

Reviews

Remaking the global economy edited by J Peck, H W C Yeung; Sage, London, 2003, 256 pages, £60.00 cloth, £19.99 paper (\$99.95, \$39.95) ISBN 076194897X, 0761948988

Neil Smith has compared globalization to someone throwing a completed jigsaw puzzle up into the air so that all the pieces fly apart—except that the pieces returning to earth are not the same ones that went up. The map gracing the softcover edition of *Remaking the Global Economy*, an edited collection celebrating the career of economic geographer Peter Dicken, makes for an apt juxtaposition to Smith's fetching but perhaps hyperbolic imagery. From a distance, it looks like a simple political map of the Western hemisphere. On closer inspection one notes that North America is overlain by East Asia, with Tibet just to the east of California, inner Mongolia just south of Thunder Bay, and Seoul about 200 kilometres north of New York City. Toward the tropics, Taiwan floats just above Cuba, the Vietnamese cordillera points south to Oaxaca, and Libya is nestled between Columbia and Surinam. So globalization has reconfigured the pieces of the puzzle, but they are in fact the same pieces.

This map makes for a fitting image of Dicken's work, which, as editors Jamie Peck and Henry Wai-chung Yeung note in their introductory chapter, "is measured and careful but not unnecessarily cautious" (page 4). In particular, Dicken's writing on globalization is well captured here, as, in Dicken's view, "nation-states remain key players in the structuring and regulation of the global economy" and "global investment flows are not free-floating extra-terrestrial phenomena", leading him to a reading of globalization "that is quite distinct from the exaggerated accounts of the hyper-globalists on the one hand and the naysayers on the other" (page 12).

Along with the introductory chapter by Peck and Yeung summarizing Dicken's contributions, *Remaking the Global Economy* features three sections, each with four chapters, covering issues related to Dicken's work. Part one, "Grounding global flows"; contains chapters by Dicken on the place-based character of global corporations; by Neil Coe, Philip Kelly, and Kris Olds on transnational migration within the Asia Pacific region; by Roger Lee on flows of financial capital to emerging markets; and by Erica Schoenberger on the globalization of the water, wastewater, and solid waste industries. Part two, "placing global knowledge", contains chapters by Meric Gertler on the place-based character of knowledge production in global firms; by Ash Amin on corporate learning through increasingly globalized networks; by Nigel Thrift on how new corporate organizational structures enable more flexible and pervasive forms of social control; and by Anders Malmberg on the ways in which economic clusters are both locally embedded and globally networked. Part three, "Refiguring global rules", contains chapters by Adam Tickell and Jamie Peck on the development of, and variations in, neoliberal approaches to governance; by Amy Glasmeier and Michael Conroy on issues surrounding the development of global trade regimes; by Neil Brenner on 'glocalization' as a state spatial strategy of neoliberalism; and by Ray Hudson on the spatial reconfiguration of production in Europe as economic integration increases.

As with any such collection the chapters in this book are varied in both emphasis and style, and the authors do not always agree on basic matters (for example, Gertler emphasizes the continued role of local and national contexts in corporate learning and practice whereas Amin suggests the emergence of a much more globalized context of corporate learning). Nonetheless, the chapters hang together relatively well as a collection—less because of the direct tribute which they each pay to Dicken than because each is rooted in work that takes seriously Dicken's project of carefully but not overcautiously interrogating 'actually existing globalization'. The book thus serves not only as a worthy tribute to Dicken but as a good overview of the kinds of contributions that economic geographers inspired by Dicken are making to globalization studies.

In my view, one of the particularly significant contributions, in this vein, is that economic geographers have begun to distinguish carefully between globalization and neoliberalism, while

analyzing the workings of ‘actually existing neoliberalism’. This is an explicit theme in the chapters by Brenner and by Tickell and Peck, but it also runs more subtly through many of the other chapters as well. Tickell and Peck help differentiate the rhetoric of neoliberalism from the (changing) realities of neoliberal practice, while Brenner illustrates specific ways in which neoliberal governance continues to rely on state power—albeit in changing geographical form—all notions of self-governing markets aside. Thrift’s chapter contributes a somewhat neo-Foucauldian edge to such discussions (albeit without explicitly invoking Foucault) by illustrating the ways microstructures of Euro-American societies are being spatially reconfigured under neoliberalism. Many other chapters—including the chapter by Coe, Kelly, and Olds on transnational migration—discuss phenomena that are crucial aspects of actually existing neoliberalism but that have received too little attention in comparison with capital mobility and corporate restructuring. In this sense, although many of the chapters in *Remaking the Global Economy* serve as summaries of major conclusions that have emerged from past research on globalization, many also point in the direction of what one might call ‘emerging research markets’. As such, the book is useful not only for those who wish to know something about the current ‘state of the art’ in globalization studies by economic geographers but also for those who want to get some sense of where the field might be headed in the near future.

Although *Remaking the Global Economy* is a solid collection, it should not be read in the hopes of finding adequate coverage of all major issues connected to globalization and neoliberalism. For example, although the chapters by Coe, Kelly, and Olds, by Lee, and by Glasmeier and Conroy briefly take up issues relevant to what globalization looks like for the portions of the world defined as ‘developing’, most of the chapters interrogate globalization from locations in the ‘developed’ world and/or corporate decisionmaking headquarters. Nor, unfortunately, does the gendering of either globalization or neoliberalism feature strongly in any of the chapters. These are not faults of the book per se, and indeed the emphasis of the book seems to be reflective of the relative weight of discussions about globalization and neoliberalism in economic geography more generally, the important contributions of many development and feminist geographers notwithstanding. Nonetheless, it does suggest that one important task within the field is to address globalization and neoliberalism from the perspectives of those who are not the major progenitors of—but who are now, nonetheless, active participants in—these processes. A careful but not overly cautious examination of such issues, it seems to me, would be a very useful elaboration of Peter Dicken’s project.

