
BOOK REVIEWS

Adriana Allen, Andrea Lampis, and Mark Swilling (eds) (2016). *Untamed Urbanisms*. London: Routledge and International Social Science Council.

Untamed Urbanisms is an eclectic book in the issues it addresses, the variety of fields of expertise of the contributors and the geographical locations of the case studies discussed. Still, this is a book about cities and how they work. Despite this multiplicity, the whole is anchored by an inspiring introduction and a well-structured final chapter that somehow knit together the myriad of seemingly disparate chapters bound solely by the general theme of the book. The introduction — Why untamed urbanisms? — provides a relevant review of the bibliography on how to study and comprehend cities and, above all, how they are in constant change through negotiations, involving formal and informal means, in which social actors participate using their own ways of exercising power, even if through ‘arts of resistance’ (Scott 1990), to assert their stances. The connections between the chapters are probably not evident, or even relevant, since the central theme is so broad that there are several ways of addressing various issues in diverse contexts through the lenses of scientists with different backgrounds and approaches. Each city has its own dynamics and none is a monolithic entity. What could be a weakness becomes an achievement and constitutes one of the most interesting aspects of the book making of it a wholesome experience of dialogue between disciplines.

The book is divided in four parts, each with a short introductory presentation. The

first section — Trajectories of change in the urban Anthropocene — includes five chapters with the common concern over sustainability and how pressure on cities have consequences in their liveability. Swilling questions the emphasis on infrastructure projects rather than systems (p. 24) and asserts that ‘collectively the smart city agenda does amount to a hegemonic project in the making’ (p. 26). Mukherjee looks at Kolkata (India) highlighting the importance of the urban-rural continuum, looking at the role of the wetlands for ‘the proper functioning of sustainable flows between the city and its periphery’ (p. 46). Hajer analyses the smart city discourses and presents a short history of the evolution of the modern city. He asserts that planning should rely on networks and not a ‘top-down techno-fix but rather a project of projects’ (p. 61), arguing that the governance of the cities needs to include those who live in it, a stance maintained throughout the book. Reusser, Winz and Rybski are concerned with the implications of urban emissions and climate change and explain how GDP influences per capita emissions. Haysom’s chapter concerns food systems and food security and how city institutions should be involved in connecting the local and the global in the management and facilitation of access to food resources.

The ‘polarity between agency and structures’, ‘importing evolutionist assumptions about “adaptation” into the social sciences’ and ‘state-versus-market dualism’ in the city (p. 89) constitute the central issues of the second section — The untamed everyday — dealing with Latin America and Africa. Lampis’ text addresses the role of agency in the access to welfare

and social protection in Bogotá (Colombia). Agency is also the main theme of Lawanson's chapter dealing with the predicaments and the strategies in the poor neighbourhoods of Lagos, Nigeria. Dominguez Aguillar and Pacheco Castro look at social justice and describe the endeavours of young breadwinners of Merida, México, in seeking means of subsistence and welfare provision. Mubaya, Mutopo and Ndebele-Murisa look at the implications of rapid urban growth in Africa through Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and maintain that the poor are highly vulnerable to climate risks and are excluded from city planning benefits designed for the elites. Harris studies access to public toilets and sanitation in Accra (Ghana) and the corrupt politics surrounding the licensing and regulation of such infrastructures.

The chapters in third section — Disrupting hegemonic planning — address candent problems of the city in the twenty first century and how ideas to improve the cities' environment, sustainability and liveability are designed for the elites and are clearly detrimental of the rights to the city of the poor. Rosales discusses the practical and theoretical approaches to urban planning and sustainability in Mexico City. This theme is also central in Woldeamanuel and Palma's chapter, particularly concerned with city revitalisation and how slum clearances and gentrification exclude low income groups. Obeng Odoom's chapter concerns Henry George's stance on common land use with equal rights of access, and questions the varied concepts of sustainability asking whether we should 'look at cities in nature or nature in cities' (p. 191). Lawton looks at how international organisations, especially the United Nations

and the European Commission, produce global discourses on justice and human rights that would be central for urban governance but do not bring about inclusive cities, instead they represent mechanisms of dominance.

The fourth section — Liberating alternatives — is the more ethnographic part of the book; it presents defiance to the established hegemonic mainstream practices of urban living. These chapters depict some sort of 'marginality' or, rather, unconventional ways of being and living in the city. Gendered use of urban space by women in Harare (Zimbabwe) includes four portraits — a homeless girl, an informal trader, a nightclub worker and a sex worker — and an autoethnographic account of the author's early life in a poor neighbourhood of the city. Age, class and gender are relevant factors in a male dominated context. Through these women's stories Chisweshe provides insights on why they 'are not mere victims of urban processes, but rather are creative agents' (p. 229) that challenge colonial and postcolonial factors of exclusion. Silva reports on Rocinha one of the Brazilian favelas in Rio de Janeiro. He set out to look at 'freedom' and in a dentist chair he became aware of the dynamics of employment of the favela dwellers: they are not interested in keeping permanent full time employment. The favela has bandits and workers, those who do not work are likely to be labelled as bandits. Their unconventional, or at least unexpected, strategy reflects the expectations for cheap labour by the employers and the complementarity between the (asfalto) formal and the (favela) informal city. Low expectations of wealth and strong networks in the

neighbourhood allow for alternative ways of life that give them freedom to choose how much to work and whom to work for, enabling them to enjoy their spare time, an option reminiscent of the ‘The original affluent society’ discussed by Sahlins (1972). Sequera and Mateus look at Buenos Aires (Argentina) and the resistance against segregation brought about by the pressure to requalify the city. Puerto Madero, the public-private partnership on the shore of Rio de la Plata, built on public land, bordering an ecological reserve and Rodrigo Bueno slum — a poor area, contrasting with one of the most exclusive neighbourhoods of the city. Similar rearrangements of the urban space include the Isle of Dogs, the Docklands, in East London (Bird 1993) and the Expo98 Park in Lisbon. Betancourt looks at agency through ‘citizen-driven initiatives and practices’ (p. 257) in Cape Town (South Africa) concerning ‘inclusion and integration in public spaces’ (p. 261). Sotiropoulou analyses private property as a concept associated to patriarchal capitalism and explores three case studies — a social kitchen, a free exchange bazaar, an artistic project and real estate development plan in a disadvantaged neighbourhood — in which the experience of sharing defies the neoliberal capitalist logics. Edwards discusses food security and sustainable food systems in urban Australia through three case studies — gleaning, growing and gifting — of alternative forms of production, circulation and consumption of edible goods conducive to autonomy in relation to corporate food suppliers and fostering social values and environmental protection.

A final chapter — Untamed

urbanism: enacting productive disruptions — by Allen, Lampis and Swilling, wraps up the general concepts and ideas presented in the various chapters of the book and proposes further untamed reflexions on the ‘many urbanisms that produce cities’ (p. 296) and the right to the city for all.

