BOOK REVIEWS

Kayhan Delibaş. 2015. *Risk Toplumu: Belirsizlikler ve Söylentiler Sosyolojisi (Risk Society: The Sociology of Uncertainties and Rumors).* Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Rumours are an inseparable part of everyday life, yet the existing scholarship on them is rather limited. *The Risk Society,* sharing the same title with Beck's influential book, aims to address this limitation. It provides answers to the questions of why rumours emerge and how they spread by focusing on their structure and characteristics. In his book, Delibaş particularly concentrates on the rumours on earthquakes. Turkey is a land of earthquakes and experiences earthquakes at various scales each year. The language of the book is clear and easy to grasp for readers with different academic interests and various backgrounds. It also offers quite comprehensive literature, which is not totally translated into Turkish, but accessible for English readers. It is an important book that must be read by anyone who is interested in risk, uncertainties and rumours.

The book consists of nine chapters. Delibaş starts with an extensive analysis of the theoretical discussions on the risk society and the sociology of uncertainties in the first chapter. The coverage of these discussions is not only limited with the main theoretical references especially on risk and its consequences in the modern society including Beck (1992), Furedi (1997), Giddens (1990), Lupton (1999) and others, but also refers to various examples of rumours, conceptions of risk from different countries, different time frames

and various contexts. These examples highlight the impact of rumours on everyday life of ordinary citizens.

The author discusses the methodology of the research in the second chapter. It is comprehensive in terms of geographical coverage and the methods used. The author and his research team conducted field research in five different cities in Turkey, which are Isparta, İzmir, Niksar, Erzurum, and Diyarbakır. These cities have different features as far as their size, geographical position and socio-economic characteristics are concerned, and they represent a sample for understanding the rumours. The researchers also used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods with a survey and in-depth interviews. In addition to these methods, various media resources including newspapers, videos and Internet resources were analysed during the research. The methodology section of the book is highly detailed; thus, it would be helpful for those who want to conduct this kind of research.

Delibaş gives readers detailed information about his quantitative research findings in Chapter three. A total of 1802 participants (1003 men and 799 women) took part in the research. Socio-demographic characteristics of the selected sample are given in various tables and charts. Moreover, information on housing patterns of the participants were also added as houses play a significant role at the time of earthquakes.

In Chapter four, the author discusses the research findings to situate rumours into a historical, socio-cultural and political background. While investigating through which channels rumours become widespread, Delibaş points to two main

sources of rumours, media and new social media. Risks like earthquakes are particularly difficult to estimate and they affect the whole population. These features increase the impact of rumours. The network of family, close friends and face-to-face relations is more influential in the distribution of rumours compared to other communication channels.

In the following chapter, Delibaş analyses people's response to these rumours. He also puts these responses within the context of lack of trust towards public authorities under the neoliberal government practices. People's responses to rumours vary from not doing anything to extreme precautions. Most people talk about the possible dangers posed by expected earthquakes to their family members and friends.

In Chapter six, the relationship between rumours and culture of fear is analysed as the features of socio-economic and cultural context where these rumours become widespread. Referring to the relationship among risk society, uncertainties and trust, rumours are interpreted as a signal of increasing search for trust in modern societies. The author discusses the negative relationship between rumour and trust. The possibility of both emergence and distribution of rumours is high in countries like Turkey, where the level of interpersonal trust is low. Furthermore, trust towards institutions is also low in Turkey. The uncertainties, low level of trust and rumours have decreased individuals' feeling of security and increased fear. Both quantitative and qualitative methods support these arguments in Chapter 7. It should be highlighted that presenting various

examples of rumours from different countries, the author asserts that these arguments are not only limited to the Turkish context, rather they have world-wide effects. People are pessimistic about not only the future of Turkey, but the future of the world as well.

In Chapter 8, the author discusses his findings in a comprehensive manner. These can be summarized as follows: Rumours are social construction and they are a medium of communication. They have a historical background. They are widespread social phenomenon. In this chapter, the author also summarizes his discussions made in each chapter.