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Trust: theory out of bounds Volume 25, by A Lingis; University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2004, 207 pages, \$56.95 cloth, \$18.95 paper, ISBN 0 8166 4373 3, 0 8166 4372 5

I have seen Alphonso Lingis speak only once, at a performance studies conference in London in spring 2003. He read out bits of *Dangerous Emotions* (2000) and earlier work, as well as some of what is now included in this latest book. I remember the story about Wayne and Cheryl, the HIV-positive couple in a Sydney jail, about their love for each other, their heroin, their good work in prison, and how they were dying together. Lingis as always used the probably real figures of Wayne and Cheryl to ponder about love, lust, and beauty in the face of the world’s suffering. As often, his story was set in the second person—the audience thereby becoming Wayne and Cheryl. Lingis uses ‘we’ and ‘you’ strategically, in order to interpellate his audience and create an ethical multiplicity larger than just him, applicable to anywhere. “You, Arun, I remember, you softly said in my ear, ‘I give you body massage’, and I looked at you, and wondered what you were insinuating with your husked voice and big eyes. I looked at you and found you unappealing, boney and dirty and vacant” (1983, page 142).

Lingis’s narration of Cheryl’s transsexuality and Wayne’s shit in this fancy room of London’s Natural History Museum, however, made me feel the squeamishness I regularly feel while reading Lingis’s books. When question time came I had to ask the burning question: who are you as

a healthy white academic to discuss these people over here? There was a stir in the audience. Lingis said he did not understand the question. A woman on the panel answered for him, politely making a Badiou-like argument (see Badiou, 2001) against what then appeared as my naive identity politics: Lingis works before and beneath problems of race, gender, and capitalism. I have since accepted this argument; also there is more reflexivity in his work than I allowed for. The power of Lingis's cosmopolitanism lies precisely in not getting bogged down in his white healthy masculine subject position. He writes in the preface to *Trust*:

“How often I am aware that others are only dealing with some role I occupy in a society, some pantomime I am performing, some set of clothes and haircut I am wearing! They see and address the American, the professor, or the decently dressed restaurant client, while *I* am thinking of myself and acting on my own, behind that image they see!” (page viii, italics in original).

In other words, ethics is always singular, and much of *Trust* is about this nonrepresentative relating to alterity which is so constitutive of travel: “When we leave our home and community to dwell awhile in some remote place, it happens every day that we trust a stranger, someone with whom we have no kinship bonds, no common loyalty to a community or creed, no contractual obligations” (page ix). The reader is pressed to let go of the stale divisions of race, gender, class, and nationality, which only suffocate the unconditional trust one has to give to a companion human being when, for instance, one is being led along a Himalayan pass. “Trust is courageous, giddy, and lustful” (page xii).

Nonetheless, Lingis's undeniable exoticism and universalism continue to create a tension, in which the reader needs to think very carefully how much he or she is an ‘I’ included in Lingis's ‘you’ and ‘we’. At one point Lingis seems to disclose why he writes at all, and the danger of generosity falling into self-congratulation typical of white paternalism is exposed:

“The taste then, for things of long ago and far away, when one nurses it in oneself, defends it, honors and cultivates it, gives one that courage without any desire for honors, that self-sufficiency that overflows and gives to men and things” (page 157).

In the chapter “A man”, the ambivalence surrounding the question of ‘who am I to give’ becomes apparent. As feminists such as Grosz (1994) have noted, Lingis thinks from an unapologetically androcentric perspective (which, as is the case with Nietzsche, does not necessarily make him irrelevant to feminism). The man is Che Guevara, and Lingis finds much in Che's life of giving (one need only think of the recent film *The Motorcycle Diaries*) to argue for a joyful and courageous virility which has nothing to do with control and greed, but has everything to do with a restless openness to strangers and the combat for social justice. One could think of Superman, if Superman were not completely steeped in parochial and puritan individualism.

“The surge of virility is the feeling of nakedness in oneself, the nakedness of one's glands, one's penis, the compacted coursing of blood and passion. It is the compulsion to throw off one's clothing, one's uniforms, one's categories, one's responsibilities, to give oneself over passionately to a destiny marked out by chance events and apparitions” (page 77).

Virility is therefore framed in the themes which run through all of Lingis's books: the sensuality, the ‘tact and tenderness’ (one of his favourite phrases), the hope that can emerge in any encounter with unexpected otherness, however destitute the situation may be. From a feminist viewpoint, Lingis indeed reworks old European romantic tropes of male travel (compare Kaplan, 1996). But, as a reimagining of heroism that seeks to steer away from colonial, paternalistic, and appropriative masculinities, I think Lingis's celebration of men such as Che Guevara deserves more than feminist and postcolonial critique. In short, one can feel uneasy about Lingis's prose, but his serious effort at enabling care and solidarity should not be brushed aside in the process.

