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Reviews

Friction: an ethnography of global connection by A L Tsing; Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ; $65.00 cloth, $19.95 paper (£41.95, £12.95) ISBN 978 0 691 2064 5, 978 0 691 12065 2

Stories and concepts travel across the globe, forming movements and trends. It is sufficient, therefore, for us to study these "travelling stories" (page 232) only at the global scale? Is it possible for an ethnographer at the local scale to develop insight and commentary on these global trends? In posing these questions from the start of her book, Tsing illustrates that, not only is it possible, but by drawing local observations whilst viewing global trends one can develop a far deeper appreciation of the trend in all its varied guises.

The book develops within three main themes: scale, friction, and universals. Scale is the context within which Tsing places her questions of to what extent global trends influence local events and how far local action can impact upon global movements. In addressing them, she places herself within the global trend of the environmental movement. In over twenty years of working in Indonesia, she has observed the rise of Indonesia's environmental movement and the social climate under which it has developed. She argues that this movement, as with any movement, came to fruition as a result of the interactions or *frictions* between and within local, national, and global scales. She then takes the reader on a vivid journey through each of these scales. By providing generous anecdotes and personal reflections amidst more complex, insightful political commentary and social theory, she achieves a writing style that is both pleasurable and informative.

Tsing argues that there can be no global trend or movement without a direct interaction at the local level. If the 'universals'—the trends or movements—are the travelling object, and their route of global connection is the road upon which they must travel, then friction is necessary between the moving object and the road in order to achieve propulsion. This friction occurs when the global concept must 'reattach' itself to a new location, readjusting from globally broad to locally relevant, as the story is "repackaged to appeal to different cultures" (page 232), and also within one location, when views of the varied actors differ. Whilst this friction is necessary to facilitate motion, it is an unpredictable, uncontrollable phenomenon. Friction also starts fires. Thus, rather than working as a well-oiled machine, global trends develop through travelling stories in a messy, illogical, and sometimes damaging pattern.

In viewing global movements from this perspective Tsing appreciates the associated dangers and risks. To illustrate this, she begins her story by describing Indonesia's rise in economic wealth, reconstructing the devastation that capitalist markets inflicted on Indonesia's landscapes and people, and the intertwined roles of global, national, and regional events in that narrative. These initial chapters set the social and political scene, out of which the environmental movement blossomed in Indonesia.

In describing the development of the environmental movement in Indonesia, Tsing reflects on the relevant actors and their relationship with nature. She first considers the human tendency towards 'universal' concepts, of which nature is one example. She then depicts nature in some of its many shapes and guises, showing how, on closer consideration, such human universals do not offer single definitions. This, she later explains, is the crucial role for the ethnographer: to see the gaps and tensions in apparent universals between the local and the global, for it is here that friction originates. Switching between the national scale, to consider the upsurge of nature lovers within the new cosmopolitan youth, and the local scale, examining the communities of the Meratus Mountains and their lived experiences of nature, she shows how simply considering universals such as environmentalism only at the global scale is to generate an incomplete view. Under the theme of 'collaboration', Tsing succinctly brings together the messy and complex interactions that occur across these scales facilitating action with a movement: in this case, the prevention of logging in a specific area of the Meratus Mountains.

In her closing comments, Tsing neatly summarises her argument: "Ethnographic fragments ask us to pay attention to details .... Global connections are made from fragments .... These are global connections made, and muddled, in frictions" (pages 271 – 272). Indeed, in Indonesia, a country overpowered by its authoritarian government for over forty years (1966 – 98), and now trying to establish a working form of decentralisation, her attempt to represent the numerous voices in this highly diverse nation, to hear a voice demanding acknowledgement for local impact and effect on larger scaled movements, is both refreshing and reassuring. Throughout the book her arguments are reinforced through both ethnographic observation and political and social science theory. Perhaps the only fault one could find in her argument is that it is her unique position and years of experience within this movement that have allowed her to create this entirely holistic view—something many of us are still only working towards!

