

## Book Reviews

### **Geography and Economy**

ALLEN J. SCOTT, 2006

Oxford: Clarendon Press

174 pp. £30.00 hardback

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Allen Scott is one of the world's most distinguished contemporary economic geographers. The three chapters that comprise this short book formed the basis for the Clarendon Lectures in Geography and Environmental Studies that he delivered at the School of Geography and Environment, Oxford University in May 2005. Despite "the ambitious programmatic promise" of its title, as Scott is at pains to emphasise, the book does not seek to cover the entire terrain of geography–economics relationships, but rather focuses upon three issues which he sees as

some of the burning theoretical and practical questions at the present time, and to explore these at the juncture where geography and economy meet (p. v).

In so doing, Scott returns to issues, in particular theoretical issues, that he has written about at some length before. Thus, there will be much that is familiar here to those who know his work—but it is no worse for that, as Scott has been an innovative contributor to the evolution of economic geography over the past three or so decades.

The three substantive chapters of the book each focus on a particular set of issues. The first chapter sees Scott return to questions of the division of labour and the ways in which it interweaves with locational outcomes at every spatial scale of analysis. This sees Scott return to a consideration of those issues of the division of labour, agglomeration and urbanisation that were central to the seminal contributions that he made to the economic geography literature, especially in the 1980s. For Scott, the division of labour is one of the primary factors differentiating modern society, a powerful principle of differentiation rooted in the endless fragmentation and recombination of labour tasks and production technologies that has been emphasised by political economists from Smith and Marx onwards. Combined with the enhancement of transport and communication

technologies, it has been central to the recasting of economic geographies, increasingly at the global scale.

The second chapter turns to the concept of the creative field and a concern with issues of knowledge creation and innovation. For Scott, the creative field is to be understood as a grid of spatial relationships, a web of interconnecting social and economic phenomena at different locations, which functions as a powerful stimulus for and has a determinate effect upon entrepreneurship and innovation in the capitalist economy. Scott is anxious to emphasise that determination is not the same as the discredited notion of determinism. This growing interest with issues of knowledge and innovation was very much linked to Scott's burgeoning interests in the 1990s in cultural industries and their peculiarities (although Scott has emphasised elsewhere that he takes issue with much of the 'cultural turn' in recent economic geography).

Finally, the third chapter addresses the regional bases of economic take-off and development, especially in low- and middle-income countries that constitute what is typically now referred to as the 'global South'. While these are clearly issues of immense practical importance, I found this chapter the least satisfactory in terms of intellectual depth and explanatory sophistication. References to Rostow and the notion of 'take off' and the stages of economic growth bring back memories of a very limited and now thoroughly discredited approach to geographies of development. Throughout the book, Scott seeks to explore some of the wider policy implications of his analyses and this is particularly evident in this third chapter. However, it seems to me that to pose the issue in terms of "markets versus policy" (p. viii) is to miss the point somewhat, for this issue is surely the way in which markets—all markets—in contemporary capitalism are shaped by policy, shaped in different ways to meet different policy objectives.

As the above comments suggest, there is a certain unevenness in the depth and style of coverage in each of the three chapters, in part a reflection of the fact that Scott, as he commendably admits, was unsure how best to approach the delivery of a public lecture series. As he explains, he was unsure whether to adopt a pedagogic approach "like glorified

undergraduate lectures,” or to focus upon cutting edge research, or to represent his own attempts to come to terms with contemporary debates in economic geography. In the end he settled “for a compromise solution that attempts to combine something of all three approaches” (p. v), with varying emphases in the different chapters, as I have alluded to above. That said, especially for those not familiar with Scott’s work, this is in many ways an excellent introduction to his approach to economic geography, an approach that has not been without influence more widely in the discipline.

Finally, it is worth noting—as Scott himself does (p. x)—that in preparing the chapters, he reviewed (and re-reviewed) an enormous amount of literature from a wide variety of disciplines in true scholarly fashion. The amount of material reviewed is truly impressive—indeed, the references account for no less than 25 pages, a large number compared with the 120 pages of the main text. He emphasises that he has sought to trace ideas in the literature that have often been seen as novel in recent years but which in fact have a long history, and the identification of these historical traces is to be welcomed. Too often economic geographers confuse the fact that they have just thought of something with an actual substantive change in the social world. Scott reminds us that in economic geography, too, less is actually new than many would have us believe, especially those who peddle old ideas in new language. That said, it is also interesting to observe the absences and silences in the references—just one reference each for David Harvey, Doreen Massey and Jamie Peck, for example, and none at all for Trevor Barnes, Peter Dicken, Nigel Thrift, Bob Jessop, Roger Lee or Alain Lipietz, to take at random a reasonably varied group of distinguished scholars who have all made important contributions to the literature of economic geography. I make the point simply to observe that, within the diverse field of economic geography, Allen Scott’s approach speaks to and engages with some strands but has little or nothing to say in making connections with others. This is not necessarily a bad thing—indeed, more positively, theoretical diversity is something to value and preserve—but making such connections might have further deepened the analytical sophistication of Scott’s own approach and led to a more integrated and intellectually more satisfying economic geography. That said, Scott’s contribution to developing economic geography has been a very significant one and I accept that there are limits to what can be done in three lectures and a short book!