In the last chapter of the book, Delibaş highlights that the reasons for both the emergence and spread of rumours are related to the decrease in both cultural and institutional authorities and the erosion of trust at both inter-personal and institutional levels. At this point, the author argues that there is an increasing need for cooperation among universities and public institutions for conducting research to better understand rumours and to better respond to them when necessary. At the end of the book, Turkey is conceptualized as a model of 'risk society', and increasing uncertainties and perception of risk could refer to Zeitgeist (Delibaş 2015: 306).

Why is this research crucial? Few sociological studies are conducted in this field. Field research presented in this book covers the geographical context of Turkey and also offers a valuable combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods. Also, the detailed coverage of theoretical and conceptual themes combined with research findings gives

inspiration for new research studies on rumours.

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Ilay Romain Örs. 2018. *Diaspora of the City, Stories of Cosmopolitanism from Istanbul and Athens*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Ilay Romain Örs' s work, *Diaspora of the City, Stories of Cosmopolitanism from Istanbul and Athens*, is about the cultural identity and life stories of the Rum Polites, that is people whose place of origin is Constantinople, residing primarily in Athens in specific geographical locations. Aspects of the research include the way they define their identity in terms of their daily life, their daily social relations, their perceptions about history, their traumatic memories about the violent ways their displacement took place as well as their cultural connection with the urban cosmopolitanism of Istanbul. Based on ethnographic data collected from systematic fieldwork in the urban location of Rum Polites residences, mainly in Paleo Faliro area, Örs traces the interconnection between political history, memory and their

experience through the narratives of the involuntary protagonists of diasporic communities. Hence, following a chronological Prologue about the major events signifying important moments in the memory of diasporic actors, Chapter 2 introduces the notion of cosmopolitanism as an extension of metropolitan knowledge. It is this relation that marks the dividing line between Greeks living in the Istanbul in the past and Greeks living in Greece. In Chapter 3 Örs goes on to present the perceptions of others about Rum Polites identity. These people embody a certain level of differentiation form other Greeks in general, called exclusive diversity. In this context, their relations with the Turks become very ambiguous. Using Michael Herzfeld's concept of *disemia*, Örs tests conventional labels and categories against the ethnographic evidence collected problematizing widely used social categories. Hence the ground is set for criticizing the notion of methodological nationalism against the Kantian concept of methodological cosmopolitanism by showing in what ways informants consider themselves as 'diaspora in the city'. Chapter 4 explores the traumatic recent past with the Turks, observing how informants build their narrative about the past and addresses the way in which the involvement of the ethnographer affects their diagnostic events of commemorations. Chapter 5 analyses acts and events of nostalgia related with cosmopolitan Istanbul. Focusing on different aspects of cosmopolitanism, Örs discusses the different ways Rum Polites conceive Istanbul, as well as how other Istanbul communities relate to the city as a source of identity. In the final chapter there is an attempt to comment and update the

social, political, cultural, historical and urban setting. It is concluded that a more comprehensive understanding of concepts lie diaspora and cosmopolitanism can be achieved by taking into account the current manifestations of the historical aspects of the city as well as the ways in which alternative identities are formulated. Örs's study embodies an interesting ethnographic approach, as it involves the recourse to anthropology, history and political science as well as a daring methodological attempt aimed at unveiling hidden injuries, past memories and actual lives — elements that constitute the identity of contemporary Rum Polites living in Athens. What I found very attractive was the great effort these people make both to manage their traumatic past and refrain from concealing their identity in their new settlement areas. In this light, to look at their effort for survival through their narratives means to explore the ways in which they define their sense of belonging to a cosmopolitan past and present.

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James Rosbrook-Thompson and Gary Armstrong. 2018. *Mixed-Occupancy Housing in London: A Living Tapestry*. Palgrave Macmillan.

As the editors of the Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology note in a comment to this text, the percentage of humans living in cities and towns has increased dramatically in the past 100 years. The means of evaluating the effects of this transition from mobile human groups like hunter gatherers, the regularities of movement of transhumant pastoralists, less mobile shifting horticulturalists or sedentary villagers has been limited by the lack of comprehensive comparative studies of the traditional ethnographies. Most of these, like that by Melville Herskovits and C. Daryl Forde, have been focused on economic aspects, while a few (for example, Francis L.K. Hsu) have been more psychologically oriented and focused on one ethnic group or overseas ghettos of specific ethnic groups as in Bernard Wong's work. Yet, a vast amount of ethnographic work was done in the 20th century on urban life, both by sociologists inspired or trained by Robert E. Park or social anthropologists (the authors recognize the work of W.E.B. Du Bois in this area and one should add Allison Davis [1939]. whose work in the South and among urban African American communities informed a generation of students of boundaries to educational success).

