

cal scene. Its utility in this regard is enhanced by the clarity of the discussion and the range of ideas that are presented.

The book is not just an overview for the uninitiated, however, I highlighted the disjunction between the practice and the academic theorization of geopolitics at the beginning of this review because the book continually raises intriguing questions about that disjunction. The questions are certainly not fully answered here, but Professor Claval's book provides a variety of ideas on which further research can be built. Moreover, even though much of the book treads familiar ground for students of political geography, it covers some topics that have not been widely discussed. Most notably, a chapter on political geography and geopolitics in France during the period leading up to World War II provides a nice counterpoint to the usual preoccupation with German ideas during the 1920s and 1930s.

The book is somewhat narrow in its areal coverage. The world outside Europe, Russia, the United States, and Japan receives little attention until the penultimate substantive chapter, and even within Europe the discussion focuses overwhelmingly on the major powers. Hence, the book is not a generalized account of geopolitical ideas; instead it is an analysis of the ideas that have emanated from the dominant players in the twentieth-century international arena. It is not hard to justify such an approach, since the dominant players have exerted a disproportionate influence on international relations. By focusing so overwhelmingly on those players, however, the book misses the opportunity to explore how the practices of the major powers have been influenced by the outside world.

There is always more that one could ask of a book of this nature, however. On balance, Paul Claval has provided us with a concise, informative overview of the connected, but disparate, intellectual histories of political geography and geopolitics. Moreover, he has done so in his characteristically clear, unadorned style. Hence, the book should have an audience not only in French-speaking countries. It would be a good addition to student reading lists in colleges and universities where efforts are being made to teach French across the curriculum, and it is certainly a book that political geographers with a working knowledge of French can profit from consulting.

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The Reluctant Metropolis: The Politics of Urban Growth in Los Angeles; William Fulton. Solano Press Books, Point Arena, CA, 1997, 395 pp., \$28.95 (hbk) ISBN 00 923956 22 0

William Fulton's book is a welcome new chapter in the recent revival of writing on Southern California. Reminiscent of Mike Davis' *City of Quartz, The Reluctant*

Metropolis is not a formal academic work. Yet it is much more sophisticated than the journalistic voyeurism that so plagues writing on the region.

Fulton dubs Los Angeles ‘the reluctant metropolis’ to point up a central paradox in the history and geography of the region. On the one hand, the city was founded on the anti-urban ideal of spacious, clean, quiet, and safe living. On the other hand, Los Angeles was able to provide that anti-urban dream for so many people only by continuing to grow into an immense metropolis. The prosperity and ‘quality of life’ that made the anti-urban vision possible was rung out of Los Angeles by ever-intensifying urbanization and growth. Fulton argues that in the last few decades this paradox has begun to destabilize the regional status quo and cause a political sea-change. No longer is ‘the growth machine’ in undisputed control of Los Angeles’ urban politics, Fulton writes, because ‘the gap between the illusion of a spacious suburban lifestyle and the daily reality of a massive metropolis could no longer be papered over with dreams’ (p. 16). Rampant and noxious land development began to so eat away at the suburban ideal that the regime of growth-at-any-cost lost its grip on the city. Fulton argues that the collapse of the pro-growth regime has left behind a void that has not yet been filled by any new regime. Since the mid-1980s, power lines in Los Angeles have become more complex and nuanced, and the space of the city is more than ever a zealously contested terrain.

Scholars have long recognized that the politics of growth are important to the history and geography of the American metropolis. This fact is perhaps nowhere more true than in Los Angeles. Fulton explores this idea through numerous case studies taken from around the region. The three chapters of Part One deal with well-off Westside suburbanities crusading against development (they passed the landmark Proposition U, a 50% down-zoning of most of the commercial land in the city) and with the ‘suburbs of extraction’, which includes municipalities plagued by industrial flight where local governments have turned to noxious land uses to generate tax revenue. Of interest here is the uneven geography of the slow-growth resistance. While activists are fighting the growth machine to a stalemate on the affluent Westside, in the poorer suburban cities local government is teaming up with capital ‘to suck from [the] community whatever economic vitality might remain’ (p. 77) by erecting scrap yards and gambling dens. Fulton does not fully explore this uneven resistance.

Part Two deals with the relationship between infrastructure and growth. Chapter 4 discusses the modern-day politics of water in the region, detailing how the ever-expanding appetite of the Metropolitan Water District has been frustrated by growing environmental objections. Chapter 5 details the blundering of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and its failed attempts to build a subway in Los Angeles. Chapter 6 reviews the abortive attempts to create a metropolitan-wide governmental body in order to better manage economic development in the region. In showing the failure of the growth machine to ensure adequate infrastructure to support continued growth, Fulton argues that it is ‘collapsing under its own weight’ (p. 16), unable to continue enlarging an already gargantuan urban structure.

