BOOK REVIEWS

M. Bell and G. Armstrong, 2021. *A Social History of Sheffield Boxing*, *Vol. 1 – Rings of Steel, 1720-1970*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

This book, published in the Series 'Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology', sets out to discover the history of boxing and to establish how Sheffield grew into a city that is now synonymous with boxing world champions and trainers. The authors Bell and Armstrong, neither of whom claim to be experts on boxing or pugilism, use a wide range of sources of information to track the development of boxing in the city. It is the depth of research that makes this book so compelling and informative, using historical written evidence from newspapers, Government publications, a number of important images and even notes from court proceedings.

This is not just a book about boxing, but a commentary on the social conditions in Sheffield around 150 years ago, when the first boxing events took place in the City. Sheffield was never considered to be a pleasant place to live, certainly a 'tough' Northern working-class industrial city as portrayed in Samuel Sydney's comment in *Rides on Railways*, 'Sheffield is very ugly and gloomy: it is scarcely possible to say that there is a single good street'. This might be one of the reasons why boxing became popular as a way to escape poverty, when in the late 1880s a typical prize was as much a factory worker might earn in a year, and boxers could earn more than in any other sport at that time. What this book also shows is that it was the promoters and investors in boxing who earned the most

from boxing, which is perhaps true of boxing today, and that, from the very beginning, the safety of boxing was questioned. In fact, the introduction of gloves, in response to the dangers of bare-knuckle fighting, seemed to lead to even more injuries and inevitably deaths. If the Government had taken more notice of the inherent dangers in boxing, then one could argue that it should have been banned long ago. Boxing was also linked with drinking and betting, which tended to attract a rowdier clientele.

The first Sheffield boxer was George James Corfield — born in London — who fought for the first time in 1890, but up until that time, most of the events were held with fighters from the USA and other parts of the UK. He quickly established himself as a trainer and promoter and built a boxing club with some of his earnings to help develop the next generation of fighter.

The setting up of the Boxing Board of Control and the support of the King, in the late 1920s further legitimised boxing, although many boxers continued to die as a result of their injuries. Boxing was further promoted as a 'morale builder' and one that could address class issues, and its popularity grew.

It is for the reader to make up their mind about the importance of boxing and its inherent dangers to boxers, and this volume sets up the reader to discover more about the history of boxing in Sheffield. This volume ends in the 1960s, a period of considerable change in the city; but in boxing terms, Sheffield was set to become an important centre for producing future world champions. What makes this book stand out

is the level of research and attention to detail covering some 80 years of sporting and social history, featuring not only Sheffield and its boxers, but also boxers from other cities and countries. This book is a must for those interested in the history of sport, the sociology of sport and even the business of sport.

Reference

Sydney, S. 1851. *Rides on Railways Leading to the Lake and Mountain Districts of Cumberland, North Wales, and the Dales of Derbyshire.* W. S. Orr and Company.

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Matthew Bell and Gary Armstrong, 2021. *A Social History of Sheffield Boxing, Vol. 2 – Scrap Merchants, 1970-2020.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

For me, a lad born and reared in inner city Sheffield in the 1950s and 1960s, Bell and Armstrong have not only crafted in this volume (as Sean Bean dubs it in his inspiring Foreword) a 'great read' but they have also expertly evidenced the power of sport (in this case boxing) to transform lives for generations of young people born into disadvantage.

Sheffield born and well known for their contributions to the written knowledge of aspects of a city that had faced deindustrialisation on a massive scale, the authors' comprehensive and detailed chapters notes and references illustrate the depth of their journey into the world of boxing.

Interestingly, neither of them is from the sport or make a living reporting on it.

Neither is the research the product of funding. They are, as they state in volume 1, just two nosey locals who were fascinated by any correlate between place and athletic ability.

The outcome is not a book about who hit whom where and when. It — obviously — focuses on many individuals crucial to what one commentator has termed 'showbusiness with blood' but equal consideration is afforded the circumstances in which, in a city undergoing enormous economic, political and social upheaval, the neighbourhood boxing club led by dedicated and caring innovators inspired young people to escape both themselves in many ways and the tyranny of the 'street'.

Boxing is described as one of Sheffield's success stories at a time when the city, at a low point, bedevilled by the impact of industrial change and strife, sought to re-emerge from decay. In searching an explanation for this success, the authors' focus is on lesser-known practitioners rather than the superstars who have written their autobiographies to tell their stories. As the authors say, their work is intended to be a 'biography of a city and its boxing people'.

An explanation of the context of the fight game and the complexities of exploring its soul and energy emerge in two dozen life stories. Collectively these present a powerful picture and convey a sense of 'salvation' ('redemption') from waywardness, criminality, drugs that obeying the strict discipline and rules of the gym demands. Many individuals are remodelled, changed, freed from the practices of the street but remain (as they record) 'one of us'.

Crucially, the authors account for those who lapsed in their pursuit of the straight road; boxing does not work for everybody.

For this reader, the role played by Brendan Ingle, his family and others who have followed in their path most relates to my own experience. Taken off the streets to play table tennis, tennis and football by dedicated grassroots coaches changed my whole view of what life could be about and what I could achieve through hard graft. None of those teaching me reached the heights of the Ingles whose innovatory practices challenged the boxing orthodoxy of the time, imposed a rigid and unbending discipline on their boxers, and acted as the standard for others who left their teachings to open boxing clubs in other disadvantaged areas. They like the Ingles cared deeply about their protegés not necessarily as potential champions like Herol Graham, Johnny Nelson, Junior Witter, Kell Brook and others, but as young people who could make a better and healthier life for themselves through participation in their sport.