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### **Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization**

ROBERT KLOOSTERMAN and JAN RATH (Eds), 2003  
Oxford: Berg

331 pp. £47.00 hardback; £15.99 paperback

ISBN 1 85973 634 3 hardback; 1 85973 639 4 paperback

Research on entrepreneurship among immigrants and ethnic minorities has proliferated following the 1972 pioneering work of Ivan Light (*Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks*). The resurgence of research on this topic was associated with the commencement of a new immigration wave to North America, following the liberalisation of immigration policies in 1965. It was also associated with shifts in global economic conditions, the rise of the so-called post-Fordism, flexible modes of production and the revival of the small business economy. Initially focused on class and ethnic resources of particular groups and on legal-institutional support and constraints to ethnic enterprise, research increasingly acknowledged the interaction of the phenomenon with opportunity structures that are influenced by particular attributes of urban areas (for example: Waldinger, Aldrich, Ward and Associates, *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*, 1990). The issue has received some attention also in Canada and Great Britain, but European scholars discovered the phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship only in the 1990s—a discovery associated with the immense growth of immigrant communities and the liberalisation tendencies towards small business in general and immigrant-owned businesses in particular.

This edited collection claims to be a successor to Waldinger *et al.* (1990), aiming at a broad international overview that covers migrants coming from less developed economies to North America, western Europe, Australia and South Africa. It aims to provide a basis for interpreting case studies on immigrant enterprise, including those that refer to particular groups, such as females, highly educated or second-generation immigrants, assessing the influences of opportunity structures and institutional frameworks that interact with different traits of immigrant and ethnic communities. The book utilises the mixed embeddedness approach, introduced by Kloosterman and Rath, which takes into account the characteristics of the supply of immigrant entrepreneurs, the shape of the opportunity structure and the institutions mediating between aspiring entrepreneurs and opportunities.

The chapter on the US—the source of most theoretical approaches to immigrant enterprise—provides

the comparative perspective for the chapters that follow. The Canadian and Australian Anglo-Saxon variants are situated between the US and Europe with regard to immigration and welfare state policies. The South African case presents a unique context characterised by the political transformation from *apartheid* to a mixture of developing world institutional and economic context and some developed world attributes. The seven western European cases—the UK, the Netherlands, Italy, France, Belgium, Austria and Germany—are the main source for assessing the role of variations in the institutional context and in welfare state regime on immigrant enterprise, particularly on barriers and constraints faced by immigrant entrepreneurs.

Immigrant entrepreneurship in all 11 countries discussed is increasing in magnitude in a context of rising immigration and a post-industrial transition. Immigrant entrepreneurs are concentrated in lower-end occupations, closely linked to vacancy chains where the most recent immigrant entrepreneurs replace earlier ones at the lower end of the market. National differences in the opportunity structure result from factors such as the rate of replacement in vacancy chain businesses, related to general upward social mobility, as well as to the creation or decline of ethnic markets and the role of the legal-institutional frameworks and institutional networks.

The book's major contribution is indeed in providing a broad cross-national perspective that also includes contributions from countries where little has been published previously on ethnic enterprise. The book largely presents qualitative comparative observations, because a more quantitative assessment is hindered by the paucity of data in many European countries, where census (or survey) data containing information for detailed immigrant groups are unavailable. The book sums up processes of change that took place up to the late 1990s, contributing to the cross-national scope of research in the field, thus serving as a most useful reference to studies seeking such a comparative perspective.

The book focuses more on the impact of the economic, political and institutional context on immigrant enterprise, than on possible influences of immigrant entrepreneurs on urban economies, forms of urban development, public policy discourses and reforms in legal and bureaucratic institutional frameworks. The early 2000s seem to have witnessed major transformations in global political and economic circumstances. In terms of welfare state and economic policies, despite some backlash towards neo-liberalism and economic globalisation in some countries, it seems that trends of the 1990s, associated with growing pressures on

the welfare state, persist. Thus, their impact on the proliferation of entrepreneurship among immigrants, as reported in this book, is likely to continue. However, it is the new post-September 11 world order, potentially influencing immigration policies, attitudes towards immigrants, relations between particular immigrant groups and the host society, and barriers to immigrant enterprise, that could have a more profound impact on the flow of immigrants and on accessible opportunities for immigrants in the labour market. Is there a real impact of these new political circumstances on the phenomena of immigrant entrepreneurship? Is it a long-term transformation or only short-term fluctuations in policies and attitudes? Only a follow-up to this book, discussing experiences in the early 2000s, could shed light on these issues.

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**Credit to the Community: Community Reinvestment and Fair Lending Policy in the United States**

DAN IMMERGLUCK, 2004

Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

316 pp. US\$79.95 hardback

ISBN: 0 7656 1258 hardback

This volume fills in a hole in the contemporary urban affairs literature: it provides a handbook on urban credit-market practices, movements and policies in US cities over the past half-century. Author Dan Immergluck, a former senior vice president of the Woodstock Institute, has crafted a text reflecting this movement's themes and concerns. His comprehensive volume covers both consumer and small-business credit markets; its narrative interweaves the histories of urban community organising, evolving banking and lending practices, and governmental oversight and regulation of urban credit markets in the US.

