

in many (most? virtually all?) cases the spatial boundaries of states are not the same as those of the 'imagined communities' they embrace, at least in part, what are the interactions between the two, especially in the (usual) situations whereby states are much more powerful than communities?

The map of states now encompasses virtually the whole of the occupied earth's surface, so that all individuals are identified with a state – usually that in whose territory they reside – whether or not they feel that they 'belong' there/to it. Furthermore, given the conflict between states and communities, their legal identification with the state of residence does not necessarily give them equal rights with all others having the same residential qualification. Most state-building involves one particular group – in most cases an ethnic group, though ethnicity itself is, of course, a social construct and not a pre-given – seeking hegemony over the 'national community' and others, not seen as members of that group, are marginalized. This produces differentiation between what Basson (in this volume) calls 'state citizenship' and 'national membership': the former embraces all residents of a state's territory who are 'granted' citizens' rights whereas the latter is a more exclusive concept, incorporating only those who, because they 'belong' to the hegemonic group, 'have opportunities to become full and active participants in creating and carrying out the laws and policies that affect their lives that other citizens do not share' (p. 152). Who are 'state citizens' only and who are just granted 'national membership' is very much a contested issue, as illustrated in many of the chapters in this book.

As geographers now preach widely, and some other social scientists are realizing, how those conflicts emerge and are played out very much reflects the local context, in both space and time. Any discussion of evolving senses of identity and belonging at the state scale thus involves a fusion of the general and the specific, from which no 'generic laws' can be derived but rather general understandings

can be developed through appreciation of a range of cases. That is exactly what this excellent collection of essays does. Through a series of fascinating case studies, synthesized in an excellent editorial introduction though a less satisfactory conclusion (not written by the editor), how such conflicts have been played out in different contexts is explored, and the general case more convincingly appreciated as a consequence.

The case studies themselves vary across both time and space, from the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey through Burma/Myanmar and China to contemporary Israel, the European Union and North America. All are worthy of close reading, not just for the fascinating local detail but also for the illumination of general processes that they provide. Some of the essays stand out, but only because of their current interest – notably Conant's detailed analysis of the constraints to free movement of labour within the EU. All but one are by nongeographers (the exception is Matt Sparke's excellent study of crossborder movements in Cascadia) and, despite obeisances in the right direction, indicate little knowledge of the relevant geographical literature: how, for example, can one discuss territoriality without reference to Gottmann, let alone Sack?

In sum this is an excellent book providing the necessary detail on which the development of viable theory on the role of the state in creating identities and senses of belonging depends.

*Ron Johnston*  
*University of Bristol*

**Monmonier, M.** 2002: *Spying with maps: surveillance technologies and the future of privacy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. x + 239 pp. £17.50, \$25 cloth. ISBN: 0 226 53427 8.

Mark Monmonier is probably the best-known living writer on cartography. His previous books include an analysis of the role and

influence of maps in elections (*Bushmanders and Bullwinkles*, 2001), the weather (*Air apparent*, 1999) and cartographic controversies (*Drawing the line*, 1996a). His most popular book, a short treatise on the use and abuse of maps, is *How to lie with maps* (second edition, 1996b). In his books, Monmonier employs his puckish sense of humour and his inherent confidence in the power of maps to emphasize their importance in society. In his latest book, a short but ultimately flawed examination of the 'cartographies of surveillance' (p. 1), he has chosen a timely and important question that will resonate with most readers of this journal. To what extent are maps involved in the production of surveillance?

Maps by their very nature are meant to record, classify and categorize. To show what is at stake Monmonier defines surveillance as the 'use [of] monitoring to control human behavior' (p. 2). He discusses evidence of control in 10 chapters ranging from satellite tracking, crime mapping and traffic control to geodemographic marketing and location-based services (LBS). Monmonier sets out his stall early on by claiming that it is not the technology itself that is at issue, but its application. He compares surveillance cartographies to a bulldozer or a chemical plant which could be used either for good or for harm. His conception of technology is therefore that it is 'ambiguous'. His purpose in this book is to navigate between a 'Luddite rant' against technology and the 'equally naïve celebration of trouble-free progress' (p. 2).

In this view technology floats free and can find itself being used for a variety of purposes, some beneficial and some dangerous. However, as some writers on technology have pointed out, the trouble with this view is that it casts technology as existentially prior to its use. This 'existentialist' school emphasizes not the application of technology but the 'co-construction' of modern life and technology (see, for example, Misa *et al.*, 2003). One of the main arguments of 'co-constructionists' is that technology shapes us just as we shape technology. Maps,

GIS, GPS and remote sensing frame our understanding of the world and therefore the decisions we come to make about it.