The Ingle gym was not about making champions — champions were almost a by-product of more modest ambitions. In Ingle's words, progress was '[…] someone going to College rather than being a labourer' and someone else '[…] holding down a job'. Examples include 'Towering' Towers who was transformed from drugs and violence to being a trainer and who recounted that '[Ingle] saw qualities in me that I weren't experienced or educated enough to see'; and Reagan Denton who was once a boxing champion who lapsed into drugs, then transformed from heroin addict to community champion. As co-founder of the 'De Hood' social enterprise at the Manor Top, one of Sheffield's most difficult areas, Denton presides over a premise that provides a safe place from austerity, community breakdown and offers meanwhile all who enter a chance in his words to 'learn from my mistakes'.

Chapters 1 and 5 provide fascinating insights into the beliefs, characteristics and modus operandi of the mentors, trainers, organisers who played a huge part in creating what has been the enduring success of the City's boxing achievements. That journeys from gyms in the backstreets of Sheffield were not smooth is hardly surprising. Harnessing the 'hard man' identity that had arisen to replace the masculine identity associated with gruelling work in tough industries (mining/steel) not only required a personal philosophy that was applied equally to all to be they potential champions, journeymen or just young men seeking sanctuary from the streets but also a single-minded dedication to the goals of the enterprise.

Challenging the orthodoxy of the time, dealing with spectacular break ups (as between Ingle and Prince Nasim), and handling events that ranged through working men's clubs to spectacular world championship fights held in football stadia and on TV with huge audiences evidence the authors' description of Brendan Ingle as 'innovator, technician, entrepreneur, philanthropist, disciplinarian'. Chapters 2-4 exemplify the relationships between boxers, mentors, and the art of boxing; the final chapter, in summarising the characteristics of the young men who came forward to

subject themselves to the discipline of the gym and the ring, ably demonstrates that they came from a range of backgrounds, talents, motivations and ethnicities and mainly from the city's council housing estates. To the question as to why so many able fighters emerged in the city over some 30 years the authors concluded that if there were any indications of a would-be champion, then it was a mix of 'innate ability' and 'learned dedication' that separated them from the others together with coming willingly into the fight game both motivated and self-aware.

Those who achieve(d) greatness are but a few of the thousands of young people who passed through the Ingles' gyms and the many thousands of others that led media to describe Sheffield in 2016 as in the top three of 'boxing cities' based on urban population and boxing clubs within its boundary, but they prompted the authors' question 'What makes for a champion?'. The search was ultimately bound up in the notion of *genus loci.* This provoked a most fascinating digression into research into a pursuit that many consider as equal to boxing in its obsessive and individualistic characteristics — ballet. If anything, this short discursive section that raises notions of social capital (acquired though ballet/boxing education) and competing styles both between ballet schools and boxing gyms provides a fascinating and new train of thought at the conclusion of the volume.

For this reader who has devoted much of his voluntary activity into attempts to redress the imbalance between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' in access to the social, physical and health benefits that

engagement in sport brings, this study, published in the Series 'Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology', makes an important contribution to the literature in that field. Sheffield is indeed a 'City of Champions' but its amateur boxing clubs also make their special contribution to well-being and community cohesion in some of the most challenging urban areas.

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Andrew Deener. 2020. *The Problem with Feeding Cities: The Social Transformation of Infrastructure, Abundance, and Inequality in America*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

In *Feeding Cities*, Andrew Deener looks at how cities have evolved to feed the people who live in them. While many take the current infrastructure for granted, the industrialized, big box retain chain is the result of various demographic shifts and urban transformations. Using one city in particular, Philadelphia, we get a clear picture of the logics and entanglements between urban infrastructure and food distribution.

In short, we have come a long way. The customer of the corner grocer of the early 1900s likely would not recognize the supermarket of today. The produce and other products would likely confound comprehension; out-of-season fruits and vegetables; foodstuffs from other countries; and the vast volume of goods stored on site have dramatically changed in a relatively short period of time. Even trying to figure

out how all of that stuff got here would be difficult to say the least.

Deener urges us to think of food as similar to other goods, electricity, housing, etc. that changed dramatically in the United States, and elsewhere, in the twentieth century. Of course, food is imbricated in larger systems, such as public health, urbanism, capitalism, and the environment. The food system operates under a profit-driven logic that cities had to reconcile with and adapt to. Many did not; many could not. The result was many inner-cities and inner-ring suburbs were left behind as grocers became corporations and shifted outside of urban confines. Wholesale systems, think large farmers markets where farmers dropped off truck-loads of produce for small grocers to pick up, where food was not refrigerated and left to rot or for other, more furry consumers, rise and fell. With the wholesale system, urban middlemen, who delivered to stores or helped facilitate distribution elsewhere, perished. By the 1950s the wharfs and multi-story distribution centres had fallen into disrepair (and are only now being rehabilitated as living spaces in some cities) and key distribution spots emerged trying to connect urban areas with a migratory population that was moving into outer-suburban regions. In many places, like Philadelphia, this required new urban forms — both spatial, like decentring the urban food market — and relational, like the necessitation of planning committees. Getting food into the city was not the issue anymore, getting it around increasingly dense but simultaneously sprawled cities was

problematic, as was getting it out of the city to newly developed areas.

Deener does an excellent job taking the reader on this trip — by boat, by railroad, long haulers, and cars — to see how our food gets from point A to point B (with a lot of other points in-between). As he notes throughout the text, these changes were complex. They did not occur because of simple changes in movements of goods, but from adjusting numerous organizational, technological and relational components. In one chapter, for instance, he discusses how the introduction of the bar code system represented a 'new infrastructural regime'. While the components for this system were developed independently, they, along with the humans who became entangled in them, were forced into an interdependent assemblage. The end result was new efficiencies which materialized both into larger profits (for those grocers who could take the most advantage of the technology — think Wal-Mart) and new logistics between geographies of production and consumption. To give the reader an idea of the scope of this change — it was originally estimated that approximately 6,000 grocers would use the universal product codes — today in the United States alone there are over five billion bar codes scanned every day.

