

BOOK REVIEWS

HANDBOOK OF URBAN GEOGRAPHY, Edited by Tim Schwanen and the late Ronald van Kempen, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2019

This book was written and edited with a great passion for the content world of urban geography. Its editors seek to achieve two goals: to deepen the foundations of this content world, and to examine the borders of this field and the ways in which it engages with other disciplines such as sociology, economics, anthropology, etc. They refer to the movement between the center of the field and a tour of its borders as “engaged pluralism” – an attempt to produce, in their words, an open interdisciplinary discussion that challenges the borders of knowledge (p. 6).

To achieve this goal, the editors offer 29 chapters – an impressive effort for a book – organized into seven sections: 1) the theory and methodology of urbanism; 2) urban networks; 3) urban development; 4) urban inequality; 5) urban socialites; 6) urban politics; and 7) urban sustainabilities.

In the introduction, the editors explain that they devoted significant thought to the chapters’ assembly into the different sections with the aim of furthering the goal of engaged pluralism. They assert that they intentionally wove chapters dealing with technology and the digital world into the different sections and did not develop the topic as a section in its own right. The introduction also offers a review of urban theory, highlighting the concept of “urbanism” and its development from an approach that cultivates thinking on “city sciences” in the direction of the critical thinking embodied in the concept of planetary urbanism. From a theoretical perspective, the editors state, the book is committed more to the Marxist materialist approach, on the one hand, and to the approaches of city sciences and advanced spatial analysis, on the other. The authors also explain that the book was written “from the North” to a greater extent than they intended; that is to say, they did not succeed in importing a theory or case studies from the Global South in the ways they had initially sought to.

The book is well written. The chapters are not long, enabling a reading of the different sections in a single sitting. The book’s first goal – to present the discipline in its various colors – is fully achieved. The authors maintain that the book is intended for research students at various stages, and this is in fact the case. Indeed, as I read through it, I found myself giving chapters and conveying insights to the research students I am currently advising. This is a manifestation of the book’s strength: its systematic presentation of core topics. The classics of the field are also dealt with

nicely, and the book offers definitions of a broad spectrum of basic concepts in urban geography. In this way, the book provides a wonderful service for lecturers teaching basic and advanced courses in urban geography, as well as neighboring disciplines such as urban sociology.

Another strength of the book is the fact that it has no qualms about presenting views that run against the tide, such as the understanding that suburbs are places where we find prosperous communities and social mobility, and a critical discussion of both the concept of gentrification and the limitations of the new technology-based tools. I was particularly impressed by the final subject. For example, in Chapter 5, “Big Data and the City,” it is clear that the authors are not writing based on a technological fetish but are rather presenting an interesting discussion that brings readers back to the power of the qualitative study. To use the words of Jane Jacob, it is in the chapter on big data that the authors cause us to rethink urban “clues”: that is, original way to learn a phenomena by unusual indicators of (for example, stores that sell pet products and health food stores can be viewed as signs of gentrification).

But does the book achieve its second goal? Does it succeed in crossing the disciplinary borders and presenting a new agenda with which to embark into the third decade of the twenty-first century? Here, the answer is somewhat more complicated. On the one hand, it does. The relationship between urban geography and urban sociology is dealt with nicely in the book, and it is clear that the authors and the editors are well versed in social theory and on this basis seek to contribute to urban geography; for example, the topics of inequality, networks of segregation, and urban diversity are the subject of considerable attention.

On the other hand, I believe that we can and should ask where else this fascinating, central field can take us (to extend the metaphor proposed by the editors) not only in examining this discipline’s borders with its counterparts in the social sciences but also in asking a question about the horizon of the field: Where is the field headed?

Here, I think a great deal of work is still in order. I will try here to outline two possibilities (out of many) for dealing with the future of the field. For example, the introduction to the section on urban inequality (p. 242) states that both the question of inequality and the theories employed are associated with thinking from the left-wing of the political map. This is true of the work as a whole, in which the editors maintain that Marxist approaches are prominent throughout the book.

In an era in which most countries – including the United States and the countries of Europe – are being led by right-wing conservative governments (or centrist parties), perhaps the time has come for a discussion of urban geography through “right-wing” eyes. Today, in the year 2020, we cannot limit ourselves to criticism embodied in the concept of “neoliberalism” and hyper-capitalism. It is not enough to talk about diversity; we must also demonstrate theoretical and intellectual diversity. Why must we offer “right-wing” readings of cities? Firstly, in order to enable the discourse

on urban geography to engage the existing reality in a complex manner. The left-wing discourse on processes of urban development (for example) often suffers from cliché and self-righteous views. We must present the complexity of the development processes and the inequality in a much more complex manner, thereby producing a new theoretical toolbox that provides our students with tools, connects with these theoretical frameworks, and critiques them in a deep and fundamental manner.

A second direction in which new ground can be broken pertains to the relationship between technology and the new methodologies of research in the field. The new geographical information systems have broken extremely impressive ground, providing access to impressive tools for mapping and spatial calculation for scholars and the public sector alike. Many startup companies, such as Waze and Airbnb, have produced a spatialization of movement and splintered tourism in cities, changing the face of cities beyond recognition. We have a great deal of work to do in order to illuminate the implications of these methodologies both in our own hands – that is, those of the research community – and in the hands of the entrepreneurs whose actions change cities. In my view, the book's chapters on technology are the most interesting and original, although still missing is a statement by the editors regarding the new horizons these technologies open up to urban geography. What does the dominance of virtual realities do to geographical space in the common sense of the word? What theory of space can we propose in the era of cyberspace? How should we understand the concept of “neighborhood” in an era in which neighborhood communication occurs on Facebook pages and within Whatsapp groups, as opposed to in the neighborhood grocery store, which has long since ceased to exist? These and many other questions remain unanswered in this book.

