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Book Reviews

Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space

DANIEL J. WALKOWITZ and LISA MAYA KNAUER (Eds), 2005

Durham, NC: Duke University Press

326 pp.; £16.95 paperback

ISBN 0 8223 3364 3 paperback

An abiding visual image of revolution or ‘regime change’—from Lenin to Saddam Hussein—is that of the dramatic toppling statue of the discredited leader. But the complex and conflictual entwinement of spatial and political change is continuously enacted and encoded in public spaces, defying a singular meaning read off from a specific spectacular event. In *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space*, the editors, Walkowitz and Knauer, have assembled a group of essays by historians associated with the journal *Radical History Review* and the chapters in this book are politically engaged explorations of the ways in which history, politics and public space intersect, interact, are contested and accommodated.

The book is divided into five main parts dealing with: Monuments: built and unbuilt; Museums; Cityscapes; Memory sites: marked and unmarked; and Performative commemorations. Each of these parts covers examples from diverse political regimes and geographical locations. Several chapters deal with post-World-War-II and post-Soviet struggles to construct, reconstruct and challenge meanings of national histories and national identities, fabricated from the fissures and fractures of 20th century European and Russian history, and played out in the public spaces of Prague (Cynthia Paces), Berlin (Mary Nolan), Moscow (Anna Krylova) and Vilnius (John Czaplicka).

Other contestations of the meanings of histories and their materiality in physical places are explored in examples ranging from the entanglement of the film *Braveheart* and the 19th-century Wallace Monument in the contemporary political expression of Scottish nationalism (Andrew Ross); the oscillating valuations of different cityscapes that embody the complicated Chinese-Russian past of the city of Harbin and its current incarnation as a tourist

destination (James Carter); and multiple meanings and ‘rediscoveries’ of the mountain of Masada as site of Jewish resistance to the Romans, a rallying point for youth movements in the 1930s, as an archaeological site, as place of pilgrimage and as a tourist destination (Yael Zerubavel).

The unsettling of official attempts to produce ‘neutral’ versions of the past is highlighted in Daniel Seltz’s examination of new museums in Japan that challenge the sanitised Japanese consensus about war and the atomic bomb displayed in Hiroshima’s Peace Memorial Park and Museum. In Sri Lanka, on the other hand, Kaniska Goonewardena describes how the proposed construction of a Monument to the Nation, designed as an expression of multifaceted national and cultural histories, was abandoned in the face of the dominant ethno-nationalism. In contrast, the difficulty of even arriving at such official versions is documented in Bill Nasson’s account of South African attempts to produce an inclusive and nationally unifying narrative of the Boer War (or the Anglo-Boer War or the South African War of 1899–02; p. 277).

Three other chapters consider the painful recent pasts of South American nations—Chile (Teresa Meade), El Salvador (Irina Carlota Silber) and Nicaragua (T. M. Scruggs)—and the roles that place, publicity and commemoration play—in embodied encounters, in story and in song—in confronting events that others would prefer to forget.

In all these essays, contested memories and histories circle around issues of ethnic, cultural and religious difference, the drawing of national boundaries and attempts to produce unifying national narratives that necessarily exclude and render invisible the messy, inconvenient and uncomfortable existence of other experiences and other stories. These accounts are rich in engaging detail, providing moving reminders of the importance of acknowledging different memories and diverse histories. They also remind us that public spaces—urban or otherwise—always evade attempts to prescribe singular meanings (be they those of overt political repression or the aestheticised, monitored, sanitised spaces of urban regeneration experts).

In bringing these essays together, the editors aim to “cut across ... political, cultural and geographical divisions” to ask how “specifically located controversies and ... varied [broader] contexts speak to each other” transcending “local political configurations” to make broader points in debates about history and memory (p. 5). More particularly, their objective is to bring these conflicts around memory, history and nationhood to the attention of post-Twin-Towers America, to counteract parochial and myopic responses to this traumatic event.

But the exceptionality, immensity, and intensely personal character of the WTC bombings [sic] to Americans provide compelling reasons to decentre the U.S. story—if only to provide a fresh perspective and some distance from it (p. 3).

The Twin Towers attack took place while the book was in production, so that none of the chapters addresses this issue directly—the editors see the US as an “absent presence” in the volume (p. 4).

However, despite the book’s goal of broadening American perspectives on contested memories and histories, there is little attempt to analyse the different meanings that the WTC attack might have outside the US—it appears to bear a freight of uniform significance. Similarly, the editors make frequent reference to, and draw parallels with, the *Enola Gay* controversy, but do not explain what this is/was. (The *Enola Gay* was the plane from which the Hiroshima atomic bomb was dropped. The controversy was around a ‘revisionist’ exhibition, mounted by a branch of the Smithsonian Institute, which so enraged World-War-II veterans that it was closed down.) These assumptions are slightly irritating to a non-US reader—especially given the book’s aim to overcome parochialism—but they do not detract from the overall importance of the collection.

More significantly, however, the concepts of ‘history’ and ‘memory’ are largely taken for granted and often used synonymously. But when does memory become history (or vice versa) and what is the difference between them? Political struggles around ‘history’ and ‘memory’ mirror conceptual contestations that need parallel examinations. An introductory discussion framing these studies in philosophical debates around ‘history’, ‘memory’—and, indeed, ‘space’ and ‘place’—could have provided another ‘distancing’ perspective on the “impact of political transformations and disputes over public sites” (p. 4).

And finally, a minor quibble from the point of view of geography. These are, of course, studies written under the auspices of history. But

History is encoded in physical spaces. Geography ... organizes the manner in which ... facts are conceptualised, remembered, and organized into a temporal framework (Rappaport; cited in Silber’s chapter: p. 226).