One of the after-thoughts of the change in food distribution systems is food apartheid, especially in urban neighbourhoods. The elimination of the corner grocers and the cost-efficiencies of the big box stores, has created large swaths of urban areas where there are few if any

opportunities to purchase fresh produce. This has resulted in high rates of urban food poverty and the emergence in the mid-twentieth century of a charity-based emergency food system. Likewise, as we have shifted from local farms supplying corner grocers to large, industrial, regional farms supplying the nation, we have made it difficult for small producers to plug into the distribution system. Farming and packing techniques have to be completely adjusted into retailers' sociotechnical systems (p. 204). As such local producers are often left out of local markets. Thus, while alternative systems, such as the slow food and locavore movements, have risen as outlets for local goods, many urban residents are left out of these movements because of cost (and rural residents are left out because of location). As Deener notes, this is an 'unfinished infrastructure' that cities and regions are managing, but most urban grocers left cities because of changes in land use and transit and it is not clear how these patterns will change anytime soon.

Deener's analysis of urban food relationships took a lot of work. His findings come from nearly analysing a hundred years-worth of archival materials, policy and planning reports, material from newspapers, feasibility studies and tours of dozens of facilities, and close to two hundred interviews from a wide range of people. To his credit he does an amazing job telling an incredibly complicated story. Changes in food distribution in the twentieth century led to much of the infrastructural decay we see in US cities in the twenty-first century. Likewise, changes in urban distribution patterns solidified and

some places exacerbated food inequalities that still reverberate today. And yet, we rarely see or think about these relationships, preferring, at least in the US, to focus on other key systems and institutions. Deener's book helps think about the interdependent relationship between cities and food which will be needed to solve *The Problem with Feeding Cities*.

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Pepper Glass. 2020. *Misplacing Ogden Utah: Race, Class, Immigration and the Construction of Urban Reputations*. The University of Utah Press.

Generally, when we think of places as good or bad, we believe we are making objective distinctions. We like to think that places that have high crime rates or lots of abandoned houses probably veer towards one side of the continuum and places with lots of amenities, like good schools, trendy restaurants, or parks veer towards the other end. Glass shows us that these kinds of qualifiers are more complicated and that they often rest on urban reputations.

This seems to be the case with Ogden, Utah. Ogden is depicted as both good and bad; as understood and misunderstood; as a ghetto and as a home. Ogden is in some ways a paradigmatic place to study urban reputations. After it became a central point for rail travel and shipping, it diverged from Salt Lake City. Residents of Salt Lake, having hoped it would get the rail station, were quick to stigmatize Ogden. Glass calls phenomena like this, 'historical echoes'. These echoes reverberate, creating

conditions that continue to shape a place long after the historical antecedent is long forgotten. As such, Ogden is much less Mormon and much more secular; it is less white and more diverse; and it has more immigrants than the surrounding region.

As Glass notes, in Utah these are often the categories of the dominant and dominated. Residents of the inner city, particularly members of the Latinx population and some native residents, see Ogden as a special place. The further one travels from downtown Ogden, the more likely the positive view of the town recedes. By the time one is outside of Ogden, the typically higher-class, white, and Mormon residents are quick to point out Ogden's bad reputation. Glass writes that rather than focus on culture of poverty arguments for downtrodden urban areas, we should focus on the 'culture of abundance' of outsiders who work to maintain urban divisions through reputations.

Urban reputations hinge on what Glass calls 'moral frontiers'. Creating these frontiers involves boundary making and boundary policing, and thus the meaning(s) of the reputations are always oscillating, reflecting the beliefs of different groups. Of course, much of this work is identity construction/maintenance; using social demarcations to create ingroups and outgroups. Thus, while everyone in Ogden can point to the bad part of town, for some it is a narrowly defined space involving a few blocks. For others it is west of a particular street. Individuals seeking status or attempting to protect the status they already have engage in demarcating projects. This occurs at times with native

residents who want to see themselves or position themselves as the moral equivalent of outsiders and thus further away from the immigrants who inhabit the 'bad' Ogden. Ogden is a racial and cultural outlier. In a state that celebrates homogeneity and conformity, Ogden is different; different is bad; so, Ogden is bad (p. 42).

Glass notes that these demarcations often do not prevent those who disassociate with the people on the other side of the moral/spatial boundary from nonetheless consuming their culture or foodways. Similar to other places, notably parts of New Orleans or Memphis, where outsiders come to consume cultural goods while disparaging the people who live there, or natives who depend on the newcomers for service jobs or domestic work and simultaneously complain about immigration policy, Ogden both attracts and repels. The cognitive dissonance of some residents who experience Ogden as a good place, but have bought into the reputation of 'bad Ogden', comes across in interviews with Glass where they seek reassurance that they have experienced bad things or note stabbings they have heard about or possible gang members they think they have seen in the area, only to laugh it off.

Many residents engage in what Glass calls 'micro-differentiation' to minimize the bad reputation of Ogden, but allow for the existence of 'others' that may be justifying that constructed reputation. The city likewise does this, minimizing the difference between outsiders and insiders, between Ogden and other towns in the region, and between its diverse past and present. City leaders go to great lengths to

distance themselves from the bad reputation of Ogden and the people they believe are responsible for that bad reputation—immigrants. In this way they not only whitewash portions of Ogden, but fail to address legitimate issues in marginalized communities.

These moral reputations are obviously symbolic but eventually reproduce structural inequalities. People move away from certain parts of the city; businesses relocate or opt to build elsewhere; rents decrease; and both people and places become abandoned. As such, Glass explains that understanding the genesis and maintenance of these reputations are important for unifying communities and for urban regeneration. In understanding reputations as boundaries rather than through disorder or disorganization, we can get rid of the partitions that keep downtowns down.

