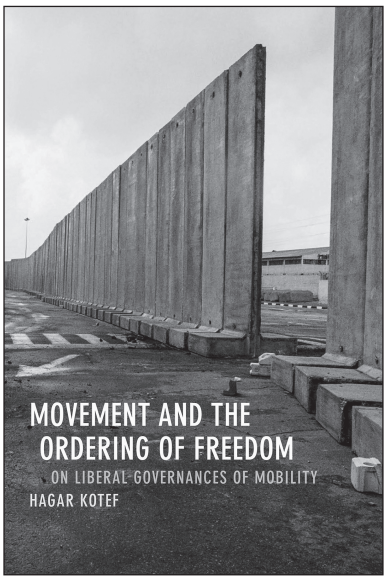
between space and subjectivity" (p. 35). Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate how the ubiquity of identity cards (*bitaqat hawiyya*) and permits (*tasreeh*) are the bureaucratic effects of a settler-colonial technology of legibility and classification, while the "predictably unpredictable" checkpoints that appear and disappear throughout the road system within the occupied Palestinian territories connect to "the idiosyncrasies of a multiplicity of unaccountable agents" (p. 96). The insistent curtailment of Palestinian access to lands and resources unfolds temporally, as Peteet argues in chapter 4, whereby time is experienced as a "tangible material thing that can be granted or denied" (p. 143). Turning to Lefebvre's notion of "rhythmanalysis," Peteet juxtaposes a relational temporality that evinces the Palestinian experience of time as chaotic, disorganized, and "stolen" away at checkpoints and permit offices, against the predictably ordered velocity of Israeli lifeworlds. Chapter 5 explores the capacity to practice forms of relationality that refuse to seize upon difference as a predicate for differentiated lifeworlds and life chances.

Peteet's anthropology is both archival and theoretical. It provides us a nuanced habitus, one that articulates a wider set of incisive understandings of the patterns, practices, and effects of settler-colonial rule that grow out of that habitus. In doing so, *Space and Mobility in Palestine* challenges us finally to understand the incompleteness of calibrated chaos to produce silent or invisible Palestinian lives, bringing into view those micromovements, gestures, and persistent dreams of unfettered transit that constitute resistance to dispossession today.

Keith P. Feldman, associate professor of comparative ethnic studies at UC Berkeley, is the author of *A Shadow over Palestine: The Imperial Life of Race in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015).



Movement and the Ordering of Freedom: On Liberal Governances of Mobility, Hagar Kotef. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015. 248 pages. $94.95 cloth, $24.95 paper.

REVIEWED BY LANA TATOUR

Hagar Kotef's book is a compelling, timely and thought-provoking investigation into the relationship between mobility, freedom, violence, and liberalism. Israel's control of Palestinian mobility in the occupied Palestinian territories serves as the empirical focus for her wider concern with understanding the contemporary politics of (im)mobility in liberal states.

Kotef's important work challenges the common views that interpret the increased governance of movement, tighter border controls, and liberal anxieties with "refugee influx" and the migration of unwanted bodies as the result of globalization and the transformation in movements of people (and goods). Instead, her book shows the regulation of movement has always been an inherent concern in the development of liberal political thought. Liberalism, Kotef shows, is as

much about the governance of mobility (that both targets and produces, albeit in different ways, the liberal subject and its racialized, gendered, and classed others) as it is about freedom understood in terms of mobility and the view of the liberal subject as "essentially a moving subject" (p. 58).

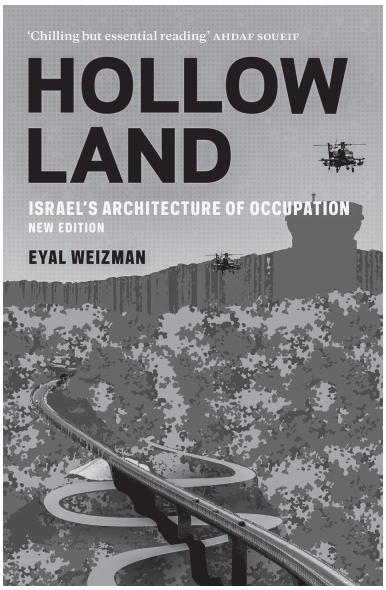
The regulation of movement and the violence and unfreedoms it engenders thus are not "illiberal" deviations from liberalism. Rather, they are part of liberalism's longer historical preoccupation with how to govern, order, and/or restrict movement, whether through coercive force or self-regulation, and part of the longer historical intersections between colonialism and liberalism. Reading Israel's sophisticated technologies of control of Palestinian mobility within this prism, Kotef makes an important contribution to challenging the prevalent—and limiting—analysis of Israel and its policies through the binary of liberal/illiberal. Though not an explicit intention of the book, her reading of the racialized politics of mobility in the occupied Palestinian territories illuminates what is too often overlooked: that there exists an intimate relationship between the Zionist project, imperialism, Orientalism, and liberalism—a relationship that is central to the production and justification of violence against Palestinians.