In this book, this is a rare, explicit reference to the indissoluble links between space and time, which could have been explored further, drawing on pertinent literature in cultural geography on space and place, memory and identity.

More mundanely, there are no maps of where in the world these public spaces are, and few plans of the spaces themselves—in towns, cities or regions—and the trajectories of the events taking place in them. Maps and plans could serve both to ground and give a sense of the global context of these struggles. Nevertheless, the book brings productive perspectives to bear on the interrelations between history and space, place and identity and expressions of power in the physical and built environment.

There is a link between the political fight and historical knowledge ... historical knowledge becomes an element of the struggle: it is both a description of struggles and a weapon in the struggle (Foucault, 2003, pp. 171–172).

In collecting accounts of struggles over history, memory and place, this excellent book is both a description of, and an engagement in, those struggles.

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New Urbanism and American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures

EMILY TALEN, 2005

New York: Routledge

318 pp.; £80.00/US\$140.00 hardback, £22.99/US\$38.00 paperback

ISBN 0 415 70132 5 hardback; 0 415 70133 3 paperback

The tendency is for recent works on American urbanism to open with a critical description of the present

condition of cities, with particular insistence on sprawl, automobile domination and loss of sense of community, and then to move on to an examination of the planning, technological and value-related factors accounting for portrayed patterns of development; not so with *New Urbanism and American Planning*. The book takes a reverse approach. It focuses first on movements (referred to as 'urbanist cultures') which have proposed different models of urban development and subsequently assesses their contribution to urban morphology and design. The primary object of the book is thus the history of urban planning concepts.

In this book, Emily Talen concentrates on four urbanist cultures, which she labels Incrementalism, Urban plan-making, Planned communities and Regionalism. Contrary to the main trend in planning literature, the cultures are not portrayed as stages in an evolutionary process. *New Urbanism and American Planning* depicts the four cultures as taking shape in parallel, pretty much over a similar period, the early part of the 20th century.

Incrementalism includes perspectives that respected the urban environments in existence at the time of their formulation. Their goal was to improve these environments, rather than radically transform them. It is their approach to the city, more so than the specific nature of the interventions they entailed, that warrants their grouping under a common rubric. The incremental category indeed embraces a broad range of approaches, some advancing means to beautify the city, others attempting social redemption and a third group advocating a conservation of existing physical and social environments and a respect for the complexity of cities. It is perhaps the writings of Jane Jacobs that best epitomise the thinking inherent in the incremental culture.

The urban plan-making culture is differentiated from incrementalism by the large size of the interventions it calls for. This culture contains two distinct streams. There is first the 'city beautiful' movement, which argued for the superimposition of a new monumental order, both in terms of architecture and layout, over existing urban textures. As beauty lost currency as a justification for urban transformation, it was replaced by socially and economically driven objectives, which caused a replacement of the 'city beautiful' by a 'city efficient' movement. The two names that are most readily associated with these two movements are Daniel Burnham in the first case and Robert Moses in the second.

The planned communities culture comprises attempts at creating fully planned entities—either neighbourhoods or complete cities. The movement

arose with the garden city and became the object of multiple attempts at implementation, more so in Great Britain than in the US.

The regionalism culture is a legacy of the thinking of Patrick Geddes on the integration of human settlements with nature. Of the urbanist cultures reviewed in the book, this is the most diversified. Regionalism has taken various forms throughout American planning history—from the Tennessee Valley Authority to metropolitan region plans, the best known being the 1929 Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs. Efforts at regional planning often departed from the respect for nature championed by Geddes, however.

Emily Talen critically evaluates the four urbanist cultures, but not in a relativistic fashion. They are all measured against the yardstick of the compact, diverse, activity-rich city. She is at her best when she discusses the partial influence, or total absence thereof, of the urbanist cultures on the form contemporary cities have taken. This is an issue of critical importance for planning, for gaps between concepts and implementation, and between intended objectives and actual outcomes, pervade the history of planning and are possibly taking unprecedented dimensions. The book presents four possibilities regarding outcomes of ideas embedded in the urbanist cultures, two of which are indicators of success and the others of failure. There is first 'persistence' whereby the ideas embedded in different cultures have a lasting influence on urban development. For example, the monumentality at the core of the 'city beautiful' movement is still mirrored in new cultural centres and sport facilities. The second possibility, 'realisation', refers to the translation in the urban landscape of the ideas advanced in the urbanist cultures. This is notably the case of the British new towns, which encapsulated many of the garden city principles.

'Abandonment' is the first cause of failure mentioned in the book. It alludes to instances where the objectives of urbanist cultures are dropped because they were too much at odds with implementation realities. In fact, the more ambitious were the proposals, the more likely their abandonment. It is the regionalist and planned community cultures that suffered most from abandonment. In the first case, this situation can be attributed to the large size of the proposals, far beyond the implementation capacity of most existing planning organisations; and, in the second case, the reasons were mostly ideological. The perceived socialism of the planning of a community to its very details ran against the grain of American values and proved fatal to this

form of planning. But ‘deterioration’, the second cause of failure, can represent a fate even worse than abandonment for the goals of urbanist cultures. Deterioration refers to unintended consequences stemming from a partial or distorted implementation of proposals arising from the urbanist cultures. Styles of development that were intended to foster certain types of outcome ended up generating consequences that went in different, sometimes opposite, directions. Examples abound. There is the amorphous suburb, a corruption of the garden city and neighbourhood unit concepts; the transmutation of instruments meant to protect the character of older neighbourhoods into factors of social exclusion; the dire traffic generation and congestion consequences, and attendant quality of life deterioration, of the functional separation of uses which originally purported to improve living conditions in residential neighbourhoods.