The modern city of the 20th century, however, has seen a fundamental transformation of living space in the reorganization of residential neighbourhoods with commercial zones within them into service centres for information and financial industries (Sassen 2011). Rosbrook-Thompson and Armstrong have produced a document that provides a view of the life of people in a 20th and 21st century urban residence. The antecedents of events often make history surprising. As Francis Hsu (1967) said, the world's historians and political scientists were shocked when 'tradition bound' China, a nation and people often used as a prime example of the 'unchanging East' became communist. We are in like measure

surprised at some reversals in expectation regarding optimal housing conditions.

Rosbrook-Thompson and Armstrong begin their ethnography with the post WWII attempt to establish ideal communities and quote Lewis Mumford on the importance of the social constitution of such endeavours. Since the time of Pythagoras (Zhmud 2012), efforts to produce stable and enduring communities where the inhabitants live in relative harmony has been a dream. Rosbrook-Thompson and Armstrong effectively summarize the dismal housing situation for working people in England and the failure of political will to produce an affordable housing stock. The effect of the privatization of council housing under Thatcher and its continuation to the present is shown to be a major factor. The subject of their study, Lashall Green, is an example of social housing typical of the post war effort. Unlike Watling estate (Durant 1939), which was isolated at its beginning from the urban core or American examples of new towns like Levittown (Gans 1967) whose intrusive nature produced racist charges and cultural conflict in addition to theories of isolation and psychological crises in fairly homogenous populations, Lashall Green departs significantly in its diversity. From its beginning in the 1960s it was a haven for immigrants, from Irish, West Africans and people of the Indian subcontinent to Cypriots.

The study of such a development as Lashall Green, with 148 housing units, compares in complexity to a small village, yet the special nature of its uniformity of design belie such comparison. The elements of governmental desire for multiculturalism and affordability provide us with an experimental roadmap for good intentions, while the context is obviously self-defeating, where the government is also promoting gentrification. So, the authors chart the intercept of how the community of residents unfolds and responds to these factors. They note the 'Malinowskian contradiction' between what people do and what they say they do, and while the visiting scholar can get some hint of this on several visits to a community, it is necessary in my view for one to live within a set neighbourhood and see and experience these divisions, which gives more weight to the authors' findings.

Perhaps of most interest today is the opportunity the authors had to record the consequences of the 'Right to Buy' programme and the credit crisis within the diverse community of Lashall Green. But the authors address the ideologies and the intentions of planners and policy as in Ebeneezer Howard's efforts regarding overcrowding. It is ironic that today we are recognizing the 'metropolitan knowledge' people develop to negotiate the various physical and social landscapes and boundaries of urban spaces in different cultural meanings (Pellow 1996, Sennett 1994) which has made 19th century ideas of overcrowding seem quaint (Low 1996). The authors provide a detailed introduction to the history of urban theory and planning as well as urban ethnography, importantly in the context of recent developments in the United Kingdom, especially regarding diversity and affordability and the politics of safety in housing made dramatically clear in the horrific fire at Grenfell Tower. In other interpretations of migration and housing pressure on preexisting ethnic groups, the authors point out that new terms

like 'supercomplexity' can hide or confuse racism and xenophobia as gentrification can dilute the ethnic character of communities and cause fear of forced economic internal migration, as San Francisco has experienced with the loss of established African American communities (Fuller 2016). At the same time, the idea of the global city suggests a future urban scene of integration based on merit; in some cities conflict has destroyed traditional neighbourhoods and created greater isolation and discrimination as in Northern Ireland, Aleppo and Sarajevo. In another form, across the globe 'densification' is putting unrelenting pressure on older suburbs (Skovbro 2002). But while much of the liquidity produced by central banks in the USA and the UK found its way to produce luxury homes and a glut of speculation, little affordable housing has resulted (Cox 2018). Rosbrook-Thompson and Armstrong (2018) show how this has been a repeated situation for over 150 years, even quoting Nye Bevan Minister for Health speaking before Commons in 1946 to the same point regarding the behaviour of speculators.

