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## < REVIEW 1>

<h1>Ananya Roy and Emma Shaw Crane (eds.) 2015: *Territories of Poverty*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press</h1>

Categorized into three sections, this book is an interesting collection of essays from a variety of different authors. Every section has its own theme, exploring the challenges of different aspects of poverty scholarship. Each section also has 'representations' about the essays, and the authors of these small pieces in a way summarize the essays for the reader while integrating them within their own personal and scholarly experiences.

The book begins with an introduction by Ananya Roy. She articulately explains the aims of the subsequent sections by using Derrida's Aporias. Following this, the first section is concerned with the governmental politics of poverty. This includes how poverty-stricken places/territories are governed and bordered, and how the 'problematic poor population' [Quote marks used here - should a page **number be cited?** is treated by national and local governments. This section opens with an essay by Michael Katz discussing how poverty has been examined by the literature. He reviews the ways poverty has historically been tackled and concludes by saying that the most progressive way to fight poverty is to do 'whatever works'. [Quote marks used here - should a page number be cited?] It is an approach about which one might have doubts; however, as Katz writes (and I agree), seeing poverty as a singular problem—be it people, place, resource, political economy, power, market—really does not seem to work. It is more about listening to the poor in order to 'recapture their energy and faith'. [Quote marks used here - should a page number be cited?] This is followed by an essay by Akhil Gupta, who discusses the perception of poverty as a global threat to the world population. He points out that poverty is seen as a threat by global North elites when talking about poverty in the global South. This is one example highlighting how borders are becoming increasingly blurred and territories are being redrawn. The next essay in this section is written by Jamie Peck and Nick Theodore; it deals with a programme in Latin

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America providing cash transfers to the poor that is enabled by the World Bank. The essay thoroughly explores the ways in which this initiative can work, but points out its moral and financial challenges. A further essay in this section is provided by Bill Maurer, who explores how 'big data' can be used to help the poor in the global South. In so doing, he rightly stresses his concerns about the usage of such technology and the ways it can harm democracy; however, he remains hopeful, claiming that effective democratization of this kind of initiative can be sustained. I do not share his optimism, but certainly see his point regarding mobile money and the immense amount of data that can be used to help the poor.

The second section discusses encounters and spaces of poverty action. This primarily focuses on charities tackling poverty in the global South and how volunteers' own pasts and futures can be understood within the framework of poverty scholarship. The first essay is written by Vincanne Adams and examines New Orleans' post-Katrina recovery. It explores the desperation of its newly impoverished citizens and explains how this arises from lack of government funding. Adams talks about how charity work helped the area, detailing how it simultaneously became part of the business world and replaced the safety net for the poor. Subsequently, Ju Hui Judy Han explains that, for South Korea, poverty encounters are not just about helping the poor but also about redeeming the past through helping less fortunate countries (as the Western world once helped South Korea). In the last two essays in this section, Alyosha Goldstein examines discrimination against black farmers; how they have been systematically impoverished and still await well-deserved compensation. Erica Kohl-Arenas then underscores Adams' point, stressing by means of several well-grounded empirical examples how the business of philanthropy is integrated into the capitalist system.

The third section of the book is called 'Geographies of Penality and Risk' and analyses how programmes and interventions deployed by public institutions in stigmatized places affect poverty scholarship, and reproduce and re-border poverty. In the first essay, Loic Wacquant discusses the transformation from ghetto to 'hyperghetto' and how states spread the very poverty they seek to decrease by deregulation and undermining the urban citizenship of stigmatized neighbourhoods. Following this, a very interesting essay by Hiba Bou Akar explores how planners in Beirut have been otherized by Lebanon's various ongoing 'wars' sectarian conflict in particular. She comprehensively shows how, in a place where everything is politicized, something so naturally political as urban planning can be reduced to aligning streets and fixing roads. The third essay of the section is called 'Gray Areas'. It explores the US government programme of the same name, and how it was used as a form of integration and pacification of black people. The essay points out how the policies used for 'external enemies and internal misfits' (p. 310) feed into each other. The last essay of this section is written by Ted Cruz and examines how a marginalized community on the San Diego-Tijuana border reimagines housing, borders of urban citizenship with planners and designers to create new programmes that include productivity and informality in a bottom-up way. The essay portrays a very influential community, and a trans-institutional and academic process.

The last part is a conclusion written by Emma Shaw Crane. She lays out the book's contribution to poverty scholarship, underscoring how all the contributors

are working towards an academia in which theory does not merely sit on the library shelves, but is actually deployed to make a difference. This is an ambitious book that challenges norms of research and ways of engaging poverty in the academic environment. It successfully shows the overlapping borders between North and South, and the need for alternative approaches to poverty studies. In this book, poverty is not examined through the behaviours of 'poor people' but through politics and encounters of poverty. *Territories of Poverty* is a refreshing addition to the literature thanks to its different approach to the study of poverty; whilst only a beginning to effecting change in the usual policies and practices, the book is nonetheless a laudable attempt to make 'the theory ride the bus' (p. 344).