However, it seems to me that the strong basis laid by the book's editors constitute sturdy and impressive foundations on which to build the next level of the content world of urban geography.

Meirav Aharon-Gutman
The Technion

ETHNIC SPATIAL SEGREGATION IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, by Hans Skifter Andersen, Routledge: London and New York, 2019.

Sociologists and other social scientists have been studying ethnic segregation for at least the last one hundred years. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Chicago School of Sociology looked at patterns of assimilation of white ethnic groups and the movement to suburbia. Beginning in the 1950s and continuing to the present, social scientists have measured the extent of racial segregation in American cities and have debated how to deal with the “ghetto problem.” European research on ethnic segregation is much sparse in part because immigration has been much more recent.

However, European policy makers worry that their dense multi-ethnic neighborhoods may be becoming more like American ghettos.

Ethnic Spatial Segregation in European Cities by Hans Skifter Andersen adds to the limited European research literature on segregation. Whereas in America, ethnic clusters are often dominated by a single group, e.g. African Americans, Hispanics and others, in many European countries enclaves may contain several different groups, so-called multi-ethnic neighborhoods. The most important kind of segregation is the separation of the whole group of ethnic minorities from the native majority. This book attempts to uncover “explanations for why ethnic segregation has emerged and is maintained in European cities” (p.1). The author acknowledges he does not discuss the consequences of ethnic segregation, an extremely important, but separate and comprehensive research area.

The book is divided into three parts. After an introductory chapter, which also summarizes the book’s major findings, the first section examines differences between natives and ethnic minorities in housing and neighborhood preferences. The second section looks at the relative importance of native and immigrant in- and out-migration flows in accounting for the creation of multi-ethnic neighborhoods. The final section examines the role of housing, planning, and welfare policies in countering patterns of ethnic segregation.

If immigrants have different preferences toward homeownership, then this could contribute to patterns of segregation. But do immigrants have different housing preferences? A longitudinal study from three Nordic countries, using register-based administrative data, compared immigrants and natives to see whether differences in tenure preferences were due simply to economics and demographic differences. Results in all three cities showed a big difference in movement toward homeownership between immigrants from Africa and western Asia (specific countries are not given) when background demographic characteristics were controlled. The results indicate that cultural factors play a key role in achieving homeownership. Skifter Andersen, unfortunately, does not specify what these cultural factors are, how they vary between different immigrant groups, or how they impact attitudes toward homeownership.

Immigrant neighborhood preferences do play a role in explaining ethnic segregation according to a 2005 Danish study. Only a few respondents wanted to live in a multi-ethnic immigrant neighborhood. Most wanted to live in a neighborhood where there was a fifty-fifty split between immigrants and native Danes. Furthermore, an index of cultural integration proved significant in predicting interest in living in dense multi-ethnic communities, which lead the author to state: “Some ethnic groups...could have a culture that promotes a stronger wish to live in enclaves to maintain a separate cultural identity” (p.76). Regrettably, the author does not indicate which cultures are most likely to have an interest in living in an ethnic enclave or why.

The spatial assimilation hypothesis posited by the Chicago School of Sociology states that over time immigrants give up their distinctive attitudes and behavior and simultaneously disperse from their ethnic enclaves. Because over the last 35 to 40 years the composition of recent immigrant populations has changed, it is possible that the spatial assimilation model is no longer operative. But it is, according to analysis of a data base of information on immigrants and native Danes and their housing from 1985 to 2008—a source that makes it possible to look at changes in the immigrant's situation from time of their arrival and changes over the next 25 years. The proportion living in dense multi-ethnic neighborhoods increases in the first six to ten years, stagnates after 11 to 15 years, and then begins to fall. Because income was controlled, the results imply that spatial dispersion is not simply a product of economics; other variables are operative, likely cultural ones. Unfortunately, the author does not say which cultural variables are important or how they affect preferences or behavior.

Shifting from preferences to behavior, the question is: What type of migration behavior is most important in accounting for multi-ethnic neighborhoods, the attraction of minorities, the retention of minorities, the avoidance of natives, or the flight of natives? In fact, native population avoidance is the most important of the four processes in accounting for the existence of immigrant-dense neighborhoods. Unfortunately, Skifter Andersen does not identify the underlying reasons for this avoidance. Is it because of native prejudice, a preference for homogenous white neighborhoods, or because of a concern about declining neighborhood social status, including rising crime rates and falling school quality?

While demand-side factors play an important role in explaining patterns of ethnic segregation in Europe, so does the extent to which the supply of housing, particularly rental housing, is available. A comparative study on the special importance of housing policies for the housing situation of ethnic minorities in four Nordic countries highlights the special importance of housing policy in the Nordic countries. The case study of Norway shows that a lack of sufficient rental housing can push ethnic minorities into owner occupation which can result in less ethnic segmentation. This can be seen as a good thing, but the price is that many live in overcrowded conditions. The Danish case study shows that the situation of ethnic minorities is affected by the regulation of the rental housing market. Strong rent controls reduce possibilities for ethnic minorities, because the policy leads to queues and landlords then tend to choose friends or acquaintances rather than ethnic minorities who lack informal contacts. The Finnish case study shows that if housing allocation is simply on the basis of need, ethnic minorities tend to be very concentrated in this type of housing. On the other hand, the universalist housing allocation scheme in Sweden, which gives equal status to all tenures, “has resulted in a modest ethnic segmentation of the housing market and in a smaller over-representation of ethnic minorities in social housing” (p.159).