The reader will have to look hard for any explicit theory of trust in *Trust*. Rather, Lingis presents a visceral sort of aesthetics of interaction, not only with other humans but also with silver-backed gorillas, sequoias, pyramids, and mud. As Lingis reminds us in “Vodou”, ecstasy, sacredness, and communion are necessarily intertwined, and survive the many onslaughts of morality, surveillance, and commodification (it was difficult not to think of the drug ecstasy and rave culture when reading this chapter). US society becoming ever more viciously antisensual and paranoid, this aesthetics in itself is as urgent as it is subversive. What transpires in

Lingis's excursions into Sydney, Addis Ababa, Kathmandu, and São Paulo can nevertheless be seen as a theory of the social largely compatible with the recent turn towards corporeality, materiality, the mundane, and the unknown in human geography. Not offering any explanation for the encountered inequalities (except obliquely—desire can be also destructive) is a hiatus, but, unlike much of the new materialist geography, Lingis wholeheartedly acknowledges the inequality, while leaving its explanation to others.

It seems pointless to review a Lingis book, as all of his titles are more or less poetic variations on the same philosophical themes. But *Trust* might be the best entry point to the series. I can recommend Lingis's latest book to anyone grappling with how today's complicated and uneven geographies of exclusion are embodied in flesh and feeling. Translator of much of Levinas's oeuvre, as well as Merleau-Ponty's *The Visible and the Invisible* (1969) and Klossowski's *Sade My Neighbor* (1991), Lingis is extremely well versed in phenomenology and continental philosophy in general. Moving effortlessly from the (seemingly) autobiographical to the archeological and cosmological, into microbiology, astrophysics, and brief comments on Bataille or Freud, his books laugh in the face of the petty boundaries that still strangle academic writing. This philosophical anthropology is driven by a relentless Kantian commitment to inclusive ways of being in the world, amongst other humans and other life. What demands this commitment is not reason, however, but a dark desire aeons older than the human species. Human instinct is real for Lingis, and it is affirmative of social bonding and joy.

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Understanding Henri Lefebvre: theory and the possible by S Elden; Continuum, London, 2004, 265 pages, £60.00 cloth, £19.99 paper (US \$115.00, \$29.95) ISBN 0 8264 7002 5, 0 8264 7003 3

Understanding Henri Lefebvre is a modest and ambitious book all at the same time. Stuart Elden does not claim to have written the definitive statement on Lefebvre and Lefebvre scholarship. He also does not try to forge a coherent 'Lefebvrian' approach to particular analytical problems. In writing a monograph on Lefebvre, his stated goal is to have opened up new avenues of interpretive debate on Lefebvre's work while demonstrating "the wide range of Lefebvre's concerns and their potentially rich applicability outside of the context in which he wrote them" (page 243). In this endeavour, Elden eminently succeeds. In fact, and despite his own disclaimers, Elden's book is a highly ambitious undertaking. Elden's reading of Lefebvre's texts is very broad. More than other monographs on or inspired by Lefebvre in the English-speaking world, Elden connects Lefebvre's writing on metaphilosophy, mystification, dialectical materialism, literary history, and everyday life to his work on rural life, urbanization, space, time, politics, and the state. There is no doubt that *Understanding Lefebvre* should be required reading not only for Lefebvre specialists but also for writers and students interested in continental critical philosophy and political theory and for researchers in the spatialized disciplines of geography, urban studies, architecture, planning, urban sociology, and urban political studies.

Given that, in the critical geographical literature, Lefebvre too often appears in barely digested snippets, Elden's treatment is refreshingly patient. Elden's rendering of Lefebvre is painstakingly documented. He consistently cross-references passages from a variety of different parts of Lefebvre's work instead of reading individual contributions in isolated sequence. As a result, *Understanding Lefebvre* is full of gems and insights the French would call *trouvailles*. Among these many insights I would point to Elden's remarks on the role of the painter Pignon for Lefebvre's work on the production of space (pages 182–183) and for Lefebvre's approach to literary history (in the examples of Pascal, Descartes, and Rabelais) (pages 85–94). Suggestively offering the possibility of a "Miliband, Poulantzas, Lefebvre debate" (page 218), Elden also provides a useful summary of Lefebvre's four-volume work on the state (*De l'Etat*, 1976–78) and of the comments on the state mode of production, which has not yet been translated into English (pages 215–226). Towards the end of the book, Elden reminds us of Lefebvre's critique of Foucault and Deleuze and Guattari, whose emphases on strategies of confinement and marginalization do not adequately capture Lefebvre's preoccupation with the conflictive and integrative relationships between sociospatial peripheries and centers of power (pages 239–240).

The value of *Understanding Lefebvre* is not of course restricted to these particular references and insights. One of Elden's major accomplishments is to work through the presence of Heidegger (and related figures such as Kostas Axelos) in Lefebvre's work. He does so by tracing the development of direct references to Heidegger [crucially in comments on Heidegger's *Holzwege* (1950) made during a roundtable discussion in the late 1950s (page 81)] and by developing less explicit resonances and parallels between Heidegger's and Lefebvre's respective works. He thus argues that, for Lefebvre, Heidegger was the most important philosopher after Marx, Hegel, and Nietzsche. Elden emphasizes the importance of Heidegger's understanding of overcoming (*überwinden*), phenomenology, nature, time, rhythm, and dwelling for Lefebvre's notion of overcoming traditional philosophy (metaphilosophy) (pages 83–84), his work on everyday life (pages 112–113), his critique of Cartesian notions of (abstract) space, (linear) time (pages 188–191), his analysis of (technocratic) urbanism and the countervailing concepts of inhabiting (*habiter*), lived space (pages 132–133), and, to a lesser extent compared with Nietzsche, cyclical rhythms and moments (pages 179–180). Elden reminds us that Lefebvre makes use of Heideggerian insights by reading possible political implications of his thinking (*le politique*) against Heidegger's pro-Nazi politics (*la politique*) (page 241). Lefebvre also utilized this interpretive strategy to incorporate elements of Nietzsche's and Hegel's work into his understanding of Marx and Marxism.