This book consists of papers presented by social scientists in a conference held in Quito, Ecuador, in 2013 under the auspices of the International Social Science Council (p. 15). All chapters include a discussion of the concepts and theoretical frameworks providing extensive bibliographical references. The chapters are clearly written and are suitable for undergraduates, for academics and for anyone interested in urban issues.

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Evrick Brown and Timothy Shortell (eds) (2016). *Walking in Cities: Quotidian Mobility as Urban Theory, Method, and Practice*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Walking has, for some time now, been subject to a growing attention within and across interdisciplinary urban studies. There are a number of interconnected

reasons for this: the sustained presence of walking — albeit sometimes implicit or unrecognised — in a number of seminal texts in the urban literature; the contemporary context of the intersection of the ‘new mobilities paradigm’ and associated mobile methodologies with a number of fields of study (see Buscher et al., 2016); and the ways in which walking captures, embodies and reflects something of the more contemporary reframing of understandings of ‘the city’ and ‘urban life’ found in the work of scholars such as Urry, Amin and Thrift, de Certeau, and Lefebvre. It seems hard to turn a corner without coming across another take on walking and its relation to the urban.¹ That walking might be considered as having been ‘discovered’ as a means to get to know cities is, however, ironic. The appropriation of walking as a professional means of inquiry begs questions of analytic focus and the prioritisation of theoretical analysis over that of the routinely unmarked work of walking in cities. Nonetheless, urban walking lends itself well to the convergence of inter and multidisciplinary concerns with city life as fluid, dynamic, rhythmised, networked; with walking often framed as both a means of operationalising these concerns and ‘immersing’ the researcher in urban life.

In *Walking in Cities*, the reader is guided through a range (a particular, and perhaps peculiar, one) of urban settings — regularly interesting in their own right — in which walking is mobilised as a means to explore the collection’s core themes. Walking is positioned, primarily, as a

practice through which the organisation of city space might be experienced and elucidated. Each section gathers chapters — perhaps a little arbitrarily — that discuss walking in relation to established big questions in sociology and urban studies, whilst also opening up some new insights and lines inquiry. A section on ‘race’ includes discussions of the street-level contours of ethnic and racial relations as manifest and produced in the organisation of urban public spaces; a discussion of the quotidian rhythms of Beamish Street, Sydney, and the organisation of multiculturalism for its walkers (Williamson), a compelling account of pedestrian ethnographic field encounters as an opening of closeness and understanding with both the field site and informants in Chicago’s Chinatown (Lan), and a discussion of the ‘reality’ of the organisation and distribution of barrios and ethnic groups not available to the walker (Casteñeda et al.). The section on Gender includes two interesting chapters on women’s experiences of walking in two distinct contexts; the shopping malls of Tehran, where women go to experience a degree of emancipation (Bagheri), and walking with a critical eye to and in the ‘donut hole’ of Dayton, Ohio (Durr). In sections on Social Class and Politics and Power, chapters include discussions of the everyday production of community in street encounters in Northcote, Melbourne (Hall), the different modalities of walking as a means of analysing the gentrification of Greenpoint, New York (Williams) and critical discussions of walkability in New

science more generally; a bold but inaccurate claim.

¹ Williamson (p. 27) notes that little methodological attention has been paid to walking in ethnographic research and social

Orleans (Wiley) and the potentiality of walking as protest and collective activism in chapters by Brown, Watts, and Knudsen et al.

Each chapter in its own right provides a contribution to the urban literature dealing with well-known themes whilst offering new cases and applications of existing theory. The chapters also succeed in asking a series of pressing questions of contemporary public spaces whilst also grounding these questions and the sources of trouble in the quotidian experience of everyday life. At the same time, the collection frustrates. In different ways across each chapter walking itself — the actual bodily, everyday pedestrian business of moving on foot through the city — wanders in and out of analytic focus.

Erving Goffman (1972: 13-14) once complained that interaction in public space was treated as a rhetorical convenience for those discussing cities and public spaces, rather than an object of serious analysis. And in some ways walking suffers the fate in contemporary literatures. This collection is not alone, but too often walking provides a short cut to arrive at a 'bigger' point that the authors wish to address, whilst the journey taken to arrive there is often not considered. Indeed, walking often provides a pre-ambule in some chapters; beginning with small steps on firm ground before quickly taking leaps in to conceptual or theoretical spaces that — whilst of theoretical worth in their own right — often bear little relation to quotidian pedestrian movements. Walking is also often handled with a methodological vagueness, and asked to carry an analytic weight that it is not clear it can manage. *How* walking, as opposed to other practices, might enable

critical observation or immersion into the relationality of place makes for an important and interesting discussion. One that requires a connection with discussions of perception and mobility that the collection, as a whole, does not quite achieve. And this is not a narrowly methodological point.

The key issue is the loss of the sense in which walking and mobility practices more generally might not only be a way to 'experience' urban space but might be constitutive element of the urban (and all its striations) itself. And this is a great shame because a number of chapters offer glimpses of further questions to be asked and paths to follow in relation to the spaces they introduce and analyse (the everyday walking practices and experiences of women outside of the malls of Tehran, and outside of interviews, for example). The organisational details of walking are obscured and the specific settings and experiences described in the chapters are considered through the head, rather than the feet, to paraphrase Ingold (2011: 33), whose work is notably absent at points. We do not learn much of surfaces, of the actual organisation of 'pace' (for example) or of the rhythms of the body itself, of practical navigational troubles, and so on. So, as I noted above, walking is treated ironically. Ironic in the sense that it is not a central concern of the collection, but also in the sense that such a ubiquitous practice is taken up to reveal, allude or enable access to things that may or may not be of relevance to urban walkers themselves and the ways in which walking makes urban space. Not to mention the various walkers whose very job it is to walk in cities in ways that produce the 'urban order'; cops,

cleaners, security guards, repair people of various stripe, and so on.

That *Walking in Cities* makes a contribution to the body of interdisciplinary urban literature concerned with the often unevenly experienced organisation of urban public spaces is not in doubt. The collection demonstrates that urban space *is* often uneven and striated and unjust. Indeed, the strongest insights produced are the auto-ethnographic reports of the author's direct experiences of, and encounters in public space where differences are revealed (Lan's and Durr's, perhaps in particular). There are other, more affirming, moments that capture some of the joys available on city streets and the possibilities of fleeting connections and being together in public space. Of course, the role of walking and bodily presence in public space discussed in the latter chapters resonates with a number of key political moments and movements both at present and across the previous decade. Indeed, in the current socio-political context, the sober reporting of the different ways in which being in public space is experienced is an important contribution, and deserves and needs to find a wide audience. The interdisciplinary nature of this book being a boost to this aim. It will certainly be of value to students on various urban programmes and modules, introducing the idea and demonstrating that the analysis of quotidian street-level experiences *is* a powerful means to shed light on 'grand scale' inequalities. The collection also serves as an antidote to the macho overtones of writing about walking in cities. The vulnerability of walking in public spaces, for some people, at some times, in some places is made visible here in sensitive accounts, throwing, at the same

time, a light on the privileges associated with never experiencing walking through urban space as discomfiting and fraught with risk (consider, for example, how much is bundled up, categorially, in the account 'white people walk can around here at night now' as a positive assessment of urban change and gentrification). Walking is not, however, at the centre of the contribution that this book makes. And in many ways, that is ok; there are other things going on here that make an important contribution to research and teaching on contemporary cities. In other ways, however, this matters a great deal in terms of a missed opportunity for a fuller step-by-step, pavement level consideration of the experience and production of public space, from the ground up.