Israel's regime of movement in the occupied Palestinian territories is one that shapes all aspects of life for Palestinians. The control of the Palestinian people, Kotef reminds us, is achieved through the control of their movement (p. 5). A particularly powerful dimension of her argument lies in the proposition that the regulation of movement also functions as a political technology of subjectivation and citizenship (or lack thereof), demonstrating the close relationship between movement, processes of subjectivization, and citizenship regimes. This argument is highlighted in Kotef's careful and nuanced discussion of Israeli checkpoints and system of segregated roads as "sites of subjectivization" (p. 50). Israel's technologies of population control produce Palestinians as unruly subjects, incapable of self-governing, whose movement is considered excessive and dangerous to the liberal order. These subjectivation processes, Kotef maintains, are central to the construction of Palestinian bodies as a legitimate target of violence: they are bodies in need of taming, disciplining, or punishing if they fail to self-regulate. They also are indispensable to the ability of the Israeli state to justify its repressive and restrictive policies. Employing liberal justifications for its racialized violence has been a long-standing concern of the Israeli state.

Kotef further shows how security serves as an organizing logic for the control and governance of Palestinians. However, Israel's regimes of movement, she suggests, also embody and reinforce other rationales that guide the Zionist project as a settler-colonial and racial project. Chapter 2 elaborates on the ways in which the segregated roads system in the West Bank is a mechanism that foregrounds the racial logic of separation between Arabs and Jews which underpins the Zionist regime. In chapter 4, Kotef continues this line of inquiry, demonstrating how the mobility of natives is constructed as "excessive" and unruly—and therefore dangerous—in settler-colonial contexts. She shows how this view is closely tied to the question of land—a central concern in the context of settler colonialism, where the movement of natives is considered an obstacle to settler encroachment and settler pursuit of land. However, it is a shame that these critical insights are not then brought back to be applied to the context of Israel/Palestine. If anything, Israel's control of the movement of Palestinians in the Hebron Hills, the Jordan Valley, and Jerusalem (just to name a few examples) help reveal that regimes of movement are often primarily about land and settlement, not security.

The book makes clear that it is not about studying "the Palestinians," and that the focus on power is not meant to undermine the possibilities of resistance. And yet, one is left with a desire to see Palestinians figure—even for a moment—not only as objects of inquiry, but also as subjects. Nonetheless, this book makes significant contributions to political theory, border studies, critical studies of liberalism, and the study of Israel/Palestine.

Lana Tatour recently completed her PhD in politics and international studies at the University of Warwick. She is currently a sessional lecturer at the School of Social Sciences at the University of New South Wales.



Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation, by Eyal Weizman. New York: Verso, 2017. 336 pages. $34.95 cloth, $24.95 paper, $9.99 e-book.

REVIEWED BY ALEX SHAMS

Just ten years after Eyal Weizman's *Hollow Land* was first published, the number of Israeli settlers in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem has nearly doubled from 400,000 to 750,000. During the same time, Israeli forces killed through bombardment almost 4,000 Palestinians in Gaza, destroyed 150,000 homes, and displaced about 500,000 people.

Weizman offers these figures in the preface to *Hollow Land*'s recently released second edition to orient the reader as he shows how "Israel's system of control, which evolved in fits and starts through the occupation's first four decades, has, during its fifth decade, hardened into an exceptionally efficient and brutal form of territorial apartheid" (p. x). He does this well, tracing the spatial dimension of Israeli control over Palestine and the Palestinian people with a focus on the post-1967 period. Weizman argues that "the built environment—and its destruction and contraction—is . . . more than just a backdrop of the conflict. Rather, it is the means by which domination takes shape" (p. xv). The author examines the construction of Israel's militarized settlement enterprise from the perspective of urban planning, positing that the displacement of Palestinians has been engineered from a spatial perspective. "Not only has architecture been weaponized in this conflict," Weizman notes, "but the system itself can be said to have an architectural form. What is the architecture of control and how does it work?" (p. xvi).

Weizman is well positioned to carry out such an investigation. He is an Israeli architect and professor of spatial and visual cultures, and director of the Centre for Research Architecture at Goldsmiths, University of London. Weizman is also a Princeton Global Scholar. In the decade since his book came out, he established the Decolonizing Architecture Art Residency (DAAR) in Beit Sahour, Palestine.

The establishment of DAAR and its success highlight the tremendous impact Weizman's work has had since its release. *Hollow Land* builds upon increasing attentiveness to urban space and