What is creative and of great benefit in this ethnography of LG is not only the intimate knowledge of the occupants and surrounding areas and their relationships as venues for human activities, but the detailed approach to the economic interrelationships of the residents of LG with each other and those outside. The networks of occupations from drug dealing to teaching show the actual means of exchange and interdependence that exists. This continues in a fuller sense by their engagement of the police and other 'custodians of order' to give an analysis of what people consider to be acceptable disorder and how the 'custodians' negotiate their role. The authors are correct to question the nature of how positive values have been placed on diversity and what this presages, as in the former ideas of artist enclaves (SOMAs and SOHOs) and opportunities for development. Bernard Wong (for example, 1982; also, Wong and Chee-Beng 2013) and Antonello Mangano (2016) have investigated such areas in the past where the routine creation of ghettos for foreign residents becomes associated with illegal commerce, labour exploitation and zones of moral neutrality (Burrows and Wallace 1999). The idea of ghetto as internal colony has also been applied to zones of interaction and diversity (Harris 1972).

The authors pursue the means of access to knowledge and action within LG regarding gender. How individuals from different socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds interact to produce outcomes beneficial to the creation of safe places for children to play, for parents to exchange goods (especially 'hand-me-downs') are essential to understand gender asymmetry and its effects generationally. But the transition in labour from stable unionized jobs after the 1990s led to temporary, service jobs that were seen as increasingly female. This was seen in the USA as well and is described by Bourgois (2003) with devastating effect.

The authors' focus on the privatization of council housing is most important. The process of changing new standardized housing for working class families into slum housing waiting to be demolished or sold reflects the failure of politicians and the electorate to recognize how key reinvestment in upgrades and

amenities is to continued attractive aspects of stable communities. Once maintenance becomes such a problem that significant units are boarded up the community suffers related problems. It is obvious that LG, like many similar projects, experienced the uncertainties of private landlords. While reinvestment can be a character of well managed non-profit housing in the USA, funds are seldom adequate as seen in the UK, and the arrival of private landlords, either by leasing multiple units or single units can be deadly as new class divisions can arise between renters and owners vs renters and non-profit management.

Also timely is the authors' investigation of the nature of employment and the effect entrenched groups have had on new arrivals and globalization, especially in building and the substantial incomes available and then the collapse of the council labour force in the 1980s and early 1990s. It is important that the authors traced the effects of legislation on LG, as in the anti-discrimination housing legislation in the 1970s. The choice by the authors to include numerous quotations from residents of LG is helpful in gaining an understanding of how attitudes developed, especially from generation to generation. This lends considerable context to the process of outsourcing and restructuring and the change in opportunities on marginal professionals which is termed, 'proletarianisation'. At the same time, the different opportunities and experiences of immigrants and their interaction in their differently shaped economically 'different worlds' was quite parallel to other major cities where one class of immigrants services another. The fluid ladder here between entry as a squatter and

underemployment to 'gig economy' temporary and illegal jobs to contract and public employment is quite well defined. Though cash employment and temporary work more affected women as shown in Chapter 7. This fluidity, did not seem to be sufficient to break down 'ethno-racial' lines, though economic ties were formed in weak and temporary junctures, both in the legal and illegal branches of the economy.

The authors also describe one of the main problems of managed housing where authorized renters, due to disability or benefits, can subvert the system for personal gain (sometimes even with the connivance of resident supervisors) and sublet their units to others. Reference to the 'broken windows' theory of policing in the context of illegal economic behaviour is made but appropriately questioned as increasing non-resident ownership, speculation and decreased services lead to neglect and a lack of authority. While the theory requires a no-tolerance attitude in policing, the initial signs and signals of neglect that it argued concentrated on illegal behaviour, ignoring landlord or absentee neglect in maintenance. Controversy surrounds the theory in general (Braga, Welsh and Schnell 2015). The study by Braga et al. (2015) found a variety of interpretations and implementations of the theory. It seems obvious from the review that few police departments linked code violations, 'cosmetic' physical disorder like broken windows with crime rates and policing targets. Therefore, evaluating the theory is quite difficult. Policing physical disorder requires landlords to spend money as does treating social disorder (drug problems, education, public health), all of which requires investments in the

community. One might argue that a factor in this was the 'Buy to Let' process and its popularity discussed in Chapter 6, though the authors argue that an integrative role is played by a 'settler sensibility' of original presence and investment in community that appears similar to that quality of the first residents in Levittown described by Gans (1967).