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Aysegul Can, University of Sheffield

REVIEW 2>

<h1>Andrew R. Highsmith 2015: *Demolition Means Progress: Flint, Michigan and the Fate of the American Metropolis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press</h1>

'Demolition Means Progress', the General Motors' slogan serving as title and framing for Andrew Highsmith's layered and engaging analysis of the making and unmaking of Flint in the twentieth century, takes on a macabre and revealing turn at this juncture in history. This work documents the pursuit of 'progress' and the continual assault on buildings and livelihoods, particularly those of poor working-class blacks, to achieve those ends. Today that violence is more direct, in the state's destruction of black bodies through the provision of lead-tainted water and water-borne illness. Highsmith's work provides a compelling prologue for what has unfolded in Flint. It is the violence of institutional racism and strategic disinvestment fully brought to bear in a stunning public display of market-fundamentalist indifference, discounting risks to the public in favor of cost savings.

Demolition Means Progress argues that understanding contemporary segregation and disinvestment in US cities requires a focus on the active practices that produced it, in this case the persistence of renewal and reinvention in urban policy. The persistence of renaissance narratives in Flint demonstrates the way in which corporate elites, foundations and elected officials seek to remake such places, tearing them down whether necessary or not. This approach is at the crux of debates on the place of shrinking cities in urban theory and urban studies. It touches on the primary contribution of contemporary scholars of decline, that measures of absence and loss, decline and abandonment are inadequate for understanding chronic decline and that measuring active practice changes our understanding of these places and their relationship to urban processes.

The work captures the ethos of a century of US urban development; the city is an object for reinvention that is made possible through targeted destruction. One noteworthy aspect is Highsmith's artful detailing of the intersection of legal, administrative and popular segregation in producing the particular racialized object that today we know as Flint. This is a thoroughly researched account, demonstrating that ideas of the Rust Belt and *de facto* segregation are inadequate conceptualizations of how deeply entrenched racial divisions are maintained in US

cities.

Though the pursuit of progress in Flint is the focus, Highsmith argues that the city is representative of metropolitan regions throughout the US. The cases here draw on the transformation of roles in the public and private sector during the twentieth century, focusing on the interplay of interest groups and forces transforming Flint. The movement of the residential color line, school desegregation, the differential impact of federal housing and mortgage programs, urban renewal and GM's dream of regional governance all speak to the malleability of what progress was conceived and believed to be by urban elites and community groups in the city. For Highsmith these transitions point to local particularities, such as the alliance of black residents with civic elites in the destruction of black neighborhoods, the limits of local officials in combating broader forces such as suburbanization, and the inability of corporate elites to bring about more malleable regional governments for political control and the growth of profits. The role of race in shaping the Flint metropolitan region is embedded in each of these cases yet, in arguing for Flint as representative of metropolitan America and urban elites' obsession with progress, the programs that followed would be more productively situated as mechanisms for the maintenance of white supremacy.

The centering of place allows engagement with multi-scalar forces shaping urban life, and dispatches dichotomies of Rust Belt versus Sun Belt and the role of consumer preference for suburb over city. The metropolitan lens foregrounds the differential effects of federal programs in inner-ring suburbs and city neighborhoods. The alliance between black activists and white elites in renewal projects that wiped out black neighborhoods in Flint highlights the desperate conditions that existed and the hope of progress through demolition. The consequences of the balkanization of power and influence brought on by postwar suburbanization and its effect on corporate strategy offer a strong case of a reperiodization of deindustrialization in the Great Lakes. [Please can you revise this sentence with a view to greater clarity]

Though this approach offers avenues to bridge urban and suburban lines it also operates as a constraint at times with broader economic forces and federal policies operating in a unidirectional manner with the effects of these forces ricocheting through metropolitan Flint but rarely out and never jumping scales. [Please can you revise this sentence with a view to greater clarity] But it does provide Highsmith with a powerful framework to argue in the final chapter that Flint is representative of the structural and systemic racism that has shaped and continues to shape American cities.

The conclusion situates Flint, a city forged in the image of a capital and white supremacy, pockmarked by vacancy and abandonment, dependent on the residual largesse of earlier rounds of accumulation doled out through foundation grants and initiatives, and brandishing the *bona fides* of creative capital and downtown placemaking that are hallmarks of the entrepreneurial city, as emblematic of most US cities. Yet, compared to the richness of the preceding text, this comes across as conjecture. Perhaps it is too much to ask for a history that engages the theoretical and conceptual work of critical urban scholars, but such research would more fully tie 'Detroit, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Oakland' (p. 284) or sections of 'San Francisco, Boston, Raleigh, Seattle and Austin' (p. 285) together. But it is not just

the lack of theoretical and conceptual engagement, it is also the structural and legalistic definition of the city Highsmith offers: 'Though they are full of vibrant and sentient beings with unique and important stories, cities themselves are inanimate political and legal constructs that neither live or die' (p. 284). It is a definition in which the gaze is fixed by power and the city a mere container of events rather than an active and transformative space. In a work that so effectively breaks down *de facto* segregation and complicates narratives of postwar suburbanization, this is a jarring flattening of 'the city' that leaves an object and container rather than relation and process.