Scholars have speculated that much of the ethnic segregation in the Nordic countries can be attributed to the existence of large spatial concentrations of marginally and socially segregated housing—the so-called social housing hypothesis. Skifter Andersen's research highlights a more complicated situation. Copenhagen and Stockholm confirm the social housing hypothesis; high concentrations of immigrants are found on social housing estates that are segregated from other tenures. Helsinki, however, which has the highest level of ethnic tenure segmentation (not surprising because immigrants are over-represented in social housing), has the lowest level of ethnic segregation due to the tenure-mixing policies officials have implemented at the neighborhood level. Social housing and market-rate housing exist side-by-side in Helsinki's large forested suburban housing estates. And although Oslo has a low rate of ethnic tenure segregation (due to the large number of immigrants in home-ownership), the city has higher concentrations of immigrants in some neighborhoods than Copenhagen; typically, these are Danish immigrants residing in ethnically dense, housing cooperatives—cooperative housing being considered a form of homeownership.

Similarly, researchers have argued that differences across Europe in welfare state type (social democratic, liberal, corporatist, Latin rim, Eastern European) would account for differences in ethnic segregation; more specifically, that the universalistic countries (Scandinavia and Netherlands) would have the lowest levels of segregation. This is clearly not the case. There is no such relationship between welfare state categories and national level variables that might influence segregation: (1) incomes of ethnic minorities; (2) preferences for ethnic homogeneity; (3) housing policies (the Netherlands and Denmark have unitary rental markets where social and rental housing markets compete, but they have relatively high levels of ethnic segregation anyway); (4) homeownership rates; (5) levels of housing discrimination. Furthermore, there is no clear-cut evidence to support the assumption that because social democratic countries have the most sophisticated spatial planning systems this would enable them to address spatial inequalities. In reality, social democratic countries have a relatively high degree of ethnic segregation, because building production is dominated by large developers. This has led to development of large areas of Sweden and the Netherlands with relatively homogenous housing and populations.

My reactions to the book are mixed. On one hand, Skifter Andersen does an excellent job in reviewing the European and American literature on ethnic segregation. In addition, he succeeds in showcasing the Nordic countries' impressive empirical research that takes advantage of existing population registers which make highly valuable longitudinal studies possible. On the other hand, the book suffers from three interrelated flaws. First, the book lacks a concluding chapter. Chapter 1 summarizes the findings of all seven subsequent chapters, but fails to bring them together or to indicate what contributions the book makes to segregation literature. Second, because Skifter Andersen mostly relies on empirical studies, we gain a better

understanding of what is happening in Europe vis à vis segregation, but not why it is happening. Why, for example, are Somalis the most segregated immigrant group across Europe? Is it skin color, religion or rural origin? Or why do Greeks have both a high level of preference for neighborhood ethnic homogeneity and a high propensity to discriminate against minorities?

Finally, I was disappointed that the book failed to weigh in on what, if anything, European countries should do to handle their ethnic segregation problems. At the end of the book (pp.215-216), Skifter Andersen comes close, but fails to offer any recommendations:

In some countries in the Social Democratic and Corporatist clusters, ethnic minorities are to a high degree clustered in social housing and the spatial location of this housing is of basic importance for ethnic segregation. More developed planning systems in these countries should in theory have made it possible to spread out social housing in the city, but for different reasons these have not always been used, leading to large neighborhoods with concentrations of social housing and ethnic minorities.

There is nothing to indicate what the reasons are for not implementing pro-integration policies. Nor does he provide suggestions for responding to the “wicked” policy questions facing European planners. Should they promote scattered-site housing strategies (whereby all localities in a metropolitan area are assigned a certain quota of new or rehabilitated affordable housing) even though such policies will be resisted by middle-class communities? Should housing companies and housing associations utilize “benign quotas” to achieve integration by restricting the entry of ethnic minority residents, even though such policies are usually opposed by these minorities? As one of the most prominent European housing researchers, my hope is that Skifter Andersen will tackle these and related questions in his next book.

David Varady
University of Cincinnati

SMART CITIES IN THE POST-ALGORITHMIC ERA: INTEGRATING TECHNOLOGIES, PLATFORMS AND GOVERNANCE, edited by Nicos Komninos and Cristina Kakderi, Cheltenham UK and Northampton MA: Edward Elgar, 2020.

The concept of smart cities has become widely applied and studied as of the 1990s. However, this edited volume presents a rather fresh, challenging and even provocative perspectives for smart cities. Traditionally, smart cities have been viewed as being able to ‘address more effectively complex contemporary problems of growth and sustainability and provide more intelligent systems of decision-making and innovation’ (p. 1). Smart cities have been further assumed to be IT (information technol-

ogy) based, technologies which are termed in this book as the ‘algorithmic logic’. This volume claims for a wider platform required for contemporary smart cities, so that IT ‘can be much more effective if combined with other sources of intelligence available in cities, such as human intelligence, creativity and innovation, and collective and collaborative intelligence within institutions or over platforms’ (p. 2). Smart cities are viewed, therefore, as no less social entities as technological and organizational ones.

A wide group of scholars from Greece, joined by scholars from numerous other countries, addressed the book topic along three parts, each including four chapters: an assessment of smart city study so far and contemporary study challenges (Part I); proposed smart city crossroads with IoT (Internet of things), social media and data science (Part II); and finally, attempted connections between smart cities, participatory governance and digital platforms (Part III).