Ultimately, Glass suggests rather than undoing boundary making activities, which would be difficult, residents and regionalists should engage in 'blurring boundaries', which may be more difficult than focusing on micro-differentiation strategies. Glass advocates for getting outsiders and insiders, those with a pejorative view and those with a positive view of Ogden together, be it through festivals, sports activities, or live music. It might be naïve, but it is certainly better than the status quo.

Misplacing Ogden is a quick, but insightful read that will make the reader think about the 'bad' neighbourhoods in their own cities. What historical echoes cause those places to separate from the 'good' neighbourhoods? Who gains by constructing and reproducing these bad reputations? Hopefully, Glass's book will help start us down the road of studying urban reputations.

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Jerome Krase and Judith N. DeSena (eds). 2020. *Gentrification around the World, Volume I: Gentrifiers and the Displaced*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. **and**

Jerome Krase and Judith N. DeSena (eds). 2020. *Gentrification around the World, Volume II: Innovative Approaches*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Between the 1970s and 1980s some anthropologists were deeply influenced by the perspective of political economy, aiming to understand everyday city life as it is influenced by capitalist structures and relations of production. Since the late 1980s, an important development in urban studies has been the so-called spatial shift, which in general and, indicatively, draws on the work of Michel Foucault on the relationship between space, power and knowledge, of Henri Lefebvre for the social production of space, of Michel de Certeau on the way in which agents negotiate space, and David Harvey's marxist approach to capitalist urbanization, the geographical transfer of value and the spatial class structure. The encounter of anthropologists with the concept of space renewed both their approach and their views about issues related with social reproduction and perceptions of it, as they are shaped and expressed through architecture and the

dominant logic of urban planning. In this context, the concept of space and its integration into the anthropological agenda raises the question of defining the field, which can no longer concern 'entrenched' entities but may 'include' broader networks and links, which are carried out within and through the space. As has been argued, the field, as a place of research and institutional recognition, is an integral and irreplaceable territory of data-tapping and of ethnographic practice. It, however, is not a self-evident reality, always ready to 'welcome' in situ social and cultural action. In the current context, spaces are recognized as functioning more like palimpsests within which the stakes of the game of identity, multiplicity and consequent relationships are in an endless process of re-registration. We are well aware that the 'Other' is closer than ever, as social groups and actors are not so strictly encapsulated in spatially demarcated or culturally homogeneous places. The anthropological inquiry now challenges the spatial identity of local social groups that studies and accepts the fluidity and relativity of their cultural differentiation in an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world. This fact has considerable effects on the methodological view of the field, from where the anthropologist, after a long stay, retrieves the material of his study. For anthropologists, and many ethnographers from cognate disciplines, the main issue is to look for a way to explore the de-territorialized trajectories of peoples, spaces and places by means of a conception of the field as a not given and non-stable space of

social action. This presupposes a comprehensive reassessment of the field as containing social life in a given situation as well as an epistemological reframing of both the field of research and the field of anthropological endeavor. Therefore, the ethnographic field is a space through which social action exists, it is a means of highlighting the variety of practices and not their teleological end. This is because this action is also determined by processes that are not located directly in the field, but often beyond that, in other spaces. From this point of view, urban anthropologists and sociologists perceive the city and its space as a set of processes rather than as a consolidated territory in the context of global connections and flows.

It is in this theoretical context, in my view, that these two important volumes published in the Series 'Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology' are embedded. The first volume, *Gentrification around the World, Volume I: Gentrifiers and the Displaced*, introduced by the editors, Jerome Krase and Judith N. DeSena, is divided in three parts concerning America, Europe, Middle East and Far East. The chapters look in depth at urban issues, based on detailed and thorough ethnography. The topics include but are not limited to: social class, development, im/migration, housing, race relations, political economy, power dynamics, inequality, displacement, social segregation, homogenization, urban policy, planning, and design. They are: 'Brooklyn Revisited: An Illustrated View from the Street 1970 to the Present' by Judith N. DeSena and Jerome Krase; 'Gentrification and Aging in Montreal, Quebec: Housing

Insecurity and Displacement Among Older Tenants' by Julien Simard; 'Forced Removals in Gentrifying Rio de Janeiro and San Francisco: Experiencing Displacement' by Sukari Ivester; 'Gentrification Vernacular in Malasaña, Madrid, by Fernando Monge; 'Visualizing the Contrary Logics of "Regeneration" Through Arts Practice-Based Research' by Fiona Woods; 'Visualizing Gentrification in Ancoats, Manchester: A Multi-Method Approach to Mapping Change' by Gary Bratchford; '"We're Not Moving": Solidarity and Collective Housing Struggle in a Changing Sweden' by Catharina Thörn; 'Pacifying La Goutte d'Or, Getting Paris More French: Grounding Gentrification in a Cosmopolitan Neighborhood' by Maria Anita Palumbo; 'Residential Transformation Leading to Gentrification: Cases from Istanbul' by Nil Uzun; 'Tourism Gentrification of the Old City of Damascus' by Faedah M. Totah; 'When Ideology Replaces the Market: Gentrification in East Jerusalem' by Ori Swed; and 'Gentrification, Machizukuri, and Ontological Insecurity: Bottom-Up Redevelopment and the Cries of Residents in Kamagasaki, Osaka' by Matthew D. Marr.