What kind of Lefebvre emerges from Elden's reading? Elden no longer calls for a 'left Heideggerianism'. This phrase, which Elden borrowed from Virilio and the Tel Quel group for the purpose of a recent article (2004, pages 101–103), alludes not only to a strategy of reading Heidegger against the grain but also to a project of incorporating Lefebvre into a philosophical orientation *centred* on Heidegger. In some passages, one still has the impression that for Elden, who has already published a book on Heidegger and Foucault (2001), Lefebvre lives through Heidegger rather than the other way around. This may explain why Elden tends to underestimate the Marxist connotations in Lefebvre's critique of linear time (pages 169, 175) and to downplay the implications of Lefebvre's shift from the rural to the urban to grasp the main mediation of everyday life and social order (page 143). But he does note Lefebvre's repeated criticisms of Heidegger's "SS-style", his German nationalism, his abstract conception of *Being* (which lacks a dialectical perspective on totality and possibility) (pages 78–79), and the aristocratic, nostalgic connotations of Heidegger's understanding of dwelling and rurality (page 191). He is cognizant of the distance between Lefebvre and Heidegger in crucial matters such as the critique of everyday life (which Lefebvre treated as a *contradictory* constellation, not just as an inauthentic triviality) (pages 112–113) and space [with Lefebvre's Marxist insistence on the (broadly conceived) *production* of space] (page 189). As a result, Elden is careful to frame Lefebvre's engagement with Heidegger within Lefebvre's overall project to rethink Marxism and to develop the meaning of concepts such as alienation, dialectics, and production through a double critique of existentialism and structuralism (chapter 1; page 148).

Similar to Kofman and Lebas's (1996) corrective introduction and sympathetic to Brenner's (2001) reading of Lefebvre's state theory, Elden's Lefebvre is not the precursor of the cultural,

linguistic, and spatial turns in social theory. Elden, who elsewhere took issue with ‘pick ‘n’ mix’ strategies of reading Lefebvre into postmodern discourse (2000, page 809), suggests convincingly that Lefebvre’s understanding of dialectics, as complex as it is, does not necessitate a postmodern spatialization, as argued by Soja and Dear (pages 37, 169–170). Elden’s Lefebvre is also not read through the lens of Harvey’s urban Marxism (although Elden does not provide a full assessment of this tradition). One might submit that *Understanding Lefebvre* effectively contributes to a new wave of Lefebvre scholarship (Kipfer and Milgrom, 2002). Not bound by the interpretive strategies of Soja and Dear and sympathetic but not restricted to Harvey’s Marxist geographical political economy, this wave insists on the open and fluid totality of Lefebvre’s work and on its heterodox, integral, plural, and differential Marxism. While others have produced critical insights about links between Lefebvre’s work and that of Rimbaud (Ross, 1988), Bachelard and Merleau-Ponty (Schmid, 2003), Nietzsche and Foucault (Merrifield, 1995; Stewart, 1995), and critical theory and continental Marxism (Goonewardena, 2004; Kipfer, 2002; Merrifield, 2002; Ross, 1995), Elden’s main contribution to this new wave of Lefebvre scholarship lies in the patient comprehensiveness of his reading of Lefebvre and his insistence on non-Marxist influences (chiefly Heidegger and Axelos, but also Nietzsche) *within* Lefebvre’s balanced, open, plural, and fluid understanding of Marx and Marxism (pages 21, 25, 48, 65). In this sense, Elden has given us a wealth of valuable insights with which to further our understanding of Lefebvre and recast the meaning of critical urban and social theory today.

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Buddha is hiding: refugees, citizenship, the new America by A Ong; University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 2003, 333 pages, \$55.00 cloth, \$19.75 paper (£36.95, £13.95) ISBN 0 520 22998 3, 0 520 23824 9

With the success of *Flexible Citizenship* (Ong, 1999)—a largely theoretical, insightful exposition of contemporary Pacific-Rim transnationalism—Aihwa Ong's most recent book was undoubtedly widely anticipated. *Buddha is Hiding* is a commendable sequel, providing an ethnographic account of immigration, asylum, and citizenship from the perspective of Cambodian refugees in the United States.

This book describes the spaces and places of refugee experience in the state of California, examining the camps, hospitals, and welfare offices that constitute the life-world of the recently displaced. Taking her cue from the writings of Foucault, she is particularly concerned with uncovering the small-scale, mundane, and everyday practices employed within these spaces and places toward *transforming* ostensibly uncultivated, unacculturated refugees into socially and culturally acceptable US citizens through the process of 'subjectification'.

In so doing, Ong makes a significant contribution to citizenship theory that has, to date, been dominated by political scientists and philosophers concerned with either abstract notions of identity and rights, or the legal and institutional concepts through which citizenship is defined. Although not suggested in the text, Ong's argument resonates in several ways with that of Yasmin Soysal in *The Limits of Citizenship* (1994). Soysal looks at the ways in which the concept of citizenship in Western Europe has been transformed through immigrants' (and noncitizens') encounters with state institutions and services. Although *Buddha is Hiding* lacks Soysal's exposition of legal distinctions around citizenship, Ong instead provides a rich ethnographic exploration of the social practices that make these institutional arrangements a lived, embodied reality. This is just one of the valuable contributions of the book to an understanding of the practical implications of citizenship for contemporary refugees.