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Joshua Akers, University of Michigan-Dearborn

## REVIEW 3>

In this accessible and engaging book, Kinder investigates the 'urban self-provisioning' (p. 5) used by Detroit residents as public services are cut in an ongoing municipal fiscal crisis. She provides an empirically detailed analysis of how residents modify their urban environment, challenge existing property and social relations, and blur the boundary between public and private. This research makes a solid contribution to the literature on North American neoliberal urban informality, 'Do It Yourself' urbanism and everyday life in US neighborhoods affected by the current housing crisis. It would be appropriate material for both undergraduate and graduate courses.

Kinder's original research plan was to examine home rehabilitation strategies in neighborhoods with inactive housing markets, until she discovered that many participants maintained public property as an extension of their own private domain (p. 11). She adapted her methods to reflect this finding, eventually interviewing 82 people and attending 80 events over two years of fieldwork. She also conducted 71 door-to-door interviews and visual surveys of 245 vacant lots. While she focused on four neighborhoods with different class and race compositions, she found that self-provisioning strategies were surprisingly similar across the city. Ultimately, Kinder categorized these activities into six themes: recruiting new residents, defending vacant homes, repurposing abandonment, performing public works, policing home spaces and producing local knowledge. Each theme gets one chapter, with an additional first chapter that situates the research within the history of municipal service provision and a conclusion on the political possibilities of self-provisioning.

Within each chapter, diverse examples of the strategies employed by her informants paint an ethnographically rich picture of life in contemporary Detroit. Chapter 2 provides examples of 'resident realtors' (p. 44), committed homeowners who use their kinship and social networks to recruit people to buy or squat in vacant housing in their neighborhood. Chapter 3 details how residents defend (e.g. via boarding, booby traps and other forms of 'defensible space') or disguise (e.g. through window treatments or porch decorations) vacant homes to protect them from vandalism. The residents highlighted in chapter 4 use narratives from

countercultural movements to turn vacant lots and properties into gardens or art that represents hope for their neighborhood. Chapter 5 shows how Detroiters are providing their own services (e.g. snow removal and street lighting) and using performative displays of care to make claims on the state. In chapter 6 the reader meets homeowners who participate in formal and informal community policing and surveillance. Finally, in chapter 7 Kinder showcases how residents strategically produce their own data to guide their activism and to create counter-narratives that challenge hegemonic representations of Detroit.

Throughout these chapters, Kinder makes two major arguments. The first is that self-provisioning has to be understood in the context of neoliberal urbanism, as residents react and develop strategies to cope with the loss of services. Following James C. Scott, Kinder understands these strategies as 'weapons of the weak': that is, disaggregated expressions of grassroots micro-scale resistance and coping which do redress structural inequalities in a formally organized systemic fashion. While their impact may be limited, she also argues that these practices represent a major investment of labor that is remaking these neighborhoods in significant ways (pp. 196–8). Resident realtors step in to organize inhabitance where markets are not active. Residents make judgments about who belongs and who poses a threat through their surveillance and policing, recreating the moral geography of the city. Self-provisioning on the whole is politically ambiguous: some residents have social justice goals, while others simply wish for their neighborhood to meet hegemonic standards of responsible property ownership. Finally, Kinder shows how the city government and community organizations support self-provisioning through grants and outreach, and how the actions of the city authorities (e.g. code enforcement fines) encourage further self-provisioning.

The second argument is made primarily in the first chapter and is revisited periodically throughout the book. Kinder suggests that Detroit's self-provisioning illustrates a 'new urban logic' in municipal service provision (p. 31). She argues for a periodization that sees the early- and mid-twentieth-century era of aspirationally universal centralized public service provision ending with the rise of suburbanization and neoliberalism. She sees continuities in the market-based service provision of the pre-municipal era and today. However, her research also shows that contemporary self-provisioning has important differences from the past (p. 35). Centrally, Detroiters are not forced to the market to manage the externalities of the growing industrial metropolis, but instead have been pushed to accept 'responsibility for managing other people's decaying infrastructure' (*ibid*.) in a declining city.

Overall, Kinder's book makes a valuable contribution to the literature. However, I will offer two friendly external critiques that might guide further research. First, although Kinder acknowledges that self-provisioning is ultimately a stop-gap to stem the effects of decline, her argument does not acquire much normative force in critiquing the devolution of responsibility under neoliberal retrenchment. Perhaps stemming from the book's sparing use of theory, it is hard to find the normative thrust that would be present with a more thorough infusion of theories of systemic racism, class exploitation and selective citizenship.

A second issue lies in Kinder's incomplete engagement with issues of social difference. While in some passages Kinder acknowledges differences (mostly race-

and class-based) in self-provisioning work, her analysis would have benefited from a closer look at the uneven devolution of responsibility. For example, Kinder often makes the claim that self-provisioning activities are managed as an extension of domestic labor (see chapters 5 and 6). However, there is a lack of attention to gender in these chapters, despite some of her own examples showing how self-provisioning reproduces the gendered division of household labor (e.g. throughout chapter 5). Additionally, there is limited acknowledgement of the larger (often racial) stakes of self-provisioning. The Detroit water shut-offs mentioned briefly in the conclusion point to the need to situate self-provisioning within the history of racial exclusion from state services and protection. Overall, Kinder's book is successful in charting the new geography of neoliberal DIY service provision. Future work should endeavor to build on this foundation.