The book opens with an introductory essay (Komninos, Panori and Kakderi), followed by a critical review of smart city study so far (Mora, Reid and Angekidou). Three chapters, which present challenges for smart city study, come next: the algorithmic city and transformations in politics, governance and service provision (Anttiroiko), smart cities as ecosystems of innovation (Schaffers), and the creation of intelligence in smart cities (Komninos and Panori).

Part II begins with a chapter investigating the essential technological requirements for a smart city (Loscri, Mitton and Petrolo), followed by chapters which provide insights concerning the penetration of social media and digital technologies into daily life, bringing about new ways for interaction (Vakali and Moustaka), the role of IT in transformations of public services (Tsampouladitis, Bechtsis and Kompatsiaris), and the opportunity for technologists to innovate spatial dynamics (Zhang, Duarte and Ratti).

The third part of the book elaborates on a variety of aspects, ranging from planning for smart cities (Angekidou and Mora), through quality of life in smart cities (Özdemir, Kourtit and Nijkamp), ‘sharing’ in smart cities (Oskam), to ‘zero initiatives’ which emerge in smart cities (Kakderi).

The book presents numerous novelties. In its first part the study of smart cities so far is differentiated along numerous paths: experimental, ubiquitous, corporate, European and holistic (Mora, Reid and Angekidou). It is proposed to interpret and analyze the smart city along four dimensions: data and algorithms, physical space, local governance and local economy and society (Anttiroiko). Furthermore, it is suggested to put an emphasis on collaborative urban innovation processes (Schaffers), side by side with the identification of layers of urban intelligence: human, artificial, collective, and collaborative (Komninos and Panori).

The second part of the book introduces some additional fresh and innovative suggestions. Thus, future smart cities are viewed as being identified by clouds of meshed things (Loscri, Mitton and Petrolo). Smart city users on their part are identified and differentiated along participatory, opportunistic, and opportunistic mo-

bile sensing (Vakali and Moustaka). At the governmental level, it is proposed to move from e-government to we-government, involving higher citizen participation (Tsampouladitis, Bechtsis and Kompatsiaris). At yet another level of urban services, the concept of underworlds is introduced, as relating to a combination of urban analysis, robotics, bioengineering and genomics (Zhang, Duarte and Ratti).

The third part of the book explores several new or readdressed ideas, as well. Thus, the interrelationships between smart cities and spatial planning are explored (Angelidou and Mora). Spatial planning in smart cities is further highlighted from the perspectives of social policy and quality of life (Özdemir, Kourtit and Nijkamp). At the individual and community levels, the concept of 'sharing' is presented, in the sense of widening digital relationships for individuals, extending even beyond city levels (Oskam). Finally, the 'vision zero' notion is presented, attempting at zero negative impacts for urban strategies (Kakderi).

As common with edited volumes, the approaches and the levels of discussion range widely among chapters and authors, but the book in general may well wet the study appetite of scholars, students and practitioners alike, when searching for study challenges regarding smart cities. The global Corona crisis, which emerged simultaneously with the publication of the book, invites a companion volume on smart cities during and following the crisis.

Aharon Kellerman
University of Haifa

HANDBOOK OF GEOTOURISM, edited by Ross Dowling and Davis Newsome, Cheltenham, UK: Elgar Publishers, 2018

The volume edited by Dowling and Newsome is a detailed research textbook written for scholars, practitioners, educators and students. Geotourism is 'geological' or 'geographical' tourism based on geological features, which is significantly connected to both landscape and ecotourism. The emphasis in the book is on what tourism experts should know about the Earth Sciences and what geologists need to know about the operation and development of tourism. Geotourism principles, like ecotourism, not only incorporates sustainable tourism principles but also encourages their practice. Geotourism is thus the application of sustainable tourism principles, an approach to these principles and a way to connect individuals to the geologic nature of an area's 'sense of place'.

Geotourism is tourism of geology and landscape usually undertaken at geosites. It fosters conservation of geological attributes (geoconservation) as well as an understanding of geoheritage and geodiversity. The geological knowledge gained at a geosite may be used to inform its biotic and cultural features so that a more holistic view of the environment can be developed. This should then lead to a more en-

hanced understanding and appreciation of the world as it is built on its geological foundations. The editors suggest that geotourism could be viewed through different perspectives along a geological spectrum that also includes an international perspective. This encompasses various political and governance approaches, societal models, funding methods, conservation approaches and visitor pressures. An international perspective allows us to appreciate specific settings and situations. Geographically, different geo-attractions have their own subjects, and a major consideration for the future will be dealing with visitor demand and contrasting visitor attitudes.

Geotourism includes information about the environment – geological and beyond – so that tourists learn about the site or setting that they are visiting. Geo-education comprises the interpretive aspects of geotourism, usually through pre-visit and on-site pamphlets; overlooks and geosite panel design and location; self-guiding trails; geological gardens; guided tours and visitor centers. Geotourism benefits include the employment of locals as guides and staff to service geotourism activities and facilities. The accommodation sector has the potential to contribute to local communities through employment opportunities, events, retail and the provision of services.