The role of community 'institutions', like the pub, are an example of how these function and their manifestations change with time. The pub owner and the community of men who used it created an ethos around violence that limited its extent, but the spread of drugs (for example, cocaine) changed that and reduced the ability of the pub owner and the community to monitor and enforce limits. Changing demographics and cultural inclusion/exclusion affect such institutions. The extensive quotes from Fran are an example of local knowledge and custom, giving an insight on how families, especially with children, negotiated problems. However, it is interesting how often university students show up in the resident quotations, usually as disruptive agents and as a separate class, like Gans' 'mobiles'. Yet the desire to find acceptance among immigrants was as significant as the students' positive attitudes toward diversity and difference, while crime and conflict are centrifugal, the former are centripetal and integrative as was Allport's idea of knowledge of others derived from contact.

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Manos Spyridakis (ed). 2018. *Market Versus Society: Anthropological Insights*. Palgrave Macmillan

Given the perplexing, and dangerous, state of the global economy today and going forward, *Market Versus Society* edited by Manos Spyridakis is a very welcome addition to the Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology. Although many books and articles have been written in recent years in which the word 'neoliberalism' prominently appears, few have succinctly defined the complex phenomenon and, most importantly, connected it directly to individual cases in unique global contexts. A diverse collection of expert contributors provides the reader with detailed, in depth analyses and expositions of a wide variety of economic and social situations. As the world economy seems to be hopping from one political crisis to another, they are especially timely. The volume fills in some important gaps, if not gulfs, in available scholarship on a problem that, if not attended to, could cast the global economy into at least a global recession, if not a global depression. Most of the work that I have read on neoliberalism seems to avoid its most difficult and complicated aspects as opposed to this one which meets them head on.

In his expansive Introduction, the editor, Manos Spyridakis, places the current crisis as a contemporary Enclosures Act, making the economically weak weaker and even more vulnerable to predation. This was demonstrated by the massive subprime mortgage fraud in the USA that, because of the financialization of the American economy, became an epidemic resulting in a tsunami that caused shipwrecks across the world. As noted, the alleged end of the crisis required the expropriation by global capitalists of public as well as private funds to right the ship that was floundered by their own greed.

Plainly stated by the volume's editor (see also Spyridakis 2013 and 2017), after

discussing Keynes (1930), Bauman (2017), and of course Marx and Engels (1967):

> … within a neoliberally oriented context favouring adverse social incorporation, deregulated labour relations and massive layoffs, contemporary people experience the gradual disappearance of standard aspects of life and the advent of its insecure forms as well as the emergence of vulnerable social relationships (Castel 2000), threatening both their material survival and life trajectories. Caught in this situation defined by distant economic power structures and in pedagogic political technologies that advocate less social protection for the market's invisible hand, vulnerable people, being de-unionised and unable to forge a class become powerless to defend themselves and are unwittingly led to a grey area regarding their work identity and life trajectory (3-4).

Neoliberalism has become the dominant policy paradigm. Its purveyors argue that the most efficient distributors of 'goods, services and happiness' are 'unfettered markets'. In their wake, the vulnerable suffer from its 'devastating effects' such as structural adjustment and austerity programs that increase poverty rates and reduce governmental social. In tandem with globalization, neoliberal policies have also led to an extreme concentration of wealth. The volume convincingly argues that Anthropology is in a unique position to combine interpretive models and methodological tools to describe and analyse its causes and effects.

For example, in reference to the banking crises in Greece and Italy, ordinary people seem to be unaware of what is happening and therefore unlikely to effectively respond. Several chapters deal with more and less successful organized responses to both national and local problems. By carefully combining empirical data and a wide range of theoretical devices, the volume demonstrates how ordinary people learn about and respond to the growing unequal distributions of wealth in the global neoliberal economy.