This volume expositis several interrelated themes. First, US banking and credit markets have benefited from government support and regulation through their history. Secondly, these markets are rife with problems of discrimination, segmentation by race and market failure. Thirdly, a series of corrective federal laws, notably the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) of 1977, have played an important role in moderating the extent of these problems. Fourthly, because of cautious regulatory implementation of these corrective laws, the community reinvestment movement has played an important role—which the author terms “regulation from below”—in defending

(as well as advocating) laws and regulations encouraging fair lending and reinvestment. Fifthly, new socially destructive, if profitable, practices continually emerge in urban credit markets; so continued governmental regulation and civil-society oversight are crucial if these markets are to remain vehicles for economic opportunity.

Chapters 2 and 3 develop an approach to the political economy of credit and banking. In this view, credit provides a means of obtaining access to economic opportunities; but the banking industry emerged in the context of political compromises influenced by pressure groups. Further, credit provision involves significant market spillovers. Consequently, credit markets have an irreducible political dimension. The economic development of the US itself was spurred by bank credit flows awarded via social ties and networks. This ‘political’ perspective on credit provision, which the author traces to Alexander Hamilton, provides a counterpoint to the efficient-market perspective so often expressed by economists involved in financial regulation.

Immergluck’s argument is that, since states shaped laws about bank charters, branching and other financial policies to promote their economic development in the 19th century and since contemporary mortgage markets were rescued by federal interventions in the 1980s, it is only logical that laws and regulations governing credit flows should promote economic development in lower-income and socially excluded areas today.

Chapter 4, on housing finance and discrimination, describes the historical exclusion of African Americans from mortgage lending due to the perverse interaction of biased market participants and biased governmental policies. Special attention is given to the role of the Federal Housing Administration in fostering segregation and in precluding Black home-ownership.

Chapter 5 brings this story up to the present by describing the rise and spread of sub-prime or ‘predatory’ loans in the past decade (this is also the topic of chapter 8). Here, Immergluck presents some innovative evidence about the distribution of these loans in urban space. He shows how the differential frequency of refinancing loans in neighbourhoods with different race and income characteristics can provide indirect but suggestive evidence of concentrations of predatory loans. The patterns he finds suggest a discriminatory dual market, in which many borrowers are assigned to the higher-risk (and hence higher-rate, higher-fee, higher-penalty and lower-maturity) segment who should qualify for low-risk loans.

Chapters 6 and 7, which recount the history of civil-society and governmental efforts to force credit markets to operate more fairly for minorities and for

lower-income neighbourhoods, are worth the price of the book. Chapter 6 presents an excellent historical account of the Fair Housing Act and of the limits of this Act as a tool for combating systemic redlining and discrimination. The subsequent community-based campaigns and congressional developments that led to the passage of the CRA are then recounted in vivid detail. This chapter also contrasts the conservative, anti-interventionist stance of the Federal Reserve Board, which was charged with administering the CRA, with the efforts of Senator William Proxmire to ensure that the CRA retained some teeth. Chapter 7 shows how press attention to credit-market inequalities and activism by civil-society organisations resulted in cumulative pressure on banks and federal regulators alike, with the result that much more credit was made available in inner-city areas. It also contains an invaluable discussion of the evolution of CRA rating systems in the 30 years since the passage of this legislation.

This admirable volume has some limitations in its scope and reach. Its discussion of the 1980s crisis of the US depository system focuses too narrowly on savings and loan institutions, ignoring commercial banks. E. Franklin Frazier is unfairly given responsibility for the stereotype that Blacks are unsuited to running businesses: he may have expressed this sentiment, but it did not originate in his writings. Further, the section on the Small Business Administration does not track this agency’s more recent policy shifts, especially its reduced emphasis on race- and gender-based policies.

More broadly, the author’s emphasis on the role of governmental policy in shaping credit markets leads him to pay little attention to the loss of governmental control in these same markets due to the joint impacts of financial globalisation and of financial firms’ evolving strategies. Further, Immergluck is certainly right that much of the academic economics establishment is collectively so predisposed to the market-efficiency view—to what he terms “overly simplistic economic theory” (p. 234)—that it is unable to assess fairly the role of racial bias and discrimination in economic outcomes. But this leads him to overlook theoretical currents within contemporary economics which challenge the market-efficiency view.

These analytical choices make this book’s analytical approach narrower than it might otherwise have been; but they also put a fine point on the often-overlooked political dimensions of evolving credit-market and financial processes. Consider Immergluck’s explanation of why predatory credit markets have arisen and what can be done about them. The author wants to counter the market-based arguments that

sub-prime loan products are responsive to previously unmet credit demand(s) and hence that excessive regulation of sub-prime loan markets will lead to credit starvation in underserved areas. Immergluck explains the rise of sub-prime lending as due to changes in government-market regulations and tax incentives, to inadequate and dual regulation of consumer credit markets and to marketing (pp. 130–132). He demonstrates that two federally sponsored entities (Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac) are underwriting a substantial share of sub-prime lending.