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Samuel Walker, University of Toronto

<REVIEW 4>

H1>Rachel Weber 2015: From Boom to Bubble: How Finance Built the New Chicago. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Weber's subject matter in this very good book is a phenomenon that has fascinated and vexed urban scholars and economists of various hues for at least a century: city-building booms and subsequent busts. Although at various points, especially in the book's final chapter, Weber observes and reflects upon the consequences of these boom-and-bust cycles—indeed in the same chapter she even boldly ponders potential 'solutions', in the form of possible methods of modulating these all-too-familiar development frenzies—consequences are not her main concern. Causes are what principally animate this book and its author. How, in short, can we explain the repeating tendency, particularly in the United States, for urban overbuilding?

Weber explores and attempts to answer this question largely through a marvelously informed and detailed case study of Chicago. She zooms in on a particular part of the city—the central business district (CBD)—and a particular building category—commercial, as opposed to residential, real estate—during a specific period—from the late 1990s through to the early days of the global financial crisis (which, remember, burst forth in the real estate sector) in 2008. And what an (over)building boom she describes, with total office space mushrooming by some 15% and vacancy rates doubling during the period in question.

I devoured this book: the writing, which is pristine and unfussy; the apposite and illuminating mix of qualitative—Weber interviewed professionals in construction and finance, planning and real estate brokerage—and quantitative data; the even-handedness (no stereotypes of wicked bankers or irredeemably complex financial instruments here); and above all the sheer depth of knowledge. Weber 'gets' real estate; she 'gets' finance; and, last but not least, she 'gets' Chicago, the place. It is a rare combination.

So what is her explanation for over-building? Weber argues for what she describes as an 'agent-centered' (p. 7) or 'decidedly institutional' (p. 30) approach. The best way of showing what she means is by starting with the two main sets of

explanations that Weber attempts to distance her approach from. One is the 'demand-side' approach favored by mainstream economics, which posits that, at least in the long run, construction levels respond to the level of demand in the wider economy. The other is the 'supply-side' approach favored by critical political economists, especially of a Marxian ilk. When conditions of over-accumulation plague the production of everyday goods and services, surplus capital 'switches' instead into the (over)production of the built environment. According to this thesis, then, building booms are explained by the supply of capital, helping to soak up surpluses thereof; overbuilding is a 'spatial manifestation of the needs of capital accumulation' (p. 25).

Weber's quarrel with both approaches is that they are too abstract and thus ill-suited to explaining the detailed temporalities and spatialities of building booms such as Chicago's. Questioning the supply-side approach, for example, she observes that 'capital does not switch into all real estate assets to the same extent' (p. 62). This critique is similar to the oft-heard critique of the late Neil Smith's 'rent gap' explanation for gentrification: that rent-gap theory does not tell us which part of a city will gentrify, when and at what speed. In any event, seeking a more granular and malleable explanatory apparatus, Weber turns to 'the actual actors and institutions that mediate between demand and supply', identifying institutional incentives to overbuild and emphasizing the significance of 'social constructs, market devices, and political interventions' (p. 30).

Reading the book left me with one major question: does Weber successfully deliver this 'agent-centered' explanation? Well, she certainly delivers empirically, by which I mean that her main empirical focus is indeed on the local institutional actors, in particular real estate brokers and city governments, that help 'perform' building booms on the ground—in Chicago's CBD in the decade to 2008 in chapter 6, and more generically in chapter 3 (chapters 2 and 5 focus more on questions of financing—explicating the real estate investment trusts, commercial mortgage-backed securities and tax increment financings that crystallize building booms—while chapter 4 effectively demolishes the notion that Chicago's boom, traced in graphic detail, was demand-led).

But does she deliver analytically? I am not so sure. Local institutional actors certainly play (and, in Chicago, played) an important role. But for all her determination to offer an alternative to the Marxian supply-side explanation—and she claims hers is a 'novel framework', framed and figured '[i]n contrast to both supply- and demand-side perspectives' (p. 7)—Weber, on my reading, ultimately, perhaps even despite herself, falls back on precisely this supply-side conceptual logic; she embellishes it, assuredly, but she does not supplant it. And you can actually take her word for it, not mine. Chicago's building boom, in the final reckoning, was a function of the 'easy availability of cheap credit and equity' (p. 8). To be sure, the local institutions to which Weber devotes so much attention shaped the exact contours of the boom, the specific history and geography according to which it played out. But the principal, underlying, motive force was indubitably the force of (over-accumulated) capital: 'it was capital supply, assisted'—not, note, substituted—'by the professional conventions of intermediaries and the pro-growth policies of local governments, that drove the building boom' (p. 10, emphasis added). Why did developers act as they did? They did so 'because financial markets

were making more capital available' (p. 2). To underline this point is not to gainsay the importance of Weber's contribution. But her contribution with *From Boom to Bubble* is a substantiation and evocation of the Marxian thesis, not something that takes its place.