The second volume, *Gentrification around the World, Volume II: Innovative Approaches*, introduced once more by Jerome Krase and Judith N. DeSena, takes a more global perspective. It includes four parts, addressing respectively North America, Europe, Africa, and South Asia. Special emphasis is given to gentrification outside Western Europe and the United States of America, as well as to methodology. Chapters are about: 'Life on the Algorithmic Estate: The Neo-Feudal

Logic of Corporate Sovereignty' by Stephanie Polsky; 'New Business in the Old Neighborhood: Young Polish Shopkeepers' Responses to Commercial Gentrification in Greenpoint, Brooklyn' by Aneta Kostrzewa; 'Social Transformation and Urban Regeneration: Three Interpretations on the Phenomenon of Gentrification in the Historic Center of A Coruña (Spain)' by Alberto Rodríguez-Barcón, Estefanía Calo and Raimundo Otero-Enríquez; 'Shimmering Surfaces, Toxic Atmospheres, Incendiary Miracles: Public Housing and the Aesthetics of Re-Valorization in Salford UK' by John van Aitken and Jane Brake; 'Anti-Displacement Social Movements in Lisbon: A Perspective from the Trenches in the Fight Against Transnational Gentrification' by Luís Filipe Goncalves Mendes; 'The Politics of Visibility: Gentrification and Immigration in East London' by Timothy Shortell; 'MyyrYork: Rejuvenating a Housing Estate Neighborhood for the Next Generation of Residents' by Johanna Lilius; 'Revanchist Kigali: Retro-Victorian Urbanism and the Gentrification of a Twenty-First-Century Metropolis' by Samuel Shearer; 'Tools for Citizen Participation in Segmented Societies: The Case of Barranco' by Waltraud Müllauer-Seichter; 'Gentrification Processes in the City of Buenos Aires: New Features and Old Tendencies' by María Mercedes Di Virgilio; 'Gentrification and Post-industrial Spatial Restructuring in Calcutta, India' by Tathagata Chatterji and Souvanic Roy; and 'The Systemic Gentrification of Education in India: A Media Case Study' by Eddie Boucher.

Both volumes show that urban research is an indispensable source of ethnographic data precisely because it takes place in

settings that are transformed, sometimes invisibly and sometimes clearly, and that these places act as mediators of social practice, a fact that in turn counteract through space and shape it. This involves the conditions and the possibility of conceiving the field as an open system of social activity. Through this perspective, both volumes highlight what is not obvious when research is a-spatial. In this context, both volumes show that research gives the possibility to understand that the formation of space is closely linked to the production of difference and multiplicity. Krase and DeSena work timely and sensitively in this line, seeking to show that it is important to explore how space is created, as the result of interrelated movements, material practices and hierarchical actions. These need space to be carried out. Just as there are no autonomous spatial processes, so there are no non-spatial social processes. And it is in this sense that, as the paradigm of gentrification shows, these imply plurality. But precisely because of this multiplicity space is always incomplete, in a constant becoming; and this is why it is produced anew. Krase and DeSena offer an excellent work, a springboard for knowledge and future research.

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Germaine R. Halegoua. 2020. *The Digital City: Media and the Social Production of Place*. New York: New York University Press.

The Digital City is an engaging and original book that offers a new theoretical framework for reconceptualizing digital media and digitally mediated interactions as placemaking activities. The author, Germaine R. Halegoua, is a Film and Media Studies scholar at the University of Kansas and advocates for a reimagining of our daily interactions with digital technologies, media and infrastructure. Based on several case studies conducted across the United States and various analysis techniques including participant observation, and content, discourse and textual analysis, *The Digital City* builds a strong investigation of urban digital placemaking. The book is organized into five chapters over 226 pages; Chapters 1 and 2 address re-placing the city in terms of formal, strategic urban development, Chapters 3 and 4 examine how the individual, habitual uses of digital media re-place urban environments by creating and expressing emotional connections to place and emplaced identities. Chapter 5 analyses both formal and habitual uses of digital media in creative placemaking practices, dissecting how digital media is paradoxically situated in creative placemaking for its recognition as both a beneficial tool and an enemy of place-engaged human interaction.

In Chapter 1, Halegoua identifies and thoughtfully critiques the various ways in which urban planners, technology developers and city officials often struggle to incorporate the people into their smart city designs. Halegoua analyses the outcomes and potential outcomes of three smart-from-the-star cities mainly through their discursive constructions in: (1) Songdo, South Korea; (2) Masdar City, Abu Dhab; and (3) PlanIT Valley, Portugal. Due to smart city developer goals of economic development and data production, the

designs are centred around creating a local business environment that supports a global business community (p. 48). In order to generate excitement and build successful, inclusive smart cities, Halegoua urges smart city designers to reconceptualize the city as a 'field of care' instead of spaces for domination (p. 63).

In Chapter 2, the reader learns how different models of digital infrastructure deployment can be designed and marketed as solutions to digital divides and promise to create a newfound connection within cities, but they often generate boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and intensify already existing place-based inequalities. Using the case example of Google Fiber for Communities project in Kansas City, Missouri, Halegoua explores how this project re-placed the city without recognizing community member's diverse relationships to the city or the pre-existing disparities that would influence its technology adoption. This chapter does a wonderful job of accounting for various forms of place attachment and digital literacy within cities and begins to fill the gap in present literature concerning how technology non-use, media refusal or 'opting-out' impact an individual's experience in, and relationship to place during the modern era.

Chapter 3 serves as an empirical analysis of the ways in which digital navigation technologies are used to encourage people in transit to replace the unfamiliar city as a recognizable and accessible place. Drawing from her survey and interview data collected in Madison, Wisconsin in 2010, along with participant observation, survey and interview data collected in Lawrence, Kansas in 2015, and various blog posts representing populations in mid to large scale cities, Halegoua explores people's personal experiences with digital navigation technologies. She challenges the negative preconceived notions about reliance on technology for wayfinding as distracting and damaging to a person's sense of place within urban environments. The various sources of data and types of analysis combined with a 5-year difference in data collection help emphasize how the re-placing effects of digital navigation transcend city boundaries and are constantly evolving with time. The author convincingly demonstrates how these technologies are integrated into placemaking behaviours by producing new opportunities for people to acquire spatial knowledge and thereby encouraging them to explore and develop an enriched sense of place instead of diminishing one (p. 113).