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Shirley Jordan and Christoph Lindner (eds) (2016). *Cities Interrupted: Visual Culture and Urban Space*. Oxford: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Cities and urban spheres are not merely places or spaces of living. They inhabit within our visual culture and ways of seeing too. Owing to that notion, Jordan and

Lindner have brought together an edited volume on how urban spaces are interrupted through various visual modes of expressions. Eleven chapters are placed within three larger themes to define interruptions as ‘cooperative rather than subversive’ (p. 6).

The introduction explains interruption in form of changes that are not explosive but ‘quieter pockets’ (p. 3) of resistance. The first part links the urban visual culture to interruptions that emerge from ruins of bygone eras and states’ grand development plans that impact lives of ordinary citizens not for better. Williams follows ‘the cult of decay’ (p. 9) to reset the meaning of interruption and explains how academia needs to ‘redefine... definitions’ (p. 20) because current notions fail to describe the cities. He focuses on food trucks that are nostalgic reminders of the 1960s to show how the culture of interruption is ineffective and unclear in its approach toward the ‘actual state of cities’ (p. 20). Williams insists that food trucks are a nostalgia produced by the flow of capital and are turned into a familiar aesthetic that the new urban economy tolerates because its surface and flow are not challenging, despite that the trucks may appear as interruptions. However, de Kloet is more amiable toward interruptions in the second chapter by focusing on distinct tactics that unsettle the ‘ubiquity of shiny white scale models in China’ (p. 33). He explores cultural expressions such as the artwork of those who indirectly write about the state through urban spaces or documentary-making that simply shows state agenda through urban narratives of development that challenge the rush toward a global future. He stresses that these interruptions

disturb ‘the representation of a sanitized history’ (p. 33) by calling for different realities to reflect upon. Lindner takes the notions of ruin and interruption in their full extent by concentrating on a park that is built over an abandoned elevated railway track in New York City. He does not fall away from the first chapter that addresses interruptions through workings of memory such as nostalgia and seeking bygones. Linder interrupts the park’s green lush appearance via its metaphoric qualities that interrupt the global city. He explains how the elevated space of leisure recalls mobility that is slow and designed around ‘detour and delay’ (p. 49) within the accelerated city. Meanwhile, he does not lose sight of the visual interruption of the park that ‘disrupts familiar, [and] everyday urban experiences’ (p. 49) without stating that these interruptions are merely episodic and ‘superficial, and ultimately reinforcing urban velocity’ (p. 64). Pinder takes a different approach to ruins and concentrates on the campaign against M11 LINKED road in the fifth chapter. He looks at the ambivalence toward memories and is interested to move on to new struggles in order to write about the interruption from the perspective of future.

The second theme, which includes four chapters, focuses on resistance through creative modes of expression such as street arts, digital visualizations and pop-up shops. Jein pursues what he calls ‘the endotic subject’ (p. 96) to find out how street arts interrupt the rehabilitated suburbs of Paris. He suggests the street arts appear as de Certeauian tactics that interrupt the suburbs through their inseparability from public spaces as well as their tactile accessibility. However, he does not find the

street arts interruptive enough because at their best interrupt the governmental discursivity and the smoothness of public architectures. Chapter seven, co-authored by Rose, Degen and Melhuish, demystifies the pictures and digital visualizations of buildings under construction. They find ‘sensorily seductive, atmospheric visions of urban life’ (p. 107) within advertisements of high-rises and large scale constructions which sell a global city filled with affective glamour. They stress that the urban future sold within the frames can be interrupted by exposing the other side of these glamorous pictures and looking at the digital visualization as ‘objects crafted by people labouring to get a job done’ (p. 118). Verstraete looks at the transportation networks of Amsterdam’s north-south metro line along the media campaign which tried to smoothen this controversial metro line in people’s perception. He traces the visual interventions in public spaces that challenged communications and representations offered by the metro line’s media campaign. Ferreri presents a detailed fascinating chapter on pop-up shops in London. These shops for her embody ‘a progressive critique’ (p. 141) that brings about self-representations and performative dimensions across inner London. She traces the imaginative reconstruction of the city through pop-up shops’ interruptions that are nothing beyond the ephemeral filler of urban vacancy.

The last part of the book is formed around three eloquent chapters that note photographic frames of urban spaces both literally and figuratively. Campbell traces the photographic oeuvre of Morell and Struth to explain ‘the rediscovery of the spatio-temporal [via] capacity of the

camera’ and how that capacity is interruptive. Campbell celebrates these interruptions as they ‘blossom into significant life’ (p. 160) while disturbing the continuous flow of urban visual horizons. In chapter eleven, Marshall looks at the parkour movement and building to explain the ‘interruptive modes of placing human bodies’ (p. 176) in urban spaces. He looks at how different frames and perspectives are configured and achieved while moving differently and arriving at different heights. Jordan takes the lens-based arts as her subjects to end the edited volume with an eloquent lucid prose that speak of street photography. She wonders amongst the frames of Wolf and Streuli to see interruptions of photographers who ‘fold images from the street back into the street and display there... looping them back to their place of origin’ (p. 194). Jordan reconfirms Campbell who sought continuity and interruptions to analyse ‘global consciousness’ (p. 195) that are framed within photographs of urban spaces.

Cities Interrupted interrogates the other side of interruption that is not pursued much by social scientists. The authors speak of discrete conformity that deceives passers-by with its appearance that only looks subversive but it remains an empty shell within the flow of capital and nostalgia in cities. The book is innovative, however, its theoretical foundation remains disputable as the concept of interruption remains unclear. Neither the editors nor authors make explicit whether interruptions are subject-centric or object-oriented; if they are a matter of design; are they able to impact the lives of people; are interruptions inherent to the photographs and their

framing; do interruptions evolve from the act of photographing?

Most chapters speak of the continuity of urban life as a given fact without mentioning how that continuity became tangible for them. Despite my questions, the book is a welcoming step toward seeing cities differently and thinking about urban visual culture from another perspective. Anyone who dwells in urban studies, cultural anthropology and political geography should ponder on this book and follow the curiosities that the authors provoke.

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Jerome Krase and Judith N. DeSena (2016). *Race, Class, and Gentrification in Brooklyn. A view from the street*. New York and London: Lexington Books.