New Urbanism and American Planning is part of a return of the pendulum from a primary concern for planning process to a stronger focus on physical planning and design. The new emphasis has the advantage of using the urban built environment and the dynamics it generates as measures of the success or failure of different schools of urban planning and of the interventions required to achieve their ends. The book is reflective and well documented, even if interpretative frameworks are occasionally unnecessarily complex. It quotes extensively from the classics. Doubtless, it will find a place among the major interpretations of the evolution of urban planning over the past century. It could be adopted as a textbook for a course on the history or theory of urban planning, which would emphasise the physical aspect of the discipline.

There is one unfortunate flaw to the book, however. It loses all critical perspective when it comes to ‘new urbanism’. The movement is depicted as the culmination of the positive aspects of the urbanist cultures described in the book. From a scholarly perspective, the discussion of new urbanism has little merit, which contrasts heavily with the balanced and critical tone that characterises the remainder of the book. By now, we cannot escape awareness that, for all its merit, new urbanism has generated its share of unintended adverse consequences, an aspect of the movement that is completely overlooked.

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Tokyo: City and Architecture

LIVIO SACCHI, 2005

Milan: Skira

247 pp.; £16.95 paperback

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Tokyo presents an unusual contradiction. It has become, as Livio Sacchi notes, perhaps the great showcase of contemporary architecture, and yet “it is difficult, if not impossible, for architectural quality to emerge and be noticed” (p. 223). Such is the visual chaos of the city that some of the most imaginative, whimsical and eccentric buildings to be found anywhere in the world are lost in the mess of the mediocre and the meretricious that makes up so much of Tokyo’s urban landscape. Even so, the city fascinates, for its size and apparent modernity, “hypermodern megalopolis”; for its insubstantiality, hovering between the virtual and the real; and for

the endless masses of pedestrians who move quickly at rhythms imposed by traffic lights, lonely and solipsistically concentrated on the color displays of their new generation mobile phones (pp. 224–225).

Tokyo is no longer the ‘underwritten’ city it once was. At the broadest level, this is the result no doubt of a by now well-entrenched interest in cities as a prism for understanding our changing lives, but it is also the result in the case of Japan of the extraordinary transformations that have affected the city. The 1980s was the decade that set the scene for Tokyo’s transformation. The witches’ brew of extravagance and speculation that characterised the later 1980s was for the most part transmitted through into the urban arena in the 1990s and subsequently—with the result that Tokyo today has become something of a celebrity city. Gone, in accounts we read, is the Tokyo of cramped and crowded conditions, grey and soulless; in its place, we find a city that is dazzling, garish, full of wonder. Most of the celebratory literature, when not in Japanese, is in English, with all that an Anglophone world-view brings with it. Welcome then is a book on Tokyo written by an Italian in Italian and translated very faithfully into English.

Livio Sacchi is an architect and his chief preoccupation is with architecture. Therein lies the strength of this book, which is at its best as an illustrated history and guide to the work of star architects in Tokyo. Where Sacchi moves beyond this territory, he is uncertain. Indeed, the chapters of this book that cover the city’s history contain a number of mistakes or, at best, questionable readings and there are too many misprints to be worth detailing. Some of the

mistakes have occurred in translation (Fumihiko Maki's Asahi TV headquarters is moved from its rightful position at the foot of Roppongi Hills to a position at the 'top of the tower' in the English translation, p. 186), but most are evident in the original Italian (Edo Castle was destroyed bit by bit in the 1850s and 1860s and not by American bombs in the Second World War, p. 57). Particularly questionable is the inclusion of general chapters on the city's history and on Japanese culture, chapters which seldom rise above the level of the formulaic and often rely on restricted source material and rather dated, if not hackneyed, explanations. This leaves a lot less room for discussion of architecture and, in place of discussion, there is a tendency to revert to a roll-call of famous architects and their buildings: Rossi, Piano, Rogers, Foster, Starck, Nouvel and so on, but also Tange, Isozaki, Kurokawa, Tōyō Itō, Tadao Andō, Kazuo Shinohara and many others.

This is not to say that Sacchi neglects the more elusive questions concerning Tokyo's advent as a celebrity city. How did it happen and why did it happen? What does it tell us about the city—surely there is no other place where people have set out to attract the world's top architects to add their signature to the city? Sacchi alludes to these questions, even if he does not set out to engage with them full on. What does come clearly from his text is a sense of Tokyo as *the* city of consumption, in which the ultimate article of *chic* is the city itself. Tokyo's power as a consumption field is driven by commercial interests in the city and this is recognised by Sacchi, for whom the "architectural scene [behaves like] the fashion sector" (p. 137). Sacchi quotes his fellow architect Vittorio Gregotti

"Naturally, in this country the architectural image is, more than anything else, a marketing tool, and this is the principal reason behind the many commissions awarded to the stars of Western architecture in Japan" (p. 137).

This was in part, Sacchi suggests, the unexpected (and perhaps unintended) outcome of ever-so-cautious moves to open up the construction market.

Why did it happen? Why did prestigious Japanese companies, institutions and private individuals want to spend so much money and allow star architects to design their building? Some, like the architect Kazuyo Sejima might scoff at this (p. 122), but perhaps part of the explanation can be found in an older tradition of representing famous landscape sites in miniature in private gardens, bringing the world into one's purview and into one's control (known in Japanese as *mitate*). Is not this part of the

explanation for the countless projects that involve some quaint or preposterous imitation of an Italian or a French style of building like the Belle Colline development in Tama New Town (p. 64)? But, as Sacchi points out, what is ultimately baffling is that so many of these phantasmagorical buildings almost seem to lose themselves in the urban chaos of Tokyo. The noises off-stage with which they have to compete are so overpowering that all but the strongest architectural statements are subdued. This is the riddle that this book raises but never quite resolves.