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Brett Christophers, Uppsala University

## <REVIEW 5>

<H1>Michael Storper, Thomas Kemeny, Naji Makarem and Taner Osman 2015: The Rise and Fall of Urban Economies: Lessons from San Francisco and Los Angeles. Stanford: Stanford University Press

The book aims to provide a detailed understanding of regional economic divergence. For this purpose the authors draw on and evaluate well-established theoretical frameworks from development theory, regional science and urban economics, the new economic geography (NEG), institutional economics and economic sociology. In order to bring to bear such diverse theoretical frameworks to explain regional development in practice and evaluate the claims of those theories with richly detailed empirical data, the authors had little choice but to choose a comparative case study approach. More specifically, the book examines the divergent development trajectories of the metropolitan areas of Los Angeles and San Francisco. The selection of these two cities is justified: their levels of development measured as per capita income and median household income were similar in the 1980s; they belonged to the same high-wage development club; they experienced divergent economic fortunes; and both are in California (which permits controlling for state and national policy differences).

After summarizing the theoretical arguments in chapter 2, chapter 3 identifies industrial specialization as a key explanatory process for economic development. Regions building on and/or diversifying into sectors at the knowledge frontier create innovations whose novelties generate monopoly rents and high wages, and these regions will therefore stay or forge ahead of other regions. These regions are said to choose the 'high-road' of economic development and San Francisco is an example of this strategy. On the other hand, regions that attempt to compete in global markets through lax land-use legislation, cheap wages or subsidized low-wage industries choose the 'low-road' of economic development and will drop out of the high development club. Los Angeles exemplifies this trajectory. Chapter 4 addresses the question of whether people follow jobs or jobs follow people, providing detailed empirical evidence that is consistent with the 'people follow jobs' story. In other words, the authors concur with the insights of the new economic geography but disagree with new urban economics.

Chapters 5 to 9 offer detailed empirical analysis of two industrial production systems, starting with the ability of the Bay Area to continually branch into high-value-added stages of the IT and biotech sectors, while Los Angeles has failed to convert its comparative advantage in aerospace into high-value-added applications for civilian use, instead investing political and financial energy into expanding the low-wage logistics sector around its port area. Differences in the organization of respective elite networks enabling them to draw together innovations and resources

from different but related sectors, lack of a common (high-road) visioning process in Los Angeles, differences in the cultural and social milieus of the two regions, the decisions of certain key individuals and a degree of luck are all identified as important explanatory variables. Building on this analysis, chapters 10 and 11 develop guidelines for academic research and economic development policies of urban regions.

The book offers a carefully designed comparative case study that draws on various theoretical approaches from economics, geography and economic sociology, bundling their fragmented explanations of Silicon Valley's success and Los Angeles' failure into a theoretically coherent and empirically substantiated story to offer a comprehensive understanding of regional economic development. In this sense the authors are the academic equivalent of 'tweakers', innovators who 'tweak, adapt, combine, improve and debug existing ideas, build them according to specifications, but with the knowledge to add in what the blueprints left out' (p. 203). Existing work is supplemented with original empirical material and analysis, including the mapping of elite networks in Los Angeles and San Francisco and the attempt to compile a detailed catalogue of economic policy initiatives for both metropolitan areas.

A number of conclusions emerge from the analysis. The authors reiterate the results of the Barca Report [Should the Barca Report be explained a little?] and the need to think of regions as members of clubs. Membership of one club or another necessitates different visions, strategies and policies. In order to evaluate the role of specialization and diversification, industries need to be defined more carefully and in greater detail or in relation to their task content. The ability of robust actors to bridge different but related industries in the Bay Area, and a lack of these in Los Angeles, is seen as one of the key reasons for the divergent development trajectories. The attempt to analyse systematically the impact of economic policies in the two cities reveals a paucity of existing data, necessitating a call for better data on economic policy projects and expenditures. Within the narrow definition of regional development as GDP/capita or median household income growth, the book offers an internally consistent and comprehensive story with a particular emphasis on the relational ecosystem of, and elite networks in, a region. For readers who agree with this definition of economic development, the book offers a great synthesis of existing ideas, a wealth of original and detailed data, and compelling ex-post explanations of the evolutionary trajectories of San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Those who see economic development as something broader—including social and environmental sustainability, equality, poverty and welfare rather than just in terms of efficiency gains—may find the book too narrowly focused. But even the acceptance of median income as an indicator of development throws up questions. The selection of theoretical frameworks produces a story highlighting the correct decisions of clever entrepreneurs tied together in dense social networks allowing them to exchange ideas from diverse, but related, sectors, moving their companies and, in turn, the regional economy into novelty-generating and rapidly growing sectors. The need for networks of small firms arises from the short product cycles in the IT sector and the uncertainty about commercial viability of innovations in the biotech sector. However, the chosen theoretical approaches bracket out the

need of those industries for other forms of flexibility. The fact that the Bay Area lost, and has never fully recovered, approximately 500,000 jobs during the dotcom bubble suggests that flexible labour markets, in addition to the flexible organization of firms, allowed the region to maintain its relatively high wages and productivity levels. The second form of flexibility required to cope with short product cycles is a flexible manufacturing workforce and that is predicated on socially unacceptable labour standards in other parts of the world. This allowed Steve Jobs to assemble in record time a workforce to produce and bring to market his newest products. Profits that make possible continual innovation and high wages in the Bay Area are, in part, achieved on the backs of Chinese workers. Production in China not only saves labour costs but, even more importantly, also reduces corporate tax bills. Exploitation and tax avoidance may thus be equally or more important in accounting for rapidly rising median wages in the Bay Area than its social ecology, entrepreneurship and innovative milieu. Los Angeles, with its specialization in entertainment, logistics and aerospace, may have been less able to profit from lower wages abroad to boost its workers' wages.