This book is about Brooklyn, one of the most famous up-and-coming places to visit in the United States. But it is not just one more book on Brooklyn. Jerome Krase and Judith N. DeSena have lived there for decades; they observe *sur la longue durée* the deep transformation that has taken place, the downturn during the 1960s and the 1970s when New York City suffered a hard economic crisis and the effects of the urban regeneration policies that followed. They are committed long term to several local associations, as activists, as inhabitants and as sociologists engaged in producing ethnography with their students. So *Race, Class, and Gentrification in Brooklyn* can be read in different ways: as an ethnography of an ideal-typed place for gentrification issues; as the journal of two

insider ethnographers; as a methodological manual for young anthropologists that combines visual sociology, qualitative interviews, digital ethnography, close-up and wide-angle views to describe what is going on and to offer a detailed description of the terrain.

The authors do not propose a new dramatic theory on gentrification. They defend a pragmatic position, following some of the post Marxist theoretical models that see cities as places primarily for real estate promoters and economic actors. They also recognize their debt to the Chicago School of Sociology in observing the spatial consequences of social mobility and the role of neighbourhood communities in social activities. They document the complex and asymmetric relationships between gentrified people and the promoters of gentrification and compare the present with the situation thirty years ago. They pay particular attention to the formal and informal organizational strategies that local actors used to resist certain changes and promote others in the composition of their residential communities. According to their long-term ethnography, gentrification dislocates local communities and lessens support for the poor such as public housing. As to residential displacement, they show how rent regulations are failing to protect inhabitants from the effects of gentrification.

Brooklyn was the most populous borough in New York City. Around 2,5 million people live there today; the size of Paris. It was very industrial and still has a very diverse population, most of whom dwell in different neighbourhoods, each with its own identity. The 1950s were the demographic and industrial peak. For many,

the bottoming out began in 1957 when the famous Brooklyn Dodgers left for Los Angeles. In spite of the urban blight inaccurately correlated with the inflow of minorities, especially African-Americans, and despite the ‘planned shrinkage’ practiced in New York, some neighbourhoods succeeded in preserving and protecting themselves. After the 1975 fiscal crisis, and in response to the race riots of 1964 that highlighted the racial injustice and growing civil unrest, mayors like Michael Bloomberg sought to reshape both the physical and the social landscape of NYC. Luxury housing development and loft conversions were accompanied by the introduction of new restaurants and retail establishments that favoured upscale expansion of some local areas. However, Jerome Krase and Judith DeSena remind us that, ‘income inequality separates people by residence, resulting in increased spatial distance between rich and poor’ (p. 90).

They describe two neighbourhoods. One is Greenpoint-Williamsburg, along the East River, facing Manhattan; a neighbourhood whose waterfront had become a ‘desolate post-industrial ghost town’ before being rezoned and where a new community of mostly luxury high-rise developments has risen. The other is Crown Heights/Prospect-Lefferts Gardens, in the middle of Brooklyn, where a predominantly White neighbourhood changed into one that is predominantly Black. In Greenpoint-Williamsburg and Prospect-Lefferts Gardens marginality exists in different ways. In Crown Heights and Prospect-Lefferts Gardens race was the key factor. It will be useful to mention some ethnographic details that give the real input

of the book for gentrification understanding.

Greenpoint and Williamsburg are now among the most expensive neighbourhoods in Brooklyn. This is the result of a long and dramatic process. Williamsburg was viewed as a stigmatised place because of its density, public housing and non-White residents, while Greenpoint was perceived to be better. The racial composition changed during the 1960s and 1970s, causing panic among some long-term white residents. Some real estate agents sold to Blacks and Puerto Ricans, thus ‘increasing racial tension and encouraging panic selling’ (p. 29). Several neighbourhoods experienced White people’s flight. Yet, segmentation can also be seen as a tactic to maintain the White communities and resist to the growth of Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Whites used a number of strategies to protect and preserve their ethnic enclaves and the larger neighbourhoods by advertising available apartments and houses by ‘word of mouth’ and ‘sponsorship’ of home seekers. They also defended their neighbourhoods using informal surveillance and civilian observation patrols. In 1980 Whites were 49 percent of the population, and Hispanics were 42 percent. Thirty years later Whites and Hispanics are respectively 61 percent and 27 percent. High-rise luxury towers have been built, high end retail establishments have opened and people can now walk along parts of the improved waterfront.

In contrast to the past, homeowners now sell to the highest bidder. The focus in the local culture has shifted from maintaining a homogenous racial group through strategies of neighbourhood

defence, to welcoming the highest payer regardless of social characteristics. So, parallel cultures coexist. Sometimes mobilization against gentrification succeeds. Resident activists have been successful in having a publicly funded esplanade included in the water front plan. They also negotiated an agreement from the city that 20 to 25 percent of new residential units should be affordable to ordinary New Yorkers.

Crown Heights and Prospect-Lefferts Gardens are among the oldest urbanized place in Brooklyn; especially Lefferts Manor where local élites have lived since the seventeenth century. At the end of the nineteenth century, landlords sold off their large tracts for commercial, industrial and residential development. The residential development began during the first half of the twentieth century and hosted numerous communities such as Irish Catholics and Italians, Loubavitcher Hassidims, upper middle class Blacks, Blacks who live in the nearby low-income housing projects, and Caribbeans. Historically, both Crown Heights/Prospect and Lefferts Gardens experienced ethnic segmentation. This was accomplished by formal and informal strategies to resist the increase in residents of colour. Both neighbourhoods illustrate well the complex relationship that has taken place since the 1990s between gentrification; racial segregation and increase of non-White communities. This process was not homogeneous. As the élite White groups abandoned Crown Heights, the neighbourhood benefited from the influx of secular middle-class and working-class Jews as well as Orthodox Jews. Crown Heights experienced the gradual deterioration of rental housing and the

growth in numbers of poor Blacks but also a large population of successful Black homeowners. Then conflict between Blacks and Jews occurred, the violence reflecting the alienation of African and Caribbean Americans who believed that the Hassidims were given preferential treatment.

The Lefferts Manor is a very well documented situation. The community maintained its homogeneous class outlook but gradually accepted non-WASP members. In 1969 people described it as 'White'. Then it became 'integrated' and by the 1990s it became increasingly defined as 'Black.' Today, for the inhabitants 'class matters most' (more than race). Ironically, 'a few Black pioneers who moved into the Manor in the 1960s resented the fact that the neighbourhood became predominantly Black' (p. 44). An explanation for this — unexpected — feeling is that their past experience taught them that Black neighbourhoods suffer declines in the quality of city services, protection from landlord abuses and abusive real estate practices.

Activism has been important in the defence of the neighbourhoods. Goals and outcomes have been diverse and sometimes contradictory, seeking social justice as well as preserving ethnic and class privileges, defending the neighbourhood from real and sometimes imaginary negative forces.

The fight against gentrification is today conducted by community organizations and individual activists. It takes many forms: assistance to the aggrieved; demonstrations, protests and petitions; going to court; campaigns via Twitter, Facebook, conferences and lectures.