Ong demonstrates empirically what Charles Taylor (1985) and other 'communitarian' political philosophers have for a long time argued in relation to Rawlsian concepts of citizenship, that "the American idea of the free subject (the individual of liberalism) is in fact the product of governmentality and its *hidden religious and cultural presuppositions*" (page 8, my emphasis). The implications of this statement are much wider than the particular context described; Ong's work is an empirical demonstration of the claim that liberal individualism is as steeped in historically and spatially specific cultural assumptions as is its communitarian alternative; the act of creating citizens in contemporary liberal democracies is an act of *socialisation*. Nevertheless, Ong is clearly reluctant to confront the implications of her argument—that the social workers and relief agencies most concerned with *aiding and supporting* Cambodian refugees are unavoidably implicated in their forced assimilation to an American sociocultural norm. This brings me to one of the most interesting aspects of Ong's work—its implicit demonstration of the continued relevance of assimilation to contemporary debates.

Until very recently, as Katharyne Mitchell (2004) observes, 'assimilation' was widely considered a dirty word. Within most Western liberal democracies, notions of assimilation have been suppressed under discourses and practices of multiculturalism. It is only in the last few years that academics have once again begun to take assimilation seriously; not only is it back on the agenda in many countries but, in fact, it never really went away. State-sponsored multiculturalism was frequently little more than rhetoric, masking an underlying political desire for immigrant integration and the creation of a nationally homogenous culture. In Ong's work, we see assimilation in action as she explores the mechanisms by which new immigrants become 'transformed' into 'ideal citizens' through their interaction with various state actors. Interestingly, Ong makes no reference to 'assimilation', preferring instead to use the term 'citizenship' as a proxy for migrants' acculturation to an assumed American norm.

Some of the best passages in the book describe the profound impacts of migration (and individualism) on gender and family relations. Refugee life is seen to empower women in various ways; male control is diminished, as families are both spatially and socially distanced from the patriarchal structures dominant in Cambodia. At the same time, parents lose status in the eyes of their children, who are better able to grasp the basics of English and thus to negotiate the complexities of everyday life in their new society. The transformation of parent-child relations

through the migration experience is a fascinating one and should be of interest to anyone researching immigration and family formations. These insights are a consequence of Ong's close attention to the recent historical details of refugees' experiences prior to migration. At these points in the book the intersection of empirical data and intellectual context is exemplary—Ong's utilisation of interview-based material is a model for all researchers employing such qualitative techniques.

I have but a few small criticisms of the work, which fails to address the distinction between illegal immigrants, asylum seekers, and designated refugees. These distinctions may be critical in determining *access* to welfare and social services. In addition, the book says surprisingly little about either discrimination or stigmatisation—two processes that would, I imagine, have a significant impact upon immigrants' ability to become 'model citizens'. The weakest section of the book is undoubtedly the final chapter ("Asian immigrants as the new Westerners?"), which seems not to fit with the general argument. Most of the points raised here have been made before, many by Ong herself in her previous work.

Overall, I would highly recommend this book. It provides a fascinating insight into the lives of refugee groups in the contemporary USA. It develops, conceptually, our understanding of immigrant integration and the particular spaces and people implicated in the transition to 'cultural citizenship'. It is also a testimony to the importance of detailed qualitative research in the context of very topical immigration, asylum, and citizenship debates. All too often, these debates fall back upon interpretations of statistics that are unable to capture the nuances of the immigrant experience nor can they help us understand the embodied nature of citizenship in contemporary liberal democracies.

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City of flows: modernity, nature and the city by M Kaika; Routledge, New York, 2005, 200 pages, \$85.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper (£50.00, £16.99) ISBN 0 415 94715 4, 0 415 94716 2

Social power and the urbanization of water: flows of power by E Swyngedouw, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004, 209 pages £47.00 (US\$85.00) ISBN 0 19 823391 4

Water has long been a cornerstone topic for geographers, but one dominated by a few standard narratives. By way of example, teaching a course on the geography of water in the mid-1990s usually meant applying a familiar and parochial mix of theory and cases: hazards (Iowa floods), political economy (Los Angeles and the Owens Valley diversions), and common property theory (Mississippi River pollution).

In the last decade, however, the field of water resource geography has been fundamentally shaken by the seismic conceptual upheavals that have run through the discipline as a whole. Shifting from the material to the symbolic problem of water, research has revealed the way water comes to represent and be represented in struggles over equality and growth. Expanding analysis outwards across both time and space, water resource development has increasingly been cast in terms of larger capitalist and postcolonial political economics. Interrogating the character of expert water knowledge and the science and engineering behind infrastructural development, water has been shown to be a constantly constructed and reconstructed object.

There are perhaps no better examples of the fruitful direction that these lines of thinking have taken than the two recent works of Eric Swyngedouw and Maria Kaika. Swyngedouw's *Social Power and the Urbanization of Water: Flows of Power* and Kaika's *City of Flows* represent a vibrant, if slightly verbose, theoretical shift. Using the language of critical science studies,

Marxism, and postcolonialism, these works examine water resources in a way that takes political economy and social construction seriously, but refuses to separate human from nonhuman nature or to ignore the materiality of water itself.

Swyngedouw's book traces water provisioning in Guayaquil Ecuador, with heavy emphasis on the material unevenness of access. Kaika's work, on the other hand, follows the long history of water development in Athens and London, highlighting aesthetic and discursive elements that accompanied modernization of bustling metropoli.