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There goes the 'hood: views of gentrification from the ground up by L Freeman; Temple University Press, Philadelphia, PA, 2006, 248 pages, $69.50 cloth, $25.95 paper, ISBN 1 59213 436 X, 1 59213 437 8

I read this book at the same time as finishing a textbook on gentrification. The book instantly attracted me because it gelled with the chapters towards the end of our book where we talk about neoliberalism, gentrification, and public policy, and where we debate the positives and negatives of gentrification focusing explicitly on the way that gentrification is now being sold to us through the guise of social mixing (see Lees et al, 2007). I was also interested in this book because it claimed to be one of the first books on gentrification to interview indigenous residents rather than just gentrifiers (page 6), which has been a long-standing lacunae of gentrification research. It is refreshing to find a book on gentrification that at last allows the voice of nongentrifiers to be heard! And it also looked at black gentrification (in Harlem and Clinton Hill in New York City), an underresearched topic on which there is now a growing literature that, as Lance Freeman points out, tends to focus on gentrifiers at the expense of black and other nongentrifiers in the same neighbourhood. Moreover, I had come across Freeman before by virtue of his earlier work with Frank Braconi in which he claimed that there was no evidence of a causal relationship between gentrification and displacement (Freeman and Braconi, 2004). This work led newspapers like *USA Today* (2005) to claim that "gentrification is a boost to everyone". The fallout was a flurry of irritated debate by gentrification researchers and housing/community activists in online gentrification discussion groups slamming Freeman and Braconi's findings. Freeman is up front that this book seeks to balance the positive claims made about his earlier research project on gentrification and displacement in New York City.

In *There Goes the 'Hood* Freeman is much more critical of the gentrification process, and it is his critique that is the substantive impact of this book. The impact is strongest where he argues against the much heralded poverty deconcentration thesis in the United States, in programmes like HOPE VI and Moving to Opportunity. Importantly, he points out that "The gentrification literature is virtually silent on whether the promise of poverty deconcentration works in the case of gentrification" (page 2). His conclusion is an important one: "This book provides ample reason to be wary of the negative impacts of gentrification beyond displacement and to be sceptical of the extent that poverty deconcentration will be an elixir for urban ills. Champions of gentrification should thus be chastened by some of the material presented in this book" (page 209). Freeman provides some meaty empirical data and fascinating insights into the lives, thoughts, and feelings of both gentrifiers and nongentrifiers in Harlem and Clinton Hill, demonstrating but not overplaying the complex nexus of race and class. Importantly, he finds that "the income mixing concomitant with gentrification is no guarantee of upward mobility" (page 2).

I like this book, but two things niggled me. First, the section on methodology (followed by more detail in the appendix) is rather confusing. In table 1.1 (page 11) Freeman claims a sample of 22 participants from Clinton Hill and 43 from Harlem, but in the text under that table he says: "I conducted a total of fifty-one interviews (thirty in Harlem and twenty-one in

Clinton Hill). A research assistant conducted an additional twenty-one interviews in Harlem" (page 11). Such inconsistency leads to confusion and doubt. We also leave the discussion of method with a feeling that Freeman's sample has a strong middle-class bias and that a more systematic survey would have been preferable. Second, I feel that Freeman has read only a tiny selection of the larger relevant gentrification literature. He tends to focus on a small selection of papers and does not seem to have come across (or certainly does not reference) some very relevant work by other authors. This causes problems in the book where he makes arguments without acknowledging who first made them and uses terms without always being clear where they came from. Moreover, he makes no use of a number of important nonacademic studies in the US that have investigated and critiqued poverty deconcentration programmes.

Nevertheless, this book is well worth reading. It is motivated by pragmatic concerns about how planning and policy can create more just and livable cities, concerns that I and many others share. Given the way that gentrification is being promoted by urban policy makers worldwide as the solution for inner-city woes this book provides a more balanced view of the pros and cons of gentrification than most to date.

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The neoliberal city: governance, ideology and development in American urbanism by J Hackworth; Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 2006, 248 pages, $55.95 cloth, $22.95 paper, ISBN 9780801444883, 9780801473036

Jason Hackworth has produced a highly readable account of a number of aspects to contemporary urbanism in the United States. Under the term 'the neoliberal city' he reveals how US cities "depend on the bond market for the provision of basic infrastructure, services and economic development" (page 20). Changes in the power wielded by these rating agencies and the real estate investment that flows from their calculations are revealed to have been instrumental in the production of the current US urban condition. By focusing on developers and public housing authorities and drawing on empirical material at "four different levels: metropolitan areas, individual cities, neighbourhoods and single-site-mega-projects" (page 13), Hackworth goes some way in explaining why we witness the urban inequalities and injustices we currently do in US cities.