Although gentrification may have different causes, it always has visible effects on the urban landscape. For ethnographers, all are signs of the social transformation of the city. During this process, visual signs or markers of gentrification become stronger, retail shops are replaced by higher-end establishments, hardware stores for do-it-yourself and tradesmen disappear. Gentrified and working-class streetscapes can be contrasted as examples of luxury and necessity. These signs are meaningful for the sociologist. Gentrification is a physical displacement as well as a social displacement that involves real human challenges for the working class and the poor. For some groups, gentrification creates not only displacement, but also the dissolution of their ethnic community. In addition, policy makers, developers and newspapers editors tend to support the interests of the affluent.

Social facts are never unequivocal: while activists mobilise against gentrification, many residents welcome the up-scaling for the higher status residents and amenities that it attracts. It should also be said that conflict and competition over rezoning plans can have racial undertones as some associations describe problems of displacement and gentrification in Black-versus-White racial terms. This is not new, as noted by Suleiman Osman in 2011 in his study of gentrification 'Race and racism have long been powerful factors' (p. 128) in Brooklyn. Finally, gentrification can be seen as the process by which higher-status residents displace those of lower status, but it cannot be understood without also paying attention to the racial bias highlighted by the authors.

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Sophia Labadi and William Logan (eds) (2016). *Urban Heritage, Development and sustainability. International frameworks, national and local governance*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Over the past few years, the socio-economic impact of heritage sites and their management policies have attracted growing interest among researchers. *Urban Heritage, Development and sustainability. International frameworks, national and local governance* is a collection of essays that tackle the dilemma between the conservation and management of urban heritage and sustainable development that has a positive economic and social impact on the local populations. This book is part of a long history of research about the destruction and conservation of urban heritage. While initially this issue was a national concern, international frameworks have emerged in the second part of the twentieth century that have influenced national and local histories, policies and governance. An example is given by the 2011 UNESCO Recommendations for Historic Urban Landscape (HUL), which enshrine the passage from the conservation of monuments to the management of urban heritage as an environment made of buildings but also people, values, qualities and practices.

The chapters in the first part of this book underline the disjunction between these international frameworks and their national implementation. The authors examine how international frameworks — and the institutions that enact them — tend to ignore local political processes as well as local populations and their way of life. For instance, the implementation of integrated heritage management and conservation projects at the national or local level and their sustainability often relies on political support and funding, which may drastically change after elections. People may resist changes induced by these projects because of their habits or because they lack information about the project. The articulation between imported normative frameworks and local practices, structures and knowledge, is a major concern, as Nardella and Cidre illustrate with reference to Tunis medina. Jessiman tackles the property issue in Canada and shows that the HUL Recommendations are unable to address problems ‘in areas where unresolved land claims and other impact of colonialism are still felt deeply’ (p. 90) in local communities. Buckley, Cooke and Fayad focus on the various actors involved in heritage and urban projects in the Australian city of Ballarat in order to question the relationships between academic theory and municipal practice in the HUL implementation.

The multiplicity of actors involved in the implementation of international frameworks at the local level is also at the core of Jopela’s chapter. Looking at projects of sustainable development in the Island of Mozambique, he argues that a focus on the responsibility of poor inhabitants in the decay of heritage

underestimates power relations at national and town levels and the negative consequences of past neoliberal national development policies. Kearrin Sims and Tim are interested in what they call ‘invisible communities’; that is, those who live outside a World Heritage area but whose homes are threatened by (economic) development projects accompanying the development of tourism heritage. They focus on the forced displacement of people in order to extend the city airport of Luang Prabang (Laos). In their conclusion, they invite the developer to take into account people’s well-being in the World Heritage areas but also outside them.

The second part of the book present various notions and mechanisms taken from more or less successful examples of integrated heritage projects mixing conservation and socio-economic development. The chapters focus on the implementation of international frameworks in changing urban environments. Pickard is interested in management strategies and evaluates two integrated plans for heritage management in terms of methodologies, aims, involvement of various partners, implementation and management. In the same vein, Ho Yin and Di Stefano investigate the compromises between inhabitants and developers through a governmental policy of heritage management in Hong Kong that depends on political support but shows the importance of integrating the built heritage with development in fast-changing urban environments. On the other hand, Yanez points out the lack of efficiency of current international charters and recommendations concerning the introduction of news facilities in urban landscapes and presents

corporate social responsibility as a framework to reduce their visual impacts on urban heritages. Labadi explores another visual dimension of heritage sites, namely the images that heritage cities create and broadcast for their promotion. She questions the impact of culture and heritage-led development programmes in two former industrial cities (Liverpool and Lille) that want to change their image of derelict cities into one of attractive and creative cities. However, she points out the lack of inhabitants' participation, the gentrification of several neighbourhoods and the resulting marginalisation of poorer populations and the fact that major investors attracted by the 'new creative city' also bring threats to heritage. She then concludes that the HUL Recommendations are not well fit to cities that are in a dynamic process of re-inventing themselves as places of innovation and creativity. Hill and Tanaka also present Old Havana as a place of innovation and creativity. Although the State controls everything in Cuba, the emergence of heritage tourism and the commodification of heritage have resulted in the creation of a new kind of heritage, 'entrepreneurial heritage'. Defined as a form of heritage governance, entrepreneurial heritage allows the management of communities, buildings, individuals and their practices by a unique local heritage authority (to whom individuals have to pay taxes and apply for a licence) and the creation of new forms of heritage.

The chapters in the last part describe bottom-up approaches and alternative strategies. They underline the need to preserve and reinforce the social and cultural rights of populations whose

heritage is subject to development projects. Logan analyses the various discourses and ideas of what heritage should be in Myanmar. He focuses on the conflicts between the international and national Authorized Heritage Discourse based on monuments, the various communities who 'bear' intangible heritage and heritage practices in different cities such as Yangon, where civil society promotes alternative ideas of heritage. He argues that the promotion of alternative heritage is mainly an élite-driven process. Pham Thi Thanh Huong investigates the municipal heritage policy of Hoi An, an important tourist destination in Vietnam, and shows that 'the living heritage approach in combination with greater community participation contributed to heritage management and conservation' (p. 276). However, only urban inhabitants participate, giving feedback. Finally, Narayanan proposes the concept of deep ecology as a framework to develop and manage heritage with respect to the local sense of place. She examines villages in Delhi to show the advantages of deep ecology in promoting the values of place and social justice, and in avoiding social exclusion and marginalisation.

Rojas investigates governance issues related to urban heritage by analysing the role of the different actors taking part in projects, the institutions and structures of authority that allocate resources and coordinate activities, and the institutional arrangements for implementing plans. Blake supports the idea that intangible cultural heritage empowers inhabitants and urban communities, particularly in a migration context. Migration and population movements and their impact on urban heritage management are at the core

of several chapters. The authors argue that migrations, gentrification, spatial segregation between tourists and inhabitants, population displacements to develop the historical centre, result from and have an influence on the sustainable conservation of urban heritage, although the HUL Recommendations do not take them into account. Another criticism of the HUL Recommendations points to its Eurocentric definition and its difficult implementation in developing and post-colonial countries because of their weak democratic institutions or their focus on the economic aspect of development. In this view, the HUL Recommendations can be correctly implemented only in a few Western cities.