This argument ignores economic and strategic dimensions of the rise of sub-prime markets. Some contemporary theoretical models of credit rationing, unexplored in this volume, suggest reasons for scepticism about the credit starvation claim. *Vis-à-vis* banking firms' strategy, it might be acknowledged that the very pressure on banks to lend more by community-based CRA advocates may have led banks to create sub-prime (or 'predatory') instruments as they fine-tuned their lending strategies in previously red-lined areas. In this context, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac are arguably reducing the 'predatory' component of sub-prime loans by facilitating secondary-market demand for sub-prime mortgages.

However, the strength of Immergluck's approach is that it does not turn on the degree to which sub-prime real-estate-based loans can be defined as predatory, just as his exposition of the opposition to discrimination and redlining in credit markets does not depend on a prior academic consensus about what constitutes econometric proof of these phenomena. He focuses on developing an argument and supporting evidence which, in the best tradition of the community-based movement, issue this challenge to those who want to free urban credit markets from reinvestment regulations: 'Prove it!'

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**Beyond Segregation: Multiracial and Multi-ethnic Neighbourhoods in the United States: Critical Perspectives on the Past**

MICHAEL MALY, 2005

Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

278 pp. US\$68.50 hardback; US\$22.95 paperback

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As the 21st century dawns, the social and demographic transformation within post-industrial cities reflects a growing complexity of diversity and

difference fuelled by international migration. Within this broader context of multiracial and multi-ethnic settings, fostering tolerance, respect and mutual understandings of difference, is critical in maintaining just and equitable democracies. Civic engagement through effective and inclusionary participation in economic, socio-cultural and political affairs has not occurred, however, without resistance against dominant hegemonic agendas that have hindered these practices. Struggles against embedded institutionalised racism, cultural stigmatisations and unfair practices of capitalist and market-driven ideology are not uncommon. Building socially cohesive communities that can stand up to these challenges therefore necessitates an in-depth and nuanced understanding of what promotes and sustains inclusivity and integration. The *process* of integration—the simultaneous blending, respect and celebration of cultural difference—is often best understood at the neighbourhood scale since questions of identity and difference are negotiated most closely at the everyday level. Michael Maly's interesting book *Beyond Segregation: Multiracial and Multi-ethnic Neighbourhoods in the United States: Critical Perspectives on the Past* delves into the complex process of integration and reveals the intricacies and challenges needed to be overcome through three fascinating case studies.

Maly's study of the creation, workings and sustainability of integrated neighbourhoods in American cities in *Beyond Segregation* makes a welcome contribution to the current debates on segregation, multiculturalism and integration. Maly's primary purpose in *Beyond Segregation* is to understand the complexity and success of racial integration in what he describes as the 'increasing multicultural world of the post-civil rights era'. This is a neglected area of scholarship in comparison with the much larger number of studies on segregation in the US and arises, he argues, because of underlying assumptions that consider integrated neighbourhoods as essentially problematic in nature and difficult to sustain. Integrated neighbourhoods that are associated with crime, poverty, homelessness, disintegrated housing, poor-quality schools and insufficient infrastructure are primarily a result of neglect. Segregation constructed and historically perpetuated by larger structural forces (such as prejudiced real estate and banking practices, legislation and state regulations related to housing policy) and persistent stigmatisations have thwarted efforts of pro-integration movements. Yet, these movements have prevailed and actively challenged and shaken stereotypical perceptions of such spaces as 'landscapes of decline and disinvestment'. As he aptly demonstrates, the importance of micro-level actions

at the neighbourhood level either promotes or discourages integration and the 'dialectic between individual agency and social structure' he argues, needs to be unpacked.

The thesis expounded by Maly is two-fold: first, the importance of agency over structural conditions cannot be undermined. He notes that

racially and ethnically integrated neighbourhoods not only exist but also can be maintained, stabilized and even promoted through direct and indirect local strategies (p. 3).

These include local advocacy groups, political leaders, social networks and institutional support that all work towards common incentives and goals to bridge ethno-racial divides. Secondly, he contends that different *types* of integrated communities have emerged in the post-civil-rights era, these being much more diverse and multicultural than before. The difference between desegregation and integration—the former being planned while the latter evolve more organically—characterises this new form of integration. Integrated neighbourhoods, he argues, reduce prejudicial attitudes through greater contact and interactive experiences. *Beyond Segregation* identifies multiracial and multi-ethnic communities in three US cities, each with its own unique history, racial mix, economic and political culture: Jackson Heights, New York; Uptown Chicago; and San Antonio–Fruitvale, Oakland. Through open ended interviews, content analysis of printed material and media accounts and participant observation from 1996 to 1999, he explores the local processes of neighbourhood dynamics that have sustained integrated communities.