The book consists of ten chapters and, after an opening introduction, is organised in three parts. Each part is prefaced with a short introduction. This sets the collection of chapters in the context of the wider argument of the book, a great way of summarising the ideas outlined beforehand, indicating what is coming up next, and, most importantly, why. Each chapter is a mix of theoretical review and empirical evidence. From local interactions with bond-rating agencies in Detroit, New York, and Philadelphia (chapter 2) to the strategies of public housing authorities in Chicago, New York, and Seattle (chapter 3), from the formation of a downtown 'urban' regime in New Brunswick (chapter 4) to the revalorisation of New York's urban core (chapter 6), from the gentrification of Clinton, Long Island City, and Dumbo neighbourhoods in New York (chapter 7) to the 'downtown redevelopment fix' in Phoenix (chapter 8), the book provides a rich array of empirical evidence. Not content with dealing how large swathes of US cities have been restructured along neoliberal lines, chapters 9 and 10 in the third and final part of the book turn to detailing the 'contesting' of the 'neoliberal city' (page 173). Hackworth draws on a number of studies from across the US to argue that "any movement to counter neoliberalism must be broader than one housing project, neighborhood, urban redevelopment project, or policy change" (page 203).

The Neoliberal City is of course the latest in a number of recent books on the issue of 'neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; England and Ward, 2007; Heynen et al, 2007; Leitner et al, 2007; Mitchell, 2004). And I have no doubt that there are more on the way. Nevertheless, as a sole-authored monograph on US neoliberal urbanisation this book stands out from the rest. It is not, of course, without its limitations. Surely no book ever is? Two are worth highlighting, although I should add that neither detracts from the overall contribution of the book. First, Hackworth never really explains his thinking behind his choice of empirical case studies. Only half a page (pages 13 – 14) is given over to explaining the organisation of the book. So the reader is left wondering why each chapter contains the empirical examples it does. Moreover, there is an unwritten comparative dimension to the book. Is the reader supposed to compare the empirical material within and/or across chapters? The lack of a clear discussion and statement about the implicit set of comparative urbanisms that run through this book, and the methodological consequences, constitutes an opportunity lost. Second, the first eight chapters of the book work well, the last two less so. The central contribution of this book is about how and why the central areas of US cities have been physically restructured over the last three decades. It has less to say on how this has been resisted.

Overall, this is a welcome addition to our existing studies of the restructuring of US cities. It provides a series of interesting empirical accounts of urban transformation; in terms of theory it confirms the need to provide context-specific and situated analyses of neoliberalism.

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Lawn people: how grasses, weeds and chemicals make us who we are by P Robbins; Temple University Press, Philadelphia, PA, 2007, 208 pages, $59.50 cloth, $23.95 paper (£43.00, £16.99)
ISBN 9781592135783, 9781592135790

How can we rethink American lawns? And in doing so, how might we begin to remake ourselves? These are the political questions motivating Paul Robbins's concise and empirically rich *Lawn People*. His central premise is that a complex network—grasses, long dead architects, neighbourhood communities, poorly paid garden workers, and chemical giants like DuPont—all work to produce a certain kind of subject, the lawn person, and a certain type of lawn, one that is increasingly "sterile, monocultural, soaked in poison" (page 138). Robbins is not particularly interested in asking questions like "why here, but not there?" or "why do we have uniform lawn culture in Ohio, but not Kent in England?" This is not an attempt to isolate the range of factors that lead to chemical addicted lawn people, but rather to ask what it means to people and places, how do the actors related to each other in mutual tyranny?

Each chapter is broadly dedicated to one group in this complex association. Chapter 2 explores some of the historical and cultural genealogy of the lawn in the United States, showing that the lawn is a relatively recent popular phenomenon, at once a strategy for making good citizens and capital accumulation. Subsequent chapters explore the economic and regulatory pressures pushing chemical corporations to nurture new markets in the less regulated domestic sector, the web of local public and private regulation that maintain lawn landscapes,

and the experiences of lawn people themselves. Most lawn people turn out to be anxious, middle-class families that do not necessarily choose to grow lawns. They are paradoxically aware of the risks of chemicals but are committed to their use. One woman, for example, put protective booties on her dog to prevent an allergic reaction to their lawn chemicals. Others are more aggressively wedded to the lawn ideal, mowing other homeowners' overgrown lawns under cover of darkness. Such colourful examples illustrate Robbins's sharp eye for empirical detail, which is displayed throughout the book.