The main strength and interest of this book lies in bringing multiplicities together. It presents multiple institutional tools and provides several notions (entrepreneurial heritage, deep ecology, and so on) in order to look at the implementation of these tools in various environments. The book succeeds in bringing together authors from various backgrounds. They are academics as well as practitioners, who approach theoretical and practical questions from case studies in various countries (Tunisia, Canada, Laos, Mozambique, Australia, France, UK, China, Cuba, Myanmar, Vietnam, and India). This interdisciplinary lens may be of interest for a multiplicity of readers, be they heritage specialists, students, urban planners or academics from various fields. Last but not least, the case studies allow exemplifying and questioning broad notions such as (heritage) governance, empowerment, sustainability, heritage community, public participation, urbanisation, cultural rights and post-colonisation, which put the book at the core

of current passionate debates about heritage, cities and development.

Offering interesting insights, the book also invites further investigation. As an anthropologist, I would only question the construction of both the investigations collected in the book and the compromise and conflicts that they describe. They give little information on how the authors carried out their research (fieldwork, literature review and analysis) and what was their position in the setting that they describe (researcher, practitioner). Little is said about how actors came to, or could not reach, a compromise, which would be most interesting to local practitioners. The chapters give little insight into how local inhabitants practice heritage and relate to international frameworks or institutional plans and on how international frameworks are actually discussed within national or local institutions. This book remains, however, a must read for anybody interested in the relationship between urban heritage and sustainable development.

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Marcello Mollica (ed.) (2016). *Fundamentalisms: Ethnographies on Minorities, Discrimination, and Transnationalism*. London: LIT Verlag.

This edited volume emerged from workshops and seminars organized by Mollica on ‘Fundamentalism: Transnationalism and Religious Minorities and Methodological Problems of Anthropological Research in Conflict Zones’ and on ‘Ethical Issues in

Ethnography’, held respectively in 2014 and 2015 at Tbilisi State University, Georgia. The ethnographies give a particularly timely and insightful snapshot into critically altered environments, including areas connecting the Caucasus to the Eastern Mediterranean shores through the Anatolian peninsula to the northern Mesopotamia region.

Mollica discusses two intricate lenses in his introduction, language and contextualization, which aided this reviewer in finding common premises throughout the text. When Mollica introduces language, he refers to it as a ‘victim’, with reference to the *Lebanization* of the conflicts in what were once Syria and Iraq. He further discusses how rhetoric (both local and international) can make defining conflict, minorities, majorities, perpetrators and victims difficult. The ‘semantic trap’, as Mollica refers to it, ‘can build upon religiously or politically motivated (forced) migration’ (p. 10). Mollica introduces the complicated lens of contextualization by giving examples relevant to the text. The ethnographies in the text focus on religious minorities with transnational loyalties with a history of living in conflicted regions.

In addition to Mollica’s multifaceted introduction and Giordano’s comprehensive ‘Epilogue: Illusions of universal modernity and delusions of global secularism’, this volume includes eight ethnographies. Hakobyan’s ‘From Aleppo to Yerevan: The war and migration from the window of the bus’ is an ethnography about the Armenians of Aleppo. Identity related to community rapidly changed in Aleppo after Daraa in 2011. When conflict broke out, Syrian Armenians identified themselves as

Armenians. There was never a collective decision to migrate to Armenia; rather, a ‘community preservation’ approach emerged (p. 32). Between 2012 and 2015, more than 21,000 Syrian Armenians migrated to Armenia via flights from Aleppo or Beirut or bus rides from Aleppo to Yerevan, followed by transfers via individual cars. The Republic of Armenia allowed Syrian citizens of Armenian origin to obtain Armenian visas and exempted them from entrance fees in order to expedite the process for them. This chapter emphasizes the complex history and culture of the Armenians in Aleppo, their treacherous migration to Aleppo (in 1915 after the Armenian Genocide) as well as out of Syria, and the accelerated way Armenia attempted to aid ethnic Armenians.

In ‘Ezidi struggle for survival: From the last massacre in Sinjar to the new temple in Tbilisi’, Mollica focuses on two communities of Ezidi: a diasporic refugee community coming to Georgia from North Iraq and an already settled community of Ezidi living in Tbilisi. This particularly interesting chapter offers an in-depth treatment of the history, population, background of the religion, language and ethnicity, with relevant stories about migration, within the context of two Ezidi communities coming together to build and open a new temple, Sultan Ezid.

Khutsishvili’s chapter, ‘Religious aspects of structuring the ethnocultural identity of the Assyrian community in Georgia’, examines the exploitation of religion in Georgia as a marker of ethnocultural heritage since Georgian independence in 1992. This ethnography details the history of Assyrians in Georgia and identifies markers of Assyrian identity,

such as language and religion. Most Assyrians are either Orthodox or Chaldean Catholic; the everyday language of most Orthodox Assyrians is Georgian and that of most Chaldean Catholics is Russian. Services for Orthodox Assyrians are usually held in Georgian whereas those for Catholics are held in Aramaic. Khutsishvili's chapter is an interesting read as it documents how a minority community such as the Assyrians can assimilate into the majority community while retaining their own characteristics and also simultaneously divide from their own community.

'Molokans in Georgia: A changing culture and the search for new identities', by Antadze, is an ethnographic study of the changing identity of Molokans, whom Antadze calls 'Spiritual Christians' (p. 77), in Georgia and the factors preserving and endangering their unity. Antadze describes the complex historical background, beliefs and organization of this ethno-minority, who migrated from Russia to the Caucasus in the nineteenth century. Molokans are portrayed as hard workers; the Bible plays a central role in their everyday lives and is kept on the kitchen table. Religious and secular authorities are rejected as the Molokans pursue peace as one of their main ideals. They are not allowed to eat pork, drink wine or smoke. Molokans live in small communities, but they are not a homogeneous group. The Molokan ethical beliefs of equality, brotherhood and diligence (p. 82) were united with the secular beliefs of communists, which is hypothesized to have contributed to the decline of Molokans' religious identity and the rise in identity relating to nationality.

Gujejani's contribution, entitled 'Ways to maintain ethnic identity: Folk

festivals of Georgians in the Artivan Province (Republic of Turkey)', examines Georgian identity in the Republic of Turkey through the lens of two folk festivals, Shuamtoba and Marioba. Millions of Georgians live in the Republic of Turkey; the majority of them are Sunni Muslims, and they have maintained elements of their Georgian culture, including folklore, festivals and rituals (p. 91). The researcher posits that folk festivals are a way for ethnic Georgians to maintain their identity, but describes how the festivals have been transformed over the years as Turkish administrative control has contributed official characteristics to these festivals and ethnic Georgians have migrated from rural areas to cities.