Similar to the effects of digital wayfinding strategies, Chapter 4 discusses how people develop a sense of comfort and familiarity with unknown urban environments, however this time through locative social media use. The author analysed uses of locative media through participatory observation and discourse analysis to demonstrate the ways people envision and communicate their sense of place by using locative social media. Instead of destabilizing or diminishing a collective sense of place, Halegoua argues that the frequently used 'check-in' or location tagging practices on social media produce a layered and diverse collection of place attachments, place identities, and

place narratives (p. 157). The author uses poignant examples of Instagram accounts to illustrate the different ways people engage in re-placing the city through locative social media. The examples in this chapter clearly demonstrate how we often see these social media practices as unrelated to the production of place when they pave the way for new opportunities of reclaiming and reproducing a sense of place within rapidly changing media and urban environments.

Halegoua explores why digital media use and placemaking practices that engender creative production are not discordant with one another in Chapter 5. Through content analysis of funded projects and discourse analysis of published interviews, the author analyses the paradoxical position of digital media within professional creative placemaking. Creative placemaking has the goal of improving the quality of places, and the lives of those who live in and visit them by implementing measurable projects that cultivate artistic and cultural experiences (p. 182). Halegoua discusses how creative place-makers can and should utilize digital media within their practices in order to achieve their goals and foster a sense of community connection. Through the use of digital media, community participation can be welcomed to help counter the perception of creative placemaking as a purely rhetorical device (p. 193). The author demonstrates the conflicting perceptions of digital media use in creative placemaking by providing several cases of projects across the United States where digital media is often portrayed *in competition* with physical urban space for social interaction and

attention, but also recognized as working *in support* of vibrant, socially engaged physical urban space.

This book highlights the ways that urban environments are constructed by not only digital media, digital infrastructure, or broadband networks, but by digitally connected *people* who make place through both strategic initiatives and habitual behaviours using technology. Additionally, this book provides a sound theoretical framework for future research on how digital media use is not only ingrained in the development of one's sense of place but can also contribute to the unmaking of place. All in all, *The Digital City* is an insightful analysis of our relatively new abilities to negotiate our social and physical familiarity or strangeness within modern urban environments. It is a timely and increasingly relevant contribution to our understanding of placemaking in the technological age.

The author writes with an accessible use of terms and covers a wide range of cutting-edge trends and topics within the fields of both urban and media studies. By providing summaries and clarifying main points throughout the book, Halegoua sufficiently guides the reader through each subject at hand. The author connects diverse topics, case studies, and methodologies, each one expanding our understanding of the role that digital media plays in re-placing the city. I especially appreciated the inclusion of photographs in the last two chapters, which strategically highlight the significance of context when it comes to digital placemaking. The uses of photo and textual examples were a welcomed addition

to this book, orienting the reader and enhancing the overall understanding of its contents. Due to the significant impact of technology on everyday urban life, *The Digital City* is an essential reading for anyone working on space and place and makes an excellent resource for all urban and/or media scholars at the upper undergraduate student level and higher.

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Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato eds. 2021. *Urban Inequalities: Ethnographically Informed Reflections.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

This volume addresses a perennial social challenge, that of societal inequalities in urban spaces and communities. The chapters cover significant topics one would expect in such a volume: socio-economic, political, class and gendered inequalities, experienced in settings one might anticipate, such as social housing and marginal urban locations. In addition, there are welcome extensions in settings in this volume, for example, those set in urban sports arenas of boxing and football. Another indication from the title, or subtitle in this case, is the focus on ethnography with most authors explicitly referring to their ethnographic approach and reflecting on its value in gaining more complex and nuanced insights. A strength of this work lies in the diversity of global locations and identities of both the sites of social interactions, and the researchers.

The breadth and scope of this work is set up comprehensively by Italo Pardo and Giuliana Prato in their chapter, 'Querying Urban Inequalities' which introduces and outlines the intellectual ground that this volume builds from and moves beyond. As they indicate, the conceptual areas covered in the chapters include an array of inequalities, erosions of senses of citizenship, the experience of inclusion and exclusion, shifting legitimacies and compromised moralities. While there are such themes, trends and commonalities, the editors have decided not to organize the volume around particular sets of themes, allowing each chapter to focus on different aspects of the wide-ranging experiences of social inequalities. As a result, this review will also take a more individualistic approach, bringing out the central theme in each chapter, rather than grouping the chapters around broader conceptual areas.

Picking up some central thematics, Italo Pardo in his chapter 'Making Second-Class Italians: A Progressive Fabrication and Entrenchment of Inequality' draws from his decades-long relationship with research participants in Naples, and reflects on the hopelessness some feel in the face of the disconnection between the rulers and citizens. His focus on power, governance and legitimacy, articulated as only someone with deep and comprehensive knowledge can, highlights the experiences of, and options for, citizens living with corruption and discrimination trying to live a fulfilling life. Pardo paints a bleak but not hopeless picture.

Giuliana B. Prato examines the entrenched economic and social inequalities between northern and southern Italy. In her chapter, 'On Human Stupidity and

Economic Policies. How Cities Inequality Generates Losses for All', she draws on extensive ethnographic fieldwork, mainly in the city of Brindisi, and Cipolla's essay 'The Basic Laws of Human Stupidity' to illustrate effectively that there are no winners in the case she describes. For all recent economic policies and interventions aimed at stimulating economic growth in the South, territorial inequalities persist. The decisions made by local administrators and other elites are leading to more inequality and a sense of 'limited citizenship' amongst growing numbers of southern Italians.