None of those points invalidate the relevance or veracity of the arguments made in the book, but they suggest that those arguments are the result of the theoretical foci of the book. Inclusion of political economy approaches would have shifted the analytical lens to other processes and factors as potential drivers of metropolitan economic performance that may be equally important for the Bay Area's success, but that are at present excluded from the explanatory framework.

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Jurgen Essletzbichler, University College London

<REVIEW 6>

H1>Clarence N. Stone and Robert P. Stoker (eds.) in collaboration with John Betancur, Susan E. Clarke, Marilyn Dantico, Martin Horak, Karen Mossberger, Juliet Musso, Jefferey M. Sellers, Ellen Shiau, Harold Wolman and Donn Worgs 2015: *Urban Neighborhoods in a New Era:*Revitalization Politics in the Postindustrial City. Chicago: University of Chicago Press</H1>

Urban Neighborhoods in a New Era is a collectively authored book that analyzes how six North American cities (Baltimore, Chicago, Phoenix, Los Angeles, Denver and Toronto) have responded to neighborhood distress since the second world war. The authors insist that neighborhood distress is more than a range of social problems such as crime, poverty, unemployment or family instability and emphasize it as 'a political problem that tests a community's capacity to engage in constructive problem solving' (p. 4). They divide their period of investigation in two distinct parts. During the redevelopment period—roughly from 1945 to the early 1980s—cities were governed by cohesive coalitions composed of major business interests and the city government. These actors jointly defined clear-cut agendas prioritizing economic growth and physical redevelopment of the CBD while neglecting neighborhood-related issues. They were able to mobilize the necessary resources to implement these agendas and therefore held an influential position over the long term that marginalized local communities.

The book's main argument is that the redevelopment period is over and city politics has shifted progressively since the mid-1980s into a new era in which urban governance schemes are more open and fragmented. The influence of corporate businesses has decreased and new actors like community leaders, philanthropic foundations or educational and medical institutions have come into play, thanks to their ability to mobilize human capital as a new key resource. Therefore, neighborhood concerns such as crime control, education, youth job opportunities, affordable housing or quality of life more generally have gained major political recognition and are now perceived as complementary to economic growth. To create positive sum-games targeting both objectives at the same time, new tools such as community benefits agreements negotiated bilaterally between community leaders and real estate developers, transit-oriented development plans foreseeing the construction of subway stations in marginalized neighborhoods, or mixed-used and mixed-income housing developments have been widely adopted.

The authors identify several factors contributing to this shift. First, the longstanding marginalization of neighborhoods led to major security issues threatening economic prosperity (increasing rates of crime and violence, drug trafficking, youth delinquency) that forced local governments to consider these issues more seriously. Second, the creation of several federal programs dedicated to neighborhood revitalization provided city governments with the necessary financial resources to address them. Finally, local factors played a role. In Baltimore, Chicago and Denver the election of mayors from ethnic groups affected by the marginalization of particular neighborhoods (African American or Latino) contributed to the shift. In Phoenix and Toronto electoral reforms, reducing partisan politics and allowing for a more diverse representation of minorities in the city council, also had a significant impact.

However, the authors warn that this 'shift in the local governing pattern does not mean that neighborhoods have entered a golden age' (p. 213). On the contrary, 'neighborhoods politics in the postindustrial city involves a scramble to assemble resources in a period of great scarcity' (p. xvii). As a consequence, there is a significant gap between political discourses and intentions on the one hand, and the implementation of programs dedicated to neighborhood revitalization on the other. In most cities, neighborhood development projects emerge as *ad hoc* initiatives in response to particular opportunities. Their realization relies on a precarious equilibrium of mixed funding from a combination of sources (federal and state aid, foundation grants and financial agreements with private third parties). In most cases, this *modus operandi* leads to a lack of coordination that prevents the transformation of various disconnected initiatives into a coherent policy improving living conditions in the long run. Among the cities under study, Phoenix is the only one providing a stable institutional foundation for strategic action in distressed neighborhoods through a specific administrative service dedicated to this issue.

Given that much previous work in urban politics concentrated on policy actions targeting the CBD to analyze power configurations in cities, a book investigating urban power through the lens of neighborhood politics is definitely to be welcomed and will probably become a landmark in the field. The six case studies (chapters 3 to 8) are impressively well-documented and insightfully combine a citywide historical perspective on the increasing political attention granted to

neighborhoods with specific foci on how revitalization initiatives were concretely implemented in some distressed neighborhoods. However, the authors are ambiguous about the influence of business organizations. On the one hand they state that their influence has decreased in the new era, but remain evasive about the factors leading to this phenomenon. On the other hand the revitalization projects they describe as successful are located in neighborhoods that are close to the CBD, and so benefit from strong market potential attracting investors (e.g. Regent Park in Toronto, Boyle Heights in Los Angeles and Garfield in Phoenix). Does this not reveal a classic growth machine mechanism, as the CBD is enlarged through the incorporation of its closest neighborhoods?