Delibas also writes about an ethnic minority in the Republic of Turkey and their difficulties in maintaining identity in 'Negotiating and maintaining identity in the urban jungle: Alevi organizations and Alevi identity in Izmir'. Like Gujejani's study, Delibas cites migration to urban centres as one of the difficulties of maintaining cultural identity. Whereas Gujejani focused on maintaining Georgians' identity in the Republic of Turkey through the custom of festivals, Delibas researches how the Alevi in the Republic of Turkey have begun to build Cem Houses, formal Alevi organizations, in urban areas in an attempt to reconstruct their cultural identities in new urban spaces.

Identity as it relates to class and ethnicity is the focus in Atalay Gunes's research in 'Class and ethnicity in gender mainstreaming projects: A case study of women's NGSs in Mardin, Turkey'. Mardin is a city located in southeast Turkey that borders Syria and is close to the border with

Iraq. The ethnic population is Arab, Kurd, Turk and Assyrian; the majority of the population is Muslim, and the Christian population is rapidly declining. The city's birth-rate is higher than that in the rest of the country. Due to several factors, including the area's unstable political context, there has been a stable socioeconomic decline in the area. The city has limited access to healthcare, few women are in the workforce, and there is a large percentage of child brides as well as marriages between family members. Atalay Gunes thoroughly presents how issues relating to intersectionality impact the work of the women's non-governmental organizations in Mardin and how matters of intersectionality that relate to identity must be considered when applying practice and policy.

The final ethnography, Panchetti's 'Controversial conversions and intra-Christian marriages in pluri religious Lebanon', describes the complicated intricacies of marriage and divorce in Lebanon, a country that officially recognizes 18 different religious sects. Panchetti's fascinating chapter discusses how religious identity may be negotiated when civil marriages and divorces are not granted, as in the case of Lebanon. In Lebanon, only religious marriages and divorces — or, in the case of the Catholic Church, annulments — are recognized. Orthodox churches, through their bishops, grant 'ecclesiastical divorces' and allow members to celebrate second religious marriages whereas Catholic churches grant only limited annulments through ecclesiastical courts. These significant differences in doctrines in churches, combined with the lack of civil marriages

and divorces in Lebanon, contribute to controversial Christian conversions in Lebanon.

Religions are a fundamental component of society and of community identities. Identity as it intersects with religion in communities is a theme throughout this text. These ethnographies are highly recommended for historians, educators and anthropologists looking to further their knowledge about minorities, discrimination and transnationalism.

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On Rich Immigrants

Alex Vailati and Carmen Rial (eds)
(2016). *Migration of Rich Immigrants: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

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Commonly held conceptions of immigrants, especially in modern times, conjure up those from a particular demographic, often fleeing from a set of insecure circumstances in the hope of finding a safe shelter or an economically improved one. This book invites readers to think of quite another type of immigrant; 'rich immigrants', who elect to emigrate and are not necessarily motivated by a plight, economic or otherwise. Rather, as this book so successfully demonstrates, motivations are enormously varied as are strategies and experiences of resettling. As such it represents a group who have always moved, but have been marginalised in the literature on migration which has focussed so

centrally on the experiences of disadvantaged migrants.

The book is organised around the three themes: places, or cities; mobilities, social as well as physical; and paths, in terms of motivations to migrate. These themes follow an introduction by the editors who set up the parameters of gender, ethnicity and class and argue that this work takes a different approach to most works on migration, particularly in that the migration, or migrant's, experience is not the result of forced movement. As such its subjects are not the usual focus of books on migration: the manual labourer, the underprivileged fleeing migrant.

In the first section themed around 'places', the cities of Lisbon, Boston and Paris are the settings for the chapters. In the first, Cristiana Bastos recounts the creativity and (at least partial) success of two migrants, one from Cuba and one from Galicia, Spain, who in 1933 produced a guide to the nightlife of central Lisbon. This account is the centrepiece for a description of migration to the city from many centuries before, as well as after the event. In the next chapter Boston's Brazilian community, especially its restaurants, is Viviane Kraieski de Assunção's focus. The distinction between the Brazilian migrants and the US-born citizens who dine at them, as cosmopolitan and traditional respectively, was an unanticipated but effective comparison. Highlighting the high levels of social and economic capital of the Brazilians aligned with the book's focus on the well-to-do. The last chapter in this set focusses on transnational entrepreneurs and small business owners of 'ethnic' businesses in a desirable district of Paris. The authors, Carmen Rial and Mariam

Grossi, categorise the immigrants as one of three types: cultural, political and post-colonial migrants, drawing distinctions in terms of motivations. They also highlight the 'kinship economy' in operation here, where the family represents social and economic capitals in many of the studied ethnic businesses.

The next themed section, titled Mobilities, begins with Cláudia Voigt Espinola's description of Muslim Arab migrants in Brazil, recording the information that forty percent of this population are employers who are active in the upper echelons of society. Espinola introduces the concept of spontaneous migration claiming that it applies to different generations, or waves, of migrants (those who arrived in the 1960s, and in the 1990s). Both groups send remittances, and have the means to travel home and do so, giving them the status of transnational migrants. Chapter five by Lirio Gutiérrez Rivera is closely aligned to the previous one with the focus being on Palestinian migrants in Honduras, although the Caribbean Coast-residents in this study are Christian. They are a socially and economically upwardly mobile group who arrived as peddlers but now own shops. Their trade networks are largely based on loose family structures, or 'clan-ship' structures, similar to that practiced by the elite in the Palestinian situation. Endogamous marriages which preserve economic capital to the clan are found in both geographical situations. The final chapter in this set is Caroline Zickgraf's on Belgium's middle- and upper-class Moroccan transnationals. The authors refer to the migrants and their families as 'mobile families', rather than migrants, and note the

classed aspect of the term. They report on the ways in which these families ‘do’ kin work, maintaining their close family bonds in three ways: through technology-mediated communication, by material exchanges and by visits. They tease out the ways in which the wealthier and less wealthy families practice and prioritise the three avenues.

The third set of chapters on ‘paths’, or motivations, begin with Katrin Sontag’s chapter on ‘global start-ups’, small to medium-sized international businesses founded as such by migrant and migrating entrepreneurs. Drawing on a set of interviews with 11 participants Sontag identifies orientation indicators ranging from multiple to transmigratory, to circular, to multilocal. While the ways in which each of these play out is multi-dependent it is clear that this is a significant, although small, group on the ‘rich migrant’ scene. The next chapter, from Karine Dalsin, asks the question, as indicated by the chapter title, ‘Why did you move to Ireland?’ of Dublin-resident Brazilian English Language students. Apart from the response of ‘to learn English’ this chapter highlights the book’s claim that the migrants focussed upon are neither forced to move, nor were they poor. In this case they were economically poorer and less comfortable *after* moving to Ireland, although fulfilling their multifactorial and varied objectives, such as seeing Europe, escaping situations at home, and/or having an adventure. This work added another category to the set of migrants covered in this book, that of international, or study abroad, students. The next chapter reinforced the variability and significance of typologies or migrant appellations. Giuliana Prato analyses

comparatively Britons in the North of France and immigrants in the Albanian city of Tirana — these comprise both foreigners and rural Albanians. As well as commenting on the impact of migrants to the built environment she discusses the ways in which ethnicity significantly affected the way migrants were viewed. Those from Britain were ex-pats regardless of their capitals, urban Albanians on the other hand were immigrants.