Theoretically and methodologically focused contributions include: James G. Carrier's 'Economy and Society, Neoliberal Reform and Economic Deviance'; Alf Hornborg's 'The Root of All Evil: Money, Markets, and the Prospects of Rewriting the Rules of the Game'; Iain Lindsay's 'Sport, the Market and Society: Contrasting the Rhetoric and Reality of Sport as a Growth Catalyst' and Paul Durrenberger's 'Anthropology in a Neoliberal World'. Other contributions that discuss theory and methods but also have a distinct geographical focus are as follows: Italo Pardo, 'Managing Against the Odds: Economic Crisis, Bad Governance and Grassroots Entrepreneurialism in Naples'; Giuliana B. Prato, 'From Nationalization to Neoliberalism: Territorial Development and City Marketing in Brindisi'; Andreas Streinzer, 'Relations with the Market: On Cosmologies of Capitalism in Greece'; Manos Spyridakis, '"We Are All Socialists": Greek Crisis and Precarization'; Julia Soul, '"De proletarios a propietarios… Neoliberal Hegemony, Labour Commodification, and Family Relationships in a "Petty" Steel Workers' Firm'; Fulvia D'Aloisio, 'At the Periphery

of Development: Scenarios and Actors of an Industrial Settlement Experiment and Its Crisis in the Case of FIAT-SATA in Melfi'; Gadi Nissim, 'Workers' Committees in Israel in the Heyday of Neoliberalism: From Consent to Professionalisation to Alternative Solutions'; Martin Buedel, 'Autonomy and Adaptivity: Farmer's Work in France'; Alicia Regada, 'Economic Rationality and Human Experience: Global Agrifood Chains from the Perspective of Social Anthropology'; Christian Zlolniski, 'Neoliberal Agrarian Policies and Its Effects: Labour Flexibility and Regimentation in Mexico's Export Agricultural Industry'; Corine Vedrine, 'The Renegotiation of Identity and Alterity in an Economically and Spatially Changing Context: The Case of a Former Industrial and Mining District of Saint-Etienne'; and Michel Rautenberg, '"Weak Heritage" and Neighbourhood in Contemporary Cities: Capitalism and Memories of Urban Utopias'.

Although all the chapters were rich in detail and insight, a few were especially valuable for this reader. In James G. Carrier's chapter on economic deviance, was an unusually clear definition of '… neoliberalism as ideas and policies these vary, but common ideas are that government should have a minimal role in the country's economy and that people should be independent and satisfy their needs and desires through market transactions. Common policies include a reduction in public services and government oversight and regulation of economic activities' (23-24). Another exceptional assertion was made by Giuliana B. Prato who looked critically at the

relationship between economic and political policies agendas as follows:

Although it has become *the* paradigm for global policies, neoliberalism is more than just an economic mechanism. It would appear to be a *total* governing system that seeks to adapt society to its needs. Politics – national or global– has not disappeared; mostly, it just tends to follow suit. Neoliberalism and market deregulation do need a supporting political apparatus. At the same time, at the local level attempts are increasingly made to adapt trendy neoliberal templates to this situation on the ground, encouraging a neo-Smithean approach to 'individual' entrepreneurial competition that would benefit society as a whole. Ethnographic analysis has the power to bring out these dynamics. (98)

The final chapter, Paul Durrenberger's overview of the volume, was especially valuable, as that which proceeded it, and was much too much to digest in one sitting. As a scholar-activist who studies local urban neighbourhoods and uses auto-ethnography as a tool for change he asserts that:

While some observers may see anger and failure, ethnography suggests a different process that incorporates place in history in a distinctive set of class-specific, local values. Doukas, working in an area of high residential stability, found that people remember ancestors and events have been obscured or obliterated by official histories. In this light, the present-day sense of "apathy" is constructed on

the repeated failure of numerous attempts to remedy injustices –zoning battles lost in city councils dominated by real estate interests, failed resistance to urban renewal projects promoted by the same interests, failed attempts to block highway routing decisions promoted by developers and non-local traffic and highway experts– the residuals of repeated political actions, including unions, that ended in repeated defeat. (311)

I am sure the insights provided by all the authors, both abstract and concrete, provided in the volume, were derived from their ethnographic or otherwise close-up descriptions and analyses. Therefore, they further establish the value of anthropology for the study of economics from the local to the global. Finally, I must note that in this review, I refrained from using the term 'Economic Anthropology,' because I think such terms tend to compartmentalize and limit the value of the ethnographic discipline which I also practice.

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