It is also noteworthy that the authors avoid referring to the concept of urban regime in the whole book and prefer the terms 'patronage politics' (pp. 71, 110, 135), 'progrowth coalitions' (p. 4) or 'machine politics' (pp. 82, 85). The authors persuasively claim that, because power is more diffused and urban politics more complex in the new era, the Stonian social-production model of power centered on the capacity to act gains analytical strength. But what about the regime concept itself? Does it completely lose its relevance in the new era or does it need serious refreshment? Given that several of the book's co-authors contributed to the development of this concept and that the shift they describe profoundly modifies its core properties (involved actors, agenda's priorities and relevant resources), it is slightly disappointing that there is no explicit discussion of these issues in the concluding chapter.

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Sébastien Lambelet, University of Geneva

<REVIEW 7>

H1>Lars Maier (ed.) 2015: Migrant Professionals in the City: Local Encounters, Identities, Inequalities. New York and London: Routledge</H1>

Lars Maier has edited a timely, insightful and well-written volume exploring the interplay between locality and the social identities of 'migrant professionals'. It analyses how locality matters in shaping social identities of a mobile group and how migrants' social identities shape local encounters in their places of destination. The 'migrant professionals' concept the book presents refers to well-educated migrants, who differ from other migrants in one crucial respect: they can work as fully fledged professionals after migrating, and their skills and formal education are accepted in the destination country. This makes them more privileged than other migrants, as they are in a position to maintain relatively high status in the destination country and enjoy preferential treatment in many areas, such as easier access to the job market and privileges linked with their careers. The volume covers many urban settings, from London and Dubai to Jakarta and Melbourne, and offers an extensive variety of data, completed by interviews and participants' observations, to provide us with valuable accounts of the ways local encounters and social identities of migrant professionals shape each other in view of such privileges, all of which deserves our attention and praise.

At first glance, a book on the relevance of locality for shaping social identities

and the relevance of social identities in local encounters may seem dated to some readers—the overall scholarship on the 'urban', either from a sociological, anthropological, geographical, political or economic standpoint, is based on the fact that locality matters for shaping social identities, processes or mechanisms. And yet, not many books successfully manage to give us detail and rich evidence of why, when, to whom and in what ways locality really matters. Once you read the book, the initial crucial dilemma—why do we need one more book on the interplay between locality and social identities?—is resolved: because there are still many relevant questions about the relations between locality, identity and inequality in cities that need to be addressed, as this book shows us.

Most of the chapters in the book do address relevant questions and provide thorough insights in specific segments on the interplay between locality and social identities. Without an overall concluding chapter—which in this case does not detract—the chapters are assembled together as a mosaic: each one is there to contribute, with a distinct argument and rich data, to a better understanding of the interplay between locality and social identities. The first part of the book is comparative and focuses on migrant professionals' learning about the specifics of the cities before and after arrival. Here Gabrielle Désilets, for example, successfully demonstrates the specific way in which locality matters by showing how professional migrants' children negotiate the ways they see themselves as belonging to a particular group in a different way every time they settle in a new city: in both Melbourne and Singapore children are drawn towards using difference as their identity marker for different reasons and in different ways. She demonstrates that, even though these children do not have a concept of home as a particular place, their identity struggles are coming from elsewhere—they are torn between the imposed idea to be 'international' and thus to engage with diversity, and their recurrent search for similarity in every new place they migrate to. The chapters comprising the second part focus on the processes of a local incorporation and consider in particular the relevance of work. Volha Vysotskaya contributes to our further understanding of the interplay between locality and social identities with an interesting insight into how Russian scientists in Germany place work at the centre of their life course and how work is central to their stories about who they are as migrants in Germany. And yet the chapter demonstrates that these workoriented scientists eventually reconceptualize their life preferences in the new locality as well—while they originally came to Germany for professional reasons, they now consider quality of life as important to their identity. The third part is more diverse and offers seven interesting case studies. One of these is by Lina Rincón; she examines the social identities of Colombian and Puerto Rican software engineers who migrated to the USA (specifically the Boston metropolitan area). She demonstrates how, although these engineers are privileged on account of their professional background, their experiences of ethno-racial and legal uncertainty in the workplace have a significant effect on their social identities and emotional and financial stability. The text demonstrates that these engineers use their status as professionals, as well as various moral and other class-related virtues, to construct categories of self-worth in order to alleviate their marginality. All these accounts, together with the other chapters in the book, will engage not only readers interested in urban ethnography or the stories people tell about who they are after

migrating, but also a wider readership concerned about inequality in cities from various perspectives.