The book contains five chapters with an introduction and conclusion. The introductory and first discuss the legacy of racial segregation in the US with an in-depth discussion of institutionally embedded practices that continue to prevail despite federal legislation declaring them illegal. This is followed by a discussion of the aims, strategies and efforts of the pro-integration movement working to challenge setbacks after the civil movement. The second chapter describes the changing demographics and structural conditions in the 1980s and 1990s. As a result of economic restructuring combined with increasing immigration especially from Asia and Latin America, the character of neighbourhood profiles had changed considerably. The increase in multi-ethnic and multiracial neighbourhoods, he observes has 'altered the dynamics of race relations in cities'. These in turn, have resulted in 'unplanned diversity' and a different and *new type* of integration. The next three chapters

discuss detailed case studies in Uptown, Jackson Heights and Oakland. These studies offer rich examples of the complexity and fluidity of neighbourhood life and the ability of individuals to act as agents of change. The results demonstrate that 'diverse-by-design' integration follows a very different trajectory from the 'diverse-by-circumstances' integration that his case studies reveal. Local residents recognise neighbourhoods as symbolic as well as physical entities and these identities are often shaped by perceptions. Among various measures such as community and economic development, heritage designation and image maintenance, the residents worked collectively to promote the benefits, property values and attractiveness of their locales. Yet, Maly notes that there are multiple forms of integration, and local histories and cultural contexts determine the specificities of how integration evolves and is maintained. The efforts of local organisations are of paramount importance in maintaining the collective benefits for a higher quality of life.

Despite the many positive outcomes exemplified through Maly's case studies, there are a number of questions on the *nature* of integration (that has also become increasingly global and multifaceted) that need further explication. For example, do integrated neighbourhoods necessarily lead to an increase of power among minority groups? When is integration purely tokenism in 'multicultural' societies and when is it genuinely practised? Are power differentials within integrated neighbourhoods diminished or do they manifest instead as micro-segregations? Whose ideas and visions prevail in the workings and governance of local institutions? What is the fine line that separates integration from racism and is there a hierarchy to this differentiation? As Maly's case studies indicate, Black populations are displaced by Asian and Hispanic populations. Therefore, in order to maintain a particular balance, who then is turned away and whose interests must succumb? How does the experience of integration vary in different socio-political contexts and in the more recent nationalist backlash against immigration? (For example, how have Muslim communities in Denmark, France and Germany coped with nationally specific interpretations of integration?) Finally, when is segregation better suited to serve the interests of a particular community, rather than integration?

With increased international migration, cities in Western democracies continue to experience different landscapes of segregation and integration that are complex and ever-changing. Lack of understanding and anti-immigrant sentiments in recent years have led to riots, cultural misappropriations, discourses

on national supremacy and other exclusionary practices. Maly's proposition of building just and equitable societies through integrated neighbourhoods is timely and warrants further discussion, especially as cases of cultural polarisation abound. Despite structural and hegemonic forces that erect such barriers, the creative efforts of local communities and the power of agency and human will in mitigating these forces should not be undermined. Critically analysing neighbourhood integration as a dynamic and radical process for the emancipation of all marginal groups is gravely needed for the appropriation of human rights and dignity.

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### **The Common Place: The Ordinary Experience of Housing**

PETER KING, 2005

Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd

136 pp. £45.00 hardback

ISBN 07546 46114 hardback

How do we dwell—or more correctly, how should we reflect upon our experience of dwelling? This is quite simply the topic of King's latest book. It is a short book, about 120 pages and, unlike other books on housing, it has only a few images. It is a philosophical work. However, it is written in an easy readable style and is manageable for the faint at heart who are liable to put down philosophical tomes no sooner than the covers are opened. Who might read it? Besides students and academics, it is hoped that planners and architects will spend a couple of evenings reading the over six chapters argument presented by the author.

Throughout the book, King is critical of what he calls housing policy in its desire to rehouse, initiate planning projects and in general determine where people are to live. As he notes, housing policy tends to be concerned with current time and context, and only with a minority of households, predominantly those living in social housing who can be disciplined. Housing policy is thus restricted

to the physical qualities of housing, and more particularly the actual fabric of the properties. These activities stop, as it were, at the front door and do not concern themselves with how the dwellings are used (pp. 65–66).

Even though UK government documents talk of notions such as decency, togetherness and support,

when used to define national standards in a top-down manner, the unique and variable manner in which housing is lived is repressed. 'Protected intimacy', a phrase he takes from Bachelard, is his primary concern in this book and how "dwelling is both a physical and ontological condition whereby we feel secure, stable and complacent" (p. 67).

How does King construct an argument for dwelling as both a physical, epistemological and ontological experience? To begin with, he distances himself from those inspired by fashionable post-structuralists, such as Deleuze and Guattari. Post-structuralists show, in his opinion, too much interest in the fleeting, rather than the permanent that accumulates over time in the same place. Housing deals of course precisely with the latter. Instead of the post-structuralist metaphor of the rhizome for constantly moving selves, he proposes the metaphor pair of roots and ruts. Houses provide roots for the dweller, like a tree, and the routes to and from house to work, school, shopping and friends, create ruts. The physical frame of the house is thus a source of roots and ruts, and this gives rise in turn to an ontological sense of security from which we might grow. Nevertheless, despite his dislike of the rhizome and post-structuralists, he is not totally against change. Instead, he argues that roots and ruts do not prevent change, only limit it (p. 22).