Conceptually, Robbins applies the familiar tools of political ecology to the fresh topic of the suburban middle classes. But Robbins also explores how nonhuman actors call into being certain subjectivities, and so we have several riffs inspired by ideas of actor-network theory and companion-species running through the book. Chapter 3 neatly demonstrates that the ecological properties of domestic grasses are neither essential, having coevolved with humans in Eurasia before transplantation to American as part of the colonial project, nor incidental to the unhappy clusters of weeds, people, and chemicals that dominate America's front yards. A uniform, weed-free lawn will necessarily require inputs of chemicals and labour, set largely by seasonal growing rhythms of grass. Claims to take seriously the agency of nonhuman, be it in cultural or new urban geographies, are often rhetorical rather than substantial, and Robbins deftly avoids this pitfall. What is lacking, however, is any sense of the radical anti-essentialism of geography's 'relational turn'. For example, rather than seeing meaningful action as emerging through relations he argues that the ecological properties of grasses set many of the terms in the lawn economy with "independent, prior and often ultimate authority" (page 135). One is left with the impression that the world in which Robbins's lawn people live is one inhabited by discrete essences bumping into each other, where agency is the property of (many) actors rather than a distributed achievement.

The marriage of political ecology with 'weak relationality' is most evident in Robbins's treatment of capitalism. The lawn industry may be globally networked, worth billions annually, but it is no all-powerful structural force. Instead, we get the impression that specific companies are working to shape lawn ideals according to a common logic within a larger, unwieldy, and unpredictable network of actors that is largely beyond their control. Although strongly directive, the relations between the lawn industry and lawn people and grasses are by no means decisive. This has direct bearing on Robbins' political prognosis. In chapters 7 and 8 Robbins offers tantalising glimpses of how the complex network of chemicals, weeds, grasses, and people is being changed. The anxiety caused by chemical risk is one opening point. Local coalitions are working to change legislation and community norms, although Robbins has little time for 'green consumption' that may save a few litres of water but does nothing to alter the underlying relations of power. This book clearly demonstrates that new conceptual approaches using metaphors of networks, associations, and relations can be strongly critical and libratory.

I was a little unsure as to the intended audience of the book. As this book would sit comfortably among recent works rethinking 'nature' in the city, or the new focus on middle classes by political ecologists, its strong normative claims would, I presume, make this book appealing to the growing range of lawn activists in the US and Canada.

Although *Lawn People* may be conceptually a little thin for some readers' taste, with only two bookends offering any sustained theoretical discussion, this makes the book exceptionally nimble on its empirical feet. Robbins skillfully marshals an ambitious range of materials, from in-depth interviews to a large sample survey and air photograph analysis, into an elegant and persuasive argument about the damage current relations between grasses, weeds, chemicals, and people are doing to our communities and the environment, and—most importantly—points to ways we might remake these relations into something "sustainable, sensible and less toxic" (page 136).

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Understanding contemporary Ireland edited by B Bartley, R Kitchin; Pluto Press, London, 2007, 342 pages, £60.00 cloth, £20.00 paper (US $95.00, $35.00) ISBN 9780745325958, 9780745325941

"Ireland is a country in flux, successfully sustaining a growing economy whilst trying to cope with old and new social, political and environmental issues" (page 301). Over the last two decades the Irish Republic has undergone a radical transformation from a stagnant to a booming economy, earning the title 'the Celtic Tiger'. Since the 1990s economic growth has been double or more that of its European neighbours and average incomes are amongst the highest of any developed nation. This transformation has brought profound changes to Irish social, cultural, and political life. There has been a boom in the housing market and in the consumption of luxury goods, for example the Republic has a population of 4.2 million but there are 1.6 million cars, demonstrating a rapid expansion in the number of two-car households. Economic growth has also brought about a reversal of emigration trends. While large numbers of Irish migrants have returned from Britain and elsewhere, there has also been a marked increase in immigration which has brought ethnic diversity to many areas.

However, the processes of economic development and growing levels of wealth have not been evenly spread throughout the country. The aim of this edited collection is to provide a spatial analysis of the complex ways in which different facets of Irish society "operate across space and scale" (page 301). The authors argue that many commentaries tend to focus on national-level trends without examining the huge variations that exist between different regions and locales. The research in this book illustrates the 'dark side' or perhaps what one might call the 'underbelly' of the Celtic Tiger. There has been a widening gap between rich and poor, a booming housing market that is beyond the reach of many poor families. In addition, expensive housing has led to a huge increase in long-distance daily commutes as workers have to live further away from their areas of employment. An inadequate public transport system is increasing traffic congestion.

