purchasers, the process of arpillera making was largely standardized in size, themes, colors, and styles by the intermediary buyers of the vicariate, even though Adams points out that arpillera makers came from diverse backgrounds and had different political claims with respect to poverty and violence. Arpilleras that did not follow conventions for "mountains and sun," contained too much blood or violence in the images, or had sloppy stitching were rejected—and poor women with families to raise worked into the night to produce their quota.

Nevertheless, buying arpilleras inspired a powerful narrative for those consumers who were exiles, enabling a sense of solidarity and continued resistance even when exiles felt powerless and isolated. For scholars of visual sociology, these pictures are, like the smartphone images of struggle captured today, invaluable in connecting far-flung communities in a perceived shared experience, even as the role of transnational organizations and, now, corporations in their distribution is complicated. Adams even interviewed Pinochet's wife, who led a women's organization in proregime arpillera making—demonstrating the ongoing challenges of authenticity and cooptation that are the flip side of commercial potential and expressive power.

Because of the rich images and compelling subject matter, the study seems ripe for a wider audience, and Adams has produced a book and companion website on shantytown women's experiences for undergraduates called *Surviving Dictatorship: A Work of Visual Sociology* (Routledge, 2012). As a result, *Art against Dictatorship* is likely to serve a smaller, more specialized academic audience, and I wish that Adams had strengthened the theoretical development of the argument accordingly. There are some frustrating repetitions of quotes, but these minor flaws should not deter those readers interested in understanding better the tangled, fraught role of visual art in activism.

Hell's Kitchen and the Battle for Urban Space: Class Struggle and Progressive Reform in New York City, 1894–1914. By Joseph J. Varga. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2013. Pp. 269. $18.95 (paper).

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Hell's Kitchen and the Battle for Urban Space, Joseph J. Varga's study of the social production of the Middle West Side in Progressive-Era New York City, is an extended explication of one of the major arguments in urban studies: that urbanites make their own city but not under conditions of their choosing. The book is also a thoroughly researched application of contemporary urban theory to historical material. Intricately combing through newspaper stories, government analyses, social workers' reports, planning proposals, photographic collections, and other archival sources, Varga exhumes the multiple discourses, practices, and institutions that

shaped everyday life in this poor and working-class pocket of industrial Manhattan.

Neither Varga nor anyone else is completely certain about the origin of the name Hell's Kitchen, though infernal toponyms seem to have been a routine part of the symbolic landscape of early 20th-century American urbanism (e.g., Chicago's Little Hell and Hell's Half Acre in Brooklyn). The Middle West Side at the time may not have been quite the ethnonational mosaic that was the more famous Lower East Side. But like its downtown counterpart, the neighborhood was both proletarian and cosmopolitan. Many of the men of the Middle West Side worked at the docks and in small factories located nearby. Women worked in garment production and in laundries, and many also engaged in various forms of homework. The area was "nearly evenly split between foreign born and those born in the United States" (p. 23). Irish and German immigrants who had settled there throughout the 19th century were joined by their compatriots from later waves of immigration. Significant numbers of Jews, Italians, Croats, various Scandinavians, Russians, and other immigrant groups lived in the vicinity as well. The district was also home to significant numbers of African-Americans—before the first Great Migration and the rise of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, the part of the Middle West Side then called San Juan Hill was the center of black New York.

Drawing on Lefebvrean concepts like spatial practice and representational space, Varga documents how the Middle West Side and its marginalized inhabitants became objects both of fascination and revulsion by reformers, planners, newspapermen, and other assorted middle-class outsiders. Through discussions of housing, labor, parks, racial and ethnic relations, and other topics, Varga shows how these reformers sought to transform the Middle West Side into something more rational and controllable with mixed consequences. He offers a particularly compelling account of policing and of police violence in the area, interpreting the infamous incident in 1890 when a "white riot turned into a police riot" (p. 115) as an example of "the spatial production of difference generated by police impunity" (p. 116).

For Varga, the hallmark of the era was the rise of progressive reformism as a distinct form of spatial practice. It was a politics of visibility that sought to illuminate some aspects of poverty while hiding others in the name of an ethos that Stanley Schultz calls "the gospel of moral environmentalism" (*Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning 1800–1920* [Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989]). Varga introduces the term "reformscape" to "describe the progressive imagining constructed in journals, fieldwork, reports, and schools that spurred restructuring" (p. 128). The "reformscape imaginary" was the vision that reformers and other powerful actors pursued in the process of redesigning housing, building parks, and attempting to regulate criminal activity. Varga argues that this was "a vision of community sometimes at odds with what already existed, and always at odds with how space and place relate" (p. 139). In the face of the reformers' campaigns, Varga stresses the agency of locals, arguing that "urban residents interpret spatial restructuring through their own cultural lens"

(p. 39)—though with limited sources documenting the Middle West Sider viewpoint itself, this argument is at times mostly conjectural.

The book convincingly demonstrates that the production of space approach can be used to illuminate not just today's usual suspects like gentrification and neoliberalism but earlier moments in urban history as well. Varga's combination of history and theory is generally very successful. And its description of the encounter between progressive reformers and the popular world of Hell's Kitchen is skillfully drawn.

But the flip side of the book's wide theoretical range is that concepts are picked up and then dropped a bit too quickly. And amid all of the genuinely fascinating metropolitan minutiae that Varga catalogs, the larger narrative occasionally risks getting lost. Ultimately the book's argument about the relationship between progressive reform and class struggle is more implied than specified. If the progressives were ultimately pursuing the interests and projects of New York's capitalist class, why was this the case, which segments of capital predominated, and through what pathways and mediations did capital's influence become decisive? If disputes over progressive reform were class struggle by other means, why did progressivism take the shape of moral reformism rather than outright repression or dispossession?

Furthermore, the connection between progressivism, labor politics, and the labor process is not given adequate attention. The chapter focused on work is where the book takes a sudden turn toward actor-network theory, arguing that labor on the docks is as much about rotting wood as it is about class relations. Whether this is plausible, the line of argument is underdeveloped, and no word is said about how it sits with the rest of the book. And surprisingly little is said about the concrete political ambitions of Middle West Siders themselves.

A stronger dose of political sociology, then, would have been welcome, including a sharper analysis of the state and its relation to urban industrial capitalism. Overall, however, the book more than adequately rises to the challenge, adapted from Edward Soja, which it sets for itself: to "take space seriously" in a critical and rigorously historical study. In its detailed analysis of the production of everyday life in the Middle West Side and its overall combination of spatial theory and historical research, *Hell's Kitchen and the Battle for Urban Space* is a solid contribution to urban studies and a welcome addition to the sociological literature on New York City.