King approvingly cites Edmund Burke on several occasions. But to think of King as a thinker rooted in conservative ideology, would be to misunderstand the ontological side of his project. He draws upon Rosen and Cavell to argue that the essence of housing is found in its support of the experience of the ordinary—this is not to say that their cannot be anything extraordinary, only to say that the extraordinary always rises on the foundations of the ordinary. The ordinary is connected with the regular, comprehensiveness, unity and commonsense. All of these things can be found in the manner in which we live in our dwellings and feel a sense of existential security. For sociologists, this focus on the ordinary will be nothing new. But for those interested in the ontology of housing, this might be a welcome message.

The ordinary experience of housing also connects experience of time with place. King draws upon Bakhtin's term 'chronotope' to elaborate upon the joining of time and space. Once again, King's intention is to highlight both the physical and ontological aspect of housing experience. Of course any reader of Dostoevsky's novels and after this Bakhtin's interpretations of the author will realise where King is taking the reader. King is evoking an atmosphere of slowness, time that is ready-at-hand and an

experience of unhurriedness as we dwell and move through houses on a daily basis.

Instead of novels, he cites numerous movies and characters in these carefully chosen movies, to make his point about the manner in which people can live in houses in different ways. Any reviewer might suggest that a particular film might have been dropped and a different added. King's choices will inevitably rest upon his belief in certain films. For my part, the numerous CSI episodes I have seen, rather than films he has selected, provide insight into how people live—or do not live—in their dwellings. Having said this, the main point is that he chooses films to illustrate his argument and this is connected with his view that the most appropriate method is impressionistic, rather than based upon quantitative social research tools. He does not, therefore, present questionnaire data, nor even qualitative data based upon participant observation.

The impressionistic approach looks for glimpses of the full significance of experiences and receives its validity when the topic is a philosophical reflection upon experience—in this case housing—from a phenomenological approach. Put simply, when the phenomenon under discussion is how we dwell, the phenomenologist is interested in how we live in the midst of our houses, as an on-going event, as a disposition concerned with the conditions between beings and things (p. 2). As he puts it in the final paragraph, his interest in the experience of the ordinary in housing “is not a theory but a way of looking” (p. 111). If we make the experience of the ordinary into a theory, it is liable to fall “prey to technical jargon, sophisticated abstractions which empty it of its common usage” (p. 42).

How might we become conscious of the ordinary experience of housing and its ontological sense of security and protected intimacy? In general, it is a taken for granted sense of the ordinary acting as a background collage for our actions that take place in the foreground. King suggests that it is when we are exiled from our normal place of abode or when we experience something extraordinary that the ordinary becomes clear. When, for example, “placing ourselves slightly outside our sense of the normal” (p. 32) we become clear of the differences between the extraordinary and the ordinary that we once again crave. Alternatively, when a person is exiled from what they regard as their proper place and time of abode, they have memories of their ordinary way of dwelling.

The final chapter in King's book considers the futility of desires to design ever-new houses in which to dwell or to makeover existing dwellings. Design and makeover can become an end in themselves to show

off the apartment (p. 99). King once again returns to an earlier point: he is not against change *per se*. Instead, he wants change in housing to occur gradually and through modification, rather than through revolutionary, quick changes (pp. 92, 100).

The basic arguments made by King are sound: a critique of housing policy-makers who ignore the phenomenological experience of dwelling in houses. I have not so much reservations as question marks. Why, if he is interested in the phenomenological character of dwelling, does he not quote or seek inspiration from Heidegger's famous essay ‘Building dwelling thinking’ (1975)? In this essay, Heidegger rehearses—or should we say previews?—many of the arguments King makes about the difference between housing policy and dwelling. Heidegger writes

The nature of building is letting dwell . . . Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build (Heidegger, 1975, p. 160).

My second question resolves around morality. Is King providing a morally neutral conception of dwelling, as if all social classes live the experience of housing in the same manner? To recall Nietzsche's (1969) view of morality, as expressed in his book *On the Genealogy of Morals*, there can be a morality of the ruler and a separate morality of the slave (subordinate, oppressed), where the former lives unconcerned with the lot of the slave and the slave lives morality always in reaction to and hatred of the ruler. Is it not the case that the experience of dwelling varies according to the person, if they regard themselves as, and perhaps are, rulers or slaves? The former are in control of their destiny and able to choose where and how they live, whereas the latter are largely dependent on the decisions of others, whether policy-makers, property developers or landlords.

I raise these points on Heidegger's essay on dwelling and on morality, not as a criticism of King's deeply reflective book, but as a thought about how his view of dwelling, as an ordinary experience, might be developed in order to receive new and manifold nuances.

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New York: Vintage Books.

**Housing and Social Policy: Contemporary Themes and Critical Perspectives**

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This edited collection aims to review housing policies within a wider social policy context and to use social theory to explain and understand the selected areas. 'Social policy' is defined as the range of interventions that are intended to meet social objectives, whether carried out in the public, private or voluntary sector. A variety of housing issues are discussed, with chapters covering: the history of state intervention in the housing market; anti-social behaviour and the link with social justice; the significance of space in social policy including the history of stigmatisation; class issues; ethnicity and 'race'; gender; disability; squatting; and urban regeneration. The link with other aspects of social policy, therefore, is explored more in terms of identity politics than by analysing subject areas such as health, education and employment. However, the strongest and most interesting chapters are those that deal in some way with the state and class, and it is refreshing to read a collection which takes these issues seriously and links a theoretical analysis to discussion about the practicalities of how state actions can be challenged and influenced.