The first section of the book, *Geology and Tourism*, examines the links between geology and tourism from a variety of standpoints. These include how tourism professionals can present geology and geological information; explanations of key geological terms such as geodiversity, geoheritage and geoconservation; the relationship between geotourism and the cultural landscape; geotourists; the application of geographic information systems in geotourism; and a targeted literature review of geotourism. This part actually sets the scene for the interdisciplinary nature of geotourism providing insight into how geology and tourism are interlinked. The second section, *Geotourism, Society and Sustainability* includes public-private partnerships for sustainable development; the significance of show caves; the issues of management (including risks) of geotourism in volcanic regions, caves and glaciers; and the potential contribution of geotourism. The topics are analyzed in more detail through case studies from the Philippines, Italy and Africa.

The third section of the book, *Geotourism in Urban Areas* comprises three chapters which profile examples from Australia, the USA and Brazil. The fourth section, *Interpretation and Education Strategies*, brings together a range of views on the presentation of geotourism in public settings. The section includes topics on geotourism interpretation and education as well as examples of geoliteracy in geoscience education (USA); ‘The day of geosites’ (Germany), and the importance of stories (Australia).

The fifth part, *Contribution to Geoparks*, shows how geotourism is contributing to the development of ten geoparks on four continents: Europe, Asia, North America and South America. Geotourism is the engine that drives geoparks, generating funds to foster community welfare and conservation. The sixth and final part of the book, presents case studies in geotourism and showcases the use of geotourism

as a development tool in geological environments on several continents. The sites include Malta, the Czech Republic, Namibia, the Philippines, and New Zealand. This chapter of the book provides an overview of the implementation of geotourism in the world today as well as suggestions and directions for potential future research.

The book is enriched by the contribution of many experts in the field to the writing, which is clear, relevant and interesting. The chapters present a variety of disciplines connected to geotourism as well as cases from many different geographic areas around the world. The book also offers high quality color photographs that illustrate the geotourism case studies examined. The maps, tables and flow charts in the book also add considerably to readers' understanding of the written theory. Among the major problems facing geotourism and its proper management is overcrowding. The authors address this issue, which is becoming more widespread at natural attractions as they are marketed as tourism sites under the geotourism banner. In some countries, this phenomenon led to overtourism problems. To deal with this problem, geotourism management has become significantly more important for planning, developing and operating geo-sites in a manner that maintains the delicate balance between people and nature.

The editors have succeeded remarkably well in creating a multidisciplinary sourcebook that links the characteristics of geological and geographic natural phenomena to their socioeconomic value both as tourist destinations and as sources of regional development. The great advantage of the book lies in the many phenomena and aspects discussed and the many case studies and examples of geotourism offered from around the world. At times it is evident that the editors had a dilemma: whether to expand the issues addressed or to delve more deeply into theoretical discussion. In some cases, geology and geography overcome tourism. That said, in issues of tourism management, the book contributes valuable data and findings. In recent years, additional information and knowledge in tourism research has accumulated especially about issues connected to sustainable and ecological tourism, visitor management and management of the tourism experience. Follow-up studies can certainly use the paradigms in this book and suggest additional applications in the many important areas and subjects discussed in this book.

Alon Gelbman
Kinneret Academic College

SETTLING HEBRON. JEWISH FUNDAMENTALISM IN A PALESTINIAN CITY, by Tamara Neuman Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

In the heart of the largest Palestinian city in the occupied territories, counted 250,000 residents, is located a Jewish settlement of 700 residents, in fact 8000 resi-

dents, together with “Kiriath-Arba”, a nearby Jewish settlement. The legal status of this odd reality is the result of “Hebron Agreement” in 1997, following half-hearted government authorization to an unlawful invasion of “ideological settlers” group.

This phenomenon represents a radical case of space designed by a colonial regime. Since the colonial aggression hurts life itself, Jewish Hebron within the occupied territory brings destruction and violence which ensembles with the condition of urbicide (Graham, 2003).

This kind of process blurs the distinction between fortress and ghetto for the Jewish settlement, as Marcuse (1997) defines the two polar neighborhoods in the city. This very fortress assumes ghetto’s features. It is an outcome of life within limitations and uncertainty: solid boundaries and limited space; living as a minority in the hostile Palestinian environment; the surveillance of peace activist organizations; the Israeli legal system; and military control.

In this setting, Tamara Neuman, a political anthropologist, examines everyday life of the Jewish “ideological settlers” from Kiryat-Arba community in the occupied Palestinian West Bank. She perceives that their discourse outlines a unique world-view. Her research is an in-depth interesting ethnographic analysis of practice and politics of that ideological community in a military zone. The created political and territorial conditions reflect a dissonance between the lives in the enclave and their imagined biblical utopian landscape. Their narrative lacks historical specificity; its platform is built on collected chosen events that produce sense of victimization and fatalism as their symbolic identity.

The book is composed of six chapters. Chapter 1, “Orientations”, aims to expose the complex social field by focusing on three perspectives on religious settlement. It represents three actors in the scene: the ideological settlers, soldiers, and Palestinian farmers. These three groups have drastically different perspectives surrounded by intersecting realities. While settlers speak of Jewish origins on Palestinian lands, an Israeli soldier focuses on the danger these settlers place on fellow soldiers and how the occupation skews an ethical dilemma for him as a soldier, and a Palestinian farmer underscores the hardship inflicted by settlers on his family’s life.

Chapter 2 “Between Legality and Illegality” – provides a brief historical overview of the claims and practices that paved the way for the settlement to win recognition. Particularly, it pays close attention to what settlers’ term “the Jewish origins” of the contested region, which is situated within the legal gray zone of military occupation. It exposes how the settlers are able to change territorial boundaries, push legal limits, and preserve religious values in a way that establish their distinct place. This process is responsible for the making of gray spaces (Roded, 2011).