Sacchi's book joins what has become a relatively crowded shelf. On the history of modern Japanese architecture, David Stewart's *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture: 1868 to the Present* (1988) remains a commendable volume, while the work of Botund Bogнар (1990, 1997) provides an excellent critical introduction to contemporary Japanese architecture, reflecting, at least in the first of these two works, on the development of Japanese architecture in relation to changes in Japanese society. Ellipsis have a handy volume on Tokyo (written by Noriyuki Tajima) in their series of pocket guides. Various Japanese publishing houses have detailed catalogues, many of which include important details in English, among which one of the most useful is *The Architectural Map of Tokyo* (Gallery Ma, 2003). It is also worth mentioning reviews such as the JA series published by Shinken-ikusha, which includes bilingual sections.

Sacchi's book does not really fulfil the more specialist functions of these publications and, for anyone with a knowledge of the field, its many mistakes are likely to irritate. In addition, it seems a shame that the author and publishers have not been able to overcome the undoubted difficulties that would be involved and produce some maps or sketches showing the location of at least some of the buildings discussed. Even addresses would have been better than nothing. Finally, however, this is a very reasonably priced book for a volume containing so many vivid photographs (many of them by the author).

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Unsustainable Transport: City Transport in the New Century

DAVID BANISTER, 2005

London: Routledge

292 pp.; No price given, hardback; £35.00 paperback
ISBN 0415 357 829 hardback; 0415 357 90X paperback

Unsustainable Transport is a much-needed book. The next time my students ask me if it makes any difference to add the word sustainable to transport planning, I now can point them to a well-researched, full-length book that shows the real meaning of sustainable transport and what needs to be done to achieve it. I have been teaching my graduate-level course with a collection of articles, but it is up to the students to make the connections among the many, sometimes, disparate arguments. This book not only documents existing situations and current trends, but also shows what might occur if nothing is done and what it takes to implement the vision of a less car-dependent society. If, for some in Europe, this is becoming an integral part of public policies and planning routines, in North America, and especially in sprawly Phoenix where I now live and work, many still disbelieve the need to change to more sustainable modes of transport.

Written by a world-renowned authority in transport planning, David Banister, a professor at University College London, with a very extensive list of publications on transport planning and urban and environmental sustainability, this is a remarkable follow-up to his previous book, now in its second edition: *Transport Planning* (Banister, 2002). In *Transport Planning*, Banister retrospectively and comparatively documented the historical evolution of transport planning processes in the UK and several European countries, as well as in the US. *Transport Planning* prospectively proves that many of the underlying premises of conventional transport planning have been questioned and calls for a 'new look' type of planning process that balances political, economic, social and environmental constraints, under which new public policy decisions can be taken (p. 275). *Unsustainable Transport* documents that 'new look' of a sustainable urban development framework—which we can no longer ignore if we are effectively and efficiently to

move people, information and goods around, and still have liveable urban and rural areas.

Unsustainable Transport is divided into three main parts. Part 1 places the debate within a global context and discusses the background of sustainable urban development. I could not agree more with his two initial propositions: "transport is unsustainable," and "sustainable urban development is dependent upon the city being the centre of vitality, opportunity and wealth and that transport has a major role to play" (pp. 11–15). They constitute the foundation (even if conservative decision-makers do not readily subscribe to the first one, in many cases) upon which we should start understanding the transport problem and devising appropriate solutions. Banister then questions if policy-makers (and the population in general) are seriously aware of the need to change to more sustainable transport patterns that involve people and goods travelling less. This goal requires institutions to "repackage mutually supportive policies" (p. 95) and foster more vertical and horizontal collaborations, in order to produce demonstrative examples, from which others can learn.

Part 2 analyses three elements of a transport strategy within the framework of sustainable urban development: urban form, fiscal and regulatory measures, technology and ICT on transport. In terms of land use and urban form, Banister argues that we have underestimated the role that planning can and should play in avoiding the need to travel. In order to overcome this shortcoming, planning should have a more instrumental role in establishing development principles based on sustainable transport, pricing and other regulatory mechanisms, as well as fully utilising information and communication technologies. Banister makes two very convincing arguments: different countries will base their sustainable transport policies on different mechanisms, depending on their political acceptance (for example, pricing schemes, while readily implemented in London, are not likely to be politically accepted in the US); and, technology has "an important role to play in moving towards sustainable transport, yet it is not a solution in itself" (p. 166). The example I can provide from Phoenix is that telecommuting increased by more than 800 per cent between 1993 and 2004: nonetheless, congestion measured in annual travel delays increased from 38.6 to 76.6 thousand person-hours (TTI, 2005).

Part 3 presents lessons learned from cities with low levels of motorisation and advances transport visions for the future in OECD countries. Instead of directly reviewing case studies, even though many vignettes of Rio de Janeiro, Bangkok, Curitiba,

Bangladesh, Bogotá and Singapore are provided, Banister structures his analyses in terms of goals and needed outcomes, such as equity, innovation and institutional governance (not only enforcement but also the provision of a diverse range of transport options). He then points out reasons why the current paradigm, mainly based on trend extrapolation, has to be revised and argues in favour of visioning and scenario-building processes. He concludes by claiming that transport can be made more sustainable through a combination of policy actions but, above all, stakeholders should be committed to changing their behaviours. The outcomes then can be very tangible: a reduction in the need to travel (substitution effect); the implementation of transport policy measures (modal shift effect); the implementation of land use policy measures (distance reduction effect); and, the development of technological innovation (efficiency increase effect).