The book claims to cover the UK, which I remind the authors stands for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Most of the chapters deal only with England and the extent to which this is acknowledged varies amongst authors. Hence, an opportunity has been missed to discuss ways in which the UK state is changing through devolution and to recognise that some housing and other social policies are not the same in all parts of the UK. This is important because any discussion of 'the state' must recognise that state action takes place at different levels—local, regional and national—and is derived from different but sometimes overlapping networks, influences and policy frameworks in each case. Although there is much interesting discussion of the role of the state in housing and wider social policy in this book,

definitions of what is meant by 'the state' are in short supply.

There are three chapters which are of particular interest. Bill Spink's historical review, 'What has the state ever done for us?', shows that the answer is 'quite a lot, actually'. This well-written chapter covers a lot of ground, reviewing state interventions in the housing market from 1800 to 2003. Spink shows that governments have intervened to influence supply, through regulating housing standards and the amount of housing provided, for some time, whereas the key demand interventions—the promotion of homeownership through tax allowances, grants and the Right to Buy for council tenants—are more recent. Four theoretical approaches address why the state has intervened in these ways.

One of the most original chapters is Charlie Cooper's discussion of 'Places, 'folk devils' and social policy', which includes a fascinating collection of references. The first half of this chapter is a brilliant history of the stigmatisation of people and of places—the two, of course, being often intertwined. From the 19th-century labouring classes in their rookeries, to the slum clearances of 'problem families' in the 1930s, to the rise of racial tensions in the 1950s, to the current focus on young working-class men in social housing, Cooper shows that the social construction of the 'outsider' as a target for moral panic has been a constant factor since the rise of industrialism. Such outsiders have been assumed to hold different moral values from the rest of the population, thus legitimising the use of social policy to maintain order and, often, to keep such groups spatially segregated from the majority. Cooper follows this history with an illuminating and practical discussion of how discourse theory allows definitions of the 'dangerous' and the 'outsider' to be challenged.

'Squatting since 1945' by Kesia Reeve is a thoughtful addition to the small amount of academic literature available on the subject. Reeve's starting-point is that squatters

remove themselves from and defy the norms of traditional channels of housing consumption and tenure power relations, bypassing the 'rules' of welfare provision (p. 205).

An account of squatting in the late 1940s, the 1960s/70s and the present-day sets the scene for an analysis of why squatting takes place. Reeve shows convincingly that, contrary to the stereotype of squatting as an 'alternative' lifestyle, the common driving factor is housing need, often compounded by failures of the social housing allocation

system to cope with certain groups such as single people or the intentionally homeless. Although squatting was linked to lifestyle politics and housing campaigns in the 1960s/70s, which Reeve discusses in relation to Giddens and Beck, the most interesting aspect of the chapter is her recent research which shows this is no longer the case. Squatting in present-day England is shown to be an individualised response to housing need, as an alternative to sleeping on the streets.

The editors' overall conclusions fall into three parts. First, they review the outcomes of New Labour's housing policies, summarised as: making markets work; a relationship with the public based on consultation rather than empowerment; and a general approach of 'steering centralism' (p. 243) through devolving power on condition that implementation remains in line with government policy. Secondly, there is a discussion of the different ways in which the term 'joined-up policy' applies to housing—by subsuming housing issues entirely within other policy areas such as economics; by partnerships with policymakers in other fields such as social services or education; and by taking spatially determined social relations as the starting-point for a stronger culture of resistance. Clearly, each approach requires a different relationship between the state and civil society, most especially in the case of the final option. The third part of the conclusion is the most interesting, as the editors explore how housing issues may become part of a counter-hegemonic mobilisation based on shared values and social justice.

The collection does present a few problems. Some chapters cover familiar ground and it is not so clear that they contribute anything new to current debates. Examples include the chapters on ethnicity and on urban regeneration. Other chapters are primarily descriptive with little theoretical content—for example, the chapters on ethnicity, gender and disability; these chapters would have benefited from tighter editing. There is also the question of whether it was best to explore the connections between housing and social policy through quite so many identity-based approaches rather than, for example, chapters on health, education and economic development. However, the book is helpful in its emphases on class, power and the potential for community action. Finally, the book is very well edited; it was a pleasure to be able to read it without flinching at the errors which seem to pervade academic texts nowadays.

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### **The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility**

KEVIN D. HAGGERTY and RICHARD V. ERICSON (Eds), 2005

Toronto: University of Toronto Press

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Surveillance has become a common feature of everyday life. This is the starting-point of *The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility*, edited by Kevin D. Haggerty and Richard V. Ericson. Focusing on the increased possibilities of knowing, tracking, data mining and profiling everyday life through the use of technology, the innovative power of this book lies in considering surveillance not only in the context of security issues but also as a tool of governance in military conflict, health, commerce and entertainment.

This important book arises from a conference held at the University of British Columbia in 2003. It is divided in three parts, containing 15 previously unpublished multidisciplinary contributions of leading, mainly North American, scholars of surveillance. The vast panorama of analyses and investigations is brought together within both a substantial introductory chapter and summaries by the editors at the beginning of each section.

