form or coalition—does not advance our cause.

Examples of such totalizing and debilitating discourse abound in the book. Bruno Flierl says, "The struggle for a city not dominated by, even entirely free of, the profit motive must be part and parcel of the struggle for a society not based on the profit motive" (p. 246). "[It is] the struggle for a world as a whole that must be conducted everywhere in this world at once and by globally networked means . . ." (p. 248). As far as the United States is concerned, let us briefly juxtapose this clarion call to some sobering statistics, namely the low percentages of people who vote in elections. Global capitalism did not triumph because some powerful inexorable neoliberal economic force advanced like a juggernaut; it was enabled in part by an apathetic electorate. Why do radical scholars believe we can organize urban inhabitants to demand their right to a just city when these same people don't exercise an elementary right we already have? Yet, in an entire book dedicated to theory and activism, there is no mention, let alone an explanation, of the failure of so many to vote.

The case studies provide actual history, rather than theory. There are several references to the Paris Commune of 1871. Justus Uitermark's essay on Amsterdam is about successful resistance against urban renewal in the Nieuwmarkt neighborhood in the 1970s, and he details how investments in social housing gave Amsterdam the attributes of an "actually existing just city" (p. 197). But ultimately that progress was sidelined to the backwaters of history, and Amsterdam gave way to the demands of neoliberalism. Uitermark describes that change at length, and he concludes, "Amsterdam shows it is very difficult to work towards a just city but nearly impossible to sustain it" (p. 211). An essay by Jon Liss is short on case studies, but he makes useful proposals on how grassroots alliances should organize. Margit Mayer gives a good review of social movements from around the world in the context of the history of the political economy of neoliberalism. However, she too echoes the more general totalizing tendencies: "The movements currently gathering under the claim for the 'right to the city' could mark a new phase in the development of urban social movements—one where a novel type of coalition across the city appears to have the potential to unify a multiplicity of urban demands under one common banner" (p. 63).

Which brings us to the third theme, "What is to be done?" We can't escape the central truth: an economy built on the principle of maximizing exchange value will produce abundance amidst scarcity. The problem is systemic and it is structural. However—contrary to the hope of several authors here—this structural problem has no structural solution.

As real as capitalism is, it is a discursive-material formation that is vast, diffused, and co-constituted from many other relations that are not merely secondary. Capital circulates constantly through what and where we eat, where and how we live, what we breathe; it circulates through our muscles and blood, through the very marrow of our bones. A successful struggle against capital as such could never be waged from behind barricades in urban streets. Struggles must be disciplined and organized, yes, but more so they must be routine, every day, ordinary, multiple. Apart from my theoretical objections to totalizing discourse that demands structural solutions, I also don't find the privileging of capital an effective tool in engaging communities. My experience in West Philadelphia has shown me it's almost impossible to organize people in a general struggle against capitalism. However, the people I've worked with are far from apathetic—many become very animated when conversations turn to Type II diabetes, to lack of fresh produce, proper healthcare, and affordable housing, and to the quality of the neighborhood. As scholars how easy is it to begin with any of these topics and move to an analysis of free markets in two or three steps? Let me focus for a

moment on Type II diabetes, which is rampant in Parkside. I have met activists who begin there and soon link the disease to issues of urban farming, parks for recreation and exercise, and the need to produce a landscape that helps to control diabetes. Neighborhood residents quickly see the connections between these topics, and in turn the very real, larger-scale connection to how capital works.

My larger point, then, is this: while a structural conception of capital is essential, in order to resist capital we also need to retheorize using poststructural tools. That means speaking about capital in substantive and specific ways, but also recognizing capital is not the center of a space where other topics lay at the margin. Food, health, housing, transport, good neighborhoods, inequality, race, and *capital*—all are mutually constituted. We must recognize and engage at all potential sites, with different agents working at different sites. It is not necessary to organize those multiple efforts into a single anticapitalist movement. This observation provides us a better answer to “What is to be done and who shall do it?” than the proposition that we need a unified social movement to achieve our right to the city.

A final observation. The geographer from whom I have learned the most is David Harvey—yet I have never shared a copy of *Limits to Capital* (1982) or *The Enigma of Capital* (2010) with my friends in Parkside. I have, however, had long, animated conversations beginning with Michael Pollan’s ideas on the relation of agriculture and food to disease in the city (Pollan, 2008). If we really mean for critical urban social theory to chart a new path, in which cities prioritize people, not profits, then I suggest we explore that tension. We need to come down from our totalizing theoretical mountaintops, rescale our maps, and discover a nearly limitless land of potential sites where we can analyze, engage, act, and theorize to effect.

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