When I first read the main title of this book, I thought about the comments (some of) my students normally give me when I show them a documentary called *The End of Suburbia—Oil Depletion and the Collapse of the American Dream* (PCI, 2004): “it is too alarmist”, “it is just trying to attract attention”, “it is simply propaganda”. Well, after living in the US for more than 10 years now, I got used to those comments and to how hard it is to change people’s perceptions, behaviours and lifestyles, and how it is even harder to change public policy and institutional routines, and implement innovative projects. This book is fascinating because it gives educators, practitioners, politicians and the public in general a well-documented understanding of the transport problem we have in our hands and what we can reasonably do to change it in an effective and timely manner. Its analyses are quite thorough and extensively well-researched (25+ pages of references). The arguments are compelling and the recommendations are sound and achievable. Written from a European perspective, it has dozens of interwoven references to world-wide trends, debates, statistics and situations. Its syntheses, summary tables, charts and easy-to-read and articulate arguments make it one of the top books on the subject for years to come.

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Exploring Social Policy in the ‘New’ Scotland

GERRY MOONEY and GILL SCOTT (Eds), 2005

Bristol: The Policy Press

282 pp.; £55.00 hardback; £19.99 paperback

ISBN 1 86134 595 X hardback; 1 86134 594 1 paperback

This book sets out on an exploration of social policy in the ‘new’ Scotland. This raises the questions of why social policy and what is ‘new’ about Scotland? The reason for an examination of social policy in Scotland at this point in time is because devolution has created a ‘new’ policy environment. Prior to devolution, fields of social policy such as housing, health care provision and education came under the jurisdiction of the Scottish Office. The legal system in Scotland has been historically different from that of the rest of the UK and there have been substantial administrative differences since before the constitutional reforms of 1999. Speaking in the year before devolution, the late Donald Dewar, who became the first Scottish First Minister, declared that a devolved Scottish Parliament would produce an opportunity to develop “Scottish solutions” for Scotland’s problems (Scottish Office Press Release, 3 November 1998). This aim of this book has been to explore what has happened and the extent to which there has been either a policy divergence or convergence between Scotland and the rest of the UK.

This edited collection is concerned with social and welfare policy in its broadest sense in Scotland since devolution and as such forms part of a growing literature. The contributors are drawn from across the social sciences and represent a wide variety of approaches within which to consider the key issues. The main strengths of this book lie in the differing analytical perspectives, which provide a formidable critical discussion of developments in Scottish social policy.

The introduction to the book discusses the theme of what is ‘new’ about Scotland’s policy environment since devolution. The editors flag up the various competing and contrasting ways of making sense of the wider issues related to policy such as social divisions, social relations and social inequalities. The editors note that constraints on space

unfortunately meant that there could not be a separate chapter on housing policy, or a single chapter dealing with geographical (for example, rural) inequalities. Unfortunately, while these issues are mentioned within and across the chapters in varying degrees, their omission—along with a direct consideration of other issues such as environmental justice—means that this exploration of social policy in the ‘new’ Scotland is not as far-reaching as it might otherwise have been.

Chapters 1 and 2 form an overview of developments in social policy in Scotland since devolution. Dominant discourses informing policy in the ‘new’ Scotland are discussed and critiqued. In chapter 1, Poole and Mooney critically engage with the ‘reality’ of devolution and go further in an analysis of whether ‘Scottish’ solutions are in fact part of the New Labour modernisation project. This is a wide-reaching and thought-provoking chapter, which neatly sets the scene for Law, who builds on these themes in chapter 2. This second chapter considers the notion of ‘welfare nationalism’, the extent to which it has been undermined in recent times and the impact of entrepreneurialism on policy-making in the devolved Scotland. Law reflects on the tensions arising between the pursuit, on the one hand, of social justice and of market concerns on the other hand, providing a somewhat hard-hitting critique of New Labour along with a scathing account of the machinations of the Scottish political scene.

Since the formation of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, tackling poverty and social exclusion has been a major priority. In chapter 3, Scott, Mooney and Brown explore the issue of poverty in Scotland and examine the extent of the impact of the social justice agenda on addressing economic and social exclusion. The main thrust of the arguments in this chapter focus on the threat of social exclusion as an undermining factor to an economically successful ‘new’ Scotland. The authors are more optimistic in approach than those of the previous chapters, but are clear about a number of issues of concern still to be addressed. Much more, they suggest, needs to be done by government to address poverty and policies need to be long-term. However, there does seem to be agreement that there have been significant improvements towards reducing barriers to employment and that opportunities are beginning to open up for the ‘hard to reach’ groups in Scotland (p. 104).

The role of women in the development and delivery of policy in the ‘new’ Scotland is examined in chapter 4 by McKay and Gillespie. This chapter explores issues concerning the impact of devolved government on women’s lives and the difference

that women have made to political institutions and policy development in Scotland. It had been widely expected that women would have ‘an unprecedented voice and place’ in the development of social policy post-devolution. The authors begin by stating that women are the main recipients of welfare services, are the main workers in the delivery of welfare services and are the main providers of private forms of care (p. 111). While women are better represented in Scottish institutions today than in the past, women in Scotland are still politically, socially and economically disadvantaged. McKay and Gillespie highlight these inequalities succinctly and they challenge the structures and processes through which these divisions are created. Rather pessimistically, little evidence was found of successful policy initiatives that have improved the overall social and economic position of women in Scotland. It is argued that, while the country continues to be divided by gender, there lies a wealth of untapped potential for women to make a difference in Scotland and for government to make a difference for Scottish women.

The position of young people and children in relation to social policy in Scotland merited a relatively small amount of space in this volume and was something of an ‘add on’ factor in the chapters addressing poverty and gender inequalities. Bearing in mind that the young and the very old form substantial sub-sections of the population particularly with regard to social policy, a section on the role and position of children and young people in Scotland could have been usefully included and developed.