Finally, the greatest value of the book might be in showing us how rarely we see the city from the perspective of those who are privileged in this particular way and how important it is to include such accounts in studies of inequality in cities. The book should be read as a timely reminder that in our continuing focus on the disadvantaged, we might have forgotten to reformulate the city from the perspective of those dwellers that are privileged in some ways in order to grasp cities' contemporary inequalities in more comprehensive ways. [Please can you revise this sentence with a view to greater clarity]

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Ana Aceska, Humboldt University Berlin

REVIEW 8>

<h1>Margarethe Kusenbach and Krista E. Paulsen (eds.) 2013: *Home: International Perspectives on Culture, Identity, and Belonging.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang</h1>

Comprising 14 chapters, this edited volume focuses on home and home-making practices, which in turn affect individual and group identities and belonging. Editors Margarethe Kusenbach and Krista Paulsen see home in terms of physical place attachment and its related social components, in which emotions play an important role. They emphasize the ideological link between home and house, perceiving home as local practices. In their view, home can often be seen as a community. These insights contribute to our understanding of contemporary everyday life, which is also characterized by mobility and place attachment.

The contributors to this volume are from different disciplinary backgrounds: urban sociology, geography, anthropology, gerontology, social psychology and the arts. The disciplinary and regional spread from across North America and Europe makes this book interesting for a broad readership. The qualitative approach of the contributions is accompanied by photographs in two chapters, which is a welcome addition to the book.

The volume consists of an introduction and three sections: 'Ideas of Home', 'Making Homes' and 'Belonging and Neighborhood'. The 'Ideas of Home' section is made up of four chapters. Krista Paulsen discusses the ideal home notion as typified by model houses in northeast Florida. She shows that marketing efforts to sell them go hand in hand with amplifying cultural understandings of what a home should be. Elizabeth Strom and Susan Greenbaum highlight some of the consequences of the recent US foreclosure crisis for individuals and families, who still pursue the 'American Dream' of homeownership. This aspiration, often associated with freedom, security and the accumulation of wealth and status, is under threat. Those who have suffered eviction blame others, such as the professionals who provided bad advice, and indeed question the very notion of homeownership. Kurt Borchard focuses on conceptions of the home among homeless Americans. Although this chapter shows that concepts of home and homelessness vary, a general trend is that the homeless employ creativity and resilience to meet their physical, cognitive and emotional needs for a home. The contribution of Bia Gayotto uses photographs of

self-identified bicultural persons and their images of home. The transcripts accompanying these photographs show that these individuals (in Chicago) live between their country of origin and the USA. As such, their notion of home is determined by diverse, multidirectional and multigenerational migration movements.

The four chapters comprising the 'Making Homes' section look into the importance of home and home-making for the articulation of one's self in institutions and other contexts which harm 'ideal' notions of home. David Wästerfors describes how youngsters whose lives are blighted by psychological disorders and criminal behaviour create home in Swedish care institutions. Although these young men are controlled, they still personalize space by using material goods and employing social practices. Home-related elements include seeking privacy through feigning sickness and demonstrating integrity [Is integrity the right word here? Can you clarify this sentence?] 'especially when they respond to the institution's self-transforming pressure by refusals, rejections, dismissals, or similar discarding behavior' (p. 127). Another context concerns assisted-living facilities for elderly people in California. Carol Warren and Kristine Williams state that assisted living can be organized around local communities or shared identities. Here, material goods, memories and future dreams help to create a sense of home at a specific time and place. Jane Zavisca focuses on how young Russians live with extended family in the same house and how they negotiate the limited space available. Space is divided up in accordance with individuals' specific life-course phase. This should be seen against a backdrop wherein many young Russians aspire to their own apartment, despite this being unaffordable for most. In the following chapter Nathanael Lauster looks into home-making activities in Vancouver, showing that its nature is strongly influenced by people's childhood home(s). These conservative home-making activities are combined with adjustments to the daily practices of living in a specific environment.

The last section, 'Belonging and Neighborhood', consists of five chapters that look into senses of belonging and home-making practices that enable residents to take more control over their everyday living environment in stigmatized, disadvantaged and transient areas. Margarethe Kusenbach's chapter provides insight into highly stigmatized mobile-home communities in Florida, paying attention to place feelings and life stories. Paul Watt's contribution focuses on incomers in a London suburb and how their mobility and interaction with coresidents generates a community and sense of belonging. Middle-class residents tend to create a kind of oasis for themselves and keep others at arm's length. Debbie Humphry provides a visual investigation of dynamic feelings of exclusion and belonging in a London neighbourhood. The photos provide insight into the dichotomies of inclusion and exclusion in a way that successfully combines visual images and text. The perspectives of urban pioneers in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the German cities of Hamburg and Berlin, as described by Gabriela Christmann, highlight senses of belonging and home. Here, urban pioneers interact more with indigenous residents and consider themselves part of the community. Finally, Saskia Binken and Talja Blokland highlight everyday encounters and belonging in public spaces in the Dutch cities of Rotterdam and Utrecht.

This volume aims to remind us that home is more than simply a physical place. It shows that, apart from social and emotional elements, mobility of residents also plays an important role. Although this volume offers insights in different contexts, the editors refrain from making comparisons between the North American and European contributions. The experiment of stepping beyond only using written texts based on qualitative research posed a great challenge, and demanded more efforts in linking different ways of communication through texts and pictures. [Please could you clarify the penultimate sentence. Does it refer only to the chapter by Debbie Humphries? Is it criticizing the book (i.e. the authors should have made more effort to explore visual/textual communication...) or praising the authors for achieving the challenge they set themselves?] Overall, this book is an essential read for those interested in experiences of home and home-making practices.

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Peer Smets, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam