

who wanted to return to an Eritrea (long formed in their minds) to those uncertain as to what an Eritrea could mean for them at all, especially if they were members of minority and non-party groups. The dynamics of this were certainly felt in my own visits to Eritrea.

At some stage, Refugee Studies must affiliate itself, at least partly, to an International Relations concerned with states and state formation, provided that International Relations involves itself with the study of an intimate historical sociology of state formation in the first place. There are Political Science questions for Refugee Studies as important as questions of Social Anthropology and even Gender.

This much is said controversially and deliberately, for the accomplishment of Harrell-Bond should not ever be taken as settled or even respectable. *Nothing* in this field *can* be respectable, precisely because it observes something that is a blight upon the world and our notions of an internationalism. Having said that, the image of an 'expert witness', despite its contradictions, is something Cultural Studies never had. The subaltern was quickly given a capitalised and abstract dignity as an Other. Refugee Studies, in the most decayed of conditions, gives that Other a voice, sometimes a face, still rarely a voice and gaze that wryly interrogates back.

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**David Newman (ed.)**, *Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity* (London: Frank Cass, 1999, 206 pp., £37.50, hbk.).

**Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan (eds.)**, *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory and Scale* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999, 206 pp., £37.50 hbk.).

The problem with social space, according to Henri Lefebvre, is that, although a social product, its nature is concealed by the double illusions of transparency and opacity. The former tends to equate spatial objects with the mental constructs that conceived of (and thus consider) them knowable. The latter is characterised by the idea of materiality that considers spatial reality to exist separate from human thought. The analysis of space in International Relations (IR) theory has more often than not been characterised by the second illusion. Space was taken as a given, an unchanging territorial form which constituted the foundation or IR and thus provided a passive stage on which power politics unfolded. During the past

decade and a half, this unproblematic treatment of space has been challenged by a number of scholars, most notably those with a poststructuralist or a critical geopolitics perspective. In short, space is back and the volumes under review here are part of these explicitly spatial contributions to the analysis of global politics.

Written mostly by political geographers, both volumes take as their starting point the often repeated assertion that the era of the nation-state has come to an end in the face of the multitude of forces popularly associated with the term 'globalisation'. To their credit, both reject such simplistic notions and set out to demonstrate that the 'new world order' is instead characterised by multiple overlapping spaces created and challenged by numerous social forces with at times competing, at times parallel agendas.

*Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity* is the more explicitly geopolitical book of the two, having been published earlier as a special issue of *Geopolitics*. Using multiple scales, the contributors analyse the meaning of boundaries in an age of flows where territoriality seems devalued. Albert's chapter sets the stage with a thoughtful and carefully crafted analysis of the contribution of poststructural thought to the understanding of IR. At the global scale, chapters by Ó'Tuathail, Eva, Hudson, Brunn, and Dalby examine bordering practices from the perspective of the postmodern risk society, anarchist thought, extra-territorial regulatory landscapes, virtual statehood and the ordering practices of the apartheid state respectively. Chapters by Paasi, Kolosso, and O'Loughlin and Sucharov focus on more specific places with their analysis of the changing nature of the Finish-Russian border in an age of flows, the problematic of pseudo-states such as the Trans-Dniester Moldovan Republic, and regional role perception as a predictor of negotiating behavior in the Israeli-Palestine conflict.

The second book, *Nested Identities*, focuses on the nexus between territory and identity in an age where the often asserted co-extensiveness of state territory and nation is no longer taken as a norm. This volume is clearly organised along geographical scales and each chapter contains a section with pertinent data that helps put the subject matter into context. After conceptual introductions by Herb and Kaplan, chapters by Murphy, Elbow and Lynn, and Bogorov address the territory and identity at the macro scale of the European Union, the Caribbean, and Russia. The meso scale is covered by chapters on Finland, Estonia, Nigeria, and Sri Lanka authored by Häkli, Unwin, Honey, and Manogaran respectively. The final section of the book contains contributions addressing the micro scale of Spanish Basque nationalism (Raento), Palestinian-Arab regionalism in Israel (Yiftachel), conflicts over Transylvanian identity (White), and Welsh identity construction (Knowles).

Both volumes succeed in their goal of problematising the question of space in global politics, albeit with varying degrees of success. One of the recurring questions throughout both volumes is that of the nature of the postmodern. An ever popular term, it appears in many guises throughout both books, ranging from the simply descriptive (the postmodern as the era of globalisation) to the theoretical

(postmodernity as a radical critique of the foundationalism which characterises modernist thought on IR).