Chapter 5 continues the theme of inequality from the previous chapter where de Lima considers the links between ethnicity and social exclusion. Unlike the fortunes of women in chapter 4, de Lima found a lack of representation in policy development for ethnic minorities as a major obstacle to equality. This chapter focuses on the continuities and the differences in policy and practice in Scotland before and after devolution. De Lima’s arguments are set within the context of contradictory discourses on immigration and racism in Scotland. While devolution has opened up some new opportunities to address racial discrimination, de Lima helpfully explores and explains the difficulties involved in the actual establishment of debate and of developing policies that will address racism and discrimination.

Social problems in Scotland’s cities are the topic of concern for Johnstone and McWilliams in chapter 6. The country’s largely urbanised society and the severe social problems associated with city living, which require addressing by the Scottish Executive, are outlined. The authors debate the development of

social inclusion partnerships as a particularly Scottish response to urban deprivation. This chapter continues with a consideration of the issues surrounding urban policy development in Scotland and what the differences are between Scotland and the rest of the UK. Secondly, the authors trace the influence of previous Conservative and Labour administration strategies on the Scottish Executive's developing urban policy with significant effect. They argue that the continuity between New Labour and previous Conservative governments is remarkable (p. 172) and, like Law in chapter 2, criticise New Labour's emphasis on the promotion of entrepreneurialism as an approach to solving long-term social and economic problems in Scotland.

Chapters 7–9 all point to similarities in policy approaches between Scotland and England. In chapter 7, Hazel Croall examines some of the major changes that have taken place within the criminal justice system in the devolved Scotland. She focuses on areas of the criminal justice system that display the most distinctive characteristics, such as the links between crime and social exclusion, community safety and anti-social behaviour and the care of women in prison among many others. The tensions that are characteristic of contemporary policy are well-drawn, as is the pervasiveness of moves towards a populist agenda in relation to criminal justice. In chapter 8, Tannahill examines the changing patterns of health inequalities and the differences between post-devolution health policies in Scotland and those in England. Crucially, life expectancy is lower in Scotland than for people in the rest of the UK and compares unfavourably with that of virtually all other European nations. The growing crisis in social work and social care in the 'new' Scotland is the subject of chapter 9. Ferguson's critical analysis attributes much of the growing tension and problems as the 'wrong' response to social needs. Low wages, low morale and a dominance of market-based approaches to social work throughout the UK have served to undermine the nature and the value of social work according to Ferguson.

In chapter 10, Arnott explores the distinctiveness of the Scottish education system in comparison with that of England. The section on convergence and divergence in education policy between Scotland and England highlights very well the key areas of difference between the two. Support for comprehensive schooling in Scotland is a key point and one of the major differences between the two countries—an even more significant difference, it is argued, than that of university tuition fees.

Overall, the editors conclude with an assessment that, while there have been some significant steps

forward, devolution has not brought about the kind of change that was initially anticipated. The expectations of developments towards an equal and inclusive citizenship have been challenged by the limitations of the scope of devolved power to address pressing inequalities.

Has this investigative examination of 'new' Scotland's social policy been a successful one? On many levels, yes, this is an excellent book, making a valuable contribution to a 'new' literature on social policy in the 'new' Scotland. This collection will be a key source for undergraduate and postgraduate students, researchers, academics and policy-makers in Scotland and beyond.

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Consumed in the City: Observing Tuberculosis at Century's End

PAUL DRAUS, 2004

Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press

290 pp.; \$74.50 hardback; \$24.95 paperback

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This excellent book is a study of tuberculosis during the 1990s in Chicago and New York. From the late 1980s, there was a dramatic increase in tuberculosis cases, first in New York and then later in other North American cities. Tuberculosis can pass relatively easily between people who are in close quarters. Some of these new cases involved strains of the disease that were recalcitrant in the face of the commonly used drugs. Fears of general transmission, and of the impossibility of curing some new multi-drug-resistant strains of the disease, created a sense of public health crisis. This meant that resources were now targeted at tuberculosis among the urban poor. Draus, the author of this book, worked as part of a programme to find infected people and to encourage them to attend at clinics so that they could take the drugs that would render them non-infectious and eventually would expel the virus from their bodies. He also worked on the part of the programme that incarcerated individuals who, it was thought, could not otherwise be trusted to take their medication. While people could be rendered non-infectious quite quickly, to rid them of the virus might take a treatment regime lasting between six months and two years. The outreach part of the programme included visiting

people and watching them take their medicine, initially daily and later twice each week. In this way, Draus built up relationships with many of the infected poor. Their stories are at the heart of this book.

The people with whom Draus spent so much time were those deemed 'recalcitrant' by the medical system. These were people who, it seemed, could not be trusted to take the medicine that was good for them and, by making them non-infectious, was good for everyone else too. In a classic case of victim-blaming, it even seemed to many that these people were ill because of some personal pathology that prevented them from taking good care of themselves. Draus found a population so isolated by poverty that it did not trust officials, but likewise was so distant from the rest of the population that it posed no general public health threat. Draus describes how the transformation of Chicago and New York City during the 1980s produced pockets of poverty for which the only policy offered was clearing away the poor people and demolishing their buildings. Allied to welfare policies that were underfunded with almost Darwinian intent, urban decay produced overcrowding, poor nutrition and the resurgence of tuberculosis. Draus visited these ecological niches of poverty. He spent time at the informal workspaces where men washed cars. He followed the vans that dropped men off around the city so that they might distribute advertising newspapers. He found the street corners to which people who slept in corridors or in doorways would come each day to drink with their friends. He heard their stories.