Kaika's account is largely chronological and focuses on the way water was harnessed in Athens and London from a 19th century period of deterioration, through an industrial blooming of "modernity's Promethean project" in engineering wonders, finally to a late 20th century where the dreams of state engineers lie discredited, giving way to the shifty promises of free marketeers and neoliberal visionaries. The book is cleanly organized into historic periods, and draws on a range of sources including newspapers, gazettes, and state archives, many of which were available to the author exclusively in Greek. Descriptive details are interwoven with theoretical analysis on every page.

What Kaika does so effectively in this genealogy is to make the historical development of water infrastructure less a heroic and straight path to modernity than a halting and staggered series of twists and turns. Using the comparison of Athens and London is also especially fruitful, because it reveals the way colonial and uneven capitalist development set very different terms for modernization of infrastructure in different locations. The development of neoclassical water infrastructure in Athens during the late 19th century provides some of Kaika's most thoughtful observations as a result, as she explores the irony that "an historical style became the first aesthetic representation of the innovations of an era (modernity) which despised the past and declared its determination to break irrevocably with history" (page 84). Using Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) to read the resulting landscapes, Kaika shows the modern neoclassical to be a form of "nationalistic hallucination" (page 104) tied to the marginalization of Greece even while it was being incorporated into the "West". This observation raises some interesting questions about more recent Athenian revivals too, like those of the 2004 Olympics.

Social Power and the Urbanization of Water is also organized with a historical narrative, but this book focuses more directly on the geography of urban water supply and service and on the linkage between Guayaquil's water and the periodic upheavals in the national commodity economy. Starting with a grand theoretical synthesis, the author proceeds to trace carefully the emergence of the current water situation in the city, from the 1880s when cocoa exporting built the urban bourgeois base, through the water scarcities of the mid-century oil and banana economies, and into the early 21st century, when grandly funded water systems still fail to provide for the city's most marginal, and instead create an "institutional water chaos" (page 114) benefiting a powerful system of private water vendors.

Swyngedouw is most effective when he paints a detailed and quantitative account of the realities of water distribution, which he does throughout. His book is filled with facts and figures that paint a frightening picture of monopoly, speculation, and structured thirst, that clearly comes from serious research. His work accounts for rising water prices, squandered loan money, and even the exact number and distribution of tanker trucks. These details together convey a clear account of how a centralized public system came to develop hand in hand with a forceful, decentralised, private system (of semimonopolistic "*tanqueros*"), with implications for who gets access to water at what cost. The late chapter on resistance impressively details an increasingly mobilized Ecuadorian public facing down speculators, leaving the end of the book to speculate on more progressive possibilities in the future.

The books are similar in many regards and their theoretical points of departure are almost identical. In their introductions both Kaika and Swyngedouw insist on treating water and the city dialectically (in an explicitly Marxist sense) and on showing that efforts to divide nature from society have historically resulted in their entanglement and ongoing 'translation' [in an explicitly Latourian sense (Latour 1993)]. Both books also use water to explore larger global colonial and postcolonial processes. Kaika paints a portrait of a post-Ottoman political economy in Greece, shifting towards the 'West' simultaneously through epic modernization, but also

through producing an orientalized classical vision of itself. Swyngedouw in a parallel strategy suggests that the flow of water is only a part of the larger class dynamics of a postcolonial commodity economy.

At the same time, although water is a vehicle for a larger story about nature and the city, the specific material qualities of water, and the way these impinge on urban politics, are never forgotten. The critical shortage of water Kaika describes in Athens during the 1980s, though produced through mismanagement and constructed into a politically useful crisis, was nevertheless a real event, reminding Athenians as well as readers that material conditions of existence are intertwined with imaginative and imaginary ones.

Despite the thematic and conceptual parallels between the two books, their divergent strategies cause them to cover somewhat different ground. Where Kaika is deeply historical, Swyngedouw is more traditionally spatial, and where Swyngedouw dwells on the material characteristics of water infrastructure, Kaika spends considerably more time on its symbolic elements. As a result, *Flows of Power* is relentless in its uncovering of the unjust and inequitable spatial patterns of water access in Guayaquil in a way that seems somewhat silent in *City of Flows*. On the other hand, the historical production of the key discursive binaries of Kaika's story (for example, orient/occident, modern/ancient, clean/unclean, urban/rural) receive little more than a gloss in Swyngedouw. So too, where the details of complex water provisioning systems is explored in better detail in Swyngedouw's account, the intimacies of water, home, and urban life are more powerfully on display in Kaika's. In this sense, the books make a good pair and, given that these authors have worked together elsewhere, might best be viewed as a single two-volume work.

If the parallel theoretical work these books do is laudable, the linguistic gymnastics typical of such work may be an inevitable price to pay. The text of both books, though especially *Flows of Power*, is choked with "flows", "swirls", "emptying out", and "filling up", in a way that one might suspect as a deliberate effort at coinage. The rich unfamiliar usage may be a strategy for forcing a new way of thinking on the reader and its more clever phrasing may be widely cited, but laboring under the weight of countless metaphors in every paragraph, many of them mixed, risks dating these books in only a few years. Indeed, the theoretical value added of all the dialectical, symbolic, and constructivist language is somewhat questionable in Swyngedouw's case, because his book shines most in its concrete, unvarnished, empirical detail. Some unhelpful graphics in both books are also distracting, including especially swirling dialectical figures 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 in *Flows of Power* (pages 18, 19, and 22). Some sloppy editing from Oxford also leaves errors in the Swyngedouw text, the most egregious being wholly repeated sentences within a few paragraphs of one another (pages 42–43). This type of cut-and-paste word-processing accident likely accounts for other areas of mild repetition.