Chapter 3 “motherhood and property takeover” further builds on this changes of boundaries and introduces another angle, namely, “the lens of gender”, specifically events of protest. Cycles of pregnancy and childbirth domesticate spaces and enhancing the community to take over Palestinian property (the case of Hadassah house, for example).

Chapter 4 “Spaces of the Everyday” describes the settlers presence in Hebron ethnicizing spaces by explanatory reorientation of Jewish tradition. The ethnography focuses on the micro-level disputes on boundaries, and daily signs of non-recognition of the Palestinians. It tries to eliminate the existence of the ‘other’ and its landscape on the way to segregation and exclusivity, while highlighting the irony and impossibility of this practice.

In Chapter 5, “Religious Violence”, Neuman is focusing on religious violence and explores the rites in the context of the partitioned space of the Tomb of Patriarchs. Here she offers her analysis of the 1994 Goldstein massacre, which took place inside the Tomb. She also outlines how sacred place and residential areas trapped the Palestinians between the armed settlers and the military rule. Thus, the tactic to expand religious domains of control, that is due to the legal gray zone, they go unpunished; the guns are present in every sphere of settler life; and the use of force, all these features and practices are blurring the line between civilians and soldiers and encourages direct violence in Hebron.

Chapter 6 “Lost tribes and the quest of origins” returns to the question of the settlers’ Judaization of space and bringing back Jews to ‘their’ place of origin, meaning Hebron. They bring nontraditional Jews from remote places like Bnei-Menashe in India and convert them to Judaism. Suddenly these ethnic differences are less important. The alienation that come out of this strategy appears to be odd and the cultural gaps are greater even than those vis a vis the Palestinians.

The chapter that concludes the book aims to enrich it with additional and wider perspectives and scale, in revising ideology as an elusive concept, raising fieldwork dilemmas, which arose when she had to choose among all daily life aspects, and the influence of the ideological settlers beyond Hebron.

Neuman concludes: “In sum, the realm of practice in ideological settlements such as Hebron, has served as a social laboratory – testing limits, creating new realities, and instituting changes that have had far-reaching implications for not only remaking Jewish understandings of authenticity and Israeli nationalism, but shifting the terms of the Israeli-Palestine conflict from a dispute over land, to one mainly expressed in an ethno-religious register” (p. 191).

In the book “Settling Hebron”, Neuman opens a wide and complex spectacle through her thick description and thorough analysis, bonding together history, sociology, culture and ideology of Hebron. She is doing so through choosing very important and unique viewpoints and orchestrates it into a dynamic and inter-related way of life of religious ideological group in one place within the occupied territories. Processes like crawling “grayness” and urbicide (Roded, 2011; Tzfadia, 2014) receive visibility and livability here. This case represents the ways of colonial regime to produce conditions, which encourages a radical religious group to develop and expand its domination and deepens colonialism with its own initiation and promotion.

We can close this review with the insight of Rob Shields (1991) on places on the margin. They may actually be located on the geographic periphery, but their marginality may make them centers of subversion. Their cultural distance from the normative centers of societies on the outer edges of the influence of social convention, present an opportunity for acting outside the boundary of prevailing norms, or romanticized sites of differences and otherness.

Batya Roded

Ben Gurion University of the Negev

REFERENCES

- Graham, S. (2003) Lessons in urbicide. *New Left Review*, 19: 63–78.
- Marcuse, P. (1997) The ghetto of exclusion and the fortified enclave: New patterns in the United States. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 41(3): 311–327.
- Roded, B. (2011) The Grey space between fortress and ghetto: The case of the Jewish settlement in Hebron. *Israeli Sociology*, 12(2): 29-56 (in Hebrew).
- Shields, R. (1991) *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. London: Routledge.
- Tzfadia, E. (2014) Informality as control: the legal geography of colonization of the West Bank. In F. Chiodelli, B. De Carli, and M. Falletti (eds). *Cities to be Tamed? Spatial Investigations across the Urban South*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 192-214.

DEFINING LANDSCAPE DEMOCRACY: A PATH TO SPATIAL JUSTICE, edited by Shelley Egoz, Karsten Jørgensen and Deni Ruggeri. Cheltenham, UK: Elgar Publishers, 2018

Recently, a lively debate erupted in my hometown, Tel Aviv, Israel. The debate had to do with the City's decision to build a school on the grounds of the Levinsky Garden. The garden is situated a few meters from Israel's biggest central bus station, at the heart of Tel-Aviv's backyard. The City's decision meant destroying the only green space in an already overly dense and highly polluted area. No public discussion or participation processes were held prior the decision. Interestingly, this one-sided top-down decision was enacted in a politically sensitive neighborhood, where lower income Israeli families, gentrifiers and African asylum seekers have reached the brink of urban riots.

These events were unfolding as I set to read and review the book "Defining Landscape Democracy: A Path to Spatial Justice". I was, therefore, thrilled at the opportunity to find a definition of landscape democracy. Moreover, I hoped that

such a definition would provide tools for unpacking, criticizing and constructively challenging decisions like those embraced by the City of Tel Aviv.