Hend Aly's chapter, 'Unequal Citizens: Between the Gated and the Informal in Cairo', addresses issues of differential citizenship, looking at how residents in two neighbouring locations engage with the local government, particularly in terms of differential access to amenities and services. Based on empirical research she clearly and skilfully presents the situation in both urban spaces and elaborates on the significant difference this makes to day-to-day living in each location. The state-citizen relationship is not Gellner-esque in either situation, rather, as she concludes, 'This translates into a systemic process of transforming citizens into either underprivileged people or consumers' (p. 89).

The chapter on 'Precarious Employment and Social Exclusion in Times of Crisis: The Case of Athens', by Manos Spyridakis and Andreas Feronas, focuses on a growing precariat through two conceptual lenses, precarious employment and social exclusion. Their discussion is based on a

year of ethnographic research in Athens, post Global Financial Crisis, with participants who have always struggled financially to some extent, for all they have skills and know-how, who are moving into even more precarious situations. They comprise something of a 'reserve' work force called on for flexible and part-time employment with no security or associated benefits. They are not a homogenous group and do not form collectives; rather, as the authors note, they work as individuals resorting to pre-crisis individualistic strategies.

In his chapter on 'The Destiny of Urban Peripheries: Downtown Tel Aviv's Contested Realities', Moshe Shokeid discusses urban gentrification and associated impediments in Tel Aviv. Engagingly, he relays his own family's experience of living in one of the researched areas. This is compared with two others, in Tel Aviv, and in Chelsea, New York City. The different origins, trajectories, histories of internal migration and architectural developments are described as impacting on the 'feel' of the three areas. While this chapter may be theorised less than others, the ethnographic writing conveys the stories successfully, both descriptively and comparatively.

Falia Varelaki traces inequalities in breast cancer care in Greece, describing the inequities determined by one's financial position, of access to new breast cancer vulnerability, genome-based diagnoses and treatment. While drawing attention to this particular situation, she also outlines historical inequalities in accessing public health services in Greece. Whilst healthcare

is now generally more accessible than it was prior to 2016, the diagnostic test she writes of, costing over five times the average income, is out of reach for the majority. This chapter movingly demonstrates, and challenges, the ethics of differential access to medical care in a neoliberal system.

'Crisis, Disorder and Management: Smart Cities and Contemporary Urban Inequality', by David Nugent and Adeem Suhail, can be read as part one of a pair of chapters on Smart Cities. Theirs is a disturbingly thought-provoking piece introducing the idea, and potential pitfalls, of smart cities. The concept is posited as future-oriented and reliant on algorithms and computations in seeking the best outcomes for the most people in flattening out inequalities. Not surprisingly, the application of this utopian ideal does not deliver, as exemplified through examples from a South Korean and an Indian city.

The second of this pair of chapters on Smart Cities is Janaki Abrahams' 'Urban Transformation for Whom? Notes from the Margins of a Town in North India'. Her findings further support the conclusions indicated in the previous chapter, that for all its theoretical promise, Smart Cities do not deliver. The inequalities continue, with the poor still on the edges of society. This model is about business, not social justice, so it should not be surprising that it fails to deliver. These points are made well through her fine-grained ethnographic focus on one poor low caste Hindu woman.

Chapter 10, 'Mixed Occupancy: Mixed Occupations? Inequality and Employment on an Inner-City Housing Estate', by James Rosbrook-Thompson and Gary Armstrong,

is based on fieldwork in an ethnically diverse London inner city housing estate and focuses on the restructuring of the labour market. As well as revealing local, global and shadow economies, the study draws attention to relationships of acquaintanceship, interdependency, and the flexible moralities in operation. By tracing the experience of tenants who move from secure employment to gig economy-type employment, their precarity is exposed. Along with that are pragmatic strategies, for example, of service exchanges, and turning a blind eye to neighbour's low level drug dealing.

Two chapters on Turkey address different aspects of women's experiences of inequality in this country. Nurdan Atalay examines Turkey's credit crisis as a result of the country's earlier financialization processes. Her ethnographic examples explain the effect of easy access to credit and debit cards and address the strategies women employ in the face of mounting debt. Sidar Çınar's chapter brings out how patriarchy and under-development radically reduce women's employment opportunities, often on top of already reduced education and marriage options. The women focussed on here are either denied or forced into outside employment, with men traditionally maintaining influence in the family even when they are unemployed. More positively, these two authors see changes beginning as women become conscious of the inequalities and start to leverage some power within the family as a result of their earnings through workforce engagement.

The next two chapters draw on ethnography in the field of sport: first

boxing then football. Chapter 13, 'Inequalities and Redemption: A Boxing Story' by Gary Armstrong and Matthew Bell is an exploration of socio-economic and access inequalities in Sheffield and looks at the potential advantages of belonging to one particular boxing club. This club was founded by a local, Ingles, who gained a reputation for taking in disadvantaged youth and producing good citizens. As well as working on their boxing technique, he promoted education and self-improvement in club members, viewing this as the way towards their redemption. The biblical vocabulary and metaphors are a playful addition to a fascinating study written with vitality and drama.

In the second sports-focused chapter, and last chapter of the book, Massimiliano Maidano concentrates on the football fan club, the Zenit Ultras. It is based in St Petersburg, modelled on other European fan clubs, with male physicality and aggression sometimes formalised with 'Russian boxing' sessions, but other times displayed in less formal thuggery. The researcher, recognising the value of participant-observation, entered into the spirit, as he says, 'Relations with informants were fair, although on some occasions I was contested and had to punch some Zenit ultras in legitimate self-defence.' (p. 291). Distinctly Russian aspects are evident in this chapter, such as the fan club needing to operate underground initially but with Kremlin backing in later years. The inequalities and discriminations in operation are many: gendered, classist, racist, culturalist/nationalist. As such, it provides a lens through which to understand more of the political tensions,

fractures and schisms, and socio-ethnic tensions in certain pockets of Russian cities.