Although Monmonier is not insensitive to such a proposition, he is much more interested in looking at technological applications. In this respect, he is more Habermas than Heidegger, separating the lifeworld from the system. *Spying with maps* is a general survey of what's new in the spatial surveillance field, with Monmonier as judge on how seriously we should take recent technological developments. It is extremely useful to have all these developments compiled into one place, but only rarely does he attempt to put it all into a larger sociopolitical context. Although this neutrality allows Monmonier to move briskly from example to example, the down side is that there is no theme or argument to sustain interest. Despite many of the forbidding technologies, the book has a curiously detached feel.

Chapter One, 'Maps that watch', begins with a discussion of the US Census Bureau, probably one of the largest (and most useful) sources of georeferenced social data in the USA. Because the Census Bureau releases personal information only after 72 years (Monmonier says 100, but the 1930 US census was released in 2002) those 'worried about privacy have little to fear' (p. 6). Perhaps, but because of Tobler's first law marketers will infer an individual's characteristics from the larger community within which they reside. Although it violates a well-known statistical principle, known as the ecological inference problem (EIP), marketers persist in profiling neighbourhoods. On average, most of our neighbours are similar enough in 'cultural conditioning, social aspirations, and spending preferences' (p. 140) to be treated similarly. Monmonier covers geomarketing in more detail in Chapter Nine, 'Addresses, geocoding, and dataveillance'. Using his own address as an example, he points out that marketers are often content with American zip codes which may contain tens of thousands of people.

Yet, if marketers do not need to correctly infer the characteristics of every individual in a district, what about crime (Chapter Seven), public health (Chapter Ten) or traffic cams (Chapter Six)? It seems critical to correctly identify the criminal, cancer hotspot or speeder. Examples of mistaken identity or identity theft have long circulated (for example, see David Burnham's classic *The rise of the computer state*, 1983). With our increasing reliance on digital databases, identity theft has received much attention recently, and how difficult it can be to recover your good name. Monmonier's book offers little hope that identity theft and recovery will be a decreasing problem soon.

Perhaps, however, the problem lies not so much in identity theft as in profiling. In the United States we have an ambiguous relationship to profiling. Racial profiling by police is controversial and illegal. Profiling for terrorists is acceptable. The objection to profiling is well known: it is based not on an assessment of the qualities of the individual but on their membership in a group or category. As with the EIP, it is not necessarily the case that everybody who demonstrates a certain behaviour, wears certain clothes or travels between certain countries is a bad guy. What profiling does is to shift judicial focus from what has been done to what *might* be done – that is, from actual events to a calculation of risk and dangerousness.

The juridical bias to risk analysis is inherent in surveillance, as the examples of spatial 'spying' in Monmonier's book clearly demonstrate. In crime mapping, public health research, threats to the environment and bioterrorism itself, the key words are 'threat', 'resources' and 'risk'. To combat them, we develop more and more sophisticated spatial surveillance. Monmonier's book is a good place to get a sense of how very wide-ranging applications are actually based on the same fundamental philosophy of risk. Take crime mapping, for instance (Chapter Seven, 'Crime watch'). Monmonier discusses the burgeoning field of CCTV, well known to

British residents but still something of a unknown quantity in the USA. A foretaste was perhaps revealed by the NYC Civil Liberties union which mapped all visible cameras in Manhattan. They found 2397 cameras of which a surprising 88% were privately owned. As Monmonier says 'Big Brother, if he exists at all, is largely a private cop with tunnel vision and a stiff neck' (p. 114). Despite high-tech improvements such as facial recognition and retina biometrics (featured chillingly in the movie *Minority report*) Monmonier feels that a proliferation of these surveillance techniques is quite unlikely: it costs too much and it is unclear whether it works.

Many readers will ultimately want to know what, if anything, has changed since 9/11? In an epilogue that acts as a summary of the book, Monmonier asks if we have a basic right to 'locational privacy'. He suggests that whether locational privacy ever comes to pass will depend on the battle between privacy advocates and business lobbyists. A somewhat ambiguous ending for an ambiguous book.

*Jeremy W. Crampton*  
*Georgia State University*

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- Misa, T.J., Brey, P. and Feenberg, A. 2003: *Modernity and technology*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 421 pp.
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- 2001: *Bushmanders and Bullwinkles: how politicians manipulate electronic maps and census data to win elections*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

**Pratt, G.** 2004: *Working feminism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. xi + 218 pp. £45 cloth, £14.99 paper. ISBN: 0 7486 1569 5 cloth, 0 7486 1570 9 paper.

This is a book about guilt, about love, about the prospects for organizing politically across