Providing a strict definition, however, is an impossible task, since each of the idioms – ‘landscape’ and ‘democracy’ – has multiple meanings and dimensions. A quick review of the articles in the book immediately reveals this multiplicity. ‘Landscape’, for example, according to Makhzoumi has tangible manifestations that express human culture and politics, but also intangible sentiments such as identity and belonging. As such, Egoz et.al. add, ‘landscape’ must be realized as a common good, which “...forms the basic infrastructure for life and wellbeing of all humans and natural environment.” (p.62) Against this inclusionary vision, Waterman warns from the dark side of ‘landscape’ as it can be manipulated in the service of secluded sanctuaries for the well-offs or for nationalist-purposed. (p.145) Even more problematic is defining ‘democracy’. Knudtzon, for example, argues that ‘democracy’ is a “contested concept”, as she identifies “four typical version of democracy – liberal, participatory, deliberative and radical.” (p.5) Egoz et.al. remind us not to take for granted the automatic link between democracy, equality and liberty, without considering embedded power relations. (p.64) Makhzoumi goes further to argue that “in the Arab Middle East... ‘democracy’ is held suspect”, since it is identified with the ruthless colonial regimes that ruled the area during much of the 20th century. (p.29)

If this was not complicated enough, the book is trying to define ‘landscape democracy’ in the midst of a world-wide crisis of the democratic regime. Under global neoliberalization (Brenner, 2010) citizens became consumers of goods as well as of politics (Dean, 2009). According to Rancière, this post-democratic/post-political condition is based on a broad-based consensus that was reached by those who have a part in a given society (Rancière, 2010). In the seemingly cozy water of the consensus, ‘politics’ is increasingly reduced to ‘policing’. That is, the aggregate set of procedures, activities and policies, formal and informal, that enables and legitimizes the existing order, while positioning everyone in their proper place.

Around 2011 a world-wide social protest erupted in various urban centers. Despite living in democratic countries, the protesters demanded “democracy, now”. They, thus, asserted dissensus towards the ‘police’ (Rancière, 2010), asking to reconstitute ‘the political’ (Swyngedou, 2011). The latter term refers to the ontological dimension of the “non-existence of society” (Ibid). It highlights the inherent disagreement (and even antagonism) between people, and the absence of ground for constituting a society. As opposed to ‘politics’ (‘police’), ‘the political’ is an open arena, where those who have no part can claim it (Zizek, 2006). This is what the voices of the social protest called for. They did so, echoing the above-mentioned claim by Egoz et.al, by occupying public space, claiming a right to the city in its deepest sense of struggling for ‘real democracy’ (Purcell, 2013).

Seemingly, the social protest of 2011 has failed in achieving these stages. However, the discontent with the post-democratic condition keeps growing. Thus, it comes as no surprise to witness the occasional social protest’s eruptions in different cities

around the world. Additionally, no one should really be surprised with the growing anti-institutional and anti-party sentiments. Often, and against the inclusive logic of ‘the political’, it results in the election of populist regimes, which are anti-elitist but also anti-pluralist (Müller, 2016).

Accordingly, the crisis of the currently existing democracy cannot be more evident. This point and the complexity of defining ‘landscape democracy’ in this time and age, does not escape the eyes of many of the writers of the book. Yiğit-Turan, for example, describes the lively and pluralistic occupation of Gezi Park, Istanbul, Turkey. She finds hope in the ability of often contesting voices to talk to each other and cooperate. (p.218) Yet, she also depicts the violent evacuation of the park, the erasure of all memory of the encampment, and the fact that “any person expressing dissenting ideas was also taken away.” Langhorst, as well, is worried by the erosion of democracy by neo-liberal restructuring. However, he finds hope in the idea of ‘assemblage’. Accordingly, urban space is being continuously ‘assembled’. It therefore offers an on-going multi-layered and contested spatio-temporality, which is a platform to enable a demand for the right to the city and to counter “...the post-political erosion of the urban public sphere...”. For Geisler, the depicted post-political condition may be just a preview of the crisis of democratic regimes. As the climate change crisis intensifies, he even foresees a decree of martial laws in some cases. However, like Yiğit-Turan and Langhorst, Geisler argues that amidst the crisis hope can rise. This may be found in green and ecological democracy practices (i.e. the local empowerment of local communities in India, offering alternative to corporate globalization). Another alternative is via implementing the Public Trust Doctrine. That is, a legal demand from governments to fulfill their commitment to steward the ecological system.

Considering the ‘post-political’ condition, especially in the face of a world-wide and unprecedented ecological crisis, we are currently in an historical crossroad for democracy. This condition can bring to the rise of authoritarian regimes on the one hand or to the rise of ‘real democracies’ on the other hand. As the above writers depict, in each scenario landscape democracy plays a vital role in claiming or protecting democracy. Such a role cannot be captured in a strict definition. In that regard, the book’s head title – ‘Defining Landscape Democracy’ - is misleading. The book’s editors acknowledge this, and begin the book with a caveat that they are not going to offer “once-and-for-all answers”. However, the secondary title – ‘A Path to Spatial Justice’ – rightly suggests a dynamic and an on-going process. Acknowledging this and the vital role of landscape democracy in advancing ‘real democracy’, the book more than met my expectations of finding tools to constructively challenge cases like the Levinsky Garden. Hence, opening a path for spatial justice.

Eran Tzin
Tel Aviv University

REFERENCES

- Brenner, N., Peck, J. and Theodore, N. (2010) After Neoliberalization? *Globalizations*, 7.3: 327-345.
- Dean, J. (2009) *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies: Communicative Capitalism and Left Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Rancière, J. (2010) Dissensus: On politics and Aesthetics. Translated by Corcoran, S. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2011) Interrogating post-democratization: Reclaiming egalitarian political spaces. *Political Geography* 30,7: 370-380.
- Zizek, S. (2006) The Lesson of Rancière. In Rancière, Jacques (ed.) *The Politics of Aesthetics*, London: Continuum, 69-79.
- Purcell, M. (2013) The right to the city: The struggle for democracy in the urban public realm. *Policy and Politics* 41.3: 311-327.
- Müller, J. (2016) *What Is Populism?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

AUTOMATED AND AUTONOMOUS SPATIAL MOBILITIES, by Aharon Kellerman Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar, 2018.