Deindustrialisation, alcoholism, drug-dependency, the closing of lodging houses, marital breakdown and violence on the street were among the factors that shuffled people into circumstances in which a healthy life was quite impossible. Draus weaves together the institutional with the personal. He notes that public health is shaped by both. However, the medical response to the tuberculosis epidemic was too frequently concerned only with the personal pathologies of the sick. This is inadequate for two reasons. First, addressing vulnerable, frightened and poor people with anything less than respect may see them absent themselves from treatment altogether. Secondly, a failure to appreciate the structural determinants of ill health means that the full costs of economic and social policies are never appreciated. Indeed, fears of contagion may well be the only way to interest richer folk in the lives of their poorer neighbours. However, this produces policies that further marginalise the sick. Ultimately, Draus concludes that tuberculosis may now be a manageable

condition. A situation where there are about 1000 new cases in New York City each year may be acceptable to everyone who is not poor and thus at risk. Tuberculosis may be a socially acceptable price to pay for controlling welfare costs and allowing the urban decay that might herald a new gentrified tomorrow.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this book is that it forces us to address this question of the acceptability of suffering among the poor. In telling their stories, Draus restores some dignity to the sick and poor people with whom he worked. In doing so, he not only develops a critique of our current health care systems, he also shows us the tragic waste of life that we treat too easily as a necessary social cost of economic and urban restructuring. The people he describes are resourceful. They, in many cases, work very hard. They put in long hours for little pay. They cannot afford to live even moderately comfortably in our cities. Many are homeless. A welfare net that offers no more than this is uncivilised. A minimum wage that allows no more than this is uncivilised. We cannot expect health care policies to put these matters right but, then, we cannot expect either to solve the problem of tuberculosis by means of health care policies. This readable, passionate and intelligent book explains this uncomfortable truth. It should be compulsory reading for all urban planners.

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The Politics of Evaluation: Participation and Policy Implementations

DAVID TAYLOR and SUSAN BALLOCH (Eds), 2005
Bristol: The Policy Press
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There has been an increase in the emphasis placed on evidence-based policy—especially over the past nine years of this current Labour administration which has continued to stress the importance of setting targets and indicators against which progress can be measured (Davis *et al.*, 2000). The increasing importance of evaluation in providing evidence for policy-makers means that a book which sets out to examine the politics of evaluation is very timely. There cannot be many evaluators who are not aware of the political nature of evaluation. While many authors refer to the politics involved in and influencing evaluations (Behuniak *et al.*, 1988; House, 1973; Karlsson, 1996), the

subject has, with a few exceptions, rarely been the focus. So this book is a welcome focus on this aspect of evaluation.

This book, which was born out of a conference, has four main topic areas: governance, participation, partnerships and learning from evaluation. The book sets out to examine how politics influences and affects evaluation in these four areas. The first section explores governance and considers how nationally set guidance, evaluations or indicators impact on evaluation. The section contains some valuable exploration of the tensions between large national programme evaluation and smaller process-focused evaluation (chapter 1). The impact on evaluations of nationally set performance indicators are reviewed in chapter 2. The author argues for the involvement of stakeholders when indicators are being developed. There is also an interesting discussion of the development of the performance assessment framework, which has been adopted for Social Service departments.

The second section of the book looks specifically at participation and some of the dilemmas and issues for the evaluators involved. Here, the opening chapter offers a good discussion and overview of user involvement and user-led research. There is an examination of the 'best value' approach to commissioning advocacy services arguing that this might not provide the best form of involvement (chapter 5). The section has some chapters which look at methods of participation and highlight the need to include participation in evaluation when evaluating policies which require high degrees of public participation (chapter 6) and one chapter which argues for the use of methods like realistic evaluation and appreciative enquiry (chapter 7). The section ends with a discussion on the methods needed when trying to engage all stakeholders. These chapters on participation cover a number of aspects of evaluation, but many argue for participation as a methodology rather than having a discussion of the political issues facing these approaches.

The third section explores the issues of evaluating partnerships. All three chapters highlight the difficulties of evaluating partnerships because of the shifting political contexts involved, the difficulty in pinpointing the objectives of networks and the need for clarity from the beginning. The question of whether partnerships are an effective way of working does not appear to have been addressed in this section by any of the evaluations discussed, although it was raised by (Audrey Leathard in chapter 9). Rather than answering this question, these evaluations set out some of the methodological considerations which may help in the evaluation of partnerships. While unable to

add to the knowledge on the effectiveness of partnership working, the section highlights some important political issues in an area which particularly suffers from the shifting sands of policy.

The final section looks at the complex field of learning from evaluation. This has been the topic of discussion before (Alexander, 2003; Chelimsky, 1997) and these chapters are a welcome addition to the debate. The section discusses whether learning occurs as a response to evaluations. Smith and Grimshaw report some evidence of learning, but the evidence is mixed and they conclude that what is important is an organisation's ability to build the capacity to learn. Similarly, Rowe and Taylor argue that there is a political will to learn and that evaluations can indeed contribute to learning, but they also highlight some of the barriers to this learning process. The final chapter (15) suggests that there is a need for those teaching evaluations and evaluators to include the politics of evaluation and the authors provide some thoughts about how this might be achieved.

A common problem with edited books is the quality of different chapters and their relevance to the book's purpose. Some chapters are likely to be more relevant and be of a better quality than others and this is certainly true of this book. The book reports on a number of different evaluations and some chapters have focused more successfully than others on issues surrounding the politics of evaluation. The collection reflects its origins—a conference on the politics of evaluation—and this is borne out by an eclectic mix of reported evaluations, which illustrate the wide range of interests of people represented here. However, a number of the chapters report the results of evaluations and any discussion on the political aspects of the evaluation read as if they have been added as an afterthought. That is not to say that the issues discussed are irrelevant, but that the discussion of them is thin. For example, Peter Beresford's chapter, while an interesting and insightful discussion of participatory research, is more about research with the term evaluation added as an afterthought. My view is that, while the line is sometimes blurred between evaluation and research, they are not interchangeable terms. It is difficult sometimes to maintain a common thread from such different sources, but with stronger editing this collection could have been more coherent.