In the concluding chapter Ruben Oliven asks, ‘Why do rich people migrate?’ and effectively summarises the contents and main arguments of the book as he addresses this question.

A theme that emerged from the collection, apart from the stated aims, was the variation in terminology used for those who comprise this sector of migrants, including: mobile families, transmigrants, transnationals, cosmopolitans, diaspora, ex-pats, study abroad students, and foreign residents. This naming was highlighted later in the book by both Dalsin and Prato, as was the potential to stigmatise through some appellations, and socially elevate through the use of others.

Many of the chapters looked at unfamiliar streams of movement, with Brazil featuring in a third of the chapters as both sending and destination geographic location. By including migrations in both directions nuance and complexity was added to the migration story/s in this region. An area that I am more familiar with, the subcontinent of India and its neighbours, was noticeably absent, as were accounts from southern areas of the African continent. The work was not touted as being globally representative, but it does leave the reader with the question of whether there

are rich migrants from these densely populated areas too, and indicates room for a second in this series. A topic area not fully delivered on, which was indicated from the title onwards, was a stronger gendered focus on migration experience. Perhaps this valuable dimension could also make it into a second book?

The drawing together of such a well-organised and diverse set of ethnographic accounts offers a refreshing approach to permanent and temporary contemporary migration of a different demographic than is usually presented. The micro-analysis of migrants' motives, experiences, impacts, at home and adopted home, made this a fascinating read for scholars interested in migration, and for a general readership. It is a welcome addition to the literature that opens up new ways of looking at an area of migration that, while not new, has thus far been overlooked.

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The book, *Migration of Rich Immigrants*, edited by Alex Vailati and Carmen Rial, is the final result of a panel, with the same title, organized in 2012, during a conference of the IAUES Commission on Urban Anthropology. In continuity with the topics addressed then, the main objective of this volume is to analyse the relation between migration, class, ethnicity and gender through case studies that go from Europe to South America. Within the existing literature, this book is part of a larger theoretical and methodological trend that has been complexifying and deconstructing hegemonic imaginaries about migration and transnationalism. As several authors have

extensively shown, within anthropology (although not exclusively) international migration is frequently an option not to the poorest segments of society but on the contrary to those who can afford its costs. In this sense, it is an option to those who have some forms or access to social, economic, educational and/or political capital. This edited volume is a significant contribution to what the editors categorize as 'rich immigrants', namely entrepreneurs, adventurers, professionals, highly-skilled professionals, students and expatriates. As emphasized in the introduction: 'analysis of the migrations of rich people, who usually do not gain media attention, can be at this moment, a powerful tool for rethinking and criticizing imaginaries and policies that are dysfunctional and devastating for both hosts and migrants' (p. 2). This book, thus, unpacks and deconstructs some dominant images about immigration and reveals its complexities beyond the hegemonic images of 'poor' migrants. Furthermore, it allows us to show how migrations are contentious spaces where several processes of distinction are continuously produced. An example explored in some of these chapters is precisely the way categories such as 'immigrants' and 'expatriates' are mobilized as discourses of class, generational and gender differentiation in several contexts.

These larger arguments are developed throughout the three sections and the nine chapters of the edited volume. Cristiana Bastos (chapter 1) focuses on migration in mid-20th century Lisbon, a Cuban and a Galician, and their essential role in the transformation of the urban landscape through their entrepreneurial practices. In chapter 2, Viviane Kraieski de Assunção

reveals the making of Brazilianness in the context of restaurants owned by Brazilians in Boston and how they became caterers of ‘exotic’ foods in an ethnic market. As de Assunção, argues ‘cultural differences are essential to their insertion in the ethnic economic niche, but in dialogue with the local socio-cultural context’ (p. 41). At the end of this first section, entitled places, Rial and Grossi write about immigrant entrepreneurs in Place D’Italie in Paris. While studying two streets, the authors focus on entrepreneurs of migrant and non-migrant background, revealing the similarities and the differences between them.

In the second section — Mobilities — Claudia Voigt Espinola (chapter 4) focuses on migrants of Palestinian and Lebanese background in Florianópolis revealing the generational, gendered and kinship complexities, while simultaneously analysing the centrality of travel as a key constitutive element in this migration scenario. Chapter 5 by Lirio Rivera ethnographically explores the creation of social spaces between Honduras and Palestine and how her interlocutors became part of the local elite while, simultaneously, forging a transnational habitus (Vertovec 2009). In the last chapter of this second section, Caroline Zickgraf (chapter 6) takes us to Belgium in order to make a different portrait of Moroccan migration in Europe, through the analyses of the complexities of remitting among economically and educationally capitalized migrants.

The third section is entitled Paths and includes Katrin Sontag’s (chapter 7) work on brain drain and highly qualified workers and the way they build their ideas of success in relation to mobility and migration, and

also the case of Brazilians in Dublin (chapter 8), written by Karine Dalsin about processes of downward social mobility through migration. The argument is that inherent to such mobility is the preliminary step of the acquisition of language skills and experiences. In chapter 9, Giuliana Prato compares migrations in Tirana and the North of France to show how categorizations are continuously produced. Finally, Ruben Oliven writes a closing comment that points to themes that cross all the case studies and contexts. One of his objectives is to emphasize the need to go beyond push and pull factors, and corresponding theories, to explain decisions to migrate and explore the subjective and experiential.

Within the larger anthropological literature on migrations this book is an important contribution because it highlights the connections between gender, ethnicity, class and transnational issues. Furthermore, by focusing on several urban contexts — Dublin, Lisbon, Paris, Florianópolis, Boston, Liège, among others — it opens numerous windows to explore and theorize processes of urban renewal, rescaling and the role of migrants in larger political and economic processes at the city level. Finally, if gender, ethnicity and transnationalisms have been over-theorized topics of research in the past decades, *Migration of Rich Immigrants* highlights the need to go back to an underexplored topics such as class and socio-economic segmentation while thinking about migration contexts, discourses and imaginaries. At times, however, I was left with the impression that the editors could have further theorized class in connection to geographic mobility. It would have

increased the comparability and interpretative outreach of the whole volume. Having said this, overall, *Migration of Rich Immigrants* is a timely edited volume that raises important theoretical and methodological issues about the contemporary study of migrations and transnationality and is essential reading for scholars, students and policy makers alike.

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