Even so, these books together successfully map out the huge theoretical and political steps taken in recent years by joining critical political economy in environmental research to the more productive elements of science studies and postcolonial theory. As a result, any current undergraduate or graduate class offered on the geography of water using these terrific books has the potential to look wholly unlike its counterpart from the mid-1990s. With work like this, along with that of Gandy (2002) and others, geographers are at last saying something very new about water. One can hope that Swyngedouw and Kaika represent only the very front edge, therefore, of an ongoing and politically engaged rethinking of nature, economy, society, and power.

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Growing up global: economic restructuring and children's everyday lives by C Katz; University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN, 2004, 312 pages, \$74.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper (£52.50, £17.50) ISBN 0 8166 4209 5, 0 8166 4210 9

A friend recently challenged me on counterposing lives in Basra or Darfur to those in London. Does such comparison necessarily rely on a pseudo-spiritual claim to similar humanity? This challenge is important precisely for its countercharge, to engage each context with the depth of historical, anthropological, linguistic, and representational texture that actually makes belonging to different places so vitally different. When geographers engage with 'critical ethnographies of globalization', such historical complexity must surely be at the forefront of their praxis. This does not, however, do away with the importance of thinking in counterpoint precisely to write against dominant acts of comparison (for instance, Hart, 2002; Ortiz, 1995). Cindi Katz's book travels some distance in producing a contrapuntal geography of childhood in Sudan and Harlem. *Growing up Global* is useful to think through some of the challenges in asking what childhoods are and ought to be, in Sudan or elsewhere. I write this review in the spirit of constructive exchange: *Growing up Global* should be widely and critically read precisely because it engages with the difficult task of drawing together insights on space, comparison, feminism, and ethnography at the cutting edge of social and cultural studies.

At the heart of *Growing up Global* is an engagement with changing livelihoods in Hawa village in Sudan, documented through a series of visits, surveys, and observations enabled through sustained relationships with inhabitants. Until the early 1980s, the evidence could have been the making of a classic 'village study.' A piece with this genre, Katz asks how agrarian institutions respond to the transformation of subsistence production to cash cropping, in this case of cotton and groundnuts, with the introduction of irrigation through the Suki Agricultural Project in 1971. This much is valuable in the field of agrarian studies. Katz also draws on specific feminist critique of boundaries between production and 'social reproduction', work and 'play', and she puts this feminism to work, particularly in chapter 2, in a careful mapping of changing experiences of children during agricultural intensification. In particular, Katz notes a shift in the mosaic of activity that places new burdens on child labour. In finding children's responses to the intensification of work, Katz seems at first to err on the side of romanticism in posing 'play' as an arena of innovation and possibly latent resistance, but readers must withhold judgment for the more persuasive argument about 'deskilling' which appears later in the book, in what I will argue is one of its more creative contributions.

What is perhaps less persuasive is the argument that staged games, which Katz calls 'geodramas', provide information about how children invoke the rural institutions they live with and help reproduce. Indeed, much of the primary evidence of children's interpretations does not appear in the text (for instance, pages 102–108), and this omission points to a deeper challenge running through the book. *Growing up Global* draws on wide reading, but its lack of detail on consciousness is organically linked to a separation of 'culture' and 'materiality', as well as of 'production' and 'social reproduction.' On this point, this book can fruitfully be counterposed to the analytical framework in Willis (1981), which works through nested determinations: 'cultural production', or the ongoing, creative work of reinterpretation in everyday life, is necessary for 'cultural reproduction', or the maintenance of ideologies, discourses, and persisting cultural forms, which in turn are necessary for people to participate in concrete acts of 'social reproduction', which make possible the durability of social institutions. Cultural production permeates social life in this framework, as Willis's analysis pushes the researcher to advance from the abstract to the concrete. In contrast, Katz writes of a variety of children's tasks, games, maps and work trajectories, entirely in universal terms that do not distinguish cultural reproduction from social reproduction. Despite the inclusion of local concepts, and acknowledgements to colleagues who helped Katz arrive at "appropriate ethnosematic categories" (page 271), the final text does not represent categories in their linguistic and social context; indeed, an anthropological conception of 'culture', even in an unbounded and politicized sense, is entirely absent from this approach to ethnography. Unhinged from context, Katz's abstractions emerge to sum up observations rather than to advance towards analysis of concrete determinations.

A crucial paragraph, on pages 20–21, in which a definition of culture is offered, demonstrates some of the paradoxes in *Growing up Global*. Katz begins by defining culture in the domains of media, mass culture, and religion. The next statement puts culture in quotes, to suggest that ‘culture’ is objectified in these realms in ways that are important for the reproduction of various social relations and institutions. Katz goes on to argue that the children at the centre of her study “play on religion”, just as they “play on work”, which suggests that activity under the sign of religion is important for children’s involvement in the social reproduction of rural institution. Surprisingly, then, the paragraph concludes: “Important as these practices associated with the cultural realm of social reproduction were, I paid much less attention to them than to the material practices associated with work.” Working-class consciousness is invisible in the labour process, because work has been defined out of the “cultural realm”. Indeed, the severing of the cultural and material is accomplished by the parallel severing of ‘production’ from ‘social reproduction’, the legacy of a specific kind of feminism for which social reproduction, like culture, is a realm in the social world, rather than a tool for the analysis of durable cultural and social relations.