Most of the contributions to the first volume fall into the category of poststructuralist critique. Albert's chapter, for example, provides a clear argument as to why poststructuralist theories must be included in the analysis of bordering practices if one hopes to grasp the nature of the 'de-bordering' and 're-bordering' which characterises current global affairs. Similarly, Ó Tuathail and Paasi emphasise not so much the changing nature of threats or borders than the manner in which these categories are imbued with different meanings in different circumstances. Along similar lines, Hudson's notion of 'regulatory landscapes' provides a useful approach to understanding the shifting objectives and obstacles involved in the juxtaposition of political regulation and economic accumulation at varying scales. Finally, Dalby's notion of global apartheid is clearly intended to decentre the current narratives of globalisation and thus challenge everyone engaged in the production of these narratives to reveal their preconceptions about space and states.

The contributions to the second volume are more difficult to assess. One of the problems is that the object of the book, captured in its title *Nested Identities*, is to some extent defeated by its organisation. If 'nested identities' refers to 'each person [gaining] an understanding of who she/he is by considering "self" in relation to "others" in a variety of different ways that can and generally do include differing scales or levels of abstractions' (p. 317), as David Knight writes in the afterword, then the organisation of the book sets up a 'scale trap' which is difficult to escape since it invokes only one of multiple identities. The chapters on Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Basque nationalism, Arab Israelis, and Wales attempt to overcome this problem whereas the chapters on Finland, Estonia, Transylvania tend to ignore this notion of nesting.

While it is refreshing to see that the major poststructuralist works in IR and political geography now appear in most of the bibliographies, I wonder to what extent the method and the radical commitment to transformation present in such works has taken a hold in the present analyses. A number of chapters in the second volume, references to the constructed nature of identity notwithstanding, tend to view nationalism very much in traditional ways as a 'natural' phenomenon of groups which happen to live in the same territory. What is missing is a careful deconstruction of the nationalist discourse. For example, while it is certainly important to understand that Estonian nationalism today manifests itself in two variants, one which stresses the rural past of Estonia and one which stresses its modern, industrial future, a deconstruction of both narratives is equally important. Which power relations are being perpetuated by either story? How are notion of state and governmentality tied to either narrative?

Sometimes a biological notion of ethnicity seems to reappear such as when White claims that 'In terms of ethnicity, not only do Hungary and the non-Transylvanian territories of Romania not have Transylvania's ethnic blend, neither even has Szeklers, who are completely unique to Transylvania' (p. 285). The

difficulty with the notion of constructed identities is that although they do not exist as ahistorical concrete things, they nevertheless have a powerful impact upon human affairs. We therefore face the continuous challenge to analytically grasp their nature without reifying them or reverting back to pseudo-scientific categories. This requires careful and nuanced approaches in which the language we use must be chosen very carefully.

Lefebvre suggests a conceptual triad as a strategy for overcoming the double illusion mentioned above in which he identifies spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation as concepts for a spatially oriented analysis. For Lefebvre, spatial practice reflects socially produced (perceived) space, open to analysis and classification; representations of space reflect the manner in which a society conceives of space and controls its meaning and order; and the spaces of representation are the directly lived spaces which are also the site for the production of counter spaces and 'the space of social struggle'. It is the latter which, in subsuming the other two modes of spatiality, offers the possibility of transformation. Including space in one's analysis, while a clear sign of progress compared to modernist thought, does not necessarily capture the transformative momentum of a truly spatial analysis. These issues notwithstanding, each of the books adds important pieces to the puzzle which makes up global politics.

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**Nana Poku and David T. Graham (eds.),** *Redefining Security: Population Movements and National Security* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998, 245 pp., £47.95 hbk.).

The project of redefining security is not new. Since the term 'environmental security' entered the field of security studies in the early 1970s, waves of attacks on the traditional state-centric and politico-military definition of national security have been launched with increasing frequency, and from a wide variety of directions. This contribution falls within the 'critical security studies' approach, among the most radical of the attempts at 'widening' the conceptualisation of security. The aim of the book is to place migration and population issues firmly at the centre of the security studies agenda.

*Redefining Security* offers less conceptual clarification of the security dimensions of population movements than its title suggests. It is rather a series of empirical investigations aimed at demonstrating how different types of population