The book's discussions and arguments seem predominantly to come from two paradigms of evaluation—those of theory-based evaluation (Connell *et al.*, 1995; Fulbright-Anderson *et al.*, 1995; Pawson and Tilley, 1997) and participatory evaluation (Fetterman, 2001). This may reflect the dominant

arguments on evaluation in Britain at this moment. However, too often authors in the book argue that the solution to the issues raised by the politics of evaluation lies in adopting either a theory-based approach or a participatory approach. While these are legitimate approaches in appropriate circumstances, they are not the only solutions and they are far from free of many of the issues raised by this book. Other evaluators who come from more traditional theoretical schools of evaluation have acknowledged the issues of politics in evaluation. Scriven (1973) and others would argue that other approaches and methods could be adopted to overcome many of these political issues.

For those working in areas related to urban studies, this book covers some important issues of urban policy and regeneration—i.e. partnership working, evaluation of complex programmes, youth justice and performance indicators in regeneration projects. Although the book may not be tightly focused enough on the politics of evaluation, there are still many good chapters that are worth reading.

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Rescaling International Political Economy: Sub-national States and the Regulation of the Global Political Economy

DAREL E. PAUL, 2005

New York: Routledge

228 pp.; £45.00 hardback

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This book aims to investigate contemporary processes of globalisation or, more specifically, what Darel E. Paul describes as a process of neo-liberal rescaling of the global political economy. Such rescaling is defined as dramatic, fundamental and on-going reconfigurations of socio-spatial relations throughout the world, trending towards a global regime of transnational liberalism. The book is an attempt to uncover the *local* social foundations of on-going neo-liberalisation and to document the inner workings and political struggles involved in the emergent transnational liberalism characterised by all-too-familiar processes of economic and trade liberalisation, deregulation, privatisation and marketisation.

Similar to other scholars of critical political economy and geography, Darel E. Paul has grounded his framework on theoretical underpinnings of the (French) *régulation* approach and Antonio Gramsci's thinking about the capitalist economic order and state. The book's major thesis is that the emerging new transnational liberal regime as the higher stage of national neo-liberalisms has been constructed under the leadership of a new transnational capitalist class (TCC) operating through local class-driven alliances. In his short historical outline, the author argues that, by the early to mid 1970s, the nationally scaled Fordist political economy based upon the traditional class alliance of national industrial capital and nationally organised labour had eroded, as the leading hegemonic class fraction of national capital became increasingly transnational. National labour organisations have been significantly repressed in this process. Since then, Darel E. Paul contends, the primary, yet mostly neglected academically, way by which post-Fordist transnational liberalism operates lies in the *localisation* of the TCC through an alliance with local hegemonic blocs of the small and medium business class and the new urban middle class

A new class alliance is emergent, organized not at a single scale (as primarily so in Fordism) but across scales; organized not simply globally or locally but *glocally*. A new alliance organized at the global scale is unlikely to emerge for the simple reason that transnational capital is the only meaningfully global class. As a result, transnational capital looks to sub-national scales for potential allies, especially to small capital and the urban new middle class. Sub-national states become the structural locations at which social alliances between transnational capital and locally constituted classes and class fractions are being forged and the social foundations of transnational liberalism built (p. 10).

As graphically represented in the book (Figure 1.1, p. 10), the construction of the transnational capitalist class at the global scale is based firmly on locally sited pillars of sub-national hegemonic blocs of the local bourgeoisie. Similar to houses built in areas prone to earth tremors or floods, the edifice of transnational liberalism has, thus, been constructed in such a way as to avoid social earthquakes and waves of political discontent that may strike and be most devastating for the TCC at the national scale.

In addition to the book's innovative and theoretically ambitious framework, its second major strength lies in its rich and detailed empirical account of capitalist structures and political struggles in three different sub-national states in North America under conditions of the ascending dominance of transnational liberalism from the early 1970s to the early 2000s. The book shows how—with increasing sub-national state authority to tax, educate and regulate—the traditionally neo-liberal (or market) type of political economy in the US state of Georgia, the neo-statist type of the Canadian province of Quebec and the neo-corporatist type of the US state of Minnesota have all engaged (albeit with different degrees of success) in pursuing neo-liberal ideological projects of serving transnational capital, constructing the glocal transnational capitalist class, selling exports and imagining world cities.

Notwithstanding its modest size, this well-written and thoroughly researched book achieves its ambitious aims and is a major contribution to the fields of (international) political economy, politics, critical geography and regional and urban studies. It closely relates to current radical debates concerning what in common parlance is called globalisation and develops a new theoretical framework by outlining a 'glocal' political economy of transnational liberalism. In the concluding sentence, echoing the Zapatista slogan '*Por un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos*', the author even drops us a hint at a possible alternative to neo-liberalisation by declaring that

Greens and other decentralists interested in a politics of resistance to transnational liberalism hope for a solution not in a transnational socialism but rather in the creation of just such a world in which many worlds fit (p. 181).

Much of what is written in this book, however, must inevitably lead to a pessimistic assessment of the likelihood of such a scenario. As the author himself admits, even in the most promising example of populist Minnesota, "it is difficult to say precisely how much" space for political-economic diversity can be maintained under decades of creeping neo-liberalisation (p. 178). The book sees more chances for progressive policies to be implemented in Latin America, especially in Brazil under the leadership of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and his PT (Workers' Party). Yet, with the power of hindsight, one can hardly disagree with the British conservative weekly *The Economist* (2nd March 2006) that has described Lula's policies implemented since his election in 2002 as "pragmatic". If 'a world in which many worlds fit' is to be compromised even in Zapatista's hinterlands, what chances are there for such a world to be created in the most neo-liberal countries of the global North?

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