The disarticulation of culture and materiality produces a universalist ethnography that has other theoretical justifications evident in *Growing up Global*, not least in the argument that a global capitalism makes exploitation commensurable across the planet; indeed this commensurability is presented as a resolute political position from which Katz calls for a ‘countertopography’ to resist the ways in which various peoples are consigned to the margins of history. Talal Asad’s (1987) response to Eric Wolf is an important response to such a position. Asad asks “what happens when we characterize complex historical structures and processes in terms of some permanent criterion”, whether it is a logic of transition from precapitalist extraction through coercion to capitalist extraction through market exchange between free individuals, or an Enlightenment separation of ‘state’ and ‘civil society’, or a distinction between class-differentiated societies and ‘stateless’ or ‘classless’ societies ordered by ‘kinship’ (pages 598–610). Asad argues that this conceit of incorporating ‘people without a history’ must come to terms with the history of capitalism as already, *unequally*, the history of various peoples, and that there are other histories to be told through the “traditions and practices by which people’s desires were once constructed if we are to recount precisely how they made (or failed or make) their own history” (page 604). Indeed, such histories *require* a conception of culture that goes beyond the conceit of incorporating the voice of the oppressed in order to tell a truer story of global capitalism, as this gives intentionality a far greater place in historical process. This is just another way of returning to Marx’s maxim that people make history through conditions—simultaneously material and cultural—not of their intent. To understand how social and cultural conditions enable substantially different histories of childhood would require loosening the notion that global capitalism makes their experiences clearly commensurable.

Katz’s analysis shifts positions on this point. On one occasion, she cites no less than Marx to say that “early stages of capital accumulation in any particular place have historically depended on the conscription of child labor. Neither history, nor geography seems to have altered this situation” (page 143): this is precisely the teleology that Asad cautions against. On other occasions, Katz’s attention to concrete struggles provides a corrective, particularly when ‘social reproduction’ is not treated as a ‘permanent criterion’, as Asad puts it. This is clear when Katz turns to concrete questions of schooling and practical learning, and to the ways in which knowledge acquisition prepares children in diverse contexts for actual livelihood possibilities, or, more importantly, impossibilities. One of the tragedies of development in Hawa that Katz notes in her subsequent visits in the 1980s and early 1990s is that schooling is perceived as increasingly important for possible advancement, just as rural households are forced by social and environmental pressures to extract higher levels of children’s labour, effectively keeping children from formal schooling. Katz also notes a growing mismatch between what children learn and what they might possibly use in a social and environmental system under threat. Katz is insightful in calling these processes of deskilling, and she notes how it plays out in differentiated ways through children’s futures. This is one of the most valuable sections in *Growing up Global*.

In a bold move, Katz, turns to a comparison of Sudanese children in Hawa with African-American and Latino students in Harlem, New York City. Katz motivates this comparison as ‘deexoticizing’ Sudanese children, but not just; to have done only this, could have brought a charge of double-exoticism that asks why children of colour in the ghetto rather than to poor ‘white’ kids in, say, rural Appalachia? To answer what makes these childhoods comparable, Katz poses parallel processes of ‘deskilling’, of mismatch between what children learn and what they can use in conceivable futures. Much of this comparison is told in macro-economic terms, where, once more, a closer attention to social and cultural conditions, and conversation across children’s words, visions, and representations of ‘deskilling’ would have been fascinating. Instead, Katz uses comparison to reinforce her argument about Hawa, that development takes place “on the backs of children” (page 84); Katz now asks rhetorically, “Who bears the costs of social reproduction in a ‘globalized’ political economy?” (page 179). My critique of the assumed transparency of this question parallels Salzinger’s (2004) argument with the second wave feminism of figures like Ruth Pearson, Barbara Ehrenreich, and Diane Elson, whose pioneering work shows the ‘Third World woman’ bearing the burdens of industrialization and structural adjustment in the South. Salzinger affirms the political import of this universalist feminism as a vital legacy for progressive thought, while marking its limitations in an inability to grapple with the ways in which culturally and socially constructed relations of gender and sexuality shape very different spaces. How are childhoods constructed differently in Hawa and Harlem, and what is at stake in their constitutive difference rather than similarity?

Katz does turn to the stories of the erstwhile children in her revisit to Hawa in 1995, in chapters 7–8, where the argument about ‘deskilling’ becomes more nuanced alongside new twists in life chances. Katz formalizes the insights from grown-up children through the categories of ‘space–time expansion’ and, less persuasively, ‘rural cosmopolitanism’. While these abstractions do not seem to emerge in relation to lived consciousness, they do suggest some of the ways in which practices remain localized, if engaged in broader spaces of experience. Indeed, this last point suggests why geography might matter to the ethnographer’s craft. In concluding the book, Katz returns to the question of comparing the ‘deskilling’ of children across very different landscapes of disinvestment in Hawa and Harlem. Katz calls for a different global imagination anchored in the politics of ‘social reproduction’: a particular feminist clarion call that must both rethink the efficacy of ‘production versus social reproduction’ as an analytic, as well as situate its universalisms to bear concrete fruit. *Growing up Global* should be a provocation for more ethnographic research as well as new forms of praxis that link a world of differentiated sites, spaces and struggles. *Growing up Global* should be read widely and closely, to open debate within geography about how one crafts ‘critical ethnographies’ across divergent social conditions, lived understandings, archival possibilities, and methodological limitations.

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