Part Three covers the politics of growth on the less-developed fringes of the metropolis, where open space still exists. The struggles here are particularly bitter,

for they pit developers against a coalition of affluent homeowners and environmental activists. The relationship between homeowner activism and environmental activism in the anti-growth movement is an important and complex one, and here Fulton misses an opportunity to explore this relationship in greater depth. Part Four returns to the theme of government revenue and argues that local governments, cash-strapped by the property tax roll-back that Proposition 13 inflicted, are desperately courting development in order to increase revenues. In the case of downtown Los Angeles (Chapter 9), this development has involved the county government abetting the misguided attempts of the city's 'blueblood elite' (p. 229) to make downtown Los Angeles fit their image of a world-class center city. In the case of Ventura County to the northwest of Los Angeles (Chapter 10), local governments have attracted a 'sales tax canyon' (p. 255) where giant outlet malls line the freeways and produce copious sales taxes for their cities. Here Fulton's argument about the ailing growth machine is suspect, for in both cases the development interests are successful in their aims, even if the path to that success is not terribly smooth. Furthermore, in both cases no coherent opposition to development seems to exist, and the only obstacle to growth is a lack of organization among the growth interests.

Part Five examines the consequences of metropolitan growth. Chapter 11 gives an excellent account of the success of African-American homeowner groups in defeating post-riot low-income housing projects in South Central Los Angeles. Here much of the same dynamic that exists on the Westside is in place, and Fulton hints at some coordination between Westside Anglo homeowners and Southside African-American homeowners in achieving what Mike Davis has called 'homestead exclusivism', a class-based exercise in avarice. Chapter 12 is a marvelous comparison piece, wherein Fulton draws parallels between early Los Angeles and present-day Las Vegas. He suggests that the Los Angeles growth model is being repeated in other Sunbelt cities across the country. Chapter 13 addresses some of the consequences of an anti-urban ideal so firmly ensconced in a huge metropolis. He reports what he calls 'cocoon citizenship' becoming more pervasive, as Angelenos, especially the affluent, turn inwards and erect barriers against the remaining city. Such an attitude can be clearly seen in the attempts to break up the Los Angeles Unified School District and in the attempts to detach the San Fernando Valley from the rest of Los Angeles.

Fulton does well to show the complexity of the politics of growth in Los Angeles. He rightly argues that the growth machine is no longer hegemonic, and that it has yet to be replaced by a stable urban regime. However, in assessing the reasons for the machine's demise, Fulton relies too heavily on the teleological 'collapsed under its own weight' argument. Often the growth machine seems to be failing even where there is no organized resistance, simply because it cannot overcome the complexities and distances of such a massive metropolis. Anti-growth forces are portrayed as parochial and 'NIMBYish,' and one is left to wonder why the powerful growth machine is so challenged. There is an organized resistance to growth in Los Angeles, and it has been instrumental in challenging the dominance of the growth machine. It is staffed by affluent homeowners, environmentalists, slow-growth council members, and some planners. Fulton mentions the segments of this resistance, but he

does not examine its anatomy in enough detail. It seems an expanded analysis of the anti-growth resistance would better explain the growth machine's recent failings.

I am tempted to accuse Fulton of failing to get beyond the specific case of Los Angeles, but I think on the contrary his examination of Las Vegas points to a compelling generalization. If Los Angeles is an adult city that has begun to reach the limits of its growth potential, Las Vegas is an adolescent city that is blindly growing without caution. Fulton suggests that other cities, like Phoenix, Fresno, and Denver are at similar youthful stages in the life-cycle and that they seem to be repeating Los Angeles's mistakes. Such an analysis, though left too implicit in the book, holds extensive possibilities for understanding the process of urban growth beyond Southern California.

The book does not extensively develop the many important theoretical implications its case studies suggest. Implications for the growth machine thesis, regime theory, the production of urban space, post-suburban theories, to name a few, are extensive yet unexplored in the book. Yet Fulton did not set out to develop a tight contribution to academic urban theory. His goal is to present a well-researched, well-written analysis of the Los Angeles case. It is perhaps up to political and urban geographers, among others, to use Fulton's wealth of information to advance the theory on urban politics.

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***Hannah Arendt: Politics, History and Citizenship*; P. Hansen, Polity Press. Cambridge, 1993, pp, Price, ISBN**

***The Political Philosophy of Hannah Arendt*; M. Passerin d'Entrèves. Routledge, London, New York, NY, 1994, pp, Price, ISBN**

There has been something of a flurry of publications concerning Hannah Arendt recently, and not just in the familiar exegetical form that has contrived largely to emphasize the idiosyncrasies of her political philosophy. The most valuable of these contributions, for instance, have included attempts to locate her work within the distinctive historical geography of Western European culture, and specifically in the milieu of the intellectual and German Jewish communities (Barnoux, 1990; Isaac, 1992). What work like this has done is to go some way towards reproducing the kind of 'worldly' political philosophy to which Arendt enthusiastically subscribed,