Despite this attempt to integrate and link the individual chapters, Haggerty and Ericson want to present neither a systematic overview nor a comprehensive theory of different forms, functions, consequences or individual perceptions of surveillance. On the contrary, the editors point out the degree to which surveillance has become "multifaceted and chaotic" (p. 21), and thus at risk of stretching the analytical category of 'surveillance' itself beyond all recognition. Haggerty and Ericson start from the assumption that the

multiplication of the aims, agendas, institutions, objects, and agents of surveillance has made it profoundly difficult to say anything about surveillance that is generally true across all, or even most, instances (p. 22).

Numerous given examples strongly validate this statement, reaching from reality TV (p. 5) and obstetric foetal monitoring technologies (p. 7) to CCTV, governmental Internet monitoring (p.10) and neighbourhood spies. They powerfully underline the relevance of the editors' well-established concept of the 'surveillant assemblage', understood as the disconnected and semi-co-ordinated character of

heterogeneous forms and functions of surveillance (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000). On this basis, the engagingly written commentaries provide an extremely rich array of contributions to the general issue of surveillance without ever pretending an explicit link to the field of urban studies. Thus, *The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility* contributes less to the sub-discipline of 'urban ICT studies' (Graham, 2004) than to the field of 'surveillance studies' in general. Given this broad focus of the book, unfamiliar readers in particular might wish for more emphasis on particular trends within the multifaceted exploration of different forms of surveillance. From this viewpoint, an explicit, initial (exploratory) classification or, for example, an introductory mention of Christopher Dandeker's broader conceptualisation of surveillance (p. 224) could have been helpful.

The first part of the book brings together four theoretical contributions, exploring contemporary developments of surveillance. Pointing at broader cultural trends of voyeuristic and exhibitionist characteristics, David Lyon underlines the role of the generalised desire to watch within the contemporary 'viewer society' (Mathiesen, 1997) in legitimising surveillance technologies. Illustrations include the popularity of reality TV and webcams, 'teenage stars' joking and playing with CCTV systems and the greedy consumption of the media spectacle. Adding to this daily investigation of the public perception of surveillance, Gary Marx highlights the relationship between the evaluation of surveillance and the type of collected information.

Regarding the growing use of technology to monitor ostensibly private acts, both William Bogard's and John Gilliom's contributions are concerned with new practices of resistance to surveillance. While the former stresses the fundamental difficulties in resisting increasingly distant, pre-programmed and simulated systems of hyper-control (Bogard, 1996), the latter more pragmatically examines everyday techniques of resistances of closely monitored people. Given the diagnosed difficulties of new surveillance measures to fit into existing privacy frameworks, both authors underline the need for new concepts and vocabularies to understand, regulate and limit contemporary operations of surveillance.

Throughout the whole book, surveillance is understood in both its complex and interwoven panoptic (the few watching the many) and synoptic (the many watching the few) dimensions. Within the second part, we see to which degree both these dimensions of surveillance have become integral to contemporary police and military operations. While Aaron Doyle examines the combination of panoptic and synoptic

surveillance in connection with the broadcast of police CCTV images on TV, Christopher Dandeker emphasises military operations, which not only depend on the quest for informational superiority, but also on the achievement of the right political effect by directing spectacular media broadcasts of the campaign. The authors show that if the spectacle of crime and war makes particular information more public and collective, the selection and prioritisation of specific (visual) information also considerably limits public perceptions of essentially more complex realities.

Jean Paul Brodeur's and Stéphane Leman-Langlois' contributions, as well as the chapter written by Reg Whitaker, directly flow from this tension. Referring to Canada and the US, both papers underline the authoritarian tendencies of anti-terrorist surveillance initiatives to conceal and hush up their operations to the citizenry in order to escape the scrutiny of critics (p. 154). Kevin Haggerty's contribution finally focuses on the contradictions, limitations and paradoxes of the predominant valorisation of information in the US model of warfare.

The third part of the book considers how surveillance becomes increasingly embedded in business enterprise. Concerned with the monetarisation and commercial exchange of personal information (p. 341), apparently mundane technologies are examined to give rise to new forms of surveillance which are linked with broader social processes and relationships of power. For example, Joseph Torrow examines how advertising encourages customers to surrender information to help marketing efforts. These reflections are carried on by Terra Tinić's focus on new interactive television formats and by David Wall's analysis of public and private surveillance practices related to the Internet. Furthermore, the often discriminatory nature of (business) technologies of surveillance is strongly expressed in Emily Martin's contribution on the visualisation of everyday feelings and behaviours from individuals, diagnosed as manic depressive, and by Oscar Gandy's (Jr) analysis of data mining for commercial purposes.

Overall, the resulting impression from these detailed insights into current developments of surveillance is one of astonishment and helplessness. While this book provides a foreboding warning of how much society is organised through technologies and practices of surveillance, it also shows how little we really know about it. This leaves the strong impression that the ubiquity of increased possibilities of knowing, tracking, data mining and profiling everyday life makes it quasi impossible really to understand and resist current trends of surveillance. *The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility* is a very accessible account of a wide

range of reflections on current developments, thus painting a rather threatening picture of what is currently going on behind our backs.

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