Currently we are beginning to see autonomous vehicles on the roads and increasing media references to smart cities and artificial intelligence enabled urban systems, yet there is a dearth of literature on the social implications of these technological advances. The fields that are producing the new technologies have decades of experience and preparation to support their innovation, but the social sciences are only recently recognizing the need to understand their social context. A recent citation count found that less than one percent of the articles on autonomous vehicles are in the social sciences, yet it is the interaction between autonomous systems and society that will be one of the pressing challenges faced by cities and communities in the coming years.

Aharon Kellerman's recent volume, *Automated and Autonomous Spatial Mobilities*, is a timely and valuable addition to the spatial and planning literature that helps social scientists frame and understand the concept, evolution and implications of autonomous technologies. The book continues Kellerman's innovative and transformative research by providing context for emerging autonomous systems. His initial focus on communications and information technologies is a fitting foundation because there are so many parallels between the two disruptive technologies.

The introduction discusses the nature of autonomy, focusing on freedom from control and in choices made by individuals, and then translates the personal to the societal. In particular, the recognition that autonomy relates to machines taking on tasks that individuals performed themselves in the past. The very nature of evolving

mobility is the history of mechanized movement such as bicycles, trains, automobiles and aircraft. Increasingly, the use of these forms of transportation is aided by related autonomous systems that manage traffic and system safety.

In chapter two Kellerman addresses the characteristics of autonomy from a conceptual perspective, noting how humans have automatic control over many of their individual actions and movements, and then proceeds to trace the origin of autonomous systems and in particular notes the transfer of these technologies from manufacturing to mobility. Early examples of autonomous systems include the development of automatic transmissions and navigation systems that removed the need for the individual to focus on specific driving tasks.

The infrastructure needed to support mobility is considered in chapter three with its discussion of traffic control systems for vehicles, aircraft and ships. Kellerman reminds us that all aspects of mobility required the development of support systems, with traffic lights as we know them starting in the 1920s when there were no automated controls in place. Automated public transit systems (chapter four) have been in place for many years, especially metro and shuttle systems that are driverless in Europe and the United States. More advanced autopilot systems are used in shipping and aviation on a routine basis with intervention only needed occasionally, while the recent development of drones has added a new form of autonomous flight.

After discussing the link between autonomy and transportation, chapter five offers a different perspective, on virtual mobility and information transmission. This topic builds on Kellerman's long standing research agenda addressing information and communications. Examples presented include automation used in landline and mobile phone systems, the internet and in cyberspace. What distinguishes these forms of autonomy is that they take place in virtual spaces, in contrast to the physical space of transportation.

One technology of great significance yet with little empirical knowledge is autonomous vehicles (AVs), which are discussed in chapter six. These vehicles represent an accumulation of technologies that facilitate mobility such as cruise control, collision avoidance, automated parking and navigation. Kellerman outlines the history and implications of the many technologies that go into today's autonomous vehicle, and the six stages of automation from no assistance (level one) to full automation (level five). One element to consider in terms of social context is that all autonomous mobilities to date have been part of transportation systems managed by others, yet the AV is one that each person will be directly linked to each person.

The adoption of AVs depends greatly on public attitudes, that reflect a wide range of factors such as trust, confidence, usefulness, preparedness and cost. Currently, the public has mixed opinions as shown by several citations in the chapter. The challenge for the public is that while the engineering aspects have been long in development, the public has little experience riding in an AV or even seeing one on the street. The social sciences are in a similar position as they are also new to the technology and seek to understand and come to terms with the meaning of mobility evolution.

Autonomous vehicles are not without concerns, as Kellerman notes. Some of the issues that need to be resolved include the cost of AVs, variations in standards and certification, insurance and liability, cybersecurity, privacy, the ethics of AV algorithms, and safety. As AVs are introduced we will also have decades of transition with both human driven and autonomous vehicles populating the same streets. Beyond personal vehicles, AVs are recognized for their ability to revolutionize public transportation, trucking and delivery functions. For these applications, issues include rider comfort and safety in an AV bus, and the employment implications of replacing drivers.

The use of vehicles is a partnership between the private ownership and control of a vehicle that also requires the public provision of roads, traffic control and policing. The arrival of AVs will also require changes in the road infrastructure and the advancement of intelligent transportation systems (chapter seven). Some of the anticipated implications include the environmental impacts of AVs, especially when many are electric rather than petrol/diesel powered. AVs will also open tourism and recreational opportunities but there is a segment of the population that enjoys driving, especially outside the daily commute, and this group is often ignored in discussions of new mobilities.

Overall, Aharon Kellerman's *Automated and Autonomous Spatial Mobilities* is a valuable contribution to the literature on the spatial and societal issues associated with autonomous mobilities. The volume provides a strong and well written foundation for social scientists to base their understanding and research. As autonomous systems are introduced, from vehicles to control mechanisms to artificial intelligence, we need to recognize that social context is imperative and that efforts need to be made to gain social benefit and minimize harm. History shows that new technologies may offer many benefits but they can also be used as a weapon that benefits some groups and marginalizes others. Aharon Kellerman has given us a nuanced and fitting base from which to explore the social context of the autonomous future to come.

Mark Wilson
Michigan State University