This book is in the series, Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology, which calls for volumes to 'address theoretical and methodological issues, showing the relevance of ethnographic research in understanding the socio-cultural, demographic, economic and geo-political changes of contemporary society'. There is no question that this brief is effectively met. Bringing together such a diverse set of ethnographic accounts offers insights into a multiplicity of experiences of inequalities in urban social settings. The ethnographic micro-analysis and theoretical explorations make this a must-read for scholars interested and engaged in understanding more about the contemporary mechanisms of a wide range of social inequalities.

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Jack Santino (ed.). 2017. *Public Performances: Studies in the Carnivalesque and Ritualesque*. Utah: Utah State University Press.

I recall my first years as a PhD student, when Jack Santino's *All around the year* (1994), *New Old Fashioned Ways* (1996) and *Holidays, Ritual, Festival and Everyday life* (2004) were milestones in the study of festivals. The fourth volume in the series, *Public Performances: Studies in the Carnivalesque and Ritualesque*, edited by Santino, derives from research presented at a well-known series of conferences on 'Holidays, ritual, festival, celebration and public display' held annually from 1997 to

2011. The purpose of this volume is to stress similarities among various event types and unify the field of public performances.

In the first chapter, Santino sketches the approach of performance events as *carnivalesque and ritualesque* to deconstruct their shifting nature. He summarizes his earlier theoretical and methodological considerations on interpreting public displays by emphasizing the mistaken association of their expressive nature with the symbolic one, clarifying the – *(e)sque* terms for carnival and ritual and abolishing the mistaken dichotomy between festivals and rituals. This chapter testifies to the editor's intention to move from traditional carnival through ritual to ritualesque events — both political and theatrical in nature — and closes with the consideration of performative environments (p. ix). It segues into Chapter 2 where Kinser approaches the early modern Nuremberg Carnival and compares it to the Carnival of the Port of Spain. He analyses carnivals' nature, focusing on the power of local experience, which feeds carnival's performative fantasies by means of social dynamics that are displayed in one-to-one or small group encounters (p. 21). Kinser focuses on three traits: porosity, spectacularization, and politico-social conciliation and offers three working hypotheses. The longest chapter in this volume, it describes these two carnivals based on rich background information that test and discuss the abovementioned traits. The way Kinser weaves his historical approach through the three traits and the hypotheses he grounds on local knowledge is valuable, since we are usually missing historical interpretations that are productive

and offer us methodological tools for future elaboration.

In the third chapter, Roger Abrahams turns to the past to explore European-American and African-American clubs in important ports, such as New Orleans, Havana and Rio. His chapter, along with the fourth one by Stoeltje, discusses elements of social conflict embedded in public performances. Stoeltje's contribution on ritual and politics is realized through her thorough description of all sorts of groups — small and large, hegemonic or resistant — that use ritual as a social process (p. 67). It reveals how ritual could not be more political and vice versa. Focusing on ritual/political events with a vast number of participants and global communications, Stoeltje examines the status of ritual as a performance genre, emphasizing its power to transform, affect and unify. Inspired by Cohen's conception that ritual and politics occur together in social life and that symbolic activities have political consequences, she discusses why politics and ritual were separated for a long period. Thus, she unravels an extended analysis on performance, ritual, communication, symbols and authority to demonstrate conflict through the examples of Northern Ireland, London, Liberia and Istanbul.

John Borgonovo's chapter examines a set of case studies on parades and processes. He explores the politics of bass brand culture in Cork in the 20th century. Participation of brass bands in all historical and political phases of Ireland, we learn, transformed the bands into a tool for national, governmental, political and syndicalist ideological demonstrations. Borgonovo portrays political movements

and revolutions, adding an account of the bands' presence in funerals. Likewise, Elena Martinez's *Que Bonita Bandera!* is devoted to the Puerto Rican parade in New York. Along with Borgonovo and the following chapters of Harnish and Moro, these contributions constitute the 'parade section' of the book. Drawing on extended fieldwork, Martinez deconstructs the presence, history and use of the Puerto Rican flag. Harnish takes us to Indonesia for the processions in Bali and Lombok, looking at these public displays as a multisited performance incorporating motion, movement, sound and theatre. Harnish's discussion of festival processions is so articulate and flowing that you feel present at them.

Laurent Sebastién Fournier states her aim for a meta-theoretical approach to *ritualesque and carnivalesque*. She begins from the history and status of French social research on festivals and examines the association of festivals and culture. Then, she mainly focuses on the folklorists' approach to festivals and the folkloristic approach of the festival organizers, synonymous to exoticism, nostalgia and authenticity. She returns to Van Gennep's *Rites de passage* considering the different uses of the term. Lisa Gilman, partially influenced by Stoeltje, presents the festival of Umthetho in Mzimba, Malawi as an example of a festival negotiating power between traditional and national leadership systems (p.181). She lays out the dimensions where power manifests, and focuses on the evolution of its form, organization and production, along with the discourses surrounding it. She provides a detailed history of the festival, ethnic groups, subgroups and traditional leaders in

the area, past and present cultural practices and the ways all these factors blend, thus achieving a thick description with reflexivity.

The final chapters focus on activist and protest performances. Pamela Moro writes about 'activist spectacles' that foment bonding and communitas, even where audiences are fluid and unpredictable. Zinn focuses on how protest performances can be understood through the hybridization of concepts from diverse literatures. Magelssen explores the *ritualesque* use of theatrical performances surrounding ecological issues. Graham examines the role that space and place play in the consciousness and memory of the individuals and families in Northern Ireland, especially as it regards the transformation of private to public grief in the performative nature of memorials. Finally, Wocjik focuses on the use of 'outsider art' as a form of social protest.

This collection of essays reflects current fieldwork and the tendency for theories to evolve from that fieldwork. The deep exploration of these public displays in this volume is a crucial contribution to the multidisciplinary approach of public performance genres and has the power and importance of a seminal reference publication.

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