These issues are analysed in twenty-two chapters divided into four sections: "Planning and Development", "Economy", "Political Landscape", "Population and Social Issues". The book begins with a comprehensive introductory chapter by the editors. They outline the factors which led to the emergence of the Celtic Tiger. The government's social partnerships programmes that began in the 1980s as part of the Programme for National Recovery formed an important foundation to economic growth. Indeed, many of the key factors facilitating the transformation of the Irish economy have their roots in policies that began in the earlier period such as Irish membership of the EU, programmes to attract increased foreign direct investment, and educational initiatives to develop a highly skilled workforce. However, the authors also sound a note of caution as the Irish economy is now highly dependent on foreign direct investment and is thus tied to external trends and patterns.

Apart from economic factors several chapters in the book focus on social changes in Irish society such as secularisation and changing attitudes towards religion, tradition, and moral authority. There has been a raft of legislation, for example around divorce, decriminalising homosexuality, gender equality in the workplace that has both reflected and reinforced changing social attitudes in Irish society. The Republic is now a far more socially plural and liberal society than anyone could have imagined in the 1980s. Far from the stereotype of the large, traditional Irish family, the total period fertility rate has now fallen to 1.98. Within those two decades social trends and lifestyles have caught up with those of the Republic's European neighbours.

Although this book focuses in the main on the Republic of Ireland, relations with Northern Ireland cannot be ignored and the peace process has certainly paid dividends both north and south of the Irish border. Since the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 there has been a marked increase in cross-border economic initiatives and cooperation as Northern Ireland is seen as a safe and favourable environment in which to do business. In terms of a spatial analysis, this book demonstrates the specific impact that these developments have had on locales in the border region. However, the book also highlights some of the difficulties of cross-border research of this nature because of the different ways in which spatial data are collected in the two jurisdictions.

In their concluding chapter, the editors avoid playing soothsayers with Ireland's economic future. The extent to which the economic growth will continue is hard to predict. Drawing on the evidence from across the twenty-two chapters of the book, the editors urge policy makers to tackle the growing gaps and spatial inequalities between the winners and losers in the Celtic Tiger, for example, by increased public spending in service provision, health, and affordable housing. Overall, this is a well-written, accessible book that will be of use to a wide range of readers, not just those with a particular knowledge of Irish society. It offers an informative and much needed spatial analysis of the phenomenon that is contemporary Ireland, and the lessons that can be learned by other countries attempting to embark on a similar course.

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The nature of the state: excavating the political ecologies of the modern state by M Whitehead, R Jones, M Jones; Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, 248 pages, £53.00 (US $90.00)
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It is clear from recent work on state theory and environmental governmentality that the relationship between states and the environment goes far beyond concerns of resource acquisition and movement politics. Scholarship on the environmental aspects of governance and state territorialization has shown (in an analysis paralleling that of capital) that states establish a particular articulation with the complex phenomena subsumed under the term nature, generally abstracting it into taxonomies and representations that tend to further the goals of territorialization and governance. *The Nature of the State* offers an empirical and mesotheoretical approach to the topic. The authors develop a theoretical argument on governmentality from Foucault and various strands of state theory, weave these with an approach to nature inspired by Donna Haraway and Bruno Latour, and apply these approaches to a number of case studies in the industrialized world to show how governance is dependent on the capacity of the state to invoke, measure, and monitor a 'state – nature' that naturalizes and territorializes the state.

After reading the introductory chapter, I was celebrating a theoretically sophisticated, empirically grounded monograph that walks the fine line between, on the one hand, equating environmentalism with the environment itself and, on the other, harboring fugitive environmental determinisms. After reading the last chapter, I am more reserved but still appreciative. Although their review of state theory (from anarchism through Weber to post-Marxisms) and its (in)attention to nature is excellent, by the end of the third chapter I had become less convinced that their admitted theoretical promiscuity was going to work out for them. Haraway is more or less a Heideggerian, while Latour has debts to Derrida. To lash them jointly to a Foucauldian analysis of state governmentality requires expert stitching. But to remain agnostic (or at least uncritical) about the materiality and ontological priority of nature, as the authors do, would seem inconsistent with all three traditions.

Taken as a whole, this volume seems most at home in the literature on environmental sociology, but with a salutary infusion of science studies and 'social natures' poststructuralism alongside a sweeping view of state theory. The authors repeatedly alert readers to the dangers of assuming there is inherent stability in either the terms 'state' or 'nature': "we are suspicious of discussions of states interacting with natures ... because such phrases tend to suggest two already established entities doing things to each other — the state affecting the natural environment, or changes in nature somehow influencing the policies and dictates of the state" (page 14). They firmly state what cannot be overstated in such studies: "in order to analyze state – nature relations it is important to unpack both categories so as to understand how their constituent parts are intermixed and connected" (page 14). From a critical perspective that recognizes the importance both of unpacking nature and of recognizing the evident and powerful effect of materiality, there could be no better beginning. However, throughout the body of the work the authors rarely move beyond demonstrating the simultaneity and mutual influence of states and natures.

Their theoretical antecedents suggest that they are intimately interested both in the need for the continual reinscription of the nature in the state (and vice versa) and in the specific difficulties this entails (and their case studies offer excellent material for this). However, the frequency with which the authors describe the state and nature as "intimately intertwined" (page 58), "conspir[ing]" together (page 181), or creating "imbroglios" or "maelstroms" (page 51) is not useful: these terms create the impression of irreducible illegibility rather than clearly parsed relations.

The authors' repeated counterposing of an external, real, material nature against 'state–nature', a discursive abstraction from material nature, ignores their initial salutary warning against precisely this maneuver. In citing Latour while remaining silent on the materiality of nature seems particularly problematic. After all, a parallel treatment of the processual or iterative essence both of states and of natures is promised in so many words in the introduction: "We argue that states and natures are not pre-given, already completed entities, but continually emerging realities. Crucially, throughout this volume we also claim that facets of the emerging entities, which we now refer to as the state and nature, have provided important context for each other within their respective historical evolutions" (page 14). Their analysis of the constructedness of states and natures is admirable, but is almost entirely one-way throughout the book, addressing how state strategy is shaped by its encounter with a 'real' natural process or processes. There is no discussion of how the materiality of nature—or the effect of its materiality—has been shaped by state strategy. This commitment requires them to make an awkward distinction between laboratories (where ontologically material nature is abstracted into scientific nature) and states (where abstracted state–nature is extricated from material nature), awkward of course because the state contains and owns actual laboratories. Latour's own failure to situate his analysis of laboratories within a larger political economy should not sanction others to do the same in citing him.

These concerns should not distract us from the fact that this volume is a solid and welcome addition to the sociology of the state and environmental sociology that embraces poststructural thought concerning nature and the work that the ostensible materiality of nature does for politics and capital. The authors' case studies are thoroughly engaging, even if many geographers will find the subtitular reference to 'political ecology' somewhat misapplied; their usage of the term is more consistent with its sense in the current sociology than in geography. In using the analytic tools of 'moments' and 'framing', the authors engage with case material from the English land utilisation survey and Swedish cadastral mapping to exemplify how both environments and their inhabitants are made legible to the state through surveying and other panoptic technologies, in part to satisfy the state imperative toward territorialization. Other case material explores "the ways in which nature has been incorporated into the state apparatus" (page 117) through an agency (the US Environmental Protection Agency), a statute (the New Zealand resource management act), and a legislator (the Welsh Green Party's representative in Parliament). In fact, there is a good deal of zipping around the globe to different industrialized-world locations, and if there is a complaint to be made about the case material, it is that I would rather have settled in for a deeper exploration of one of these sites of state–nature per chapter, rather than being whisked off after a few pages to New Zealand or Washington, DC. Later chapters investigate the emergence of technologies for making state–nature visible and governable, through a close look at environmental monitoring regimes in Britain at Warren Spring laboratory, and the debate over patenting nature in the United States. Toward the end, the authors provocatively flesh out what could be meant by a 'cyborg state'.

Although there are some intriguing theoretical inconsistencies in this book, and the final prescriptions seem in some ways to have drifted quite far from the initial charge, these discrepancies stimulate rather than forestall debate, leaving open critical questions about the role of the materiality of nature in effecting governance and territorializing the state, and shining light down the rarely trod path of a state theory that grapples seriously with current social theory concerning nature.

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